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POLISH MIGRANTS IN IRELAND. MIGRATION PATTERNS, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND ‘COMMUNITY’

A dissertation submitted to the Department of Sociology at Trinity College, University of Dublin, in fulfilment of the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy.

June 2011

Alicja Bobek
University of Dublin
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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other University and that it is entirely my own work.

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Alicja Bobek

03 June 2011
Summary
This is a study on young Polish professional migrants currently living and working in the Greater Dublin Area who are employed in higher skilled and middle level jobs. It focuses on the migration process, changing mobility strategies, the role of migrant networks and issues related to the existence of the Polish 'community' in Ireland. The research was autoethnographic and it deployed two main qualitative methods of data collection: participant observation and semi-structured interviews. It was conducted between early 2007 and 2010. The majority of the interview data was collected as part of the Migrant Careers and Aspiration Project, one of six projects involved in the Trinity Immigration Initiative.

It has been estimated, that by the end of 2007 there were around 200,000 Poles living in Ireland with the majority of them active on the Irish labour market (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2010; CSO, 2008). Due to the fact that mass migration of Polish nationals to Ireland is a relatively new phenomenon, there is also little known about those who came to this country over the last few years, mainly following the European Union Enlargement in May 2004.

As it will be argued in this thesis, most of the studies conducted on Polish migrants in Europe and beyond over the last two decades mainly examine the issues related to those having 'bad jobs' and employed in the secondary sectors of the receiving countries labour markets. Theoretical frameworks that are commonly present in these studies are Dual Labour Market Theory, New Economics of Labour Migration, or migrants’ network approach. In addition to that, many of those researching the area of Polish migrations emphasise the importance of so-called 'incomplete migration'. Migrants who are taking part in this type of mobility are usually employed at bottom level jobs in the host countries. Their earnings from abroad are often the main if not the only source of income for families back 'home'. They also tend to stay outside of the receiving country social structure and as a result of being outside of Poland for relatively long periods of time they become marginalised from their original local communities.

The data collected for the purpose of this research shows that while some patterns of the previous migration outflows from Poland are present in the case of the migration of Polish nationals who are currently living in Ireland, there are some new
phenomena emerging. Although this group of people predominantly migrated due to economic reasons, their motivations for staying in Ireland and not going back to Poland have changed throughout this time. I will argue that after settling down in the host country they became life style, rather than economic migrants. What has also been the case is that it was relatively easy for them to find ‘good’ employment within the primary sector of the Irish economy and they have not been marginalised from the receiving society labour market. At the same time many of them have kept strong bonds with their co-ethnics who live in Ireland. It will be argued that chain migration was one of the main channels of this mobility; in addition a large proportion of these migrants stay involved in their migrant networks after settling down in Ireland. Finally it will be argued that we cannot observe a formation of one homogenous Polish ‘community’ in Ireland and there are strong internal divisions present within this group. Evidence from studies conducted in other countries show that such divisions are present among other populations of Polish migrants and are mainly based on generational differences. Data collected for the purpose of this research, however, show that the boundaries within Polish 'community' in Ireland are drawn on the basis of social status and occupational structure.
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I would like to express my gratitude to all the Polish migrants living in Dublin who agreed to participate in this study. Their generosity is a key element for the existence of this thesis. Thank you all for sharing your experience of being Polish migrant in Dublin with me and for providing me with the information about their lives as ‘exiles’.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In May 2004 ten new states joined the European Union. One of them was Poland – a relatively large post-communist country that, at the time, was characterised by its difficult economic situation and high levels of unemployment. Joining the EU was a great opportunity for Poland on a number of levels. From the individual’s point of view, however, one of the most important benefits of accession was the virtue of free movement. Yet, only three 'old' member states, the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden, fully opened their labour markets at the time of the enlargement.

Most of the post-accession Polish migrants went to the United Kingdom, and it has been estimated that by 2007 there were around 690,000 Poles living in that country ( Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2010: 3). This did not come as a surprise as this country was a popular destination for Polish migrants prior to the 2004 accession. Compared to that number, very few moved to Sweden: only 27,000 were residing there in 2007 (ibid.). What gained a lot of public and then academic interest, was the fact that a relatively large group of Polish nationals decided to seek new opportunities in Ireland, a country that had played a very minor role on the map of migrations from Poland before the EU enlargement. In terms of numbers, it has been estimated that in 2002 there were around 2,000 Polish people living in this country ( Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2010: 3). 2006 Irish Census accounted for around 65,000 Poles living in Ireland. This number, however, is often perceived as an underestimation ( Mühlau, Kaliszewska and Röder, 2010). For example, according to the Polish equivalent of the Central Statistics Office, by the year 2008 estimated the number of Polish nationals living in this country at the level of 200,000 ( Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2010: 3).

This dissertation focuses on Polish professional migrants living in the Greater Dublin Area who secured professional jobs. It is based on semi-structured interviews and participant observation with a network of young Polish professionals of which the author was herself a part. In this sense the research has an auto-ethnographic quality
and the author has adopted a reflexive approach to the material. The main aim of this dissertation is to explore the issues related to the phenomenon of young, relatively well-educated people moving within the free labour market regime. These include their motivations for leaving Poland, performance on the Irish labour market as well as relations within the Polish 'community' in Ireland, and the role and development of social networks amongst this group of migrants. Throughout the course of the study I developed more detailed research questions, namely: What were the motivations of young, well educated Polish migrants to leave Poland and move to Ireland? How are they performing on the Irish labour market? What was the role of social networks in this migration stream? Are these migrants also integrating into the 'main stream' society on other than economic levels, especially on the social level? Do they extend their social networks beyond their own ethnic group? And finally, do they stay in Ireland purely for economic reasons, or do they have other reasons for not going back to Poland?

In the forthcoming literature review I will show how studies on recent Polish migrants working in other European countries tend to focus on those employed in lower skilled jobs. Very little attention has yet been given to young, well educated post-accession migrants who are often employed abroad within their qualification level or at least on the middle level, white collar positions. Living in Ireland for approximately a year and a half before starting this research and being involved in Polish migrants networks in Dublin gave me the opportunity to observe that since accession it has been relatively easy for them to obtain employment in the primary sector of the Irish labour market. Interestingly however, although being exposed to other nationalities (including the Irish) through workplace, some kept strong bonds with their co-ethnics and were, to a large extent, engaged in Polish social networks in this country.

This study explores the issues related to this group through the analysis of a case study of Polish professionals currently living and working in the Greater Dublin Area. The main areas of the analysis are the migration process itself, migrants' performance on the Irish labour market, the role of migrant networks and the issues of Polish ethnic 'community' formation in Ireland.

Drawing on the data collected for the purpose of this research, I argue that while many of the 'traditional' patterns and strategies of pre-2004 Polish migrations are followed in this case, some new phenomena can be observed, mainly to the individual
characteristics of these migrants along with the specific situation of the Irish economy in the early 2000s. In this introductory chapter I will first present the general context of this migration stream, followed by an outline of the main arguments and the structure of this thesis.

General Context: Poland and Migration

It has been estimated that at the beginning of 21st century, around 150 million people were migrants (IOM, 2000). Although the absolute number seems to be quite significant, in relative terms, these 150 million people accounted only for less than 3 per cent of the world’s population. Thus, one may ask whether or not international mobility of individuals is a global phenomena or rather an exception from the rule? Nevertheless, as argued by King (2002: 94):

> Only a minority of people are born, live their lives, and die in the same community or settlement; some kind of migration inevitably takes place (...). We should also remember that there are many people and cultures in the world whose very existence is based on migration or on a history of migration: nomads, transhuman shepherds, Roma, international business executives, and so on.

While agreeing with this statement, I will also argue that migration has been an inherent element of Polish culture and it has played a significant role throughout this country in both stormy and peaceful times. Polish nationals have been strongly involved in migration processes for almost two centuries. Starting from the early 19th century, emigration from Polish territories continued, interrupted only by short periods after the Second World War, during which time the communist government aimed to keep Polish borders closed and did not allow people to leave the country. Nevertheless, even that regime eventually failed to stop the international mobility of Poles.

The literature related to Polish migrations usually emphasises two main reasons for these people to move abroad and distinguishes two types of migrants: political and economic. The former were often forced exiles who left Poland as they could face repressions from either the occupiers during the partition time in the 19th and early 20th century or from the communist government in the years between 1944 and 1989.
Poland has also experienced several significant waves of economic emigration. This form of outflow occurred for the first time on a massive scale in the second half of the 19th century and consisted mostly of those coming from rural parts of the Polish territory and was related to the emancipation of peasants and to the demographic boom that took place around that period. This trend continued after the First World War, when labour migrants were leaving the country to find employment in North America and in more developed European countries. Following the Second World War, the communist governments introduced very restrictive emigration policies that aimed to stop the outflow of people from Poland. Nevertheless, after an initial period of complete closure of borders, the international mobility of Polish citizens gradually regained its importance and was caused not only by political, but also economic circumstances. After 1989, economic migration continued as many individuals were, to a large extent, affected by the systemic transition: due to raising levels of unemployment for some groups of society employment in another country became a significant, if not the only, source of family income. Most of the migration movements of the 1990s and early 2000s, however, had either a temporary or circular character. As a result of all of these outflows strong migration networks between Poland and other countries in Europe and beyond were created and Poles have established ethnic communities in many cities and towns around the world. Throughout the decades migration has also become one of the main possible livelihood strategies and it could even be argued that some groups of Polish society developed a certain 'migration habit'.

Due to the importance of emigration as a phenomenon, issues related to the international mobility of Poles have received a lot of attention from scholars studying this subject in Poland and elsewhere. The most famous study on Polish migrants is one by Thomas and Znaniecki, 'The Polish Peasant in Europe and America'. They examined Polish migrant communities of the early 20th century. This pioneering study is widely known not only in Poland, but it could be claimed that it became one of the classics in sociology.

During the communist period, research on Polish migration was mainly conducted outside the country. The government did not officially acknowledge the fact that people were leaving the country and thus most of the studies were focused on the historical perspective, mainly on migration streams that occurred prior to the Second World War. Additionally there was some research conducted on cultural
changes that were occurring in the existing Polish communities that were formed during late 19th and the early 20th century (Iglicka, 2010). After 1989, research on the international mobility of Polish nationals gained a new strength and several new centres of so-called 'Polonia Studies' were also established (Iglicka, 2010).

Most of the literature on post-1989 Polish migration tends to emphasise the economic aspect of these movements. Scholars analysing this issue from a more comparative, historical perspective, also emphasise the shift from long term to short term migration and often the ‘shuttle’ character of outward mobility in Poland (Okolski, 1994; Jazwinska and Okolski, 1996). Researchers have also, to a large extent, focused on those working in lower-skilled occupations such as male construction workers and female cleaners and housekeepers working in other European Union countries, such as Belgium, Germany or Italy. The migrants’ status in these countries was usually semi-legal. During the 1990s, EU member states were gradually opening their borders to Polish migrants. As a result, Polish citizens could enter those countries without obtaining a visa and stay there for a restricted amount of time (usually three months) but they still required a working permit in order to find legal employment. As a result some Polish migrants were travelling to these countries legally, but then, after finding employment, were working on an illegal basis.

The analysis offered by studies on Polish migrants of the 1990s and early 2000s in many cases is based around such frameworks as: the ‘push and pull’ factors model, Dual Labour Market Theory and the New Economics of Labour Migration. The literature suggests that as a result of the economic transformation in Poland some groups of people experienced worsening financial conditions and thus suffered from relative deprivation. Those who are not able to secure sufficient income in Poland left the country in order to find employment in another place. There is also a hidden assumption that people were basing their decisions about migration and about prolonging their stay abroad on two main factors: wage differentials between Poland and the host country and better labour market situation in the latter with high unemployment rates in the former. Following the New Economics of Labour Migration, the literature also often suggests that migrants are not making these decisions on an individual basis. It was rather the household that, as a unit, delegated one member of the family to go abroad and find employment in another country. In such cases the income accumulated through that employment would be used to support relatives who were left at home. Furthermore, these migrants were to some
extent located ‘outside’ the social structure of the host country because their main
goal was to improve their social standing in the place of origin. As a result they were
more willing to accept low skilled positions in the secondary sector of the receiving
country labour market. Finally, what can be observed as a result of these movements
is the formation of migrant networks that link together migrants who are already in
the destination country with potential migrants and non-migrants who stay in Poland.
Social capital accumulated in these networks makes the decision about migrating
easier and people often, due to lack of knowledge of the host country language or to
the lack of skills, have to rely on these networks in terms of securing employment,
accommodation, or obtaining information about living and working in the country of
destination.

Polish accession to the European Union was an important marking point for
Polish migrations. First of all, Poles could live in other European countries with no
time restrictions. Secondly, and more importantly, the ‘old’ member states were
gradually opening their labour markets to the citizens of the ‘new’ member states.
Currently, only Germany and Austria require Polish citizens to obtain a work permit
in order to be legally employed. These restrictions are due to be removed in May
2011. Details regarding size and directions of the post-accession out migration from
Poland will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

Ireland and Migration in a wider European context
Up until recently Ireland, similarly to Poland, was a country that could be
classified as a country of outward migration. Unlike some other EU10 countries,
due to the poor economic situation and high unemployment levels, it was attracting
immigrants neither from Europe nor from other places in the world. Generally the
literature classifies Ireland as one of the ‘new’ immigration countries (along with
Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain), as opposed to traditional immigration states such
as the US, Canada or Australia, active recruitment immigration countries, which
include Austria, Germany, Norway, Sweden or Switzerland, or post-colonial
immigration countries like Belgium, France, Netherlands and the United Kingdom
(Bauer, Lofstrom, Zimmermann, 2001; Klemencic, 2007). Traditional immigration
countries were essentially founded by immigration and also introduced more
restricted migration policies after the Second World War. For the post-colonial, and
the active recruitment European countries, immigration became important after 1945.
The restrictions were then implemented after the Oil Crisis in 1973 (Stalker, 2002). Finally, so-called new immigration countries started to receive the inflows from 1970s onwards (Bauer, Lofstrom, Zimmermann, 2001).

The positive net migration inflows that Ireland experienced in the 1970s were mostly a result of return mobility of Irish emigrants from previous decades, and of their children. The 1980s brought another economic downturn in this country and outward migration occurred again in this decade (Mac Einri and White, 2008; Corcoran, 2002). This changed by the mid 1990s as Ireland entered into a period of significant economic boom that lasted until around 2008. Unemployment rates dropped rapidly and by 2001 the unemployment rate was 3.7 per cent (Messina, 2008). Growing economy created large shortages in both, lower and higher skilled positions, thus attracting immigrants from Europe and beyond.

Polish Migrants in Ireland

As previously shown through the statistical data, Ireland was not a popular destination country for Polish migrants up until the time of the EU enlargement in 2004. In her analysis of the history of the inflow of Poles to this country, Grabowska (2003) argued that the recent movements between Poland and Ireland were started first by higher-skilled migrants, often sent to Ireland to work for multinational companies, who were then followed by those seeking employment in lower skilled occupations.

According to the Irish Central Statistics Office (CSO), Poles currently one of the largest ethnic groups in Ireland, and are only outnumbered by UK nationals. Polish nationals mainly live in the Greater Dublin Area, they are predominantly young and relatively well-educated, and many of them hold a university degree (CSO, 2007). Frequently, they work in lower skilled positions, but a substantial proportion (31 per cent) has non-manual jobs (ibid.)

Polish infrastructure in Ireland grew rapidly after 2004, which is not to suggest that none existed prior to that. In fact, there were a few small migration streams from Poland to Ireland after 1945 (Grabowska, 2003). The first one occurred directly after the Second World War when the Irish government founded around 1,000 university scholarships for Polish citizens, but it is not known how many people used this opportunity. The second one was related to the emigration of members of the Solidarity movement in the early 1980s but the size of this stream was not significant.
The third wave, that can be called 'migration of hearts' (ibid.), constituted mainly of Polish females who were coming to Ireland in order to marry Irish citizens. The final pre-accession wave started around 1997 and was directly related to the Irish economic boom and skill shortages (ibid.). In 2004 there were already two Polish organisations based in Dublin: the Irish-Polish Society and Polish Social and Cultural Centre, both established and maintained by these earlier migrants from late 1980s onwards. Their size and influence was however very limited. The real growth of Polish infrastructure started in early 2005, with a lot of Polish shops being opened, newspapers and online portals in Polish language established, and many Polish cultural events being held, mainly in Dublin but also in other cities around Ireland. In addition to that, Irish institutions, both private and public as well as NGOs started to provide information and services in Polish.

The recent economic downturn has affected Polish migrants living in Ireland. As a large proportion of them worked in unskilled and skilled jobs in the construction sector which was severely hit by the recession, many lost their jobs — mainly following the custom of 'the last one to be hired is the first one to be fired'. Despite the fact of people losing their jobs, the assumption that at the time of an economic crisis people would 'go back home' yet again did not hold true. The number of those who actually stayed in Ireland is difficult to estimate; however, as argued by Grabowska (2010: 17) the actual size of the group of re-emigrants from this country was relatively small. In fact, those who decided to remain in Ireland while unemployed had an opportunity to receive social welfare benefits, such as job seekers payments which helped them survive the difficult times.

**Overview of the Thesis**

The first two chapters will be based on existing literature and sources. I will first explore the theoretical issues related to my research. This will focus on the main migration theories, especially those commonly used for the purpose of studies on recent Polish migrants, such as the push-and-pull model, New Economics of Labour Migration, Dual Labour Market Theory and migrant networks theory. Furthermore I will discuss the approaches related to ethnic identity, and ethnic community formation, including the discussion on institutional completeness, spatial boundaries of migrant neighbourhoods and possible internal divisions within such communities.
Secondly I will present the historical context of this migration stream. This chapter will focus on the discussion of Poland as a country with a strong tradition of emigration and on how the fact that people were almost constantly leaving the country, for a variety of reasons, has been of a great importance to Polish culture and society. The historical context will also allow me to present a comparative perspective on both migration processes and the issue of ethnic community in further chapters that will focus on the analysis of the data collected for the purpose of my study. This will be followed by one chapter in which I will explain my methodological approach.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 will discuss the findings of this research. I will first focus on the analysis of migrants' motivations to leave Poland and to come to Ireland. Through individual stories I will also explore their performance on the Irish labour market. This will be discussed in the wider context of the Polish and Irish economic and political situation around the accession time. Secondly I will explore the issue of the changing motivations of Polish professionals after their settlement in Ireland.

In Chapters 5 and 6 I will argue that these young, well educated people in fact, just like other Polish migrants from the 1990s and early 2000s left Poland for economic reasons, but that despite this they were not 'target earners' whose main goal was to accumulate as much financial capital as possible and then to use this capital in the country of origin. Some also decided to stay in Ireland for other than economic reasons, claiming that their decision about remaining in this country was based on a 'lifestyle choice'.

Chapter 7 offers an analysis of the role of migrants' networks in the migration process and 'community formation'. I will first present the significance of migrant networks acting as a channel for international mobility and as one of the important 'pull factors' in this migration stream. Secondly this chapter focuses on the analysis of the role of migrant networks after an individuals' settlement in Ireland. Thirdly, I will discuss the issues related to internal boundaries within the Polish 'community' in Dublin. Finally, in Chapter 8 I will present my conclusions as well as issues for further research.
Similar to every other migration, the inflow of Polish citizens to Ireland can be placed in a broader theoretical and historical context. There have been a number of definitions, typologies, theories and approaches developed by social scientists. As argued by King (2002), the literature related to migration studies usually focuses on two broad areas: the process of migration and the product of the migration process. In the case of the former, the analysis aims to explore the phenomena of the actual movements across the borders and migrants' motivations for these movements. The latter approaches explore the issue of the migrants' situation in the host country after they settle, mainly in relation to ethnic communities’ formation and the integration of individuals and groups to the main-stream society. There are also different levels of analysis within these two approaches.

This chapter presents an overview of some classical theories of migration, mainly those that are commonly used in studies that have been conducted on contemporary and past Polish migrations around the world. Some of them are also useful for analyses of Polish nationals who came to Ireland around the time of the 2004 European Union enlargement, although, as will be further discussed in the following chapters, they also have their limitations.

The first part of this chapter will focus on definitions and typologies of migration. It will then be followed by an overview of theories related to the migration process as such, including the push-and-pull factor model, costs and benefits model, dual labour market theory, New Economics of Labour Migration as well as the migrant network approach and the concept of transnational social spaces. The third part will offer a discussion on migrant community formation and ethnic identity in the context of existing studies conducted on Polish migrants in Europe and beyond.

**Definitions and Typologies of Migration**

As in other cases in the social sciences, there is no single definition of migration which would be accepted by all sociologists. Depending on the different criteria, some movements will be considered as migrations, and some will not. In a very
general sense, migration is ‘a transfer from one place to another, from one social or political unit to another’ (Faist, 2000: 17). Some definitions of migration only include certain types of movements by using strict time-frame criteria or emphasising geographical distance.

Everest Lee (1966: 49) proposed the broadest definition of migration. According to him:

Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semipermanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, and no distinction is made between external and internal migration.

This definition, however, seems to be too broad, especially given the fact that it does not distinguish between internal and external migration. Moving between countries can be dramatically different from changing the place of residence within the national borders of one state. First of all, in the case of international mobility, the legal situation of migrants in the destination country is often much more complicated from those moving internally. The former are often required to obtain permission to work in the host state, and those who fail to do so become illegal or semi-legal. Secondly, moving to a new culture can be an issue for migrants, especially if the language of the destination country is different to their native tongue. The inflow of migrants also affects the host society.

Another problem with defining migration as a term is the length of stay. Some definitions put restrictions on how long an individual should reside in the host country in order to be classified as a migrant. Usually one needs to be a resident of the destination state for a period longer than twelve months in order to be classified as a long term migrant; in terms of short-term migrations this period is often set at three months (Kaczmareczyk, 2002). Definitions that use such fixed time frames, however, do not capture some forms of international mobility, such as circular, cross-border movements that currently receive significant attention from some scholars (ibid.). In the case of my research, those who were coming to Ireland only to work seasonally or during the summer holidays would not be classified as migrants. Thus the definition used for this study is one that, according to Romaniszyn (2003: 15), has been one of
The most commonly used and it defines international migration as: 'leaving the country of origin for a purpose other than tourism or leisure'.

The literature also often distinguishes between different types of migrants, based on their motives for movement, legal status in the country of origin, nature of the migration (forced versus voluntarily), length of stay et cetera. By using these different criteria, migrations can be divided and categorised in a number of ways. The following table illustrates one of the approaches to the migration typology:

Table 2.1: Typology of Migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Migration Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The nature of the decision about migration</td>
<td>a. Voluntary migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Forced migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reason of migration</td>
<td>a. Labour migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Family migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Matrimonial migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Political migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Religious migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f. Ethnicity migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g. Environmental migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>h. Individual migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Duration of migration</td>
<td>a. Permanent migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Temporary migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Seasonal migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Geographical distance</td>
<td>a. Internal migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. External migrations (international)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Continental migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Overseas migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Regional migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Legal character of the migrations</td>
<td>a. Legal migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Illegal migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Half-legal migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other migration types</td>
<td>a. Retirement migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Mass migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Exodus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. Conservative migrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. Innovation migrations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Slany, 1994)

The above types of migration are complementary and in most cases the individual act of migration can be characterised by at least two of the criteria, for example: labour migration can be in the same time voluntary, legal, seasonal and external. This
approach to the typology of migration can be very useful in placing the individual act of international movement in the wider context of migrations.

While such a typology can be very useful, I would argue that these should be regarded rather as an ideal type. As argued by King (2002) migration studies tend to rely to heavily on these fixed, often binary, distinctions while the actual situation can be much more complex. What especially requires our attention is the distinction between voluntary migrations and forced migrations. As presented by Richmond (1988) the actual situation of migrants can be much more complex. King (2002: 92), also argued that in many cases individuals cannot be so easily categorised. According to him there is rather a 'complex continuum of coercion and free will in migration decisions' and he distinguished between four broad categories of migrants. According to him, there are, firstly, those who move entirely out of their free will, such as Northern Europeans moving to the South purely as a lifestyle choice. Secondly, there are those ‘pushed’ by their situation in their home countries, for example low incomes and unemployment. Thirdly, there are those who are almost forced to move due their extremely bad circumstances in their places of origin, such as extreme poverty or political chaos. Finally, the individuals may have no control over their decision to move or stay, such as those who are being expelled through extradition or forced repatriation to another country. This discussion may also be applicable in case of recent Polish migrants. Those moving within the borders of the European Union and searching for better employment opportunities in countries which they can legally work in without any legal restrictions can be viewed as voluntary migrants who change their location on the basis of ‘free’ will decisions. On the other hand, what cannot be forgotten is the fact that their economic situation in the host country (in this case Poland) has actually been forcing them to leave because they have no other option to secure their livelihood. Free movement regime in such case only facilities the migration process.

In addition to all of the above, it needs to be emphasised that the literature tends to classify migrants on the basis of their initial situation during the process of migration. What is often omitted is the question of why people decide to stay in the host country, move somewhere else or go back to the country of origin. As I will argue in the following chapters, it could be the case that people move from one country to another for one reason (for example to gain financial capital), then stay in their new destination for another reason (for example a new life style that they
prefer). In other words, the situation of migrants prior to and during the move can differ from their situation after settling in the host country and residing there for longer periods of time.

**Theoretical Approach to the Processes of Migration**

Migration has been a subject of study in a variety of disciplines within the social sciences, such as sociology, economics, psychology, history and geography. As argued by Jansen (1969: 60) the spatial mobility of humans is essentially geographical, but it is also demographic since it has an influence on countries' populations; it has an economic aspect; it sometimes involves politics and, finally, it is a phenomenon that is sociological as well as a subject of social psychology. There is no single theory or approach that would be widely accepted by social scientists across all the disciplines (Massey, 1998).

As previously argued, these approaches usually tend to explore either the migration process itself or the issues related to more settled migrants. They are set on different levels and can have micro-, macro- or meso-structural focus. Those discussing migration as a process aim to explain two aspects of this phenomenon: firstly explaining why the migration occurred and secondly, how the migration streams are sustained or how they change across time and space.

*Macro-Level Approach*

The macro-level migration theory approach was at first the subject of interest for geographers. The classic and pioneering way of looking at migrations was the one proposed in 1885 by Ravenstein who developed the concept of the Laws of Migration. The following are the seven Ravenstein laws, summarised by E. Lee:

1) Migration and distance. The great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance and migrants enumerated in a certain centre of absorption will grow less, as distance from the centre increases. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce and industry.

2) Migration takes place in stages. The migration flow is directed to the great centres of industry and commerce and the residents of the areas surrounding the great centre move into it. The gap within the rural areas will be filled by people from the more remote districts.
3) Every migration stream is compensated by a counter stream
4) The inhabitants of the urban areas are less likely to migrate than those who reside in the rural areas
5) Among short-distance migrants, females dominate
6) Technology is an important factor influencing the increase of the number of migrations
7) 'Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to 'better' themselves in material respects' (ibid.: 48).

Building on Ravenstein's Laws of Migration, Lee (ibid.) proposed his classical model of 'push' and 'pull' factors. The main aim of this model is to explore and explain why migration starts in the first place. It distinguishes between the following sets of factors that have an influence on migration decisions and the process itself:

1) Factors associated with the area of origin (so-called push factors)
2) Factors associated with the area of destination (so-called pull factors)
3) Intervening obstacles
4) Personal factors

According to Lee (ibid.) decisions on migration are undertaken on the basis of a comparison of the conditions in the country of origin and in potential countries of destination. Conditions in both places may act as factors that can either attract or repel people, thus influencing their potential decisions about migration. In addition to that, there are always groups of factors that will be indifferent for the individuals. Those factors will influence potential migrants in different ways, but classes of people who will react the same to the same groups of factors can be distinguished. The decision about the migration is not usually influenced by the factors themselves, but by the individual perception of these factors, therefore the decision about the migration does not have to be completely rational. The area of origin is well known to the potential migrant, but the area of destination in most cases will always have an element of uncertainty or even mystery. It is also very important, that 'a simple
calculus of pluses and minuses does not decide the act of migration. The balance in favour of the move must be enough to overcome the natural inertia which always exists’ *(ibid.: 16)*.

Based on these observations Lee formulated the following hypotheses about international mobility:

1. The volume of migration within a given territory varies with the degree of diversity of areas including that territory which means that the higher diversity of positive and negative factors in the country of origin and the country of destination results in higher level of migrations.
2. The volume of migration varies with the diversity of people, which means that the greater the diversity among the society, the greater the number of migration is expected.
3. The volume of migration is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles.
4. Unless severe checks are imposed, both volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time.

*(ibid.: 52-54)*

Although Lee’s model may seem to be simplistic, it can be very useful for the analysis of international mobility of the individuals. What needs to be constantly emphasised is the subjective character of push and pull factors, especially with regard to the potential destination country. While being unemployed at home can be an 'objective' factor that can push one to leave and seek work abroad, the labour market conditions prior to arrival in the host country are often only based on information from media and other people. Another issue that would require further attention is the importance of the intervening obstacles. This is especially important if the potential destination country has a strict immigration policy and when the regulations, for example, require migrants to obtain a permit allowing them to work.

The second classical macro-level theory that has been of use for the purpose of my study is the Dual Labour Market Theory, developed by Michael Piore (1979). This theory not only explains why the migration occurs, but also why migrants are more likely to be employed in jobs that are located at lower levels of the host country labour market. It is based on the hypothesis that the labour markets of well-developed capitalist economies are segmented. The organization of capitalist economies creates
two sectors in the market: capital-intensive and labour-intensive, where the capital is 
the fixed factor and labour is the variable factor of the production (*ibid.*). The jobs 
within the primary sector are characterised by higher wages and higher social status, 
they are also concentrated on human capital, are stable and have good working 
conditions. Those employed within this sector can supposedly be offered further 
training and can also aspire to climbing the career ladder. Jobs in the secondary 
sector, on the other hand, are usually unskilled and lower-paid. They also have worse 
and very often unpleasant working conditions and can be characterised by inferior 
social status. Some of these jobs are also often referred to as '3-D Jobs': Dangerous, 
Dirty and Difficult. Employment within the secondary sector also indicates insecurity 
and the opportunity to move to a higher paid position or to get promoted is rare 
(Dickens, Lang 1988). Secondary sector workers are usually employed as domestic 
workers in private households, service workers in hotels and restaurants or unskilled 
workers in construction and industry. As argued by Piore (1979), migrants are more 
likely to be employed within this sector. According to him, the demand for 
immigrants can be explain by three main factors:

1) Migration is a response to general labour shortages 
2) Migration satisfies the need to fill the bottom positions in the social hierarchy 
3) Migration meets the requirements of the secondary sector of the dual labour 
market 

As people work not only to accumulate their financial capital, but also to either 
maintain or advance their social status, the recruitment of the domestic workforce for 
jobs in the secondary sector of the labour market in higher developed countries with a 
low rate of unemployment can create problems. Those jobs are usually ‘dead-end’ or 
are located at the bottom of the social hierarchy; therefore neither maintaining nor 
advancing social status is possible through them. Those jobs cannot be eliminated and 
immigration is one of the solutions to fill the positions that are not attractive for the 
native workforce. 

Immigrants are usually ‘target earners’ which means that their main goal is to 
accumulate as much financial capital as possible, especially if they perceive their 
migration as only temporary. They are also located ‘outside’ of the host country 
social structure and hierarchy and it is the community 'back home' that is used as a
point of reference by them. Thus the financial resources gained during the migration are then being used to advance social status within the sending society.

The primary sector of the labour market is dominated and institutionalised by native workers and the immigrants are likely to fail in competition mainly due to nationality and language differences. Furthermore, if the immigrant’s status in the receiving country is illegal, finding employment within the primary sector is impossible due to its formal and institutionalised character. Secondary sector jobs, on the other hand, quite often operate within the sphere of the informal economy and therefore even those whose legal status in the host country is indifferent can still find employment in these ‘bottom level’ jobs (Dickens, Lang, 1988).

As a result of the above conditions, in most highly developed countries the secondary sector of the labour market is dominated by immigrants who are usually concentrated in certain industries and occupations which are well distinguished from those held by native workers. In general, immigrants are being employed by native business owners as unskilled or low-skilled workers and are managed by native supervisors (Piore, 1979).

The hypotheses of the Dual Labour Market Theory are often incorporated into studies on Polish migrants, especially in Europe and America. As shown by both historical and contemporary research, many of those who left Poland to seek employment elsewhere were located in jobs at the bottom level of the host countries labour market, working as low-skilled construction labourers, domestic workers or in lower-level jobs in the hospitality sector. Their status in the destination country is also often illegal or semi-legal; in the latter case this meant that they could stay in the country for a certain period of time but they were not entitled to work there. I will argue, however, that some of these conditions changed after Poland joined the EU. As will be analysed later, the free movement regime provided migrants with more opportunities of finding middle-level employment in the primary sectors of the economies of those countries that gradually opened their labour markets to the New Member States nationals.

Micro-Level Approach
Macro-level approaches focus on explaining the migration process through the analysis of external structures and factors that ‘move’ people between countries. It could be argued, for example, that in Lee’s push and pull factor model migrants act as
the equivalent of a billiard ball being put into motion by the objective external factors. Micro-level theories, on the other hand, analyse migration process on individual rather than structural levels and focus on migrants’ subjective decisions about moving abroad or staying in the country of origin. One of the theories undertaking this kind of approach is Larry Sjastaad's (1962) costs-and-returns model of migration decision-making.

According to Sjastaad (*ibid.*) decisions about migration are based not only on the income differentials between the country of origin and potential country of destination. Migration should rather be regarded as an investment and therefore each individual act of international mobility will have its costs and returns. Sjaastad divides them into two categories: money and non-money costs and returns; he also distinguishes between those that are private and public. Private costs and returns are crucial for making the decision about migration. If the returns are higher than the costs, the individual is more likely to migrate. Private money costs are associated with the increase on such expenses as food, accommodation and transport. The non-money costs involve the time spent on travelling and searching for a new job; they also may involve time spent on on-the-job-training. In this approach ‘psychic’ costs are not taken into consideration. Private money returns mainly involve higher income. The non-money returns can be associated with increased efficiency in consumption and in some cases occupational upgrading. Public costs and returns are not directly linked to individual decisions about international migration. Their role in the migration process is the influence on both sending and receiving communities (Sjaastad, 1962).

Despite the different levels of analysis proposed by Lee's and Sjastaad's models, it may be useful, for the purpose of this analysis, to combine these two approaches. Slany (1995), following Bogue (1976), offers one of the ways of integrating the push-and-pull model and costs-and-returns model. The table presented below illustrates such integration. In addition to that, as Slany (1995: 45-46) points out: 'If the influence of factors included in sets B and C is stronger than the influence included in sets A and D, then (the individual) will probably make a positive decision about migrating'.
Table 2.2: Costs and Returns and Push and Pull Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision about migration</th>
<th>POTENTIAL COSTS</th>
<th>POTENTIAL RETURNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSITIVE (to migrate)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Costs of travel to the new destination</td>
<td>- Higher Wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Uncertainty related to finding new employment</td>
<td>- Possibility of taking individual preferences into account when choosing a workplace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Problems with accommodation while looking for a job</td>
<td>- Improvement of housing conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Maintenance while being out of work</td>
<td>- Higher chances of self-improvement, higher levels of aspirations, possibility of upgrading educational level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Necessity of changing one's appearance</td>
<td>- Wide possibilities of development and education for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Feeling of alienation</td>
<td>- Better quality of service and better quality of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lack of approval and appreciation in the new environment</td>
<td>- Attractive social life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Necessity of knowledge of the use of foreign language</td>
<td>- Favourable surroundings in relation to issues of ethnicity, race, religion, politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Necessity of changing previous ways of behaviour, habits, preferences etc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MIGRATION COSTS FACTORS)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(MIGRATION PULL FACTORS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE (not to migrate)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Difficulties in finding employment on the home country labour market</td>
<td>- Cheap accommodation or stable housing situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lack of employment suitable to individuals' aspirations</td>
<td>- Simple, affordable life with no need to change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Unsatisfactory political and social situation</td>
<td>- Family support, direct interactions with closest members of family and friends groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Unsatisfactory actions of various social and political institutions</td>
<td>- Living close to relatives and friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- No adherence to human rights</td>
<td>- Having a particular social status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Ethnic, social, political and religious inequalities</td>
<td>- Comforting element of keeping ones mother tongue, tradition, habits, individual 'rituals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Having 'some' work secured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(MIGRATION PUSH FACTORS)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION ABOUT NOT TO MIGRATE)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sjaastad's theory focuses on the level of the individuals and there is a hidden assumption that migrants make the decision about moving to another country entirely by themselves. These kind of theoretical approaches however can be to some extent criticized: the individuals may make these decisions on their own, but these decisions also affect their relatives. Thus, the role of families cannot be omitted. In fact, the role of family in the migration process is a main focus of another micro-level model: the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM). This theory argues that, first of all, the decisions about moving abroad are often made on the family level. Secondly such decisions are not based on the absolute income itself, but on comparisons to other members of the group.

The key term in relation to the latter is relative deprivation. People place themselves within certain reference groups and usually engage in interpersonal comparison of incomes. As a result they either experience relative satisfaction or a relative deprivation. Those who are relatively deprived are more likely to migrate in order to either change their position within the reference group or to change the reference group itself. It is also important that migration behaviour differs according to the level of individual skill – those who are higher skilled are more likely to migrate than the lower skilled workers (Stark and Bloom, 1985).

The social context is crucial for migration therefore the role of family is also important for the decision about changing location. Those decisions are usually made jointly by both the potential migrants and non-migrating members of the family. The costs and returns of migration are then shared (Stark, 1991). Family in this case can be seen from three points of view:

1) as a socialisation unit
2) as a social group and an element of social networks
3) as an economic (subsistence) unit

As a socialisation unit the family inculcates certain norms, values and rules of behaviour that may influence different parts of an individual's life, including potential decisions around international mobility. Strong family bonds can cause negative decision about migration, for example, where potential migrants will need to leave other members of the household in the country of origin. Family, as a part of the network, is a link between the individual and the larger social context. Usually family
connections can help the migrant through such networks as other family members in the destination country, especially in case of chain migration. Family is also an economic unit and most of the decisions about production, investments and consumption are made within the household. In the case of potential risks, the family creates a survival strategy and one element of the strategy would usually be nominating those who should migrate even though it might be against the individuals' will (Harbison, 1982).

Studies on post 1989 Polish migrants in Europe often deploy the New Economics of Labour Migration in their analysis. It has been argued that many of these migrants, especially those whose situation was dramatically worsened during the economic transition period in Poland used migration as a family survival strategy. In such cases one member of the family would find employment abroad and thus provide the main or even the only household income. Some were also involved in so-called 'incomplete migration', meaning that they were travelling back and forth between their places of origin and host countries and kept strong bonds with those at home (e.g. Okolski, 2001b). On the other hand, White (2009) observed a new phenomenon that occurred after Poland joined the EU. In her study on Polish migrants in the United Kingdom she argues that while migration still remained an important livelihood strategy for many households, families would no longer necessarily delegate only one person to move abroad. Instead they were moving entire households abroad - parents and children- and often both adults were active on the UK labour market. It could be further argued that as post-accession migrants, especially those living in Ireland are relatively young they often do not have families of their own. As will be shown through the analysis in the following chapters many of them left Poland on their own or with their partner and were not financially contributing to the families left back there.

Meso-Level Approach

As the macro-level theories focus on the structural factors influencing the international migrations and micro-level theories are looking at migration from the individuals' point of view, there is a severe gap between these two ways of approaching the theory of migration. One of the attempts to link those two is to concentrate on the meso-level structures, located between the macro-structures and the individuals.
One of the most influential approaches, also often used for the purpose of the analysis of contemporary and past Polish migration patterns is the concept of migrant networks which are one of various forms of social networks. The concept of social networks became very popular in 1960s and is one of the major trends in the contemporary social science discussion. Social networks are the structures and relations that are used to analyse social reality with the assumption that they are as important as the individual attributes of social actor. In other words, it could be argued that people use their friends and acquaintances to gain access to certain resources, for example to secure employment.

The term 'migrant networks' was first used by Douglas Massey in 1986, but such structures were being analysed previously. Migrant networks are defined as 'sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin' (Massey, 1993: 18). Migrant networks are important for the initiation of the international movement as well as for its perpetuation over time. They protect immigrants from the potential costs and risks associated with the migration process. At the same time they tend to isolate migrants from the native society and put pressure on maintaining connections and bonds with the country of origin. Networks have a strong influence on who is migrating and which country is a destination; they also influence the size and character of the migration stream as well as the activity of the migrants in the country of destination (Gurak, Cases 1982).

Through the membership of networks and other social institutions people gain access to social capital and then convert it into other forms of capital to improve or maintain their position in society (Bourdieu 1992; Coleman 1990). That makes the concept of social capital crucial for analysing social networks. Social capital can be defined as 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to the individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu 1986: 124-125). For Bourdieu there are three forms of capital: social, symbolic and cultural. Another approach to the social capital concept was developed by Robert Putnam who analysed why some societies are willing to cooperate and some are not by using the example of Southern and Northern Italy. According to Putnam the willingness to cooperate depends on the existence, or absence, of social capital within a certain society. He is basing the definition of social capital on the one presented by Coleman, and social
capital in this case is defined by 'features of social life-networks, norms, and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives' (Coleman 1988, Putnam 1994). It refers to the individual's norms and trust and to social connections. Both the individual and the community can benefit from those networks and norms. Social capital is a public good; it does not belong to any specific individuals but is rather an attribute of certain structures that the individual is placed in. The more social capital is being used, the more it grows and the opposite. Social capital can be accumulated through social networks, although not all types of networks are able to generate and accumulate trust. Putnam makes a distinction between vertical and horizontal networks. Communication can be free only in horizontal networks, therefore trust can be generated and social capital will be accumulated within those networks (Putnam 2000).

People use social capital accumulated in networks to achieve their objectives. In the case of migration the goal might be: finding the job and accommodation, access to the necessary information in the country of destination etc. There might be a number of reasons for the initiation of the migration process, but once the number of migrants reaches a certain level, the links between the migrants and the non-migrants make the migration of the non-migrants more probable as the networks reduce risks and costs associated with migration and they increase the expected benefits. It is not the networks themselves that are keeping the migration process alive, but the capital accumulated within them. The persistence of the migration process has its source in two kinds of capital: human and social. Human capital in this case is everything that the individual has accumulated: migration experience, knowledge, intelligence and so forth. Social capital is accumulated within the networks and the individual can access it through them.

Based on the human capital and social network theory, Massey proposed the following hypothesis about international migration:

1. Once begun, international migration tends to expand over time until network connections have diffused so widely in the sending region that all people who wish to migrate can do so without difficulty; then migration begins to decelerate
2. The size of the migratory flow between two countries is not strongly correlated to wage differentials or employment rates, because whatever
effects these variables have in promoting or inhibiting migration are progressively overshadowed by the falling costs and risks of movement stemming from the growth of migrant networks over time.

3. As international migration becomes institutionalised through the formation and elaboration of networks, it becomes progressively independent of the factors that originally caused it, be they structural or individual.

4. Governments can expect to have great difficulty controlling flows once they have begun, because the process of network formation lies largely outside their control and occurs no matter what policy regime is pursued.

5. Certain immigration policies, however, such as those intended to promote reunification between immigrants and their families abroad, work at cross-purposes with the control of immigration flows, since they reinforce migrant networks by giving members of kin networks special rights of entry.

6. As organizations develop to support, sustain and promote international movement, the international flow of migrants becomes more and more institutionalized and independent of the factors that originally caused it.

7. Governments have difficulty controlling migration flows once they have begun because the process of institutionalisation is difficult to regulate. Given the profits to be made by meeting the demand for immigrant entry, police efforts only serve to create a black market in international movement, and stricter immigration policies are met with resistance from humanitarian groups.

(Massey, 1998: 45)

A slightly different approach to this subject was undertaken by Thomas Faist who proposed the concept of Transnational Social Spaces. This concept has a dynamic character and also tries to explain not only 'why' the migrant makes the decision about leaving his country, but also what the process of migration itself looks like, its conditions and consequences. Migrants and migration networks keep international migration alive as they sustain the links between sending and receiving countries. Processes of emigration and return migration (as they both do not have to be definite) create Transnational Social Spaces, which are defined as: 'combinations of ties and
their contents, positions in networks and organisations, and networks of organisations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places' (Faist, 2000: 197). Overtime they develop a life of their own by going beyond the links created by chain migration and become a subject of intergeneration succession. There are three main forms of Transnational Social Spaces:

1) Transnational Kinship Groups, typical for the first generation of migrants who regularly send the remittances to the family to the country of origin
2) Transnational Circuits that are created by the circulation of goods, ideas and people between sending and receiving country
3) Transnational Communities that exist in between the sending and receiving countries beyond Kinship Groups

This concept also uses social capital as a crucial element of migrant networks and migration itself. Just as in the previous case, social capital accumulated in networks is being used by the migrants and can create a circular flow of people, goods and information across through the international borders (Faist, 2000).

All of the aspects of the migration process cannot be described by using only one of the theories presented above. As there is no single and comprehensive theory of migration in general, each of the theories should be used to explain different aspects of migration. In such a case micro-level theories and push-pull theory can describe the initiation of migration; using the dual labour market theory can be useful for explaining the migrant's employment situation. The existence of transnational social spaces may be important from the point of view of analysing the links between migrants and their countries of origin and their transnational practices. Finally, migrant network theory allows the exploration of the issue of sustaining the migration streams over time. The last two approaches, Institutional Completeness concept and Ethnic Minority Trap might be used to describe the situation of immigrants and their communities in the receiving country.

It also needs to be emphasised that migrant networks exist after the individuals settle in the host country. At first, the existence of these networks can help newcomers in starting their new lives in a destination country. Their role is also crucial in the process of the formation of ethnic communities. This concept is thus a
point of connection between the analyses of the process of migration and the analysis of migrants' situations after they arrive in the destination country.

**Ethnic Communities**

Ethnic communities were the subject of interest amongst sociologists almost from the beginning of the development of this discipline. One of the most well-known and widely quoted would be the study conducted in 1920s by Thomas and Znaniecki and presented in the book 'The Polish Peasant in Europe in America'. Many theories, concepts and models have been developed since then, but there is no doubt that this subject is of constant interest to social studies scholars.

The general concept of 'ethnic community' is itself very complex and involves, by definition, the analysis of at least two theoretical concepts: 'ethnicity' and a broader meaning of 'community'. Most of the sociological literature on the subject of communities typically refers to a classical Tönnies' distinction between 'Gemeinshaft' and 'Gesellshaft' (which can be broadly translated as 'Community' and 'Society') where the former is based on smaller scale solidarity, while the relations in the latter are highly impersonalised and more formalised. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Sociology the concept of community 'concerns a particularly constituted set of social relationships based on something which the participants have in common - usually a common sense of identity'. 'Social identity' is thus another concept that requires further examination with regards to the phenomenon of the ethnic communities.

The purpose of this literature review is to further analyse these three concepts and to elaborate how they can be interlinked to each other. The analysis will include an overview of definitions, concepts and theories that have been developed around such phenomena as social identity, social categories versus group identities, ethnicity and ethnic groups and categories. Furthermore, due to a recently growing debate on the non-territorial based communities that now seem to exist online, the final section of this review will elaborate on issues related to the phenomenon of 'virtual communities' and its possible relationship to ethnic communities.
Identity

The term ‘identity’ became popular in social sciences discourse in late 1950s and 1960s, especially due to the influential work of Erik Erikson. Within sociology it was also studied by those working within the symbolic interactionism paradigm, for example Erving Goffman and Peter Berger (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000: 2-3). ‘Identity’ is however a concept that is not exclusive to sociology; it is also a subject of analysis for such disciplines as psychology and social psychology. In general, theoretical frameworks on identity within sociology focus on individuals as parts of larger social structures as well as on collective identity processes and social boundaries. One of the examples of such models would be Stryker's Identity Theory. The psychological tradition on the other hand is more focused on the individual process of identification and cognitive and motivational mechanisms related to the individuals. The most well-known models within that framework would be Tajfel's Social Identity Theory and Turner's Self-Categorisation Theory (Deaux and Martin, 2003).

As was noted by Brubaker and Cooper (2000), that identity, along with such terms as ‘race’, ‘ethnicity’, and ‘class’ are at the same time categories of practice as well as categories of analysis. In other words, those terms are part of everyday individuals' experience while at the same time are also used for social analysis. In addition to that, 'identity' is also used by political entrepreneurs to 'persuade people to understand themselves, their interests, and their predicaments in a certain way, to persuade certain people that they are (for certain purposes) 'identical'” (ibid.: 2-3).

If identity is a term that is used by everyday social actors it can then become a 'common sense' term, with a danger of it being used as a ‘buzzword’ to describe 'everything and nothing’. It is therefore important to be clear on what 'identity' means and what further connotations of this concept exist.

It should not be forgotten that the term ‘identity’ is not exclusive to human beings and social world. The Oxford English Dictionary offers a basic and broad definition of identity, describing it as ‘The quality or condition of being the same in

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1 Stryker’s Identity Theory is often presented as one of the most influential models within this field of sociology. It focuses on the social structures rather than on individual cognitive and motivational mechanisms (which would be the case of Tajfel’s Social Identity Theory and Turner’s Self Categorisation Theory). Furthermore, Stryker and his colleagues proposed a model in which different levels of social structure are analysed and distinguished between large-scale, intermediate, and proximate levels (Deux and Martin, 2003)
substance, composition, nature, properties, or in particular qualities under consideration; absolute or essential sameness; oneness’.

As previously mentioned, identity is used in relation to both individuals and collectivities. In that regard, individual identity is about the notion of selfhood, self-integrity and to some extent, uniqueness of individuals. The term ‘collective identity’ on the other hand refers to the fact that certain people are similar with regard to certain characteristics (Jenkins, 2008: 102).

A correlation of the term 'identity' with the word 'identical' may suggest that the emphasis of 'identity' is on the notion of sameness and, in fact, it is the main focus of the definition presented above. On the other hand it should be emphasised that identity does go beyond the idea of sameness. Most of the theoretical frameworks on identity recognise two criteria for comparison: one of them is the idea of similarity, but it cannot exist without the notion of the difference. Thus ‘Identity’ ‘denotes the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relations with other individuals and collectivities’ (ibid.:19). Some authors go even further, stating that identity is primarily a ‘product of marking of difference and exclusion’ rather than a sign of identical and that ‘identities can function as points of identification and attachment only because of their capacity to exclude’ (Hall, 1996: 4-5). On the other hand, a critical approach to the 'difference' paradigm argues that the role of sameness cannot be neglected; for example Gilroy (1997) presents an acknowledgement of those elements of identity that can be called either 'similarity' or, what seems to be more useful in some cases, 'shared belonging'. Nevertheless one could say that identity is an equal product of both processes, identification with and differentiation from, where the latter permits the former to happen (Jenkins, 2008). It is also crucially important to acknowledge that identity, regardless of its collective or individual character, is first of all multidimensional, and secondly, what is even more important, is dynamic and constantly renegotiated through the process of identification, which can be defined as ‘systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectivities, and between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of similarity and difference’ (Jenkins, 2008:18)

Social identity as a process of differentiation relates to a contrast between 'us' and 'them' and is based on a process of boundary making. Such boundaries denote who can be classified as a member of a group or category and who is to be excluded (Barth, 1969; Jenkins, 2000 and 2008). Lamont and Molnar (2002) argued that such
boundaries should be further distinguished into social and symbolic boundaries. Symbolic boundaries are 'conceptual distinctions' by which people are separated into groups amongst which they can 'generate feelings of similarity and group membership' (Lamont and Molnar, 2002: 2). Social boundaries on the other hand are 'objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to an unequal distribution of resources (material and nonmaterial) and social opportunities' (ibid.). Authors also emphasise that both forms of boundaries are equally real and are interrelated as symbolic boundaries can be one of the conditions for the social boundaries to exist.

While bearing of all the above in mind, there is still a need to define 'identity' and 'identification for sociological purposes. I will use the minimum definition proposed by Jenkins (2008) who describes three main characteristics of those two terms, and they are as follows:

1) 'Identity' denotes the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relations with other individuals and collectivities.
2) 'Identification' is the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectivities, and between individuals and collectivities, of relationships of similarity and difference.
3) Taken - as they can only be - together, similarity and difference are the dynamic principles of identification, and are at the heart of the human world.

(Jenkins, 2008: 18)

Another important aspect related to identification is its either internal or external mode, where the former is internally orientated and called self- or group-identification, while the latter has an external character and should rather be called categorisation of others (Jenkins, 2000: 8). In following Foucault (1980), Jenkins argued that the distinction between them has an epistemological character and can be explained as follows:

Groups are collectivities that are known as such by their members. 'Pure' categories, unrecognized by their members, come to be known during practices of social analysis or other genres of power/knowledge.

(Jenkins, 2000: 8)
Categories can be externally designated by those who define them. There is however a strong correlation between the process of social categorisation and the process of group identification. While group identification is internally and collectively agreed by the group members, social categorisation can have a strong influence on it as a group response to categorisation is, in fact, a part of the identification process (Jenkins, 2008).

Finally, it needs to be emphasised that identity is first of all multi-dimensional and not fixed. Social identities, on both the individual and collective level, are strongly contextual and situational (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000:14). In other words, depending on context and situation some aspects or dimensions of identity become central or more important than others. There can also be a distinction drawn between relational and categorical modes of the identification process, where the former means identifying oneself 'by position to a relational web' while the rather latter is related to individuals identifying themselves 'by membership in class of persons sharing some categorical attribute' (ibid.: 15).

The contextual character of identity was further explored by Deux and Martin (2003). By using two psychological models (Tajfel's Social Identification Theory and Turner's Social Categorisation Theory) and one sociological model (Stryker's Identification Theory) they try to integrate these two different approaches to the concept of identity. The result of this attempt is an integrative model of identity in context. Two main contexts are taken into account in this analysis: firstly, the category as a context and secondly, interpersonal networks as a context. People use social categories to identify themselves in relation to such aspects as ethnicity, religion or race. At the same time, identity is shaped through social interaction within individuals' social networks that are formed amongst those who share some similar characteristics. Linking social categories with social networks the authors argue that:

A major effect of social categories [...] is that they shape people's participation in everyday networks by creating opportunities to form relationships with similar others. For example, ethnic membership typically allows one to participate in an ethnic community, and extends to its members a specific set of customs, privileges, and skills (such as language).
This integrated model can be very useful when analysing individual and group identities for main two reasons: firstly, it brings together psychological and sociological approaches. Secondly, by emphasising the contextual aspects of the identification process, it links the concept of identity with social network models, which can then be further correlated with such concepts as social and cultural capital.

*Ethnicity as one aspect of Identity*

Ethnicity is usually treated as one of the crucial elements of the identity of an individual or a collectivity. The debate around the nature of ethnicity is widely spread across such disciplines as history, political science and sociology, amongst which many approaches and theories have been already elaborated. However, as noted by some scholars, many of the dilemmas and problems related to that subject still remain unsolved and some of them concern questions about ethnicity as a bonding factor, relations between culture and ethnicity or solidarity amongst members of ethnic group (see Stanek 2004; Babinski 1997).

Different approaches towards ethnicity can be classified in various ways. One such typology was offered by Isajiw (1993) who describes four different ways of looking at ethnicity, depending on our understanding of how ethnicity can be perceived as:

1) a primordial phenomenon: ethnicity is seen as something given, inherited and fixed.

2) an epiphenomenon: ethnicity is a product of an uneven economy, in which peripheral sectors of the economic structure of a society consists of marginal jobs dominated by migrants who develop their own solidarity.

3) a situational phenomenon, based on rational choice theory: ethnicity is only relevant in some social situations and is also a group option.

4) a purely subjective phenomenon that contradicts the approach in which ethnicity is given; ethnicity in that case is subjective to a perception of 'us' and 'them'.

Depending on the approach towards ethnicity, this concept can be defined in a variety of ways.
Most of the definitions of ethnicity emphasise such elements as culture, language, religion, appearance or ancestry (e.g. Nagel 1994; Isajiw, 1993, Stanek, 2004). The idea of 'distinct culture' can indeed be seen as crucial. It does not have to be necessarily a set of everyday customs. As pointed by Isajiw (1993: 5):

It refers to a unique historical group experience. Culture is in essence a system of encoding such experience into a set of symbolic patterns. It does not matter how different the elements of one culture are from another culture. A distinct culture is a manifestation of a group's distinct historical experience. Its product is a sense of unique peoplehood.

As pointed out by Stanek (2004), ethnicity can be seen as one of the factors of social solidarity. He distinguishes three possible dimensions of ethnic ties and these are (a) ethnicity as a natural/primordial tie, (b) ethnicity as a tie that is a result of shared values, and (c) ethnicity as an 'imagined' phenomena. In the first dimension Stanek refers to Rybicki's typology of social ties, where three types of ties can be identified: ties of primordiality, ties of order, and ties of association (Rybicki, 1979). Ties of primordiality are, in this case, 'given' to an individual by the fact of being born in a certain environment. Ties of order on the other hand are those that are created by society and can be further related to social structure and the existence of social classes. Finally, ties of association are based on voluntary membership. Ethnic ties, according to Stanek, can be characterised as natural/primordial as membership in a certain ethnic group is determined by the fact of being born and socialised within that group. On the other hand, Stanek argues, ethnicity can bond people together on the basis of shared values. In that case there is an assumption that members of one ethnic group would have common interests and those interests would lead to a collective action. Thus ethnicity can be seen as a community. In the third dimension Stanek refers to what Anderson (1983) calls 'imagined communities' where not all of the members of one community know each other but there is still a notion of a communion amongst them. In that case ethnic ties would be based on that notion and would be related to a certain set of symbols (Stanek, 2004).

Such a view of ethnicity could probably be classified as the first (ethnicity as a primordial phenomenon) in Isajiw's typology. The criticism of this model would be
that it does not fully acknowledge situational or contextual aspects of ethnic identity and is treating ethnicity as given and fixed.

A very useful concept related to ethnic and national identities was proposed by Kloskowska (2001). In her analysis of national identities in Poland she offers a new view of the term 'borderland', traditionally understood as a territory between more than one state or regions, by relating it to a territory that is shared by more than one co-existing ethnic or national group. In her understanding ‘borderland’ has socio-psychological and psychological dimension and can be used on both micro and macro level. The former can be used for the analysis of an individual’s socialisation into a certain culture, while the latter relates to the interaction between two or more different ethnic groups (Tornquist-Plewa, 2007). On the micro level Kloskowska introduces ‘cultural valence’. Cultural valence can refer to one’s competence in a certain culture or cultures and does not only imply that the individual has acquired core elements of those cultures, but also means that the individual recognises those elements as a part of identity (Kloskowska, 2001, Tornquist-Plewa, 2007). In her study, Kloskowska cross-referenced individuals’ national identities and individuals’ cultural valence and proposed a two-dimensional model with the four following types of national identification (a) integral, (b) twofold (double), (c) uncertain, or (d) cosmopolitan, and further four types of cultural valence: (a) univalent cultural valence, (b) bivalent cultural valence, (c) ambivalent cultural valence, and (c) polyvalent cultural valence. With the assumption that combining ambivalent cultural valence with integral national identification and univalent cultural valence with cosmopolitan national identity, Kloskowska identified fourteen different types of the relation between those two dimensions. This model seems to be very interesting as it shows how complicated and complex those phenomena are, and can be extremely useful when studying the second generation of migrants. However, it can also be applied to those who are members of the first generation, especially when taking into the account the cultural valance dimension.

Bearing in mind how complex and complicated the concept of ethnicity is, it is worth mentioning one more problematic issue that very often occurs in the literature on that subject. This is that in many cases scholars are talking about ‘race and ethnicity' without making the distinction between those two (e.g. Rex, 1968; Goulbourne, 2001). It is important to emphasise, that although those two can be very often related, in many cases they are significantly different. According to Sword
(1996:5) race and ethnicity should be analytically separated due to a fact that in case of race phenotypical markers, such as different skin colour, often play a significant role, while they may be absent from situations related to ethnic groups.

**Ethnic Group**

Another question arises around the term ‘Ethnic Group’. As with ethnicity, there is no definition of ethnic group that would be widely agreed upon in the social sciences. Mac Iver and Page (1959: 387), for example, offered the following definition of an ethnic group:

> An ethnic group is generally conceived to be one whose members share a distinctive social and cultural tradition maintained within the group from generation to generation, whether as part of a more complex society or in isolation. The ethnic group then is a non-voluntary, interest-conscious unity, generally without formal organization and relatively unlimited in size, within which the members are linked together by both primary and secondary relationships.

Such a definition would definitely raise a discussion nowadays, especially with regard to its second part, where the authors are claiming firstly that the membership in an ethnic group is non-voluntary and secondly that an ethnic group is ‘generally without formal organization’. As it was argued by Sword (1996), this would rather be a definition of ethnic *category* rather than ethnic *group*. The difference between the two of them would be that the former does not require consciousness and any forms of collective action, while the latter does.

The distinction between ethnic group and ethnic category could be further related to Marx’s distinction between ‘class in itself and ‘a class for itself’, or to what Bourdieu calls ‘practical group’ and institute group’ (Bourdieu, 1991: 130ff). Jenkins (2000) offers another analytical distinction between ‘category in itself and ‘group for itself’, where the former would be those collectivities which are categorised and defined by others, while the latter are collectivities whose members themselves define their membership in such collectivities.

According to Barth (1996:75) the term ‘ethnic group’ is usually used in social anthropology in relation to a certain population which:
1) Is largely biologically self-perpetuating
2) Shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms
3) Makes up a field of communication and interaction
4) Has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order

Ethnicity and ethnic groups also have their objective and subjective dimension. That distinction was described by Isajiw (1993: 5) as follows:

Objective aspects are those which can be observed as facts in the existence of institutions, including that of kinship and descent and in overt behaviour patterns of individuals. The subjective dimension refer to attitudes, values and preconceptions whose meaning has to be interpreted in the context of the process of communication

In the case of ethnic groups, the objective dimensions are those related to the existence of descendants and ancestors, ethnic institutions, customs and rituals (ibid.: 6). Subjective dimensions on the other hand are those related to internal and external group boundaries.

Isajiw (1993) offers a useful classification of different ethnic groups. Using several criteria, he distinguishes between the following:

1) Primary and secondary ethnic groups, where the former are those who exist in a place in which they were formed (for example, Germans in Germany), while in the case of the latter place of origin and place in which they currently exist differ.
2) Folk-community and nationality-community groups, where folk community members usually have a peasant background, social relations are based on kinship and do not have a developed group history as a form of legacy. National community groups on the other hand have a high level of cultural self-awareness and its members differ from a social status point of view. Historically speaking, many of the former folk groups did transform into nationality groups.
3) Majority and minority ethnic groups, where the 'majority' and 'minority' relates to the notion of power rather than overall numbers.

4) ‘Young' and 'old' ethnic groups, where the 'young' ethnic groups would be mainly made up of the first generation of immigrants, while the 'old' groups would have a larger number of second, third, or further generations.

Spatial Boundaries of Ethnic Communities

Spatial boundaries are another form of drawing distinctions between ethnic groups. Migrants and members of ethnic groups very often also establish distinctive settlements in the host countries and there have been a number of studies conducted on that issue, especially in the United States. Such neighbourhoods were studied since the 1920s and were started by scholars from the Chicago School of Sociology and were then followed by more recent research (e.g. Park, 1915; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1927, Allen and Turner, 1996, Massey, 1985).

In relation to ethnic neighbourhoods, Logan et al. (2002) proposed three ideal types of such forms of settlement which are: immigrant enclaves, immigrant communities and minority ghettos. Immigrant enclaves are the neighbourhoods that can be characterised as less desirable and their existence is to some extent economically driven: people who have recently entered the country of destination usually have less market resources and are also ethnically bounded by social and cultural capital. Those who have more financial resources and 'main-stream' jobs (mostly immigrants with more experience and those who represent second-generation migrants) try to avoid ethnic zones. Immigrant communities on the other hand are forms of settlement that are more voluntary and their inhabitants are those who have chosen to live there, even though they have more financial capital. Finally, minority ghettos are formed through a process of social exclusion and often are referred to as a form of ‘residential apartheid’ (Massey and Denton, 1993).

Traditional Polish neighbourhoods, such as those formed in the United States in late 19th and early 20th century, were mostly created around the local parish. Many of them still exist, even though the role of church would nowadays be far less significant than it was decades before (Babinski, 2002; Rokicki, 1992). It may, however, be different in the case of Polish migrants in Ireland: as this migration stream does not have an established tradition, newly arrived migrants do not necessarily follow the patterns of such settlement.
Another concept that can be linked to the migrant network theory is the concept of *Institutional Completeness*, proposed by Roland Breton (1966). Within every ethnic community there are always informal networks between immigrants themselves and also between immigrants and the non-migrants in the countries of origin. Usually at the beginning of the ethnic minority formation in the receiving country these networks are dominant but in most cases, once the community grows, it also creates formal networks beyond them. It is the community itself that builds different sorts of institutions and organisations that provide service for its members. The nature of such institutions varies – they might have a religious, educational, professional or recreational character.

Breton sees the institutional completeness as a continuum and the degree of completeness varies depending on the community. Those ethnic communities that are based only on informal, personal networks can be placed on the extreme of this continuum. The institutional completeness will be on its other extreme ‘whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as education, work, food and clothing, medical care or social assistance’ (Breton, 1964: 194).

Good examples of extreme institutional completeness can be found within the ‘ethnic ghettos’ in the USA. Polish migrants to the USA created a number of such ethnic communities in various cities from 19th century onwards. Two of those, still existing nowadays, are almost “ideal types” of the institutional completeness: ‘Jackowo’ in Chicago and Green Point in Brooklyn, NY. Ethnic communities based in these neighbourhoods can provide almost every service to its members. Without needing to use a language other than Polish or going outside the community, every immigrant can find a job, get legal, financial or medical assistance, satisfy food and clothing needs, listen to the Polish radio or even watch local Polish television. (Rokicki, 1992)

Breton sees the formation of institutional completeness as a positive process for immigrants. It is positive on one side as existing networks and institutional completeness make the migration process smoother and definitely help newcomers to adjust to the receiving country conditions. On the other hand strong ethnic networks may isolate migrants from the host society and thus hinder the integration process (Gurak and Cases, 1982). It also significantly decreases risks connected to the
migration itself, especially if the potential immigrant does not know the language of
the destination country. On the other hand though, there is a risk of the so-called
"ethnic mobility trap". Norbert F. Wiley (1967) has distinguished four different types
of mobility traps that are preventing individuals from moving up the social ladder: (1)
The "age grade trap", (2) The "overspecialisation trap", (3) The "localite trap" and (4)
The minority trap. From the ethnic minority point of view it should be the last one
that would be analysed. In this case, instead of using the metaphor of social ladder,
Wiley proposes to look at the opportunity system as a tree, where mobility will be
seen as tree climbing. According to him 'The limbs are like strata, leading gently
upward but primarily outward and away from all chance of serious ascent. Normally
the climber who wants to hit the top will avoid the limbs as much as possible and
concentrate on the trunk' (Wiley, 1967: 148). If the ethnic group is strong and
visible, choosing a career within the ethnic community might be seen as a good
opportunity for the most ambitious individuals. On the other hand such mobility has
limited opportunities as in fact it is 'climbing on the limb'. There is also a danger that
choosing the ethnic carrier can be irreversible as it makes the bonds and networks
with the community much stronger for the individual. It also has a low ceiling and it
might prevent the individual from integration to the mainstream, which will result in
decreased chances to 'go outside' the community. At the same time, choosing the
career outside of the community usually means that 'warmth' of the community will
be lost. Yet again – the stronger the ethnic group is and the more it is institutionalised,
the higher is the danger of the trap.

**Virtual Communities**

The concept of community is traditionally related to a group of individuals who live
in close spatial proximity. Thus the discussion about 'ethnic communities' usually
implies the above notion of ethnic neighbourhoods, enclaves or ghettos. Space and
location becomes, however, less significant in the debate on social communities and a
stronger emphasis is now put on communities as social networks; the same could be
applied to contemporary migrant communities (Martin, 2004; Wellman, Gulia, 1999;
Jacobsen, 2002). This can be further related to what Anderson calls 'imagined
community' (Anderson, 1983). This conceptual change in the theoretical framework
on communities allows us to take into the account not only groups of people who are
spatially bounded, but also those who do not necessarily share exactly the same
geographical location; rather they share what is called ‘cyberspace’ and are involved in 'virtual communities' or 'cybercommunities'. Such communities can be defined as:

The social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people carry on those public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace’
(Rheingold, 1993:5)

As noted by Martin (2004:6) solidarity and the ‘we’-feeling amongst members of virtual communities could be based on shared interests rather than on shared social characteristics (such as gender or social status). He also argues that due to the nature of such communities identity amongst their members becomes more fluid. On the other hand it does not mean that virtual communities can be characterised by equality, for example it seems to be the case that gender plays an important role in those virtual interactions.

Virtual communities can have different forms. One of the typologies of virtual communities, proposed by Porter (2004), is based on the following two factors: firstly, who initiated the community, and secondly, what is the general relationship orientation of the community. By taking those into a consideration, virtual communities can be categorised as shown in the following model:

### Chart 2.1: Virtual Communities

Source: Porter (2004:5)

As previously mentioned, most of the traditional literature takes into account the territorial aspect of community formation and so does the literature on ethnic
communities. Currently, however, there is a growing need for research on how migrants are engaging themselves with virtual communities of various forms. Hiller and Franz (2004) argue that in the case of migrants, a place of origin becomes a shared interest and thus can be a base for what Martin calls the 'we'-feeling. Former place of residence is then one of the elements of common identity. In their study Hiller and Franz distinguish between three categories of migrants: pre-migrants, post-migrants and settled migrants. Pre-migrants are using the Internet to seek information, make contacts and search for advice to facilitate relocation. For post-migrants the Internet is a tool for both integration with a new community and for staying in touch with the place of origin. Settled migrants’ usage of the Internet is very often nostalgia-driven and is mostly focused on seeking the reconnection with home. Authors also define three types of relationships online and these are new ties, old ties and lost ties. New ties are predominantly important for pre-migrants for a decision about relocating and for the mechanisms of adjustments for the post-migrants. Finally, settled migrants establish new ties with those with whom they share a 'common heritage'. In their research Hiller and Franz found very little evidence on online relationships being transformed into real-time relationships. This, however, does not necessarily have to be the case of all such communities: some scholars argue that those 'new' communities can have a mixed character of online and offline interactions and that very often those engaged in virtual communities organise face-to-face meetings themselves (e.g. Rheingold, 2000; Wellman et al., 2001).

Final Remarks: Ethnic Groups or Ethnic Categories?
Theoretical frameworks on ethnic groups and communities very often seem to treat such groups as more or less homogeneous while very often neglecting that those communities can also establish internal boundaries within themselves. Those boundaries can be underpinned by regional, cultural or generational differences. Studies on Polish migrants in such countries as the United Kingdom or United States have shown that such differences have a major influence on interactions within those communities. One of the examples is Erdmans’ (1995) study on Polish migrants in Chicago in which she shows that while second and third generation of migrants still share the same social spaces with those who are the new arrivals, there are large dissimilarities of values and interest between those groups and such dissimilarities very often lead to an internal conflict. Also, a study of Polish migrants in London that
has been recently conducted by the Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism shows how important are the differences related to generation and class. First of all, there is a notion of a value conflict between the post-accession migrants and post-Second World War migrants (Garapich, 2006). Furthermore, even though interviewees were defining themselves as Polish and were attaching themselves to a Polish identity, criticism towards fellow Poles very often featured in the interviews (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2006). As the authors of the report emphasise:

[... ] ethnicity is an ambiguous concept since it can be both a resource for accessing capital, networks and information and a source of disappointment, vulnerability and social class transgression. Through ethnic categorizing by the outsiders, individualistic migrants are being associated with people they would rather avoid contact with. Hence the horizontal ties of ethnicity are contested and replaced by individually constructed vertical class divisions between migrants, which are shaped by different occupational niches in London and the influence of different educational and class backgrounds in Poland.

( ibid.: 15)

Hence it is crucial to emphasise that ethnicity is only one of the dimensions of identity (along with, for example, such dimensions as class, gender or generation), regardless of its individual or collective character. Attitudes towards ethnicity are individualised and situational ( ibid.). In addition to that, one should also be aware about the tension between groupopism and a multi-dimensional approachach, which is further related to methodological individualism as opposed to methodological holism. Considering all of the above, the fundamental question would be whether, when looking at different ethnic groups we can really call them 'groups' or 'communities'? Or should we rather consider them as 'ethnic categories' bearing in mind that categories still are an important part of individuals' and collective identities? The answer to that question could be a distinction made by Rosinska-Kordasiewicz (2005). When describing her own situation as a researcher in a study on Polish low skilled migrants in Italy, she distinguished between a situation when people are members of the same ethnic (or cultural) community while at the same time being
members of different social communities. In such cases migrants who share the same place of origin could still be treated as 'members of the ethnic group' but it would not necessarily mean that there no internal social divisions within the group and those should be further studied.

Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to present the main theories related to both the migration process as such and to the issue of ethnic community formation. Some of these theories may also be useful to analyse the phenomenon of post-2004 migrations from Poland, including those between Poland and Ireland. Nevertheless, as it will be further argued in following chapters, these theories also have their limitations, especially due to the new circumstances faced by Polish migrants in Ireland. First of all, their legal situation in this country differs from many other migrants coming to Western Europe: they no longer need a working permit in order to undertake employment in Ireland and thus they can move freely throughout the labour market. For the same reason those, who would not normally be able to obtain permission to work (i.e. lower skilled or middle-level professionals) do not have to rely on finding jobs in the informal sectors of the Irish economy. Secondly, as it will be presented through the data, while they left Poland as economic migrants, they sometimes stayed in Ireland for other than financial reasons. Thirdly, even those who were professionals tended to rely on their ethnic rather than occupational networks thus following patterns of the unskilled Polish migrants from the transformation period. I finally argue that while some Polish professionals stay involved in their ethnic networks even after settling down in Ireland, the issue of the existence of a homogenous 'Polish community' in this country is, to a certain extent, problematic and there are internal divisions created by these professionals within Polish groups.

In addition to the theoretical framework, what the historical context of the recent migration from Poland to Ireland should also be taken into account. As presented in Chapter 3, over many decades Polish nationals developed particular migration habits, and it could be argued that as a result of a strong and long-established emigration tradition, international mobility has became one of the most important survival strategies for many Polish families, especially during times of economic hardship.
CHAPTER 3: POLISH MIGRANTS THROUGHOUT HISTORY

The issue of migration has been present in Polish society for over one and a half centuries. Currently almost 20 million people in over 90 countries around the world claim to have Polish ancestors (Pacyga, 2005: 254). Those with some kind of Polish roots who live outside Poland are often referred to as members of the 'Polish diaspora'. There are several categories of people who are usually accounted as being part of this group. Firstly, there are those who do not currently live in Poland but who (or whose ancestors) never left their homeland. The fact that they are residents of another national unit was caused by numerous shifts of borders in this part of Europe over the centuries. Secondly, there are those who were born outside of Poland, but who have Polish roots. These people are also sometimes defined as 'Polonia' along with those who the literature refers to as 'emigration', namely the first generation of Polish migrants who were born in Poland and moved to another country at some stage of their lives (Tycinski, 2002).

It could be argued that the existence of the Polish Diaspora is one of the crucial elements of Polish culture. First of all, Polish history often emphasise the importance of those who left Poland for political reasons during the Partitions and during the Communist period. They are mainly perceived as heroes who could not stay in the country but who fought for its freedom while being abroad. Writers and poets who were forbidden to work or to be published in Poland often did so in other countries like France, the United Kingdom or the United States. The phenomenon of Poles living in other countries was quite significant for those who stayed as for the majority of the last two centuries Poland was either occupied or controlled by one of the stronger neighbouring countries. As argued by Iglicka (2005: 53):

In many periods Polish emigrants helped to maintain national identity among Poles as e.g. elite migration called 'Big Emigration' after the November appraisal in 1830 or emigration during the Second World War which fruited in creation of a Polish government on exile in the United Kingdom. So, to some extent and idealistic portrayal of Polish migrants as martyrs fighting
for, maintaining and spreading Polishness all over the world existed in the society and it has its consequences when communism collapsed.

Over the centuries Poland also experienced large waves of outward economic migration. As argued by Kaczmarczyk and Tyrowicz (2007: 4): ‘Since at least the mid 19th century, labour migration has played a dominant role arising from the desire to improve living conditions of even just to achieve the basics for existence’. There is also an archetypical of those travelling overseas for 'bread and better future' in the 19th century, involving peasants who could not live off their lands, that is strongly present in Polish culture (Reczynska, 1996). Contemporary economic emigration from Poland, on the other hand, is slightly more controversial. As the literature shows, they are sometimes perceived by public opinion and by politicians as ‘traitors’ (Garapich, 2008). Young, well educated people who move out of Poland are often accused of not 'paying back the country' for the free schooling that they received.

There has also been a discussion of brain drain and brain waste, with the emphasis on those who have university degrees but then go abroad and work in low-skilled jobs. These discussions were especially vivid around the accession times when a lot of young people left the country and migrated mainly to the United Kingdom and to Ireland.

Not only are the ‘moral’ aspects of the international mobility of Poles important for Polish society. What needs to be emphasised is the fact that over the decades, as a result of these movements, significant migration networks between those in Poland and those in other countries were created. It is even commonly said that, especially in those parts of Poland that have strong tradition of emigration, ‘everybody has somebody living abroad’. As argued by Morawska (2001: 58):

It is estimated that every third Polish family today has either relatives or acquaintances in the West among descendants of more than 2.5 million of turn-of-the-last-century Polish emigrants to Western Europe and North America, one-half million post-World War II refugees who remained in the West after the Soviet occupation of Poland, and nearly 1 million émigrés who left between 1960 and 1990. In some towns and villages nearly every resident has a relative in Chicago.
The fact of having family members or acquaintances in another state often made it easier for people to move to those countries temporarily or permanently as they could receive help and support after the arrival. Migration has also become one of the main possible livelihood strategies and it could even been argued that some groups of Polish society developed a certain 'migration habit'.

What also needs to be emphasised is that it is not only the economic factors or access to social networks in destination countries that have been playing an important role in migration streams from Poland over the decades. First of all, emigration policies of different Polish governments influenced the size and character of these streams, especially during the communism period, when the movements across the boards were restricted. Secondly, changing immigration policies by nation-states should be considered, especially if a potential host country has restrictive policies in relation to the inflow of foreign nationals. On the contrary, as it will be further discussed in this chapter, freedom of movement between ‘New’ and ‘Old’ EU countries had a major role in shaping the size and the directions of migration streams from Poland after May 2004.

First significant migration streams from Polish territories started during the period of partitions and where caused by political reasons. After the fall of the November Appraisal in 1830 around 10,000 exiles left Poland and settled mostly in France, with smaller groups in countries like the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany and the United States (Lerski, 1996). In contrast, the second half of the 19th century, can be characterised by a large outflow of economic migrants. This process continued into the early 20th century, until the Second World War. This part of the history of Polish migrations is extremely important, as this was then when migrant networks started to be formed; some of these connections were sustained over decades and exist up until now. Furthermore, from that time onwards, migration patterns were established and international mobility became one of the possible livelihood strategies.

The communist government established after 1945 made several attempts to prevent Polish nationals from travelling abroad. In fact the official propaganda did not acknowledge emigration as a phenomenon present in Poland at that time. Policies introduced between 1945 and 1989 in relation to foreign migration were repressive and aimed to turn Poland into an isolationist country. Nevertheless, after the initial
period of the closure of Polish borders, people started to leave the country again for both political and economic reasons.

The collapse of the Iron Curtain in 1989 brought several changes to Polish migration. The borders were no longer closed and Western European countries were gradually waving visa restrictions on Polish nationals. Systemic transition, on the other hand, negatively affected the economic situation of some groups of Polish, thus creating a pool of potential migrants who travelled abroad and sought employment in other countries. Finally, Polish accession to the European Union was an important marking point for Polish migrations as Poles gradually gained the access to other EU member states labour markets.

This chapter will present the inflow of Polish migrants to Ireland in a wider historical context. Starting with the economic migrants of the 19th century I will discuss how migration patterns were established and how they evolved over time. I will then present the issue of current Polish migrations, with the emphasis on pre- and post-accession migrants in other European countries.

Most of the statistics used in this chapter are only estimates as for a variety of reasons it is not possible to have the exact numbers of Poles living abroad in past and present. The mass emigration in the late 18th and early 19th century took place during the time when Poland did not exist on the map and was occupied and divided between Prussia, Russia and Austria. The occupying countries did not usually register emigrants and those registering in the destination country were sometimes asked about the nationality rather than ethnicity. During the communist period the official statistics only kept the record of those who declared the permanent emigration by deregistering themselves from their Polish address. As a result, temporary migrants were not accounted for by the government. This situation continued after 1989 and the concept of emigration as a 'declared change of permanent residence' remained the same. During the last two decades most of the studies tend to rely on the Polish equivalent of Labour Force Survey and Census data as these two sources do include people who are residing outside of the country only for relatively short period of time.

**Emigration from Poland before the Second World War. Creation of Migration Networks and Patterns**

Until the 1850s the international economic mobility of Poles was not significant as those who were leaving Polish lands did so due to political reasons and were exiles
who were forced to go abroad in order to avoid prosecution from the occupiers. Nevertheless, a variety of economic and demographic factors caused mass population outflow from these lands around the 1860s, a few decades later than in other European countries.

The large mass economic migration outflows from Poland were mainly caused by the emancipation of Polish peasants. Depending on the partition this process took place between 1850 and 1870. Another important factor was the demographic boom that occurred in the second half of the 19th century. It resulted in the excessive subdivision of land, leaving peasants with farms too small to provide the income sufficient enough to live. Therefore they were 'forced' to leave their homelands and seek work elsewhere. One of the alternatives was to find employment in the industry sector in one of the bigger cities. However, compared to the Western European countries, all three partitions of Poland were left behind in the industrialisation process and only a few per cent of the population from rural areas could be absorbed by the industrial centres. As a result of all of the above factors, a new group in Polish society was formed: the 'rural proletariat', which consisted of those who were either landless or very poor peasants. These people had often no other choice but to go abroad either temporarily or permanently and seek employment opportunities elsewhere (Zubrzycki, 1953; Dybowski, 1937).

The emancipation of Polish peasants was first introduced by the occupiers in the Prussia partition. The new rules were implemented there in 1848 and the first mass outflow of Polish people took place from that partition. There were two major destination countries that these migrants were going to: Germany (especially the North-West part of the country and its industrial centres) and the United States of America. The estimated number of those who moved to former between the 1891 and 1914 was 1,200,000 (Zubrzycki, 1953). In the case of the latter, the total number that left Prussian partition to settle in the United States during the period of 1840 and 1910 was between 500,000 and 600,000. In 1854 the first documented organised group left Silesia and established the very first Polish ethnic village in the United States: Panna Maria in Texas. They were lead by a Polish catholic priest, Leopold Moczygemba, who was sent to do missionary work amongst German migrants in Texas and who, after observing the economic development in the New World, decided that his family and friends from the home village in the Opole region should also have the opportunity to live in much better, advanced conditions. Encouraged by
his letters, first emigrants from that region started to come to the United States around 1954 and formed Panna Maria (Baker, 2004). The existence of this village in Texas has a significant symbolic meaning for the Polish Diaspora in the United States and beyond. Nevertheless, although a number of other villages were established during the second half of the 19th century, most of the Polish immigrants from that outflow wave settled down in larger industrial centres, mainly on the East Coast, Middle West and the Pennsylvania region.

Two other partitions, Russian (also referred to as the Congress Kingdom) and Austrian partition (also known as Galicja) started to experience large population outflows during the 1880s. In this case most of the permanent migrants left to the United States and according to different sources the total number of immigrants who came to this country from Polish lands before the First World War is estimated between 1.5 million and 2 million people (Brozek, 1984; Rokicki, 1992). The other popular destination countries for those who were leaving homelands permanently were South American countries like Argentina and Brazil. The outflow of Poles to Brazil is often referred to as ‘Brazilian Fevers’ and was mainly caused by widespread rumours about the Brazilian queen giving free land to all new immigrants. The first ‘Fever’ took place around 1890 and was then followed by the ‘Second Brazilian Fever’ after 1909 (Pietraszek, 1974). Both ‘Fevers’ attracted mainly peasants and were quite large in terms of numbers: it has been estimated that at the early 20th century there were around between 95,000 and 145,000 Poles living in this country (ibid.: 6).

Besides the permanent migration of Poles, the residents of all three partitions were also migrating temporarily and participated in seasonal labour movements. In this case the most popular destination country was Prussia. In late 19th century the Prussian government introduced restrictive immigration laws that only allowed temporary labour migrants into their country. Foreign workers were allowed to stay in Prussia only during the summer and those prolonging their stay were facing deportation. Many Poles, however, used the opportunity to improve their households’ incomes by working in Prussia either in agriculture or industry (Bade, 1995). It has been estimated that only from the Galicia region there were around 2 million seasonal labourers in this country within the period between 1896 and 1914 (Gronowski, 1984).
After the First World War labour migration from Poland continued although some patterns changed. The rural areas of Poland were still overpopulated and industry was still not developed enough to absorb all of those who needed work and thus prevent large scale unemployment. Emigration remained one of the main survival strategy and just like in the case of migrants from the late 19th and the early 20th century it mainly attracted those from the poorest backgrounds.

Although the population outflow was still large, the destination countries changed and the United States of America was often no longer the first choice due to the restrictive immigration policies introduced in this country after the war. In 1921 the US Congress implemented a new law that significantly reduced the immigration to that country. Since then the immigration to this country was based on a so-called 'quota system'. According to this regulation the inward migration was restricted to 3 per cent of the population from the 1910 United States national census records, meaning that the total number of Poles that could enter the United States each year could not exceed the 3 per cent of the number of Poles living in that country in 1910. These regulations were further limited in 1924: the percentage of new immigrants was lowered to 2 per cent and the basis for the calculation was now the census from 1890. As a result the outflow from Poland to the United States drastically decreased and was practically limited to those who were migrating under the family reunion frameworks (Kolodziej, 1982). Since then other European countries became the most popular destinations for Polish migrants. Countries that were attracting permanent migrants were mainly France and Belgium; also seasonal migrants were going to countries like Latvia, Estonia, Denmark and Germany (ibid.). Most of these migrations were legal and based on the bi-lateral agreements between Poland and the countries listed above. The majority of the population outflow from Poland in that period took place between 1918 and 1930 and has significantly decreased since 1931 due to the general crisis in the world economy. Outgoing labour migration from Poland was generally stopped in 1939 as all of the movements were caused by the warfare (Kolodziej, 1982).

Emigration from Poland during the Communism Regime
The end of the Second World War and the establishment of the Communist regime brought significant changes to the patterns of international mobility of Poles. For the next fifty years, following USSR policies, the government did not allow people to
travel freely outside of Polish borders and during some periods of time even tried to permanently close the borders for potential emigrants. Nevertheless, people were still leaving the country for both, political and economic reasons.

Slany (1997) distinguishes between several phases in the history of Polish migration during that period. These phases are as follows:

1) 1946-1950: Soldiers Emigration that was a result of the end of the Second World War.
2) 1950-1955: Restrictions and almost complete border closure.
3) 1956-1960: Liberalisation of emigration policies; increase in number of outward migration.
4) 1961-1970: Restrictions, but less drastic than in the first half of the 1950s, with a special case of years 1968-1969 when large numbers of Polish Jews were forced to leave the country.
5) 1971-1980: Increase in economic emigration, especially at the end of the decade.

Regardless of the restrictions, with the exception of the first ten years after the end of the Second World War, Poland remained a country of positive net emigration. The following table illustrates the statistics of official international outflows (i.e. of those who left the country on permanent basis) of Poles during the communism period:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Immigration (thousands)</th>
<th>Emigration (thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>2297</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>1181</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1955</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-1960</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1965</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1970</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-1975</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-1980</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-1985</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-1989</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: *ibid.*: 43)
Although net emigration from Poland directly after the war was not significant, Polish nationals took part in international movements as many of them, especially soldiers fighting on other fronts, found themselves outside their country when the warfare finished. They are often referred to as Displaced Persons and it has been estimated that there were around 910,000 of them around the world. Many of them came back but also many never did due to the political circumstances under the new regime. Starting from 1948 they could apply for special status (the equivalent of a refugee programme) in Western European countries as well as in Northern America. The majority of them eventually settled in the United States (110,556) and Australia (60,308), some chose to stay in Canada (46,961), the United Kingdom (35,780) and Belgium (10,378) (Reczynska, 1993). Their role for the future Polish migration is very important as they established Polish 'elites' abroad and were often active in Polish organisations. They were also mostly people with a higher level of education and most of them (87 per cent) were educated to a secondary level and 27 per cent had a university degree (Rokicki, 1992). They also to a large extent avoided Polish ethnic enclaves in their destination countries and often stayed in conflict with the members of the ‘old emigration’ consisting of those who left Poland for economic reasons before the war. As a result they stayed linked to the families in Poland and created networks distinct from those that were established in the 19th and early 20th century (ibid.).

Since the late 1940s until the middle of the 1950s the newly established communism regime in Poland restricted the international mobility of Polish citizens. As a result, emigration from Poland was practically stopped during that decade. Most of the international mobility from that country was limited to travel to other Soviet Block countries on work-related trips (Iglicka-Okolska, 1997). The main reason for that situation was the general sovietisation policy imposed on Polish citizens, together with restrictive passport regulations. People were not permitted to keep their passports at home, and had to apply in order to get the right to hold a passport; passports were usually issued for a very limited period of time (Stola, 2001: 65-66). As previously mentioned, these regulations were in place throughout the entire communism period up until 1989, but it was the first half of 1950s when it was almost impossible to obtain a passport.

Liberalisation started after October 1956 and resulted in the large migration outflows. The regulations regarding the international mobility of Poles were less
restricted, which was mainly due to changes that occurred in the USSR after the death of Stalin. The majority of the emigrants, with a total number of 359,000 were ethnic Germans and Jews, leaving Poland either to Germany or Israel (Slany, 1995). Starting from 1958 there was also an increase in the number of people leaving to such countries as USA, Canada Australia, Belgium and France (Stipczynski, 1992). Some also left to West Germany on the basis of family reunification programmes and the total number of these migrants was around 229,000 (Slany, 1995). International mobility of Poles during that period had also the opposite direction as Polish nationals started to travel on a large scale to the USSR. They were doing so on an individual basis as well as through group travel for tourist purposes. These trips soon started to lose their tourist purpose and started to bring financial benefits to the individuals: people used them as an opportunity to perform small-scale trade. This phenomenon became extremely popular amongst Poles and it became the origins for some specific patterns of Polish migrations in later decades, including the transformation period (Stola, 2001: 69-73).

Although in the 1960s emigration restrictions were introduced again, the international mobility of Poles was gradually increasing. Most of these movements included work related and tourist trips, mainly to other Soviet Bloc countries. Small trade pattern during those trips continued and it also involved some currency trading. These pseudo-tourists could be divided into two main categories: those who were doing it from time to time and those for whom this kind of activity was the main source of income (the latter usually did not have employment in Poland). There was also some legal labour migration in place, and people were mainly leaving to work on temporarily contracts in countries like DDR, Czechoslovakia, USSR and also some Middle-East countries, including Libya and Iraq. The size of these outflows was not significant and involved mainly specialist professionals (Stola, 2001).

Illegal labour migration also started to occur during this period. People were leaving Poland as false tourists, engaged in some sort of employment in another country and often stayed abroad after the visa expired. This phenomenon gained in significance gradually and by 1965 the communist government acknowledged it as ‘alarming’ (ibid.: 74-82). During the entire decade of the 1960s over 2.6 million tourists did not come back to Poland on time which was quite a lot, especially when compared to the 245,000 Poles who officially emigrated permanently in the same period of time (Gruszynski, 1990). Since then tourism became the main channel of
Polish labour and trade migrations to the West. The most popular destinations for these temporary migrants were Germany, France, United Kingdom, Austria, Italy and Scandinavian countries (Iglicka-Ookolska, 1997). Permanent emigrants mainly left for Germany, Canada, United Kingdom and France. After 1968 there was also a large outflow of Polish Jews who emigrated mostly to Israel (Stpiczynski, 1992).

During the 1970s the migration patterns remained mostly the same. The gradual liberalisation of the passport policies caused the increase in foreign out-migration, mainly to other Eastern European countries. In 1971 the new legislation in relation to travel to GDR was introduced and since then there was no need for a passport in order to travel to this country. In 1974 similar agreements were made with Czechoslovakia; people also often traveled to Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. The other significant population outflow in this decade was caused by the introduction of the so-called family reunion framework between Poland and Germany. This programme was a gateway for all of those Polish nationals who could prove any kind of German roots and due to that were able to claim German citizenship. Between 1971 and 1988, 750,000 Polish nationals moved to Germany (Gruszynski, 1990: 144). The other destination countries remained the same as in previous decade and the total number of migrations to Western countries during the 1970s accounted for 4.2 million. Most of those migrations were temporary or at least declared as such (Stola, 2001).

The biggest outflow from Poland took place in the 1980s due to both, political and economic situation. This migration stream is usually called 'Solidarity Emigration' as it was connected to the repressions during and after the martial law period. The economic crisis also had a significant influence on the migration decision and the constantly increasing dollar exchange rate made the labour migrations very attractive. In fact, during that period Poland, to certain extent, became the country of two currencies as all of the black market prices and transaction were made by using the US dollar.

After the initial restrictions caused by Martial Law, starting from 1983, the outflow of people increased to both Eastern and Western European countries as well as to Northern America. During the 1980s Poland experienced an increase in temporary migration movement, but what has been of particular importance was the large number of permanent migrants with many of them being professionals and having higher levels of education. Many of those permanent migrants, who were
going to the countries located outside of the Iron Curtain did so as asylum seekers and trying to obtain refugee status on the basis of political restrictions.

During that period most of the temporary migrants were still declaring themselves as ‘tourists’, although it is more likely that the majority of them were travelling to work illegally outside of Poland, especially if we take into consideration the economic crisis. A good example of such movements was the so-called ‘Greek Fever’ at the end of the 1980s when the number of ‘tourists’ going to this country grew rapidly, from less than 60 thousands in 1985 to almost 93 thousands in 1987 (Romaniszyn, 1994). Just as in the 1970s, people were migrating half-legally, which means that they had a valid visa, but did not obtain a work permit.

Not only did the number of the temporary migrants increased during that period. Throughout the whole decade about 1.3 million people (3 per cent of the country population) left Poland and eventually stayed abroad. The majority of them were using the opportunity to claim the refugee status in Western Europe countries as well as in USA, Canada and Australia. The numbers of those who applied for refugee status on the basis of facing persecution as a result of fighting against the communist regime was quite significant. Between the years 1981 and 1989, 48,100 Polish nationals applied for such status in Austria. The number of Polish asylum seekers during the period of 1981 and 1987 accounted for 56,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany, 33,889 in the United States of America, 33,666 in Canada and 10,112 in Australia (Slany, 1995).

It has been estimated that following martial law, Poland lost around 15 per cent of its scholars, with the majority of them going to the USA (Hryniewicz et al., 1992). Furthermore, this migrant population generally had a high percentage of people with university degrees. According to Okolski (1992), the number of those with third level education who emigrated from Poland between 1983 and 1987 equalled the total amount who graduated from Polish universities during the entire decade of the 1980s. As a result, this period of time is perceived as the largest brain drain in Polish history (Stola, 2001).

Following Okolski (1994), Iglicka (2000: 61) noted that ‘For the last 150 years Polish territory (...) has acted as a vast reservoir of labour for many countries, most notably for Germany and for overseas countries of European settlement’. In fact two major countries remained almost constantly the most important destinations over the years: Germany and the United States. The former currently has the largest number of
Polish nationals and those of Polish descent in the world. It is also one of the oldest destination countries for both, political and economic Polish migrants. The networks and connections between Poland and the US began to be formed by the end of the 19th century, were sustained over time and have been institutionalised throughout years of continuous movement between these two countries. It was also the first Polish minority that was researched and described. The total number of members of the Polish Diaspora in the United States is estimated at 9 million; with both new immigrants and those who are declaring Polish roots taken into account. The number of those who were born in Poland and living legally in USA at the dawn of the 21st century was around 470 thousands; in addition to this the number of those with illegal status was estimated at around 300 thousands (Okolski, 2004). The main agglomerations of Polish are in such American cities as: Chicago, New York and Detroit. These are the cities that were the most popular among the 19th century settlers, who established the first Polish neighbourhoods. The biggest growth of those neighbourhoods took place between the First and Second World War. After the Second World War, when the number of Polish immigrants to the USA decreased and the second generation of Polish started to assimilate into the American society, a lot of the other city's ethnic ghettos gradually vanished but the neighbourhoods in the above three cities can still be recognised as a kind of 'model' types of ethnic communities, offering their inhabitants and the newcomers a great extent of institutional completeness. They still appear as a 'safe asylum' for both legal and illegal immigrants from Poland, especially those with a limited knowledge of the English language (Babinski, 2002; Rokicki, 1994).

Due to the strict immigration regulations in the contemporary United States, it is now relatively difficult for the newcomers to obtain legal status in this country, and it is even more difficult to have legal employment there. Some of those who succeeded in obtaining the tourist visa may go to that country and find illegal employment in lower skilled jobs but can only stay over for a certain limited period of time in order not to face the danger of being deported. It could thus be argued that with the European Union countries gradually opening their borders for Polish citizens after 1989 it could be more convenient for potential migrants to choose a destination within Europe. In fact, the patterns of outward migration after the collapse of the Iron curtain started to change, and these shifts will be a subject of the discussion presented in the next section.
Emigration from Poland during the Transition Period

The remarkable changes that took place in Poland from 1989 onwards also affected migration patterns from this country. First of all, Polish borders opened at that moment and obtaining a passport became a simple formality; people were also able to keep their passports at home and did not have to apply for them each time they were planning to go abroad. From that point onwards, Polish citizens were not only 'free to leave' but also 'free to leave and then come back' as extending their stay abroad would not impose any restrictions from Polish state on them (Morokvasic, 2004). Secondly, during the decade of the 1990s the European Union countries started to gradually waive their visa requirements for those who were resident in Poland. As a result Polish citizens no longer needed a visa in order to enter these countries as tourists (Stola, 2001). Finally, due to the collapse of the communist regime, Poland entered a period of transformation, during which the command economy was transformed into a market economy. During that period of time although the GDP of the country was growing, the unemployment levels remained relatively high (Kupiszewski, 2005). These changes especially affected these groups of people who lived in less developed and rural parts of Poland and who were previously protected by the communist state. In fact most migrants of that period did come from peripheral areas of the country; they also came from regions with a strong emigration tradition such as Opole, Podlasie or Podhale (Kaczmarczyk and Tyrowicz, 2007).

Labour migration from Poland during the 1990s and the early 21st century remained a very popular form of economic behaviour. Polish labour migrants mostly chose Germany, USA, Italy, Canada and the UK as their countries of destinations. Most of those migrations were temporary, and the number of those emigrating permanently significantly dropped. During the period between 1990 and 1995 only 18 to 26,000 people per year were leaving the country declaring themselves as permanent emigrants (Iglicka, 2000). The number of temporary migrants, or those who did not officially registered themselves as permanent emigrants, remained relatively high. At the time of Polish microcensus from 1997, 900,000 (2 per cent of total population of Poland) remained abroad for longer than two months; the 2003 Census recorded 786,000 of such migrants (Kaczmarczyk and Tyrowicz, 2007). It has been argued that while during the communist period the decision about leaving Poland was more frequently final and permanent and opening the borders after 1989
allowed people to move freely and thus being involved in more temporary or even circular movements (ibid.).

As argued by Kupiszewski (2005) during the period of the 1990s and early 2000s migration was not an attractive option for those Poles who operated within the primary sector of the labour market. One of the examples would be a relatively low interest in the 'Green Card' programme introduced by the German government. Firstly, non-economic factors played an important role for those who were skilled (e.g. difficulties in adjusting to new settings). Secondly, if the decision about migration was made at a family or household level, then the spouses' employment could become an issue and a comparison between having two incomes in Poland and one income abroad might have influenced the decision about moving. Most of the professional Polish migrants were employed abroad through active recruitment. This was the case, for example, of medical staff from Poland working in the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Sweden Norway and Italy (ibid.: 19). In general, however, most of the migrants of that period were low skilled and with lower levels of education when compared to the decade of the 1980s. The proportion of such migrants was also consistently growing with no more further signs of brain drain that was experienced directly prior to 1989 (Iglicka, 2000).

There are several characteristics by which the labour migration of Polish nationals after 1989 can be described. Okolski (2001) drew a set of hypotheses on the main patterns emerging in relation to these international movements. According to him some groups within society were more likely to seek employment outside the country than others during the transformation period. Individuals that are part of these groups can be characterised as ‘transformation losers’ and they minimise the risk of failure through the diversification of economic behaviour, including finding employment outside Poland. For them the use of international labour mobility is one of the possible ways to survive and to maintain their position in the home country society. Furthermore, the decision about migration is often made at the level of the household rather than on individual level and in such cases international mobility was more likely to be temporary. In terms of employment abroad, due to the segmented character of the labour market in the receiving countries and the “immigrant niches” existing in those countries, these migrants usually worked in less skilled jobs and had a less stable social position within the host community. Furthermore, when access to the labour market in the receiving country is not open for the immigrants, they use the
“false tourists” strategy and are employed illegally in the lowest segment of this market. In the case of such temporary migration and illegal employment in the lowest segment of the labour market, migrants are often marginalised in both sending and receiving countries.

Besides the increase in temporary migration, the 1990s in Poland were also a time of the emergence of a new phenomenon, often referred to in the literature as ‘incomplete migration’. It has been argued that while not widely spread before 1989, in fact it has originated from internal migration patterns during the communism regime. This form of migration was one of the most common forms of international movements in Poland during the transformation period and had mass character in the less developed areas of Poland. It had a circular character and migrants usually spend between a few weeks and a few months abroad. Migrants declared themselves as tourists and in most cases worked illegally in the receiving country without obtaining a work permit. These migrants pursued a household rather than individual strategy and they were more likely to be employed in the secondary sector of the dual labour market of the receiving country (Iglicka, 2000, Okólski, 2001a and 2001b).

The main origins of this form of migration are connected with the patterns of internal migrations in Poland during the 1960s and 1970s. The residents of rural and underdeveloped areas were forced to find employment elsewhere, usually in the big industrial centres. The lack of infrastructure and the ‘under-urbanisation’ of Polish cities resulted in a situation where people, instead of moving internally on a permanent basis, were rather circulating between their home villages and big cities where they were employed. Due to the lack of a transport infrastructure, most would spend the whole week in the place of work and come back home only for the weekends. As a result, the situation where one member of the family (quite often male) was almost constantly absent became normal and acceptable. Starting from the late 1970s these internal circulations have been gradually replaced by international mobility of these same individuals. In 1990s due to the changes in economy and an increasing unemployment rate (especially within the group that was previously circulating to the big industrial centres), incomplete international migration became the most common strategy for the diversification of the risk connected to transformation unemployment (Okolski, 2001b). The number of those involved in incomplete migration is difficult to estimate as they declared themselves as tourists, and the research done about incomplete migration was based on several case studies
and through ethnosurveys (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2001b; Iglicka, 2000; Jazwinska, 2001; Kaczmarczyk, 2002; Osipowicz, 2002; Okolski, 2001a)

**Emigration from Poland after the European Union Accession**

The historical factors outlined in the previous section had a definite influence on contemporary patterns of migration from Poland. The networks established over the years are very strong and labour migration is still a strategy that is used to deal with the situation on the Polish labour market. In 2004, when Poland joined the European Union, the unemployment rate was close to 17 per cent and was the highest among all EU countries, including the new accession countries. The percentage of unemployment in December 2006 was 14.9 per cent (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2007). Such high unemployment levels were one of the major factors leading to the large population outflow from Poland. Some of the migration tracks remained the same and some have changed due to the fact that some EU countries have opened their labour markets to Polish citizens and therefore have become very attractive as countries of destination. As argued by Kupiszewski (2005), after 2004 the situation of those migrants who were previously working in the grey economies of other European countries was not significantly affected by the enlargement became in their case the change in legal situation was irrelevant; the only difference was that they were no longer bound by the three months visa-free tourist stay restriction. Highly skilled migrants, on the other hand, received better access to the primary sectors of the labour markets in countries like Ireland, United Kingdom and Sweden, followed by other EU countries that were gradually waiving the work-visa restrictions on New Member States Nationals.

The size of the post-accession migration stream has been quite significant. It has been estimated that at the time of accession in May 2004 there were 786,000 Polish nationals who had been abroad for at least two months. By the end of 2007 this number nearly tripled and the vast majority of these migrants were in other European Union countries (Fihel et al. 2007). The following table illustrates the breakdown of the share of Polish migrants for each country:
Table 3.2: Polish Migrants in European Union 2004-2007 (in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>1550</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As clearly shown by this table, the direction of Polish migrations changed after May 2004. Most of the pre-accession migrants were choosing Germany as their destination country. Post-accession migrants, on the other hand, mainly went to the United Kingdom. What is also very significant is the rapidly raising number of those going to Ireland. The migrants’ age and educational characteristics also shifted: they were younger and relatively well educated in comparison to those from the pre-accession time and two countries that mainly attracted university graduates were the United Kingdom and Ireland (ibid.)

Furthermore, it has been estimated that the net outflow of migrants from Poland between 2004 and 2008 was around 1,440,000 and these migrants accounted for approximately 3.8 per cent of the total population of Poland during that period (Okolski, 2010). Short-term mobility remained predominant among these migrants, although what could be observed was the rising importance of long-term movements (Grabowska-Lusinska, 2008: 250).

**Migration from Poland to Ireland**

Although Ireland was not one of the most important receiving country for migrants from Poland before May 2004, the movements between these two countries started before Poland joined the EU. Grabowska (2003) argues that in fact there were several, though numerically insignificant, waves of migrations of Polish nationals into this country. According to her, the first wave occurred directly after the Second World War when the Irish government founded around 1,000 university scholarships for Polish citizens, however it is not known how many people used this opportunity.
The second one was related to the emigration of the members of Solidarity movement in the early 1980s but the size of this migration stream was also not significant. The third wave, that can be called 'migration of hearts' (ibid.), constituted mainly of Polish females who were coming to Ireland in order to marry Irish citizens. The final pre-accession wave started around 1997 and was directly related to the Irish economic boom and skill shortages. Furthermore, Grabowska formulated a set of hypotheses to describe and explain migration of Polish nationals to Ireland directly prior the EU enlargement in 2004. She argues that the Irish economic development created certain niches in some sectors of the labour market, thus providing work for migrants, including those from Poland. As a result, Ireland became 'a new destination of the 'labour journeys' of the Polish people, who, due to the economic transition that took place in Poland, had reasons and motives to leave their country' (ibid.: 28).

Interestingly, it was the higher skilled employees sent to contract jobs in Ireland who were the pioneers of this migration stream and they were then joined by seasonal workers, who were also often experiencing a process of de-skilling (ibid.: 29).

Up to now not a lot has been known about current, post-accession migrants living and working in Ireland. Available statistical data, provided by the CSO, shows that they are predominantly young, relatively well educated, with a third of them working in non-manual jobs (CSO, 2007; 2008). Several qualitative studies along with small scale survey research have been conducted over the past few years, mainly looking at the workplace experience of these migrants and, to some extent, on their social life and social integration in Ireland (e.g. Bobek and Salamonska, 2008; Debaene, 2008; Kropiwiec and King-O’Ryan, 2006; Komita and Bates, 2009; Krings et al., 2009; Turner, D’Art and Cross, 2009; Wickham et al., 2009) There is also limited knowledge about how the recent recession has affected this particular group and how many out of over 300,000 of those, who obtained a Personal Public Service (PPS) Number between May 2004 and early 2010, are still in this country.

Conclusion
Throughout the 19th and 20th century millions of Polish nationals, who left their country for both, political and economic reasons, have settled down around the world and become a part of a large Polish Diaspora. Its role is important and significant up to the present day, especially from the social networks point of view. Those networks that were established over the last 150 years and in some cases are still alive and still
have a strong influence on the potential Polish migrants. Family and kinship linkages between Poland and destination countries, as well as existing Polish communities in Europe and in America can firstly influence potential migrant to make the decision about migration and secondly, to choose the destination country. It could also be argued that Polish society developed a certain ‘migration culture’ or even, in cases of some groups, a ‘migration habit’. In other words, migration as a livelihood strategy became the norm rather than the exception, especially in those regions that have been traditionally sending their residences to work abroad for over a century now. Migration has remained one of the most important livelihood strategies for Polish nationals; and it was also adopted by those who left Poland after the 2004 EU enlargement, including those who chose Ireland as a destination country.

The aim of this chapter was to present the broader historical context of contemporary emigration from Polish nationals, including those who have recently chosen Ireland as their destination country. The analysis of migration patterns from Poland over decades allows us to gain a better understanding of the post-2004 international movements of Poles, and to draw some comparisons with previous migration streams that occurred in this country. It also places the issues that were subject of my particular research in a larger perspective. As outlined in the Introduction, findings of this research will be presented in Chapters 5, 6, 7. Before discussing the research findings, I will present the methods used for this study in Chapter 4.
As outlined in previous chapters, research on the migration of Polish nationals has drawn on the full range of methodologies: including quantitative surveys; the analysis of existing statistical data; qualitative studies based on interviews and participant observation; the analysis of public and personal documents; and visual sociology. Some studies were based on one particular method of data collection, some triangulated more than one method, and finally, some used a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods.

For the purpose of my study on Polish migrants in Ireland I used a qualitative methodology, triangulating participant observation with semi-structured interviews and some elements of online ethnography. This migration stream has been a relatively recent phenomenon, thus the research had an exploratory character. At the beginning of the research I was interested in the general question of what was new and distinct about this migration stream and whether or not, in comparison to other groups of Polish migrants in Europe and beyond, patterns represented by previous outflows from Poland are replicated. Living in Dublin for over a year prior to starting the research gave me the opportunity to observe some interesting and distinct characteristics of certain groups of Poles who arrived in Ireland after EU accession in 2004. First of all, it seemed to be relatively easy for those Polish migrants who were young, well-educated and who had a good knowledge of the English language to secure relatively good, often professional positions on the Irish labour market. During the migration process, however, as well as after settling down, they tended to be involved in their own ethnic rather than professional social networks. These migrants have not usually been the subject of studies that analyse Polish migrants around the world and thus I decided that the issues related to their migratory experience and their lives in Ireland was of interest.

As a result of these observations, I decided the area of my interest would be young Polish professionals who, unlike those who worked in other EU countries in 1990s and early 2000s, found relatively easy paths into the primary sector of the Irish labour market. Therefore, when I started my project in October 2006, I decided to
focus on those who were young and well-educated, often employed in 'good' middle level jobs, but who were still involved in their ethnic networks after settling down in Ireland.

During the initial phase of this study I was mainly involved in desk research, preparing the literature review and formulating more detailed research questions. After the initial stage I started to collect data and continued data collection until early 2010. The approach undertaken for the purpose of this research was inductive and the analysis of the data was conducted simultaneously with the data collection.

It also needs to be emphasised that this research had, to a certain extent, an auto-ethnographic character. Not only was I researching 'my own people', I was also one of those post-accession Polish migrants myself. The data collection process involved mainly participant observation as well as semi-structured interviews with relatively small group of Polish migrants living and working in the Greater Dublin Area. Most of the interviews were also a part of a Qualitative Panel Study undertaken by the Migrants Careers and Aspirations Project, one of six projects involved in the Trinity Immigration Initiative. The relation between my own study and the project will be discussed later on in this chapter.

As autoethnography is one of the key features of my study, I will discuss this issue first. This will be followed by a description of the methods of data collection: participant observation and qualitative interviews. Finally, I will present a brief discussion of the ethical issues involved in this research.

Autoethnography and Self-Reflexivity
Social sciences, in order to claim ‘objectivity’, often pose the idea of detachment, the assumption being that the researcher should be separated from the subject of their study and not become 'over involved' with the subject. This approach, however, has been critiqued by, for example, feminist researchers who claim that ‘this is not only a mythical aim, but also an undesirable one which disguises the myriad of ways in which the researcher is affected by the context of the research or the people who are a part of it’ (May, 1997: 20). In addition to that, what is also important is the fact that both the researcher and the people studied carry their own biographies with them. Thus the researchers should be constantly aware of the influence that their personal history may have on their research and the knowledge it produces (ibid.: 21)
Over the last few decades the social sciences have experienced an 'Interpretive Turn', putting under question the issue of 'objectivity' and discussing the role of the researcher in research as such. It is being argued that sociologists and ethnographers bring their own selves and their social background into the field (Wasserfall, 1997). Reinharz (1997: 3) introduces three broad types of 'selves' that are brought to the field by the researcher, where 'being a researcher' is only one of them. The remaining two are, she suggests, 'brought selves' and 'situationally created selves'. It has to be acknowledged that, especially in qualitative research where the researchers engage themselves with their participants, all of the above can influence not only their informants, but also the knowledge that is being produced as a result of the research. Adopting the self-reflective approach allows the researchers to place their personal experience within the study and to incorporate their individual biographies into the research. Reflexivity can also have various forms: for example, Finlay (1999) differentiated between what he called descriptive (or critical) and analytical reflexivity. Following Stanley and Wise (1996) he argues that the latter can be characterised as a form of 'practice of positioning' and emphasises the importance of 'analytic accountability'.

By being self-reflective, I aimed to be constantly aware that my own background was crucial for this study. I have been part of this particular migration stream and I shared the experiences of those who I was doing the research on, thus this study has also an autoethnographic character. The term ‘autoethnography’ was first discussed by Hayano (1979) who used it in relation to ethnographers conducting their research on their ‘own people’, mostly meaning people of the same ethnic background. As he wrote:

While auto-ethnography is not a specific research technique, method, or a theory, it colours all three as they are employed in fieldwork. In many ways, the problems of auto-ethnography are the problems of ethnography compounded by the researcher’s involvement and intimacy with his subjects. In either case, critical issues of observation, epistemology and "objective" scientific research procedures are raised.

(ibid.: 99)
There have been a lot of theoretical and methodological debates conducted around the issue of autoethnography since Hayano published his article in 1979. Ellis and Boucher (2003: 208) define autoethnography as:

(...) an autobiographical genre of writing that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting personal to the cultural (...) As they [the researchers] zoom backward and forward, inward and outward, distinctions between the personal and cultural become blurred, sometimes beyond distinct recognition

Autoethnographical writing is also often done in the first person and may feature 'dialogue, emotion, and self-consciousness as relational and institutional stories affected by history, social structure, and culture' (Holt, 2003: 2). Although I did not adapt such a way of autoethnographic narratives in this project, there is no doubt that my own personal experience had a great influence during the course of my research, including choosing the topic, narrowing my interest and formulating research questions. I also had the advantage of being a full-insider within the group that I studied, which helped me with approaching potential interviewees and understanding their experiences and views, often very similar to those of my own. Knowledge of the Polish language and culture, as well as the experience of being a Polish migrant in Ireland, made me to a great extent similar to those who I had the opportunity to talk to, both, formally and informally. It could even be argued that by the time I started my research, I was already partially in the field, as I knew many of my future interviewees personally. I also became friends with other participants during the course of my research. As a result I did not conduct any interviews with people who were 'strangers' and I was able to gather the information about my participants outside of the formal interview setting.

It needs to be emphasised, however, that while being a member of the group that is being researched could be an advantage, there are also some disadvantages of having the insider position. One of the main disadvantages could be the danger of 'taking things for granted' and not fully exploring the issues that the researcher is too familiar with. In my case this danger was to a great extent minimised as I had the opportunity to work on my data with researchers of other ethnic backgrounds, including Irish scholars. The ongoing discussions with other researchers allowed me
to 'take a step back' and gain the outsider perspective on the issues that I was interested in. The impact of being a part of a larger research project that was examining the experience of Polish migrants in Ireland will be further discussed in this chapter.

Up to the moment when I started this project, my story was just like many other stories of those currently living in Dublin. I was born in 1979 in Krakow, Poland where I spent the majority of my childhood and adult life. Being born in the late 1970s gave me the opportunity to experience some of the communist period, to watch the fall of the Iron Curtain and to live through the transformation period of the 1990s. All of these have often been the subject of my conversations with recent Polish migrants in Dublin who were to some extent 'taking for granted' my knowledge of living in Poland in certain periods of time; it also gave me the advantage of better understanding their own personal biographies. My previous migration experience also played an important role in my current research. In spring 2001 I decided to get a summer job in the US, which was common practice in that many students were spending their summer holidays working, often illegally in countries like Germany, Austria, United Kingdom, the US and Canada. After spending three months in Chicago, I then moved to New York State, where I worked in a hotel with other Polish migrants for about a year. This experience was also important for another reason: when studying Polish nationals in Ireland I was able to gain a more comparative perspective and to observe the similarities and the differences between different types of migrants in these two countries.

By the time of my graduation in spring 2005, I already knew that it would be extremely difficult for me to find a decent job, even though I had two Master Degree diplomas. The unemployment rates in Poland at that time were very high, and I saw my friends struggling to find any kind of employment. The overall frustration led me and my – back then, life partner, who had almost finished his MSc in Civil Engineering – to decide on leaving Poland, at least for some period of time. My main reason was that I would much rather be a waitress abroad, earning 'decent' money, rather than to stay 'home' and also be a waitress but with much lower wages and not making enough money to survive. Such a rationale has also been something that I share with my respondents who often moved to Ireland for the same economic reason.

At that time we had some friends who had already gone to the UK and who could help us at the start. We chose Ireland instead. While not knowing anybody who
lived in Dublin, we wanted to be independent and to have a 'fresh start'. Moreover, at the time Poland had a double-taxation agreement with the UK, which was not the case with Ireland. In the end, just like many other Poles whom I met in Ireland, we packed our lives into four bags and went in search of a 'better future' in Dublin.

We came to Ireland in May 2005 with a couple of assumptions also common among those who participated in my study. First of all, we wanted to find any work that would initially provide us with some income. Secondly, we were talking about looking for some 'better' jobs, but we thought that it would take us months, if not years, to be able to find such positions. Finally, we made a decision to avoid other Poles, which was a common attitude among some of my interviewees, but that also features in studies conducted on Polish nationals living in other EU countries. Nevertheless, the very first room that we rented out in Dublin was in a house shared by other Poles. Two of them, a married couple, were working as architects and they encouraged us to be more ambitious and to start to look for 'better' positions sooner rather than later. We took their advice, but we needed some money for the start, so we decided not to be too selective at the very beginning.

I found my first job on our second day in Dublin. We walked into one of the small coffee shops with a sign saying 'help wanted' on its window. Luckily for me, the manager was present in a shop and he had looked at my CV himself. Noticing that I had some waitressing experience from Poland and from the US, he asked to come the next day. It took my partner two weeks to find his first job, but he finally managed to secure employment also in a low-paid, low-skilled position. We did not, however, give up looking for something that would be close to our qualifications. As a result, by late June 2005 I started to work as an administrator in a private college and my partner found a job as an assistant engineer on a construction site.

After experiencing the relative ease in finding employment in Ireland we started to invite our friends over from Poland to join us, often even encouraging them to come. As a result several people came to Dublin and with our help and advice they eventually created a small migratory chain. Our personal networks also grew and after a few months we already knew a relatively large number of people, who, to our surprise, were almost all Polish. In fact, our social life was almost restricted to a group of other Polish migrants.

By spring 2006 I decided that I wanted to go back to my academic interests and therefore I applied for a PhD in Trinity College Dublin. From the very beginning
my aim was to explore the issues related to Polish 'community' in Ireland. It was my personal experience that also narrowed the focus of the study. Throughout a year of being in Dublin I started to observe phenomena that to my knowledge were not fully described within the sociology of migration (especially in relation to Polish migrants around the world). I realised that some of the young, well-educated migrants, who come to Ireland find employment in the primary sector of the Irish labour market, often tended to keep strong bonds with co-ethnics living in this country. This phenomenon occurred to me to be quite interesting and so I decided to conduct further study of these individuals.

The fact of starting a PhD changed a lot in my professional life, but also in my personal life. This change meant that I was no longer just the same as the group that I decided to conduct my research on. First of all, my financial situation shifted dramatically as I moved from the salary of a middle-level professional to a minimum-wage level studentship. While those whom I knew were progressing with their positions and salaries, thus affording increasingly better life-styles, I was not in that position any longer. My background had not changed however, and I was still able to relate to those who were now not only my friends and acquaintances, but also the subject of my study. In fact very often, when going through the interview guides, I was wondering 'how would I answer this question?' and indeed, I was answering these questions silently in my head. To my surprise, the actual answers that I got during the formal interviews in many cases were very similar to mine. Many of them, however, differed and I need to acknowledge that both perspectives featured in the analysis. Through self-reflection I tried to be constantly aware of my own views and opinions and I made as much effort as possible to ensure that my personal background did not influence the analysis. Nevertheless, I have no doubt that the fact that I was Polish and that I shared many characteristics with my participants had a lot of influence on the research design and the findings - issues related to this influence will be further discussed in other sections of this chapter.

Fieldwork

As previously stated, the main research methods used for the purpose of this study included participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Methodology textbooks often tend to associate the former with ethnographic research, conducted through fieldwork and the terms 'fieldwork' and 'participant observation' are then used
almost interchangeably. For the purpose of my research I used such elements of the ethnographic approach, as using key informants and gatekeepers and trying to be ‘invisible’ in the field. Nevertheless, the term ‘ethnography’ itself has been a subject of controversies and discussions (Berg, 2009, Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). Berg (2009:190) discusses different understandings of what constitutes ethnographic research. According to him, for some researchers ethnography basically means any kind of study conducted in the field in natural settings. Some suggest that ethnography as an approach should also deploy participant observation as a method. Finally, there are those, like for example Babbie (2008) who suggest that ethnography is ‘a study that focuses on detailed and accurate description rather than explanation. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994: 248) argue that ethnography, in general, could be characterised by certain features such as not having hypotheses prior to the study and instead exploring the subject, investigating a relatively small number of cases, working primarily with ‘unstructured’ data and providing verbal descriptions and explanations rather than doing statistical analysis.

Sarantakos (2005) discusses fieldwork as a separate research method, within which ethnography is just one of the possible approaches that can be undertaken when conducting the study. According to him, the main characteristics of this method include the following: (a) that it is a systematic study that takes place in a natural setting, (b) the study is longitudinal, (c) it aims to understand the reality through the eyes of those who are the subject of the research and (d) employs a qualitative approach, although it can be used as a step for a further quantitative research (ibid., 2004: 203). He also suggested that most of the researchers using fieldwork as the data collection method, mostly conduct both participant observation and semi-structured or unstructured interviews.

These controversies around terminology can become very problematic in placing the research within one given methodology paradigm. Nevertheless, I can confidently state that I did use fieldwork as the main research method in my study. By the field here I understand different sites around the Greater Dublin Area where I had the opportunity to meet, observe, and talk to Polish migrants living in Ireland. Over the course of my research I aimed to ‘hang out’ with them on private and public functions and the sites included individual’s homes as well as places where they were often meeting such as pubs, restaurants, cafés or clubs. I will now further discuss my
access to the field, followed by the description of two methods of data collection: participant observation and interviews.

*Getting In and Getting Out of the Field.*

As discussed in the section related to auto-reflexivity and auto-ethnography, by the time my research started I was already, to some extent, present in the field. In fact I could argue that the field was my life as the participant observation was mostly conducted at social events and interviews were mostly followed by informal chats and socialising with those who were interviewed. Throughout the course of my research my social networks evolved dynamically, but by early 2007 I knew most of those who were by then contributing to my study.

At the end of the process of conducting fieldwork, I was able to identify around one hundred Polish migrants living in Dublin with whom I had been spending my time since the start of my dissertation. All of these individuals are those with whom I had had actual conversations with, and whom I was able to informally interview, and not those to whom I was introduced in passing. These conversations then contributed to my research findings. The vast majority of these people were in their late twenties and early thirties and most also had so-called ‘good jobs’ in Dublin. Some of course have already left Ireland, but many are still here.

Just like I never really 'entered' the field, I also never fully left it. Over the years I became friends with many of these Polish migrants and I still continue to meet with them for social purposes. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study I only used the data collected between early 2007 and early 2010; all of the formal interviews also took place within this timeframe.

**Participant Observation**

Babbie (2008) suggested we practise social research for our entire lives. As we live and interact with other people, we also make observations about their behaviours and we try to understand this. Sanders (1999) explored the issue of the difficulty in maintaining the boundaries between one's occupational life (being a social scientist) and everyday life. While this may sometimes be problematic, it may also, however, be to the advantage for a qualitative sociologist. Participation in other people’s lives can become a very useful research tool, providing us with the understanding of certain practices and processes.
As previously mentioned, it is difficult for me to state exactly when I entered the field. For me participant observation started before I formally commenced my research project. The only difference between just living my life in Dublin and turning my everyday experience into participant observation, a long established qualitative research method was the way I was approaching my observation. After starting the PhD, I became more aware of my participation; what is even more important - from early 2007 I was observing more systematically and started to take field notes.

Participant observation is a method that allows the researcher to study everyday events, in the natural environment. It is often unstructured, employs flexible methods and it 'perceives reality as constructed through the interaction and communication of the participants' (Sarantakos, 2005: 231). There are several roles that can be undertaken by the researcher. As Gans (1968) suggested, one can be either a total participant with full engagement in a certain situation, a researcher participant with minimum involvement in the situation, or a total researcher with no participation in the situation. Observation can be used in either private or public settings. It can also be conducted in an overt or a covert way. In the first case those who are the research subjects are fully aware of being observed; the second case refers to a situation where the researcher does not reveal his identity (Bryman, 2008). Roethlisberger and Dickinson (1939) described a phenomenon now known as Hawthorne Effect. They suggested that the more people are aware of the researcher’s presence, the more unnatural they may behave. Berg (2009) explores the issue of researchers becoming invisible. Stoddart (1986) identifies six variations of achieving this status: (1) Disattending: Erosion of visibility by time; (2) Disattending: Erosion of visibility by displaying no symbolic detachment; (3) Disattending: Erosion of visibility by display of symbolic attachment; (4) Disattending: Erosion of visibility by personalizing the ethnographer-informant relationship; (5) Misrepresentation: Masking ones real research interest; and finally (6) Misrepresentation: Masking one’s identity as an ethnographer (Berg, 2009: 208). The last tactic essentially means a fully covert research and is usually perceived as controversial from the point of view of ethics. It can also create a potentially dangerous situation for the researcher if his/her identity is accidently revealed.

 Throughout the course of my study I was a total participant, fully involved in the situations. Most of this part of the research was conducted during social, after-
hours occasions while some took place on official Polish ‘community’ in Dublin events. Observation settings were both private and public. My research was overt and I was not hiding my real identity, although I was not emphasising my researcher's role so as not to make people uncomfortable.

In the beginning I was spending time, mostly evenings and weekends, with a relatively small group of Polish migrants, mostly friends from my own personal network. The majority of them were either architects or engineers, but some also worked in financial services and a few had lower-skilled positions in hospitality and retail. I was meeting them either in private settings, visiting their homes or attending house parties or we met in public spaces such as cafes, restaurants and pubs around Dublin. These meetings were very informal. Usually we talked about various things, work, everyday life, or immediate future plans such as holidays or upcoming events. Occasionally we had more sophisticated discussions about the issue of being an immigrant or our opinions about Poland. These meetings also enabled me to ‘monitor’ changes in their lives as I observed them moving jobs or apartments, getting engaged, buying new things and simply getting on with their lives.

As time passed by, I started to meet other Polish people living in Dublin whom I did not know prior to starting my research. The most important watershed was in June 2007 when my key informant introduced me to one of the largest and most influential Polish online forums in Ireland. I started to follow the discussions on the forum and I was surprised with the dynamics of the discussions held online, the relationships between different members of the forum and the variety of topics discussed. When showing me the forum, my key informant also pointed me towards one particular topic, started by one of the forum members, who proposed fortnightly pub meetings for those Polish migrants in Dublin who didn’t like ‘Zagloba’ Pub (that had a reputation of being a pub where the ‘lower class’ Polish migrants go) and who wanted to go for a drink and talk to other Polish people living here. At the point when I discovered this topic, several meetings like that had already been held and they seemed to be quite popular among certain members. After going to the first meeting myself, I decided that I would continue to attend these events; especially because – something I discovered during the first night – I could meet many Polish professional migrants over there. The meetings continue to be organised up until December 2009 and I attended almost every one of them. People, who were coming there, either learnt about them online or simply heard about them from a friend. Some came along
only once or twice, but there were a relatively large number of those who were attending regularly. After a while we became friends and stayed in touch also outside the fortnight meetings setting and even after the meetings were not organised anymore.

The meetings became an extremely valuable source of information for my research. First of all, the way they were organised brought me closer to the Polish 'community' in Dublin. The organiser was always inviting a ‘special guest’ who was usually somebody from a Polish organisation or media, or a Pole working for an Irish institution. The guests had to give a half an hour talk about their work, which was then followed by a question and answer session, that usually, after half an hour, evolved into a lose discussion. Most of the invited guests were in their 20s and 30s and some of them came to these meetings for social purposes. During the discussions I was able to learn a lot about people’s lives, experiences and opinions that I then took into account when I was analysing the data.

I was always very clear that I was doing research on Polish migrants in Ireland and I was usually quite open about the fact that I would be using data collected during these meetings for the purpose of my project. Yet again, I was not emphasising it constantly. I was also taking detailed notes after these nights, often joking to people that I would write down everything they say. I never heard objections nor had any kind of problems, especially as I kept stressing the fact that no names would ever be used.

Meanwhile I was still following the discussions on the forum. They became even more interesting because some people were not just ‘nick names’ anymore to me as I got to know a few of them personally. I participated in a few discussions but I did not reveal my identity and only a couple of forum members knew who I was.

Initially, I became very enthusiastic about using the data from the forum for the purpose of my research. Because the discussions mirrored those that I had with Polish migrants in the real life, I was planning to make a detailed analysis of some topics and include them in my empirical chapters. This, however, became very tricky due to ethical considerations. This will be further discussed in the ethics section of this chapter. What needs to be emphasised, however, is that while I did not systematically analyse these written texts and I did not include any of the quotes in the empirical chapters, the forum still remained, to a certain extent, one of the sites of my observation.
Interviews

Interviewing is one of the main methods used in social sciences. There are various types of interviews, with formal questionnaire-based interviews on one end of the spectrum and totally open-ended, unstructured interviews on the other (Byrne, 2004: 181). In case of qualitative interviews it is claimed that they are a valuable source of providing data on the issues that are resistant to observation and also a useful tool when events need to be reconstructed (Bryman, 2008: 466, Rubin and Rubin, 2005).

The interviews conducted for the purpose of this research were semi-structured and were all conducted between December 2007 and April 2010. Throughout the fieldwork I formally interviewed 10 people. They were all conducted in Polish, digitally recorded, transcribed and then translated into English. All of the interviewees were relatively young, as most of them were in their late twenties or early thirties at the time of the interviews. Some of the interviews were part of a Qualitative Panel Study, conducted by the Migrants Careers and Aspirations Project, one of six projects of the Trinity Immigration Initiative: the relation between my study and this research project will be further discussed in this chapter. During the process of selection of the participants I used non-probability, purposive sampling. I will now briefly discuss the issues of sampling, which will be followed by the introduction of the Qualitative Panel Study. I will then focus on the issues of language and translation and finally, I will discuss the role that this tool of data collection had in this study.

Sampling and the conduct of the interviews

There are three possible relationships between sample and population. When probability sampling is used, the relationship is representative, which means that the sample represents the total population that is the subject of the research. Secondly, there is a relationship that does not represent the population directly, however the sample covers a relevant range of individuals in relation to a wider population. Finally, the relationship can be designed in order to cover a small range of people with particular experience, which allows an in-depth study of particular cases (Byrne, 2004).

2 Only one respondent was 36 at the time when my fieldwork started
Most of the qualitative studies are based on using non-probability, purposive sampling (Bryman, 2009) where the sample is not supposed to represent the wider population. Representativeness was also not the aim in my study – as stated in the beginning of this chapter my goal was to describe emerging and evolving phenomena and issues related to recent young Polish professional migrants living in Ireland. For the purpose of my research I decided to choose 10 relatively young Polish nationals who came to Ireland around accession (only one of them came to Ireland before 2004). The main criterion for the selection was their education – all selected participants had technical skills. Most were either architects or engineers; one person was an IT technician. The main reason for choosing this sample was that in these professions one does not require a sophisticated knowledge of the host country language. What came to my attention prior to starting the research was that some of those working in the booming construction sector – the sector of the Irish economy that was 'crying out' for employees not only in lower skilled occupations but also for those with skills – had a very limited knowledge of English, which seemed to be quite unusual in the case of professional migrants.

I recruited the participants through my personal networks, and by utilising the knowledge and social connections of my key informant and gatekeeper. Essentially I was aiming to interview those who I knew personally in order to be able to triangulate the interviews with participant observation. At the same time I aimed to use a variety of my social networks for the selection of the participants. As a result none of those in the sample would be directly connected, some do not know each other at all and most do not socialise with each other. Table 7 (see Appendix A) provides a list of those selected (all of the names are pseudonyms).

It has to be emphasised that although the overall sample is relatively small, the actual number of interviews conducted is significantly larger. As previously mentioned, eight of ten participants were also part of the Qualitative Panel Study (further details of the study will be discussed in a following section) and were interviewed by me several times. Two participants, Gosia and Wojtek, were interviewed as part of a pilot research and were later on not involved in the Qualitative Panel Study. Nevertheless, the information provided by them was of much of a use and thus I decided to include them in this study. As a result, over a period of two years of conducting interviews, I conducted altogether 50 interviews, each between 40 minutes and 1.5 hours.
The interviews took places in various places. I let the interviewees choose where they preferred to meet. Some were met me at their homes but the majority of the interviews were conducted in cafés in pubs around Dublin. The settings of the interviews were thus informal and I aimed for the interviewees to feel comfortable and to have a 'natural' conversation with me while answering the interview questions.

Qualitative Panel Study

Eight of all twelve of my formal interviewees were also participating in the Qualitative Panel Study (QPS), conducted by members of the Migrants Careers and Aspirations Project (MCA). Altogether there were five researchers working on this project, including Professor James Wickham, Dr Elaine Moriarty, Dr Torben Krings and two research assistants: Justyna Salamonska and me. The aim of the project was to track a relatively small number of Polish migrants in Dublin. Altogether there were twenty-two migrants participating in the project and each of them was interviewed six times over a period of two years.

Longitudinal Research is widely recognised in the areas of quantitative and qualitative social research. This approach allows the researchers to track changes in interviewees' lives as well as changes in their attitudes (Holland et al., 2006). The aim is also to design each wave of interviews with a designated theme and, in addition to that, findings from each wave should guide the researchers on how to design following waves (Moriarty et al., forthcoming; Smith, 2003).

Twenty-two migrants participating in the project were selected by early 2008 and the interviews were conducted between April 2008 and April 2010. The sample included 10 women and 12 men aged between 22 and 38, living in the Greater Dublin Area. Most of them came to Ireland following the EU enlargement in 2004. The vast majority of participants were educated to either secondary level or held a third level degree. We chose to interview Poles working in four sectors of the Irish labour market: construction (including the engineers and architects), hospitality, the financial sector and IT. The first two were chosen because they had a relatively large share of migrants working within them (18.7 per cent in construction and 37.2 per cent in hospitality according to the fourth quarter of the Quarterly National Household Survey from 2007). IT became of interest as it was the sector that was characterised by recruiting migrants from non-EU countries. Finally, we chose the
financial sector as traditionally it was not an immigrant sector of the Irish labour market (Wickham et al., 2010).

Over a period of two years, we managed to follow all twenty-two respondents, regardless of whether or not they remained in Ireland. During our research one person left for Canada, one moved to another EU country, four went back to Poland and one travelled in South America for a period of six months. For practical reasons those who moved to countries outside of Europe were interviewed by telephone or the interview took place after the participant returned to Ireland. We conducted face-to-face interviews with those who moved either to Poland or another EU countries.

The first part of each wave was focused on changes in participants' lives, mainly focusing on changes in the workplace. The second wave was organised thematically and we did use the strategy of utilising data from previous waves in organising the interview schedule. The first wave focused on gathering the retrospective data related to the participants' work and social life, including reasons for leaving Poland and moving to Ireland. The second wave aimed at exploring issues of workplace experience. The third wave was organised around social life and social networks. The goal of wave four was to look at participants' career, education and training. In wave five we asked questions about travel and transnational practices, including the usage of the ICT. Finally, wave six, called 'looking back,' explored the retrospective views on participants' experience in Ireland, connections to Poland, the issue of citizenship and identity and plans for the future. In addition to standard interview guide questions we also used some other techniques for getting the information for example in the third wave we asked the participants to look through their mobile phones and check recent connections - this 'experiment' was done in order to explore the immediate social connections of the interviewees. In wave five, instead of just asking the interviewees where they travel to and with whom they stay in contact, we asked them to draw connections on pre-printed maps of the world. As we expected, it was a helpful tool for some of them. Interview guides used for each wave can be found in Appendix B.

The interviews were conducted by two Polish Research Assistants: myself and Justyna Salamonska. We recruited our participants through our own social networks and we used purposive sampling in selecting participants for the study. Each of us then had eleven people assigned to us and it was our role to maintain these
contacts and to schedule the interviews. The eleven participants assigned to me included two semi-skilled construction workers, three civil engineers, two architects, two people working in hospitality and one person working in the IT sector. The group of remaining eleven participants consisted of four working in hospitality, five in the financial sector and two in the IT sector.

I decided to use only the data from the interviews that I personally conducted. There were two main reasons for that. Firstly, as my approach was self-reflective, I believed that the fact that it was me, not anybody else, who was conducting the interview, had an influence on the interview process as such and on the information given. Secondly, even more important, I aimed to combine the interview data with the data collected through participant observation. Thus it was crucial for me to know all of the interviewees personally and to have a chance to meet them also outside of the interview setting. The choice of only eight out of eleven participants was decided by the sampling procedure: I only chose those with a third level qualification (the remaining three individuals who participated in the Qualitative Panel Study were only educated up to secondary level). Conducting interviews repeatedly was an extremely useful research experience. By using this method we were able not only to track the actual changes in participants' lives, such as moving jobs, becoming unemployed or having a child, but also to observe the shifts in attitudes and in the future plans of the interviewees. Moreover, coincidentally, we started the first interviews just before the recession. The financial crisis resulted in a lot of changes in participants' lives as some of them lost jobs and became unemployed. Interestingly, some stayed in Ireland and did not want to go back to Poland, even though unemployment rates 'back home' dropped significantly. This strategy was one of the bases of the argument that people move countries for one reason but sometimes stay for another – the argument that would be further discussed in Chapter 6.

Translation Issues
As stated before all interviews were conducted and transcribed in Polish and then translated into English. The fact that I 'heard' each interview three times became very useful for the purpose of analysis as I gained an in-depth familiarity with the data. On the other hand, the translation process was sometimes very problematic. There are two possible strategies commonly undertaken by translators - the domestication of the
translation or foreignisation of the translation (Venuti, 1995). The former means that the reader is being ‘brought back home’ and it is an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target language cultural values (ibid.: 20). The latter strategy is to translate the text directly. For the purpose of my translation I was mainly adopting the strategy of domestication in order to make the interviews as understandable as possible for a non-Polish reader. In some cases, however, there were phrases used by the interviewees or things that they were relating that I was not able to translate for somebody who does not know the Polish language and Polish culture. One of the examples includes the Polish verb ‘kombinowac’ which essentially means finding ‘a clever way of getting something done, often using social capital, exemplifies the idea of combining various assets’ (Whyte, 2009: 3) or ‘informal or shady arrangements as in wheeling and dealing (Morawska, 2001: 9). Many of the features of ‘kombinowac’ can also be familiar to those in poor areas where people have to live by their wits. One of the examples would be the concept of the London culture of ‘ducking and diving’ portrayed in the British TV show ‘Only Fools and Horses’. Nevertheless, this term does not have its equivalent in English. I would further argue that this concept, commonly used by the interviewees in various contexts is so culturally embedded in Polish society that it would be very difficult to understand for somebody who had never lived in Poland. In this case I was trying to use a description of the word in the context of the dialogue, rather then look for a direct translation into English. Some people also regularly use the Polish expression ‘sciagac kogos do Irlandii’, which literally means ‘pulling somebody to Ireland (from Poland)’. This term can be explained as inviting somebody over, but also serving as a role model and helping at the initial stage of the migration process. This verb has a lot of cultural and social connotations and cannot be replaced by only one English word, so in this case I left the literal translation of the word ‘sciagac’ as ‘pull’. Some cultural concepts also were sometimes problematic. Some people, for example, referred to the Polish tradition of celebrating ‘Name-Days’. The Polish calendar assigns each day with a name (traditionally a name of a Saint, so his/her name can be celebrated on that day). It has been a tradition over the past few decades in Poland that people would have a small celebration on the day that is assigned to their name. In the case of concepts like this, I translated them directly to English and providing a footnote explaining what that concept means. Regional language differences also caused problems in some cases. Interviewees who grew up in different parts of Poland from myself were
using expressions that I had never heard. This was resolved by asking them to explain
these expressions to me and to literally ‘translate them from Polish to Polish’.

*Interviews – looking back after the analysis*

The interviews provided me with very useful data that could not be gathered during
participant observation. The fact that they were all recorded meant that I was able to
analyse them more systematically than the field notes, thus allowing me to illustrate
certain concepts and features with appropriate quotes from the interviews. Asking
direct questions about their personal biographies allowed me to collect retrospective
information about their lives. It also gave me the opportunity to obtain detailed
information about the nature of interviewees' jobs and workplaces, subjects that were
topics of informal interviews only to a limited extent. Also, as the interviews were
semi-structured, they were not just a loose conversation about the experience of living
in Ireland. In fact, I was able to ask direct questions about facts and about
interviewees' opinions on certain aspects of their migration journey.

One of the issues I came across during the conduct of the interviews was the
participants' own self-reflection. As I triangulated the data with participant
observation I discovered that some people only told me things that they wanted me to
hear, sometimes even changing the actual facts. One of the examples of this was an
interview with one Polish migrant with whom I socialised frequently. He was telling
me about house parties that I also attended and when I asked him about the
nationalities of people, who were at these parties, he said that they were mostly Polish
but also some of his Irish friends were there. Extremely surprised to hear that, I
actually switched off the recorder and asked him which friends he was talking about
and he said that there was one party to which an Irish guy from his work came.

Not only the facts but also the opinions could be questionable. One of the
interviewees continually said how happy she was with her job. Interestingly, during
informal chats with me she had quite the opposite opinion.

Another issue was the ‘question of intervention’, especially with those who
were interviewed several times (Moriarty et al., forthcoming). People were asked to
reflect on their lives and to answer questions that they normally would not pose to
themselves. This raises the issue of whether or not this reflection may have an
influence on their further decisions, thus influencing their situation during future
interviews.
Finally, as previously mentioned, my own personal background might have had an effect on the answers given in the interviews. The fact that I was a Polish migrant living in Dublin and that we shared knowledge about Poland and Ireland, often led to a situation when some cultural issues were 'taken for granted' by both, me and the interviewees. Nevertheless, as I progressed with the conduct of the interviews, I became more aware of this issue and I tried to ask the interviewees for more in-depth information. The fact that I was a woman also might have had an influence on the answers that were given to me. My 'middle-class' background, shared with the participants was also of an importance. In some cases people were careful about what they said and how they said it, sometimes directly refusing to reveal, for example, any stereotypes that they believed. In fact, when asked 'what do you think about people of other nationalities who live in Ireland' only one person had some negative comments.

The information and opinions that were not given to me were, to a certain extent provided through participant observation. On the other hand, what I was also able to gather from the interviews, was the information not obtained in participant observation due to the more informal character of conversations that were not recorded on the tape.

Ethics of the Research
Throughout the course of my research I followed the ethical guidelines of the Sociological Association of Ireland. The research itself and the usage of the methods of data collection used follow the ethical guidelines of the Sociology of Ireland Association. Due to the research subject there is no danger of the participants to be harmed either by the research process or by its consequences. Also, as most of the participants did not want to be recognised, I protected their anonymity by assuring them that none of their personal data or any personal information would be used in this thesis and that none of them can be recognised by anybody else other than themselves. All of the formal interviewees were fully informed about their participation and the purpose of the research. All of them also signed an Informant Consent Form, allowing me to use the data from the interviews as long as their identity was confidential. Participant observation did not allow me to obtain such consent, but I conducted overt research and I was always honest about my role as a research. None of the participants ever objected to being a part of this study.
In addition to that, as previously stated, ethical issues were the reason for not undertaking a systematic analysis of the online forum for the purpose of this research. There has been ongoing debate among social scientists about what is ethical and what is not while doing online research (e.g. Walther, 2002; Markham, 2005, Waskul, 1996). Markham (2005: 813) points out several concerns about using materials published online, for example, on online forums, chat-rooms and bulletin boards. First of all, it has not been agreed whether these ‘places’ should be considered as public or as private. It could be assumed that some of the users of such websites perceive it as private. Even if permission for the research is agreed by all of the site members at a certain point of time (which is highly unlikely to be possible for technical reasons and could be achieved only when a website has a small group of users) these discussion sites are very dynamic and new members join all the time. Furthermore, even when ‘nicknames’ are changed for the purpose of the analysis, someone could be traced back through search engines or by somebody's unique writing style. Finally, minors and vulnerable persons are sometimes difficult to identify.

After taking all of these considerations into account, I decided not to systematically analyse the online discussion. Anonymity of research participants has been one of my priorities and indeed, some of the conversations that happened on the forum could be traced back, even if translated to English. Also, it would not be possible to obtain the permission to use the online data from all participating in the forum due to a very high number of members.

Confidentiality for all the participants of this research, as well as the interviewees was not breached at any point. I did not inform anybody formally or informally who my interviewees were. I also never mentioned any real names, names of companies, towns of origin or any kind of information that could possibly compromise the anonymity of those present in the empirical part of this study. All of the names used in the analysis are pseudonyms. I strongly believe that none of the participants can be recognised, unless they themselves informed any third parties (families or friends) that they participated in this research.

Conclusions

In this chapter I outlined the qualitative methods used for the purpose of this study. Participant observation allowed me to observe migrants in natural settings, mostly
during after-hours activities, such as social gatherings and official and unofficial social events. Through the conduct of the qualitative interviews I was also able to ask specific questions, often about issues that did not feature in informal conversations. Even though the sample of those formally interviewed was relatively small, I collected large amount of data, as I conducted several interviews with some of the participants. In the interviews I also gathered information about their Polish friends and often about a Polish partner. In addition to that, while conducting participant observation, I also had the opportunity to have in-depth discussions with a number of other Polish migrants. Although they were not digitally recorded, accounts of them, as well as the content of the discussion, was part of my field notes.

The research was exploratory and I did not test any hypothesis. It also had a flexible design, with open-ended research questions and ongoing data collection conducted simultaneously with the data analysis. Representativeness was not the aim of this research and sampling had a purposive character. The main goal of this study was to explore what is new about this migration stream and to challenge some classical migration theories with the data collected.

As the research was auto-ethnographic I also outlined some details about my own personal background, which had an influence on the study itself. Being a Polish migrant in Ireland gave me the opportunity to have an insider's perspective and to share similar cultural experiences with those studied. Furthermore, my previous migration experience and time spend in the United States allowed me to compare and contrast the low skilled, often illegal Polish migrants living there and the young, skilled and unconstrained (by any labour market restrictions) Polish nationals in Ireland. Working with other researchers of non-Polish background, on the other hand, allowed me to gain a certain degree of the outsider's perspective. Discussions that I had with them helped me realise the things I took for granted and what cultural features need to be further explained for a non-Polish reader.
The aim of this chapter is to present some of the possible reasons and motivations of those relatively young and well educated Polish migrants who made the decision about leaving Poland and coming to Ireland around 2004. This analysis will be mainly conducted through a reference to a classical ‘push and pull’ model, developed by Everest Lee (1967). I will however adopt an approach to this model that was presented by Iglicka (1995) who argued that it is not the 'objective' factors that make the individuals move to another country but rather the perception and the significance that the individuals attribute to these factors. This approach seems to be especially relevant in case of ‘voluntary’ labour migrants who are often not forced to leave their country but rather make these decisions while still having a choice of staying. Furthermore, in the second part of the analysis, by presenting case studies of selected Polish migrants' career trajectories, I will argue that these migrants may not necessarily be ‘trapped’ in the secondary sector of the Irish labour market. The assumption of a ‘brain waste’ has been present in the Polish public debate since 2004, but, due to the situation on the Irish labour market and the free movement regime, this might not be valid in the case of some Polish migrants working in Ireland.

'Push' and 'Pull' Factors

As previously discussed, international mobility is not a new phenomenon to the Polish society. In fact, over many decades, migration has become one of the common strategies and responses to worsening economic conditions caused by the transition period of the 1990s as well as the political and economic situation during previous decades. As a result, complex migrant networks have been created and for many people in Poland it became 'normal' to have members of their immediate or extended family living or simply working abroad. Nevertheless, the collapse of communism in 1989 brought some important changes to Polish migrations, especially in relation to labour migration. Permanent emigration became less common and was replaced by temporary or circular migration that provided individuals or families with a main or at
least additional income. This situation seemed to be a result of two main factors: firstly, the gradually increased freedom of movement, especially to other European countries, and secondly, the economic transition that took place in Poland from 1989 onwards. The EU enlargement in 2004 brought another significant change to Polish migrations as since then there were no more limitations on the length of stay of Polish nationals in the EU15 countries. Moreover, the EU15 were gradually opening their labour markets thus allowing even more freedom of movement.

In her overview of recent international migration of Polish nationals, Korys (2003) describes the following equivalence of the 'objective push factors' influencing the decisions of the temporary or permanent move to another country:

1) A fear of lacking the financial means to sustain the achieved economic status or simply live in Poland
2) A feeling of relative deprivation, intensified as a result of the transformation
3) A feeling of hopelessness and a lack of faith in any change in the status quo on the individual level (...) as well as the systemic level
4) A social memory of migrants being routes to success, which is being strengthened by the large Polish Diaspora

(Korys, 2003: 36)

What seems to be emphasised in the above typology is the predominantly economic character of these factors. Although Polish nationals did travel to another countries for labour purposes before the breakdown of the communism in 1989, as a result of the systemic transition that took place in 1990s some groups of Polish society became more likely to seek additional or main income abroad. Therefore it does seem necessary to analyse some features of the transition process in order to better understand the motivations of pre- and post-accession Polish migrants. Post-1989 transition in Poland was a continuing process and during the initial phase, the Polish socio-economic situation could be characterised by:

1) Economic reforms, including liberation of the labour market and privatisation (part of the 'Balcerowicz Plan')

\[^{3}\text{It has often been argued that the limited length of stay had a major influence on the circular character}\]
2) Growing unemployment
3) The growth of social inequalities and pauperisation of certain parts of the population along with the existence of wealth enclaves
4) Continuing inflation
5) Unstable situation on the political stage, including growing number of different political parties and conflicts.

(Sztompka, 1996: 46-47)

In fact, the situation on the political stage remained unstable throughout all of the transition phases. Several significant changes of power took place from 1989. Following the split of Solidarity, 29 parties won seats in the parliament during the 1991 elections. There were different prime ministers between 1991 and 1993 and several different parties had to form a coalition. There was then a power take-over by the post-communist party from 1993 until 1997. However, the 1997 parliamentary elections were won again by the post-Solidarity block, and the coalition of Solidarity Electoral Action and the Freedom Union was created at that time. The 2001 elections were won by the post-communist party again but after the 2005 general elections the government was formed by Law and Justice, a right-wing post-Solidarity party (Wydra, 2000; Markowski, 2006).

After the initial hardship and political instability, continued economic reforms helped the Polish economy to develop relatively well. In fact by the end of 1990s Poland was the fastest developing country amongst all other post-Soviet block states. The unemployment rate grew only until 1994 when it reached its peak at the level of 16.7 per cent and after that it gradually fell to almost 11 per cent in January 1998 (GUS). The economy, however, did slow down at the very end of 1990s, resulting in the growth of unemployment from 1998 onwards. The highest rate of unemployment, 20 per cent, was recorded in 2003. In 2004, when Poland joined the EU, the unemployment rate was at of 19 per cent which was the highest rate amongst all of the EU 25 countries (with the average of 9.1 per cent), followed by Slovakia with 17.6 per cent and then Lithuania with 11.4 per cent (Eurostat). Changes of unemployment rates in Poland, in comparison to EU 15 and EU25 countries are illustrated by the following graph:
As a result of the economic changes and the dismantled social safety nets, many parts of the population were hit not only by the unemployment, but also by the social and economic hardship and poverty. The inequalities between the poorest and the richest have largely grown and the generational and regional disparities have become more and more visible. (Wydra, 2000). With regards to unemployment itself, it has been argued that it could be characterised by the following characteristics: long term character; high regional diversity; predominance in the number of unemployed females; and finally, the predominance of young people amongst the unemployed. The rate of unemployment for the age group of 25 and less reached the highest level (42.5 per cent) in 2002. It was also relatively high in 2004, when the rate of unemployment for this age group in Poland was 39.6 per cent, compared to 18.3 per cent average in all EU 25 countries. In addition to that, by 2003 the number of unemployed people with a third level qualification was higher than the number of all 2002/2003 college graduates. (Rajkiewicz, 2005).

While it has been argued that it was still easier to find employment for those who had a third level qualification, the growing unemployment rate amongst college graduates might have been a result of the fact that the number of people having a tertiary level education grew rapidly from the 1990s onwards. In the middle of the 1990s, 6.8 per cent of Polish population had a third level degree and by 2006 this
proportion rose to 14.6 per cent of the whole population. In addition, many high school leavers were choosing social sciences, arts, and humanities as opposed to technical and engineering majors (Smiech, 2007) and it could be argued those having qualifications in these areas might have had problems with finding their first jobs after graduation as they may not have met the labour market requirements.

As previously mentioned, difficult economic conditions as well as the high level of unemployment have been major factors influencing the decisions about looking for employment outside of Poland. Korys (2003) differentiates between three different types of post-1989 Polish migration. First, was the migration of unskilled labour force to the secondary sectors of the host countries' economies. Most of these migrants could not secure jobs in Poland and thus were finding illegal or semi-legal jobs elsewhere; many of them were also 'delegated' by the family to migrate and generate additional or main source of the household income abroad. Second, was the migration of the unskilled labour force based on bilateral contracts and agreements between Poland and other countries. Most of these migrations were rather short term and many of these migrants actually had jobs back in Poland. In such cases employment abroad was a source of additional income only. Finally, the third type was the migration of highly skilled people to the primary sectors of the host countries' economies. In addition, Korys (2003) also refers to young college graduates who were willing to undertake employment in the secondary sector of the host country labour market. She argues that for many of them it was perceived to be 'cool' and 'fashionable' to work, for example, in a pub in London or elsewhere. In her opinion, many of the university graduates did experience difficulties in securing a satisfying job in Poland.

Despite the actual level of unemployment amongst young college graduates, the opinion about many young college graduates having difficulties with securing employment was present at the time of Poland's EU accession. As previously mentioned, it is the perception of the objective factors that is most important for the individuals' decision about migrating to another country. It is even more important if we take into account that many of those graduates, who left Poland around the time of the 2004 EU enlargement, had not yet entered the labour market. In many cases they might have decided to move to another country as opposed to find a job at home.

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4 Source: www.poland.gov.pl/?document=45
especially in a situation of a gradual opening of the EU labour markets. In addition, I will argue that it was not necessarily only the actual experience or fear of unemployment that was the major factor for these migrants and that the wage differences also played a very important role. As I have discovered through the course of my research, many of these young, well educated Polish migrants in Ireland did have jobs before they left Poland but they were not satisfied with their wages. In fact, none of those with whom I conducted formal interviews were registered as unemployed at the time of leaving Poland and were either in full time employment or had just graduated from college. Most of them, however, explicitly mentioned their financial situation as the main factor influencing their decision to look for a job elsewhere. That was, for example, the case of Agata. She had a technical third level qualification but she was working as an office clerk in Poland. When I asked her why she left the country she said:

Agata: It was a very simple reason: money. Better future. Because I got married... My husband was working, I was working, two small wages, you pay the rent, you pay everything and there were no conditions for getting what we were trying to approach, I don't know, to develop culturally, to go to the theatre or a movie, to buy the books or whatever.

Another of my interviewees, Patrycja, was employed in a promotion department in her local county council. She really liked and enjoyed the job, but was very unhappy about her salary. As she said herself:

Patrycja: You know, it was like that that I was... 27 years old, you know, you are approaching 30... And when I went with my sister, you know, back then, in those times...to the bank to ask for a mortgage, that women, you know, practically laughed in my face. I am saying: 'Damn it, you are approaching the age of thirty, no real chances for the...' [I had a] stable job, but my last paycheque that I had in Poland was 1090 Zlotys net. Of course, there are people who were earning 700 Zlotys net back then. But well... I wanted something more and that's why I left. Because that money... I thought that: 'What, that I would rent a room and share, you know, the apartment with four other people for the rest of my life?'...
The above quotes illustrate the first two of Korys’s hypotheses about the main push factors influencing decisions about migration in Poland, the fear of financial instability. Obviously, Patrycja could not obtain a mortgage as her earnings were too low. The financial factor was crucial in her case. As will be further illustrated in this chapter, she came to Ireland by using an employment agency that was recruiting workers from Poland shortly after the EU enlargement in 2004. Her first job in Ireland was manual, but after a relatively short period of time she managed to find a position as an IT technician in a large IT corporation.

On the other hand, it needs to be emphasised that those, who left Poland regardless of having full time employment, could often 'live' on the money that they were earning. The problem was, however, that just like in case of Patrycja, their lower wages were preventing them from achieving certain material and non-material goals like buying an apartment or self-development, which may have led to a feeling of frustration. It may also be the case that these migrants experienced relative deprivation, especially given the fact that many of those, who received a third level qualification earlier in the 1990s, had much better opportunities of upward mobility and rapid careers in the rapidly growing private sector, especially if they knew English. A university degree and knowledge of foreign languages was no longer a guarantee of good employment by the 2000s. Some also complained about the working conditions back in Poland. For example, two of my interviewees who worked in Poland as architects did not have formal contracts with their employers and as a result they experienced lack of stability and security, in addition to low wages. Another interviewee, Dorota, also expressed what Korys (2003) called a ‘feeling of hopelessness and a lack of faith in any change in the status quo on the individual and systemic level’. Despite having an engineering qualification, she worked in Poland in the public sector and her employment was not linked to her educational background. When explaining her reasons for leaving Poland she referred to her bad situation at work. Her reasoning can be illustrated by the following quote:

Dorota: Well, anyway, after the divorce I moved back with my parents and I was working in this customs office, the last one that I worked for [...] Raises, you know, on a kind of symbolic basis and the boss could even say to you: ‘Be happy that you are getting your money on time’, right? And besides that, as I was saying, I moved back with my parents and I thought
that I am too old to live with my parents; there was no chance of buying a
place on my own, renting out didn’t make any sense because in that case
you are loading half of your salary into somebody else’s pocket... And I
have graduated from college, the piece of paper [meaning her college
diploma] was put into the drawer, because in Poland there was no chance
of going to work as an engineer as I would have had to go down from the
salary of 2,000 to 800 [Polish Zlotys], and I didn’t want that, and... And I
also tried, but nobody wanted to hire me.

Nevertheless, further on in the interview she also related to a general situation in
Poland and expressed her hopelessness. As she said, one of the reasons why she did
not want to live in Poland anymore was as follows:

Dorota: I have been living in this world for a few years and since primary
school I remember that: ‘Now we have to tighten your belt but it will be
better in a few years time’. But it was never any better. I mean it was better
in the 90s, right?... But it all failed and when you see what’s going on...

According to Sztompka (1996) this lack of trust was also one of the characteristics of
Polish society in 1990s. He argues that due to the economic and political situation of
Poland at that time members of Polish society developed a syndrome of distrust in
financial and political institutions. It could also be argued that Poland, like other
former Communist Block countries, has had a longer tradition of such distrust in state
agencies, which could further relate to historical circumstances of prolonged periods
without political independence and the occupation of the country by other states for
many decades in the past. One of the behavioural indicators of this distrust would be
to leave the country. This seems to be a good explanation for the emigration of those
who never tried to look for an employment in Poland: some of them might have
simply lacked the hope that they would find a job that would satisfy them, at least
financially.

Furthermore, in some of the interviews financial motivations did not emerge
as the primary reason for migration. Some of those to whom I talked perceived
working abroad as a career opportunity or even an advantage of 'trying something
new'. This was the case of Bartek who left Poland straight after obtaining a third level
degree in civil engineering. As he said:
Bartek: I left Poland because... I was terribly tired with [name of Polish city]. I couldn’t cope with that. That was the main reason. I wanted to see something new. It rather wasn’t about the money. Nor that I wouldn’t find a job in my profession. It was rather... To leave to be able to... If you are young then you have to go somewhere. Later on you may not have a chance. So... And maybe, in the second place, for some financial benefits.

A similar reasoning was given to me by Gosia, a Polish architect who came to Ireland after graduating from college. She had a part time job in an architectural company in Poland at the time of leaving the country. Although she mentioned better financial opportunities abroad, she also claimed that higher earnings were not the most important for her and her partner when they made the decision about leaving the country. The following quote illustrates that:

Alicja: So what made you leave Poland?
Gosia: .... It is a good question. It is the simplest answer: we were sitting on a couch with my boyfriend and we simply came to a conclusion that we want to leave in order to travel around the world a little bit. It looked more or less like. Well, we were simply curious. It wasn’t strictly related to financial conditions. [...] So we mainly came here in order to... in order to see how it is abroad, how it is to live here... Automatically knowing that you can earn better money here and... and to travel around the world a little bit and so on.

This issue, in fact, may require further exploration. There is a common assumption that migrants from the 'old' EU member states very often migrate for rather non-financial reasons while the migration from the ‘new’ EU member states seem to perceived as purely economic (Recchi, 2008). It might, however, be argued that while Polish migrants do leave their country due to their financial situation, some may have additional reasons to do so: career progress; learning a language and new skills; or simply for adventure and an opportunity of change. It may also be argued that original motivations to emigrate may change over time. In such case it could be the case, that while many left Poland for financial reasons, there were then other factors
that influenced their decisions to stay in the destination country or to move back to the country of origin. This issue will be further analysed in a Chapter 6.

As previously stated, it is not only the situation in the country of origin that plays a significant role in the migration process. Analysis of the situation in the potential host country could explain why migrants chose this particular destination. In the previously cited overview of pre-accession Polish migrations, Korys (2003) also lists the equivalence of the 'objective pull factors'. According to her, the decisions of Polish migrants about the potential destination country were influenced by the following:

a) An ‘inherent and inexhaustible demand for a cheap and flexible migrant labour force in the capitalist economy (Piore 1979), resulting in an unproblematic and successful job search and accompanied by the relatively ease of entry into some countries, especially of the EU zone (Jordan, Duvell, 2002)(...)

b) Broad social networks built by the new economic migrants (who have emigrated in the previous 30-40 years) staying abroad temporarily or permanently. Individuals searching for illegal job on the secondary labour market usually turn to them for help and accommodation (Kaczmarczyk 2001a, Giza 1997a)

c) Geographical and/or cultural proximity, whereby the main flows of Polish economic migrants are directed to “familiarised” places in which networks have been operating, mainly selected EU member states (Germany and the UK), the US and Canada

d) The demand for special services and wage differences. This is particularly true in the case of highly-qualified professionals, especially doctors, finance specialists and engineers, as well as individuals having skills that are in demand (...)

e) Any particular resources at migrant’s disposal (like dual citizenship or language skills) (...)(Korys, 2003: 37)

It needs to be emphasised that Ireland was not a destination country for Polish migrants until late 1990s and early 2000s, thus the ‘broad social networks built by the new economic migrants’ between Poland and Ireland probably were not on a large scale. It was not only the case that Polish nationals were not choosing Ireland as a
destination country until the recent past. In fact, unlike many other highly developed countries Ireland has become a country of immigration only recently. It was rather perceived as a country of emigration to the United States and the United Kingdom. The population of Ireland declined from the Great Famine in 1840s until the 1950s, and emigration was one of the major factors in that process. In fact during that period Ireland had the highest rates of emigration per capita in Europe and immigration to Ireland almost did not exist. This situation changed in the 1960s and 1970s with an improvement in the economy and Ireland's EU accession in 1973. Emigration actually declined in these decades, mostly as a result of return migration of Irish emigrants and their children and between 1971 and 1979 Ireland experienced net immigration for the first time since the foundation of the Irish State. However, due to the economic recession in the 1980s and rapidly growing unemployment, Ireland faced outward migration of its citizens again. In 1988/1989, 2 per cent of the entire population left the country (Mac Einri and White, 2008: 153; Corcoran, 2002: 176). Up until the 1990s Ireland was a country of not only high unemployment and mass emigration, but also could be characterised by high inflation, fiscal crisis, growing taxation and falling profits. Since 1994, however, Ireland experienced large economic growth thus becoming more and more attractive for migrants from around the world.

There are different views on what caused the economic boom and transformed the country into so-called 'Celtic Tiger'. Most explanations, however, agree on both short term and long term factors that played a major role in this boom. The long term factors include the policies that were encouraging foreign direct investment to Ireland since the late 1950s, the introduction of free secondary education in late 1960s and the entering the European Community in 1973. In addition to that there were some short term factors, like the membership in the European Monetary Union, the strengthening of social partnership in relation to wage bargaining and a general world trend in the demand for workers in the occupations related to technical innovations, mainly in IT, pharmaceutical, and medical sectors (Hughes and Quinn, 2004). As a result of all of these changes the unemployment rate gradually fell from approximately 16 per cent in 1993 to 3.7 per cent in 2001 (Messina, 2008). The economic boom also created large skills shortages in certain sectors and a demand for
workers. These shortages were still in existence even recently. In 2005 Forfas identified the following sectors as those experiencing either skill or labour shortages: construction, financial services, engineering, information technology, pharmaceuticals, healthcare, transport, sales, catering, services, and food manufacturing. Some of those shortages could not be filled by the domestic workforce. In the case of low skilled jobs, many of them became unattractive to Irish nationals due to the lower wages or lower social status. Employment in this category is very often more likely to be undertaken by migrants (Piore, 1979). Higher skilled positions, on the other hand, might have been difficult to fill due to the lack of domestically trained specialists and workers and thus there was a necessity to 'import' migrant workers, who had qualifications that would allow them to perform these jobs.

As a result, starting from the early to mid-1990s Ireland started to experience inward migration with net migration raising from 8,000 in 1996 to over 41,000 in 2002, remaining high at the level of 32,000 in 2004 (Ruhs, 2005). Many of those who came to the country during that period were returning Irish emigrants (Lentin and McVeigh, 2006), but also many were other EU and non-EU nationals (Hughes and Quinn, 2004). In 2004 Ireland opened its labour market to the citizens of 10 New Member States. The number of migrants arriving from these 10 countries rose significantly around that time, and Polish nationals were the largest group amongst these new immigrants coming to this country.

The economic situation in Ireland seemed to be one of the most important 'pull' factors influencing the decision to migrate to this country rather than to other EU countries that also had their labour markets open to the New Member States nationals. I would argue that there were two major aspects of this situation: relatively high wages in Ireland and the large demand for both, high and low skilled workers. In fact the wage gap was very significant. At the time of the 2004 EU enlargement the minimum wage in Poland was set at the level of 176.8 Euros per month compared to 1,073 Euros per month in Ireland. By 2007 it was raised to a level of 245.5 Euros per month in Poland and 1,403 Euros per month in Ireland. While my interviewees did not explicitly say that they chose Ireland because of that, it could be argued that as most of them reported the frustration with very low earnings in Poland they did

5 Forfas is Ireland's policy advisory board for enterprise, trade, science, technology and innovation that provides independent research, advice and support in the areas of enterprise and science policy.
expect to receive higher salaries after moving to Ireland. Interestingly only the architects claimed that they were aware of the fact of skill rather than labour shortages in Ireland and that they heard from friends who were already there that 'there is a boom for architects in Ireland' or 'loads of work for architects over there'. Some were also considering the United Kingdom as another country of destination but they perceived the situation in Ireland as a better one:

Alicja: And tell me, why did you go to Ireland, what made you do it, how did it look like?
Wojtek: The thing that made me do it... I left with my girlfriend and we both agreed that... First of all we were both stating that we would leave Poland, probably permanently. So we were researching both markets, in England and in Ireland. And we agreed that it would calculate better if we go to Ireland
Alicja: Why?
Wojtek: From what we were reading on the internet and from talking to some friends we got that there were more jobs over there, that you earned slightly more... Besides that, there was this opinion that Ireland is friendlier. Friendlier for immigrants than England.
(Interview with Wojtek, civil engineer)

Wojtek was not the only one who expressed his opinion about 'Ireland being more friendly'. This notion, however, might not be necessarily based on the actual knowledge about the country. As was said by Gosia:

Gosia: Ireland seemed to be nicer that England. I have no idea why, because all of my knowledge about Ireland was based on some TV programmes, pictures and tourists guides, but the connotations about Ireland are nicer than those about the UK.

Interestingly none of the interviewees mentioned the fact that Ireland was a catholic country. One of the possible explanations for that may be that although the Catholic Church had a large influence on Polish society during the communist period and during the transformation period (Mach, 2000), for that particular group of people the role of church was not significant.
Furthermore, some chose Ireland 'by coincidence' as they were recruited by Irish companies while still in Poland. These migrants were considering going to an English speaking country, however they did not have a clear preference for Ireland:

Marek: Well, I was thinking either about England or Ireland. I was learning some English in high school, so it was kind of the obvious choice. (...) Why did I leave? Because the opportunity came up... There was an opportunity of going to the prefabrication plant as an operator [In Ireland]

Patrycja: I simply came across an article in a local newspaper, that the [name of the company in Ireland] employees came to [name of a town] and together with Job Centre in [name of a town in Poland] are looking for people, they are recruiting for Intel in Ireland. And went [there], you know, I submitted my cv, they invited me for an interview, I had the interview... They were paying for the ticket, they were paying for the accommodation for the first month (...). I simply had the accommodation guaranteed, I had a place to sleep, I didn't have to have God knows how much money for the start in Ireland. You could... borrow the money from the company for a start as well, because they were aware of the fact that some people were coming with 50 Euros in their pockets. That's how it worked.

Besides all of the above factors it seems to be the case that what played the most important role in many cases were the social networks. Despite the new character of these migration streams many people already knew somebody in Ireland before leaving Poland. Most of the interviewees claimed that through those networks they gained access to accommodation and, what is even more important, information about Ireland. In addition some were able to secure jobs through friends that they knew back in Poland. Bartek, civil engineer, could not only count on a place to stay after arriving in Ireland and the information about formalities related to getting a PPS number or opening a bank account, but he also had a job secured starting from his first day in the country:

Bartek: In the beginning I was also sending CVs to England. Only to England, in fact. But then I talked to a friend. And that friend got me in Dublin... We talked on an instant messenger. And he said that I can come
and he will get something for me. And because I didn’t have the job fixed anywhere else then I came where everything was settled for me.

Moreover I would argue that some would never leave Poland at all if they did not have any friends or members of family in Ireland (or elsewhere). Justyna, architect who came to Ireland in early 2005 explained her choice as follows:

Justyna: I got an email from my friends from college asking me, you know, to come, because there is work for architects in Ireland
Alicja: So it was them who contacted you?
Justyna: Yes. They had contacted me. I wasn’t even interested in that, because from the moment when... If they hadn’t offered it to me I wouldn’t have even... I remember when they were saying to me that they were going to Ireland and I was thinking ‘To Ireland?’, and so on... ‘Who goes to Ireland?’

What emerges from the data is that there are several modes of entry to Ireland and into the Irish labour market. Most of my interviewees already knew somebody in Ireland before leaving Poland and they made a use of social capital accumulated in these newly formulated migrant networks. Some were, however, recruited directly from Poland, did not have any friends living in Ireland, and in that case were arriving in the country while having a job and accommodation secured by their employer. Finally there were those arriving without any existing connections such as friends or the recruiter. In these cases, social capital usually accumulated in the networks, had to be substituted by other form of capital, for example human capital. Lack of social capital is then compensated by the individual migrant’s characteristics such as skills, education, experience or knowledge of the host country language. Indeed, data collected for this research show that a third level degree, good level of English, or past experience of working in other English speaking countries were a great advantage for those without initial connections in Ireland and helped them find first employment in Ireland. Nevertheless, they eventually started their own migration chains and also extended their ethnic networks in Ireland, which will be further analysed in Chapter 7.
From the Secondary to the Primary Sector of the Irish Labour Market. Case study of Polish Architects and Engineers.

While there have been a number of studies conducted on post-accession Polish migrants in the EU-15 countries, most of it focuses on those who are filling the gaps in the secondary sectors of the host countries’ labour markets. The fact that many of those relatively young and well educated, who have recently left Poland were employed significantly below their level of qualifications has also been a topic of Polish public debate. Many raised their concerns about the so-called ‘brain drain’ phenomena, followed by the potential ‘brain-waste’ situation (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk, 2009).

There are no doubts that many of the recent Polish migrants in Ireland have been employed below their qualifications, very often in low-skilled occupations. It was also the case of some who I have formally and informally interviewed during my fieldwork. One of the examples amongst my interviewees is Agata, who has a third level qualification in engineering management. She came to Ireland, along with her husband, in summer of 2005. Her husband had already a job secured through his uncle and after coming to Dublin he started to work as a labourer on one of the construction sites. Initially Agata was trying to find an office job but after a while it became clear that her level of English was not sufficient. She finally managed to find a job as a waitress in a hotel where she still works after few years. She never tried to find employment within her qualifications. Pawel, another one of my interviewees, who has a Masters Degree in International Studies, only worked in Ireland as an unskilled construction worker. Despite having a vocational qualification in geodesy he never tried to find an employment within this profession, although there were a lot of skill shortages in this area in 2004 and 2005. He claims that what prevented him from achieving success on the Irish labour market was his insufficient level of English and lack of self-confidence.

I would argue, however, that many of the Polish migrants in Ireland had an opportunity of finding employment within their qualifications and that some succeeded in securing a job within the primary sector of the Irish labour market. According to 2006 Census, 31 per cent of all Polish nationals employed in Ireland were non-manual workers:
Table 5.1: Employment Structure of Polish Nationals in Ireland 2006:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employers and managers</td>
<td>1,597</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher professional</td>
<td>1,290</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower professional</td>
<td>1,331</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-manual</td>
<td>11,670</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual skilled</td>
<td>12,885</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled</td>
<td>10,773</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>6,128</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own Account, agricultural</td>
<td>1,167</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>workers and farmers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (including unknown)</td>
<td>2,923</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total at work</td>
<td>49,764</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CSO, 2006

As previously said, the Irish economic boom created not only labour, but also skill shortages. This was especially the case in the growing construction sector which, by 2006, accounted for a total share of 26 per cent in Irish GDP. Besides labour shortages and shortages for certain construction trades like bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters, floorers and painters and decorators, this sector also encountered skill shortages including architects, civil engineers, project managers and experienced site managers. What emerges from my fieldwork which, to a large extent, included conversations with Polish architects and engineers working in Ireland, is a certain notion of 'easiness' in finding a job within this profession before the recent recession. Some of my formal interviewees even claimed that 'back then' the employers were 'crying out for people' and employing anybody who could work as an assistant engineer, civil engineer or architect. In many cases even the language barrier was not a major obstacle, especially if there were other Polish nationals employed by the company who were fluent English speakers. Moreover, some of the engineers working on a construction site in Dublin reported cases of 'being used' as a translator between the managers and the low-skilled Polish labourers who did not speak English at all. In such a case it could have been argued that it was convenient for the employers to hire higher-skilled Polish workers as non-manual workers on their construction sites thus eliminating the problem of employing an interpreter.

It emerges from the data that there have been two main paths of entering the 'good' jobs by those Polish migrants whom I have formally and informally
interviewed. The first path was represented by those who were finding their initial employment in Ireland below the level of their qualifications, often in the secondary sector of the labour and then, having their income secured, looking for a job within or close to their specialisation, either through formal recruitment process or through informal social networks. In such cases the lower skilled jobs were not ‘traps’ that are often experienced by immigrants but rather ‘bridges’ between the initial financial hardship and the better position on the labour market. For the purpose of this analysis I will use the cases of two civil engineers and two architects to illustrate these two different ‘paths’:

Marek was the only one of my interviewees, who had come to Ireland before the EU enlargement in May 2004. He left Poland in September 2002 and at that time he was 26 years old. Before coming to Ireland he obtained two degrees in civil engineering from one of the Polish Institutes of Technology; he also worked as a civil engineer in two companies in Poland, for a period of two years. Moreover, he also did internships while studying in college and worked in another EU country during summer holidays as a manual labourer. While still living and working in Poland he found a newspaper advertisement about recruitment to a prefabrication plant based in Ireland. Marek liked his Polish employers but, as he said himself:

Marek: So I didn’t drop all of that because something was wrong with the job, but because the market simply collapsed and we had less and less work to do, it was more and more difficult to get some reasonable money… And besides that, the opportunity came up, so I packed my stuff and left…

As illustrated in the above quote, his motivations were almost purely economic. He thus applied for this job in Ireland; he successfully got it and the company arranged a work permit for him. He came to Ireland with two other workers and his role was mainly to supervise them:

Marek: I came here with two other similar to me, but those were kind of experienced construction workers. Guys in their 40s and with zero English. So I came with them so they don’t perish here, and to work in addition to that. That company was supposed to get more from people to Poland and I
was supposed to be... somebody like a foreman for those Polish who were
going to keep the machines running, to keep the production running.

He worked for that company for eight months and after that he left to start a job
within his profession. In fact that was part of his initial plan and it also was quite easy
for him to find a job which was more related to his qualifications:

Marek: Well, I promised myself back then that I would have come for a
year, we would see what would happen and in the meantime I would look
around if there are any possibilities to work in my profession, because, to
be honest with you, I could merely imagine that... First of all, different
standards, secondly, the English, and I thought to myself that it would take
a lot of time before I could start working in my profession.

Following the ads in the press and on the Internet he sent out four CVs and three
companies got back to him. After an interview with a second company he was offered
a job:

Marek: I submitted my application, and it was an interview for a position
that was slightly below my qualifications, because it was a technician
position. So I was going to draw the drawings for the engineers. Because
here, as it turned out and of what I wasn’t conscious, it is the technicians
who draw the drawings, and in Poland it is also the young engineers, so I
didn’t feel like I had been doing something not right and I had started from
such position.

In his opinion the main reason for him getting this job was the fact that there were
large labour shortages in the construction sector and 'they were basically hiring
everybody'. In addition to that, as he himself admits, although the job was within his
profession, his initial position in the company was still below his qualifications. The
salary was also significantly lower than the one that he was receiving in the
prefabrication plant. His position improved after a short period of time as he was
being gradually promoted:
Marek: I spent only a few months as a technician in this company... And after half year we started to talk whether or not I would like start to design something. I started with the constructions, because I was doing that in Poland; then there was an opportunity to move to the another project, with a possibility of a promotion and that's what I had done without any contemplating.

In terms of earnings he initially 'fell' from 40,000 Euros per year in the plant to 21,000 Euros per year in the engineering company. His salary was then being increased each year and after 3 years he finally started to earn more than in the very first job that he had had in Ireland. He now has a senior position in the firm. In his opinion it was the nature of the booming labour market that allowed him to progress in such way, and, as he said, it would not be possible under different circumstances:

Marek: My entire professional experience after college would be... Seven years at the moment... And I am at some managerial position. In the normal market, that is not developing in a crazy way, it probably wouldn't happen. So from that point of view it is maybe slightly too fast, but on the other hand, of course, I am happy and I would probably want more.

Another example of 'moving up' from the lower level employment positions would be Wojtek, who came to Ireland in May 2005. At that time he had almost completed a Masters degree in civil engineering from one of the Polish Institutes of Technology. He had never worked in Poland in his occupation. Wojtek decided to leave Poland in order to improve his financial situation. He first thought about going to the UK but then changed his mind and decided to come to Ireland since the wages were slightly higher and Ireland seemed to him as a more 'friendly country' than the UK. When coming to Ireland, he did not have any existing connections and he had come here with his girlfriend 'on spec' without having any job or accommodation secured. Prior to coming to Ireland he had had a previous migration experience as he worked in the UK during summer holidays, mostly in the hospitality sector and in agriculture. At the beginning he did not expect much, and, as he said himself:
Marek: We were thinking that it would be hard to find jobs within our qualifications and we were even considering that we would be working some basic jobs for the first year or two, below our qualifications.

After three weeks of being in Ireland he found his first job as a manual worker. This situation did not last too long as after a few weeks of working there he found a job on a construction site as a site clerk. He got that job through his newly established Polish connections in Ireland as he shared his first flat with a couple of Polish architects whom he had not known before. During the work on that site he not only gradually transferred to a position of an assistant engineer, but also managed to get three of his friends from Poland employed on that site; two as assistant engineers as well and one (who had a very low proficiency in English) as an unskilled labourer. As his salary was quite low (24,000 Euros per year), Wojtek left that site in March 2006 and started to work as an assistant engineer with an employment agency that another of his Polish engineer friends already worked for. The wages that he was getting from the agency were significantly higher (around 40,000 Euros per year). However, the job was very insecure as he was being posted to different construction sites around Dublin every few weeks with no guarantee of a permanent position. For that reason Wojtek left the employment agency and after a few weeks he applied for an office engineering position within the public sector. He stayed in that job as it suited him and did not try to get a more senior position. As he kept emphasising to me, it was 'good enough' and he did not wish to gain more responsibilities and duties.

There is also evidence of some people finding their first employment in Ireland within their occupation a short time after arrival. That was mainly the case of most of the architects that I have talked to during the course of my research. Such as Gosia, who came to Ireland at the beginning of 2006. She moved along with her boyfriend and their main motivation to leave Poland was to experience living in a different country. Her boyfriend, who was an engineer, had already a job in Ireland secured before leaving Poland and therefore she did not have to find 'any' job at the very beginning as they had at least one income secured. Nevertheless, she found a job as an architect after a very short period of time. As she initially did not know that when applying for a job as an architect one should contact the potential employer via email, she spent first few days walking around the city and dropping the CVs into
different architectural firms. She described the process of looking for an employment as follows:

Gosia: But anyway, I came on Wednesday, then I was walking around on Thursday and Friday... And on Monday as well. And I think I was extremely lucky, because on Monday I said that I will stop walking around because there are no effects as I was only getting negative responses. Well yeah, it was only three days, but there were no positive responses, so I decided to start sending emails only. And Tuesday was the last day of dropping those CVs that were left and the last firm that I walked into... I dropped the CV, some guy took it from me and I left. And 10 minutes later some man called me and asked, if I could come back to the same office that I had left a moment ago... So I came back and I had something like an interview as I wasn’t really prepared; I had some samples of my portfolio, as far as I remember. But anyway, he asked me to send him an email with more samples of my work, so I did sent him an email in the evening, and in the morning he invited me for another interview. But as he said, that interview was only to tell me that he’s hiring me.

Gosia stayed in that job for the whole time of being in Ireland. In fact, even during the recession, her boss did not make her redundant and she was one of the two architects that he kept employed even when the economic situation was worsening. Staying in the same, initial employment was also the case of Justyna. She came to Ireland in January 2005 encouraged by two of her friends from college who were already working as architects in Dublin. Initially she did not want to leave Poland but these two friends ensured her that there were a lot vacancies in their profession and that she could earn better money than she did in Poland. They also helped her in the beginning, after she moved:

Gosia: I was living with them so... They help in a sense that they borrowed me the book with all of the firms in Dublin, so I didn’t have to look for that. And you know, I was sending my CV to all of the firms. It was a special booklet issued by RIAI [The Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland], the listing of all of the architectural firms in Dublin. So I was simply just sending to the offices that were located
more or less close to home. And... I wasn’t even going anywhere; I was only writing emails.

She found a job relatively quickly and, as she said it herself, she came to Dublin on Friday and she started working on next Friday. It was a medium size company and she got employed as a designing architect mainly working with 3D models. Just like Gosia, she also stayed in this job during the recession and her boss kept her as one of two remaining employees (after having to let go around 10 others employees due to the financial situation of his firm).

As shown through these four examples of Polish architects and engineers working in Ireland, it was relatively easy for those related to the construction sector to find employment within their area of qualification. These jobs were obtained in both formal and informal ways. In the case of the former, people were either replying to specific ads or by applying directly to the potential employer. In the latter case many secured a job through their immediate friends while some used more distant connections. Furthermore, none of those whom I formally and informally interviewed reported any problems with the recognition of their qualifications. Moreover, in many cases the recruitment process was quite informal. It also needs to be emphasised that the relatively easy way of securing jobs in the primary sector of the labour market was not only experienced by Polish architects and engineers and there is much evidence for Polish migrants working in Ireland in IT, financial services or administration.

Conclusion
There have been a number of factors that influenced the large migration outflows from Poland after the EU enlargement. The labour market situation in Poland at the time of accession was definitely one of them, yet it was not necessarily the actual unemployment experienced by the potential migrants but rather the perception of the economic situation and the fear of being unemployed or not finding a satisfactory job. In addition to that it needs to be emphasised that some of those who came to Ireland around accession time had been in full time employment prior to leaving Poland. In their case it was the wage differential that probably played a major role in making the decision about migration. In fact, what did emerge in the data collected was the large dissatisfaction about the wages offered in Poland. The perception of the Irish labour
market situation as being relatively good with very low levels of unemployment and much better wages was probably the main factor that influenced some Polish migrants to come to Ireland. It also needs to be emphasised that most of the interviewees, while reflecting on the choice of Ireland as a destination country, claimed that the only other country that they were taking in to the consideration was the United Kingdom. A possible explanation for that may be that the UK is also an English-speaking country and that it also opened its market directly in 2004. Furthermore, despite the novelty of this migration stream, social networks seemed to play a major role in choosing to come to Ireland. These networks acted as a safety net for migrants, providing them with information, accommodation and, in many cases, helping them to secure employment in the host country.

Specifically, the Irish economy of the early 2000s could be characterised not only by labour shortages, but also by skills shortages in certain sectors. This, combined with the legal status of Polish labour migrants in this country, allowed them to search for jobs in the primary sector of the Irish labour market. While many are still employed in the labour intensive sector, some managed to escape the trap of bottom level jobs and move to positions either related to their qualifications or at least the non-manual jobs. In such case the initial 'bad jobs' were only a 'path' for an upward mobility on the Irish labour market.

These post-accession migrations of relatively young and well educated people also seem to be different from the circular migrations of the unskilled labour force from the 1990s and early 2000s. In the case of the latter, migrants were delegated by a family and by working abroad were providing main or additional income for their households in Poland. On the contrary, most of the young Polish migrants in Poland do not have families of their own yet and in many cases they have moved to Ireland as singles, or along with their partners. In saying this I am not arguing that they do not send remittances back to Poland (for example to support their parents). In many cases, however, the decisions about migration were based on the individual level and migrants were not selected by households.

There are no doubts that the recent migration stream from Poland to Ireland has, to a large extent, an economic character. As presented in this chapter, this was also the case for most of my respondents. I will argue, however, that the motivations for staying in the destination country can change after migrants settle down in their
new environment. Chapter 5 will offer an analysis of the potential reasons for not going back to Poland, such as quality of life, political scene or social atmosphere.
CHAPTER 6: FROM LABOUR MIGRATION TO ‘QUALITY OF LIFE’ MIGRATION

Most theories related to migration tend to focus on two major areas. Firstly, many studies examine the act of migration, the movement across space, and the motivations of migrants in relation to their reasons for leaving their countries of origin as well as for choosing the destination country. According to these theories, migrants are classified as labour migrants, refugees, life-style and retirement migrants or as part of family reunification programmes. Secondly, theoretical discussions in addition to empirical research, examine the result of migration: the situation of migrants who are already in the destination country from the point of view of their social, cultural and economic integration to the host society (King, 2002: 91). There appears to be a gap between the two approaches and the interconnections between them sometimes requires further exploration.

Studies on Polish migration generally have tended to classify Polish migrants as either political exiles or those who left the country for economic reasons. Such classifications are based on the initial motivations for emigrating ('push' and 'pull' factors) and the situation of potential migrants during the act of migration. It could be argued, however, that both the situation and the motivations can change across time as other factors influence their decisions about staying in the host country, moving back to the country of origin, or going somewhere else. One of the examples of a drastic shift in external factors could be those Polish emigrants, who left the country during the communist period, became asylum seekers, and have been presented in the literature as 'political' migrants. While they were not able to go back to Poland prior to 1989, their situation changed after the collapse of the Iron Curtain and the start of a new democratic rule in their country of origin. Therefore, they were no longer 'political' exiles and had probably other reasons for remaining in their host country. On the other hand, those who came to Ireland in order to seek better financial opportunities may no longer have such opportunities due to the recent recession. It is often, however, the case that some of them stayed in this country even after losing their jobs and finding themselves unemployed. The initial motivations for not going
back or moving to another country are also not fixed, and can change after settlement in the new destination. Therefore, those who left their homes purely in order to improve their financial situation may continue to be emigrants for reasons other than economic. What probably requires further examination is not only why people move from one country to another but also why they then choose to stay.

After individuals move to a new environment, they also gain a new perspective as the point of reference changes for them. It has also been emphasised that ‘push and pull’ factors that are crucial in making the decision about leaving the country of origin and moving to the destination country are not objective representations of reality. What is more important is how potential migrants perceive the situation rather than what the situation is really like (Iglicka, 1995). Settling down is also an ongoing process during which the perception of factors as well as strategies can change. As White (2009: 69) points out:

> Few newly-arrived migrants immediately settle into a completely different and permanent way of life: searching and experimentation continues, with strategies constantly being reshaped in accordance with the migrant’s own changing perceptions and the constraints and opportunities present in the receiving community.

As analysed in the previous chapter, many of the recently arrived Polish migrants in Ireland did indeed leave Poland in order to improve their financial situation. Wage differentials between Poland and Ireland and relatively high unemployment rates in the former and very low unemployment levels in the latter were one of the most common reasons listed by those who were interviewed for the purpose of this study. Some came here encouraged by their friends, who were already in Ireland and who were sharing their success stories with them, thus increasing the importance of economic ‘push and pull’ factors. It could, however, be argued that while these migrants left Poland and came to Ireland only for economic reasons, they may have decided to stay in this country for other reasons. After a while they gain the opportunity to compare other conditions that, for obvious reasons, were not familiar to them prior to the move.

Indeed, what emerged from the collected data is the constant comparison between Poland and Ireland; comparisons that are not necessarily related to financial
conditions and the labour market situation. Firstly, these comparisons are based on the memory of living in Poland prior to moving to Ireland. Secondly, they are also renegotiated through more or less frequent visits to Poland. Finally, the general situation in Poland is assessed by migrants on the basis of the information from the media, mainly from those accessible on the Internet. Firstly, my respondents, especially those with previous professional experience from Poland were comparing workplace culture in the two countries. Secondly, what was often mentioned in conversations was the better 'social atmosphere' and general kindness of people in Ireland. Some females in particular, favoured the Irish culture as being more relaxed and less conservative in terms of the expectations of one's personal and professional achievements. Poland was also criticised for its high level of bureaucracy. Finally, what was also a subject of discussions were the issues related to Polish politics and the public sphere. All of these aspects will be further analysed in this chapter.

Work, Workplace and Careers

One of the factors that seemed to be important for the respondents was their working conditions and social interaction at work, in addition to being appreciated by their supervisors and bosses. This appears to be especially crucial for those who had previous working experience from Poland. Justyna, an architect who was working in a medium-size Dublin architectural company, had a very negative perception of her former Polish employer. She did not have a formal contract, which was a quite common situation at that time; she also did not feel that her boss was treating her work as valuable. She emphasised several times that her Polish boss did not like her original ideas and, in fact, all she was doing was re-drawing her boss's designs. On the other hand, she really liked her job in Ireland because, in her opinion, she was treated better and she felt much more appreciated. She enjoyed the level of independence given to her by her Irish boss and the way she was treated at work:

Justyna: Well, I really, really like it. I am delighted. I really like my job. And I am doing what I always wanted to do. Because I am designing. From the very beginning, you know, I am kind of a person who designs. And my boss, of course, has the last word, but he is kind of an advisory, you know, he can say that he doesn't like something and he likes something else, but it is like we are equal. In the whole decision making process. Where in
Poland, you know, I was simply, you know like that [showed the small size with her fingers] and my boss, you know, was making the decisions about everything. So from that point of view I really like it and, you know, we are, you know, professional colleagues and nobody is, you know, better or worse and that’s all.

In addition to being appreciated, the more relaxed atmosphere at work featured in the interviews with those migrants who were working in white-collar professions. Patrycja, working in IT support, with whom I conducted several interviews, often emphasised the importance of less formal relations at work when making comparisons to the relations she had when employed in Poland. One of the examples she referred to several times was that of being late to work in Ireland. She got very stressed out the first time when it happened to her and she was very surprised when her manager did not find it problematic. The following quote illustrates how she, by drawing on this example, describes the difference between working in Poland and working in Ireland:

Patrycja: ... You know what, I remember when I was late for work for the first time in my life here. I was so worried about it... [...]. And it happened to me and I came to work really worried and, you know, I was apologizing to my team leader and he looked at me and said: ‘oh, come on, it can happen to anyone’. So I can tell you that when I was late after that then I was laughing that 'Jesus, I was so worried before'. Nobody would fire you here because of you being late, that’s how it works. And nobody would kill you. And in Poland there is much more... there is more discipline. In here there are all those meetings with a team leader after work, you know, there is a fun team, there is actually a budget for all kind of fun stuff. You know, like Halloween or Christmas Party. And you can see your employer in a way, you know, after a beer and whatever, in all kind of not office related situations. And you don't have it in Poland too often. If ever. You don't have... You don't call your boss by his name. And he never treats you as equal but you are always his... you know... subordinate. That's how it is... That's the difference. Completely different culture of work.

Calling everybody by their first names also featured in many interviews that I conducted with Polish migrants living in Dublin. While addressing people with their
first names may be quite obvious for a native-English speaker, it is not that common for somebody of a Polish origin. It has been a widespread cultural tradition in Poland that one should use the equivalents of 'Sir' and 'Madam' while talking to anybody with whom they are not friends. This creates a strong notion of formality, especially in public spaces and at work. My respondents often emphasised that calling people by first names in Ireland preferable as they could communicate with their co-workers and managers more easily.

Furthermore, some of my informants often referred to the fact that they were very happy to escape from the Polish culture of the 'rat race' at work. They compared their situation to the situation of their colleagues, who stayed in Poland or who moved back there. What is often under discussion is the high level of competitiveness in Polish companies as well as a social pressure to achieving success amongst young Polish graduates in Poland. This pressure might have had an association with the high unemployment rates in Poland in early 2000s, when it was common knowledge that one would need more than one degree, know more than one foreign language, and have some additional training and certificates in order to get a decent job, or even any kind of job. Young graduates with no relevant experience were in a particularly difficult situation (Pomianek et al., 2005).

Interestingly, despite the fact that it was relatively easy for most of the respondents to find 'good' employment in the primary sector of the Irish labour market, the majority of them tended to stay within these 'middle level' jobs and only one of my formal interviewees held a senior position. This might be explained by their migrant status and lack of career opportunities. It was not, however, the case that the employers were holding back on promotions. It seems that, for those who were willing to climb the career ladder, there were possibilities to do so. Marek, the only engineer with an associate position, claimed that at the time of the economic boom employers were in serious need of specialists and it was easier for him to be promoted much faster than it would have been if he stayed in Poland. In most of the interviews, however, the respondents argued that they themselves did not exercise the option of getting higher positions at work or looked for more challenging employment. It was, for example, the case for all of the architects that they were acting in a very passive way in relation to their careers. As claimed by Maciek, a project manager in an architecture firm in Dublin, he did not want to get promoted as it would not suit him. As he explains, the reasons for that were as follows:
Maciek: Because it is in conflict with my... with my vision of lifestyle. I kind of couldn’t work 24 hours per day. Or to work 18 hours a day and sleep through the rest. You get what I'm saying? Because that's what if fact it would require. And besides that, that job diverges from the substance of architect's job in general. Generally. Because at this stage you stop designing. You sit on the phone, email, lunches with clients, generally, you know, meetings with planners and consultants and so on, and so on. And those conversations are about money, not about designing. Which I simply wouldn't like to do. Because it is related to getting into a completely different environment. That I to be honest with find repulsive.

Similar explanations were given to me by another architect, Gosia. She claimed that moving up from her assistant architect position to an associate would mean that she would not be involved in designing anymore as she would mainly need to sit in meetings with developers and contractors. She also argued that she would not feel comfortable and confident with moving on from her assistant architect position:

Alicja: And do you think that you’d be able to do the job of the person above you?
Gosia: No. And I don’t think that I would want it.
Alicja: Why?
Gosia: Because my boss is saying that there is a lot of... he has to talk... In fact he is... He is not really dealing with designing, but more with talking to clients, dealing with the banks, with all of the developers. Most of our clients are the developers and with them you have to talk... slightly different so... Too much stress. I can see how stressed he is now. Seriously. And it is all eating him up. And in fact he is also responsible for us. I am quite ok, but you know... For example our colleague, who has... He is... I don’t know how it’s called in Polish... He has a mortgage, a kid, so you know, for him.... If he loses his job then... it would be... it all is... My boss knows about all of that, so you know. And I am also not a person who would be suitable for that. I am admitting straight away that it is not of my interest. That’s what I could say.
Climbing the career ladder was not the main focus of those whom I interviewed over the course of my research. What they were trying to achieve, and then maintain, was some kind of 'good' employment, preferably in an office environment and as close to their qualifications as possible. After settling down in the job they were usually satisfied and did not aspire for fast promotion; some even openly said that they would not want to get any higher positions than those middle-level ones they had. What they were mostly seeking was a good, relaxed atmosphere at work and good relations with their colleagues and managers.

**Non-Work Related Factors**

What emerged in my conversations with those Polish migrants, who were working in those middle-level jobs, was not only the feeling of a relaxed atmosphere at work in Ireland, but also a general relaxed atmosphere, less stress and no social expectation to constantly try to achieve more. This was the case, for example, of Gosia, 29 years old architect, who had lost her job due to the economic downturn. Although there were no further possibilities for her to find another employment in Ireland as the architectural firms were not hiring anymore, she decided to stay in Dublin 'though unemployed. She explained her reasons for not going back to Poland in the following way:

Gosia: You know, in here... When I compare myself to people in here, then I have no problems. Because in here everyone is kind of, you know, more laid back with everything. While in Poland it is like, you know, that you are 29 years old and you have to do this and this and that. And you know, if I move to Poland and I am 29 years old and I am not married, I just lost my job, I have no savings, then I am, you know, the biggest loser. While in here... It’s cool, no problem with that. You now... I suspect that it would be difficult to go back to Poland with all of this. Because all of my friends... Most of my friends got married, all of them are pursuing some kind of careers somewhere and I don’t know if I would be able to suddenly fit into all of that. And what, would I go for a party with 18 year olds now? I don’t know... It would be hard to imagine. That is why it would be weird to go back there. Because everybody would stare at me and keep saying: 'What is wrong with you, girl?'. While in here, you know, it is not a problem. I mean I have no problem with it. But I think that I would start to have it if I suddenly move to Poland.
As shown in the above quote, in addition to career expectations, there is also a belief that those living in Poland are also expected to get married before a certain age, and usually being 30 years old as a 'borderline' for 'settling down'. Indeed, post-communist countries can be characterised as having a younger age of first marriage (usually between age 23 and 26 for women) than the countries of Western and Southern Europe (typically between ages 27 and 29) and Nordic countries (median age 29 to 31) (Sobotka and Toulemon, 2008: 95). The issue of the social obligation to get married before 30 did in fact often feature in my conversations with Polish migrants in Dublin as well as during online discussions. It was especially significant in the case of my female informants who felt that being single around the age of 30 was perceived as a failure by those who were living in Poland. This issue has been the subject of other studies on Polish female migrants working in EU countries. As pointed out by Slany and Malek (2006: 4) up until the late 1990s most of the research on migrant women from Poland was focused on the economic factors of these movements. Lately, however, other factors have become a subject of analysis. One of the examples of such a study is research conducted by Grzymala-Kazlowska (2001a) on young Polish migrants living in Brussels. She distinguished between two broad categories of female migrants. The first group was women in their late 30s and early 40s who had families on their own remaining in Poland and whose main goal was to earn money abroad in order to support these families. The second group was the younger females who often left Poland to escape from the social restraints. By migrating they gained 'more personal freedom to express their personality than they have in the traditional Catholic Polish society' (ibid.: 47). Data collected for my research does not show evidence of that being the case for the professional female migrants who were my respondents as all of my key interviewees claimed economic conditions as the main factor for leaving Poland. It could be argued, however, that after some time spent in Ireland they gained that 'personal freedom' and preferred their new place of residence to the more conservative reality they once experienced in Poland. In addition to that both males and females related to the issue of starting a family before reaching a certain age as sometimes becoming problematic during their visits in Poland, as most of their friends were already married, sometimes with kids. At the time of my research none of my key respondents had families of their own; a few of them cohabitated with their partners but had no children. What emerged from
my conversations with them were the difficulties in communicating and in socialising with those in Poland who they were once close to but from whom they now had different visions of life-style and different future plans. While these professional migrants were attempting to invest in themselves, travel, socialise and, generally speaking, 'enjoy themselves', the main focus of their peers who stayed in Poland was to provide for their new families and to live much more 'stable' lives.

As previously mentioned, the relaxed atmosphere seems to be one of the most important positives of living in Ireland. What is often being emphasised in the interviews is the general kindness of Irish people, which is also being contrasted to Poland. This was addressed in one of the interviews with Patrycja, the IT technician. Paradoxically, while referring to the case of the brutal murder of the two Polish males who were killed in Dublin in 2008 she said:

Patrycja: I like for example... ... that people are nicer. They are definitely nicer; I like saying 'thank you' to the driver when you are getting off the bus, I like things like that. That, you know, I can come to, you know... Selfless help, in general, and so on. When a friend of mine was going to light the candles for those two Polish, you know, those who died in Dublin, and when... when a taxi driver found out about where he is going, he didn’t charge him for a drive. Gestures like that. Simply human gestures. Something like that... Sorry, but I haven’t seen things like that in Poland.

Also Dorota, an engineer living in Dublin since April 2005, explained her feelings about the difference between these countries in the following way:

Dorota: You know, when I was living over there it all seemed to be normal. But now it doesn’t seem to be normal any more. Now I get irritated by the things that I wasn’t seeing before, like, for example, you know, I get out of the car and I say to my neighbour who is hanging out in the window and who knows me since I was born as we have been living there since I was born, and I am saying ‘Good morning’, he replies ‘good morning’. But when I said: ‘what a nice day today’, then he looked at me like was from another planet and what do I want from him, right? And here, you know, I was sitting on a train station and waiting for a train and this old guy joined me and we started to chat. And his friend came along, so the first one
introduced me, and they both... And we were sitting over there just like they where my grandfathers. We were chatting about small things, about everything and nothing... This is what’s missing. You know, in here it’s somehow... If you look at somebody on a street for a longer while, then this somebody will say ‘hi’. And in Poland it is... ‘Oh my God, what does she want?’ It is somehow... Savages, right? People are still savage. They are somehow, I don’t know, even when you go for a party. In here you go to a pub, you go outside for a cigarette, somebody will come along, chat with you; he can have a wife and kids, but he just wants to talk to you. Just like that.

The general kindness of the Irish people and their ability to make ‘small talk’ even with strangers often featured in interviews. Some of my respondents admitted that it was more like a habit and a little bit 'on the surface'. Most, however, agreed that it makes their daily life more pleasant and they much preferred that to what they had been experiencing before they came to Ireland and also to what they had observed during their visits.

The last excerpt can also be taken as an illustration of how one’s perspective changes after settling down in a new destination. The interviewee explicitly said that when she still lived in Poland she did not perceive the behaviour of her compatriots as ‘abnormal’ and she only started to notice that after moving to Ireland. What is also interesting is that people often refer to their experience not only from the time when they still lived in Poland, but also to the impressions they form while visiting their country of origin on holiday. There is no doubt that the freedom of movement and cheap airline flights nowadays allow these migrants to fly 'back home' in order to see their family and friends relatively often. It could be argued that because of that, they do not construct a mythological image of the 'lost homeland', the image that often features in the diasporic discourse of those who were not allowed to visit their country of origin mostly due to legal or political issues. Interestingly, what emerges from the interviews is a negative picture created after these more or less frequent visits to Poland. Generally, people referred to Polish reality as being 'grey' and having a 'down atmosphere'. One of the interviewees, however, did emphasise that there have been some positive changes happening in Poland:
Alicja: And do you see any differences? Has anything been changing either in Poland or in your view of Poland?

Marek: I don’t know... I can see, yes. I see the differences and I can see the improvement. All the time, in Poland. Regardless of who is in the government at the moment, I can see that it is changing for better. That’s my impression and when I meet with my colleagues from work, then it’s being somehow confirmed as everybody is somehow managing and some people are doing really great. And besides that... Well... No, I think that that’s it.

Nevertheless, the majority of my informants were not satisfied with what they have been experiencing throughout these visits. Besides the general negative images, what often appears in interviews and conversations are complaints about Polish bureaucracy and problems when dealing with official institutions over there. One of my interviewees, Pawel, when I asked him where he felt his home was, told me the following story:

Alicja: And if I asked you where is your home...

Pawel: Definitely in Poland. But that can change. Because Poland is really pissing me off. Really pissing me off. When I was there recently... I mean, recently, I went to Poland in the winter time... Ugh... With that National ID exchange. And that bureaucracy, all these office bitches, that whole government, I would send them all to Siberia, seriously, with the one way ticket. Because this women was making problems with the ID exchange, she didn’t want to recognise my passport as a proof of ID, she said that this was a proof of travel, not a proof of ID... And I simply didn’t feel like fighting with her. And she also, because I lost my hair which cannot be seen on this tape, I have hair on the photo and I don’t have hair in the reality and she was saying that how can she... So she was saying that ‘How can I know that this is you’. So I gave up, how can I argue with such stupid arguments? Because she simply wanted to send me home, because I didn’t have my ID on me, to make go home, a half an hour walk, then half an hour back, only to show her my ID. Which I have to bring anyway to collect a new one [after a few days, he is talking about the application process that is taking place first]. So a total bullshit. And I have to pay them for that. Joke.
People also compare the Irish and Polish tax system and other services. In this case, tax and social insurance systems in Poland were perceived as much more complicated and often difficult to deal with. Dorota, a civil engineer, complained about too many formalities related to dealing with the Polish equivalent of Revenue Office:

Dorota: I was recently filling the PIT [forms that you need to fill in Poland at the end of the tax year] to Poland, and I thought to myself that now I remember again why I left, right? Over here the tax office is sending you your yearly statement. And over there you need to send them one. And there were so many tables that, thank God, I don’t have any income in Poland, because when I saw that this year the PIT has 6 pages and there are some tables like ‘tax from the water from your belly button’, than you just don’t want to anymore.

The interview schedule also included questions about what the respondents did not like in Ireland. Some had no complaints at all. What did often feature as a downside of living in Ireland was the weather and public transport in Dublin. Dealing with Irish banks was also problematic for a few people as they found them too slow and not ‘modern’ enough in terms of Internet banking. Surprisingly, unlike when talking about negatives of living in Poland, some of my interviewees claimed that there are 'ways around' these issues, for example, in relation to public transport:

Alicja: And on the reverse, is there anything here that is bothering you and is better in Poland?

Patrycja: … … I think that the punctuality of the buses, I think it’s for everybody, but when I was over [in Poland] recently, everybody was saying that it would be only a matter of time when the traffic in [name of town in Poland] would be so bad that you wouldn’t get anywhere on time. So it probably irritates me the most that… In general, whether or not you have a car you are depending on the traffic and so on, and the transport is organised so badly, that you have to work out an attitude that… that it doesn’t matter… I will be late, I can’t get upset about it and so on, I don’t fucking need anymore grey hair, and so on. But… You know, a more laid
back attitude, because it’s not worth it… And I probably won’t be on time, because that’s how it is in Ireland.

[Interview with Patrycja, the IT technician]

Finally, some of the discussions amongst Polish migrants in Ireland were related to the politics in Poland. Generally, Polish politicians are perceived in negative terms, often being unable to deal with the situation in Poland, especially from an economic point of view. The role of the Catholic Church in Polish politics also featured in these discussions as being too invasive. This seemed to be of particular importance since Law and Justice, a right wing party, which is also closely connected to the Catholic Church, had won the 2005 general elections. In addition to that, between the years 2006 and 2007 the Polish political scene had experienced an unprecedented situation when Jaroslaw Kaczynski, chair of the Law and Justice Party became prime minister in 2006, while his twin brother had already been president since 2005. This was, to a large extent, criticised in both on-line and off-line discussions among members of the Polish group in Ireland. Young professional migrants did not like the strong conservative approach undertaken by this party and were also quite critical about the close bonds between members of Law and Justice and the Polish Catholic Church. In addition to that, in 2006 Lech Kaczynski, while visiting London, referred to Polish post-accession migrants as being ‘failures’ or ‘losers’ [Polish ‘Nieudacznik’], which consequently resulted in a major protest amongst the Polish groups in both the United Kingdom and Ireland. Interestingly, what could be observed in online discussion amongst migrants after that incident was that those who were actually employed in professional jobs were, with a sense of irony, referring to themselves as ‘failures’ and ‘losers’. As a result, the 2007 parliamentary elections attained an extraordinary high interest among members of this group. An unexpected number of people registered to vote in the Polish embassy in Dublin and, as a consequence, one had to queue up to three to five hours in order to reach the voting booth. Altogether there were almost 14,000 registered for the elections in three cities in Ireland with over 7,000 of them registered in Dublin (Poles could also vote in Limerick and Cork). Given the size of the Polish ‘community’ in Ireland at that time, this number may not seem to be significantly high. It is however, when compared to the number of people registered for the Polish parliamentary elections in 2005 which, for many reasons, were not the
subject of a big discussion: then only around 1,200 people registered to vote in Ireland.

Interestingly, what emerged from the debate amongst Polish migrants in Ireland around the 2007 election time was the fact that many people wanted to vote not because they hoped to improve the situation in Poland. They rather did so in order to improve the image of Polish politics in Ireland as, at that time, the twin brothers were receiving a lot of bad press and were the subject of many jokes. Their dislike of the right-wing conservative Law and Justice party was also reflected in the results of the 2007 parliamentary elections. Out of those who did vote, most supported the ‘Platforma Obywatelska’ which was perceived as a quite progressive, central-wing party. Over 75 per cent of Poles participating in the elections in Ireland voted for this party (in comparison to slightly over 40 per cent of those voting in Poland); Law and Justice received only 10 per cent of votes (in comparison to over 30 per cent in Poland).

Reasons for Not Returning Back ‘Home’

All of the above factors - social and work relations, social ‘atmosphere’, public institutions, and politics are frequently given by migrants as the reason for not going back to Poland. This has featured not only in the interviews, but also in the on-line discussions. An example of these explanations was seen in a topic started in May 2008 on the one of the Polish online forums in Ireland, called ‘Why we don’t go back?’. While acknowledging the improvement of the economic situation in Poland, many of the forum members used non-economic related arguments, mainly saying that ‘A lot has to change in Poland’. All of these explanations also featured in formal interviews, when the respondents were asked whether or not they would go back to Poland if they were offered the same wages as they had in Ireland. Yet again, most of the interviewees gave other than financial reasons for not going back. For example, Maciek, after initially saying that he would return, hesitated and claimed the opposite:

Alicja: If you were offered the same earnings in Poland now, would you go back or not?

Maciek: I would. However, in fact, I would think about it. I would think about it, you know, I must say. I don’t know, I feel a little bit withdrawn
from Polish context at this stage. And Poland was always a little bit tiring for me. Because of... well, let’s face it, the fucked up Polish mentality.

Working culture and more relaxed atmosphere appeared again in the interview with Patrycja, who, when asked that question, said she would not go back for the following reason:

Patrycja: Because in Poland the regular employer... In general... We don't have that thing... Those employers are sick, let me put it this way. You know, the good working conditions are [what is] different here. In here you can call your supervisor by his/her first name, you have all of those team nights out when you go out and you buy drinks with the employer’s money and you have fun with people from work, blah, blah, blah. Well, a different work culture, you know, when I was late to work in Ireland for the first time, I thought that I would get a heart attack. And now when I’m late, I don’t even call that I will be late. I come and I say ‘Ok, listen, I missed the bus’. 'Ok, sit down'. No stress at all. So... And I know what it would be like in Poland. In Poland it would be on the basis that: ‘If you don’t like something then get the fuck out of here. We have 300 people like you to replace you’. So I don’t really want to go back to that.

All of the above arguments can be critiqued by the fact that the wage differences between Poland and Ireland still exist and that the labour market in Ireland was still in better shape than the one in Poland around the Accession time. This, however, may not necessarily be the case any more. Since 2007, when Ireland was hit by the economic downturn, a lot of economic circumstances have changed. In many interviews, migrants were reporting cuts in their wages and working hours and some have already lost their jobs. Interestingly, not all of those who have become unemployed as a result of the recession went back to Poland. Some chose a strategy of staying in Ireland while claiming job seeker benefit or job seeker allowance while looking for another employment. This was the case of Gosia, who had a full time job as an assistant architect. Initially her company employed twelve people on permanent contracts. After the downturn in the construction sector her boss was forced to reduce the number of staff and, as a result, by spring 2009 Gosia was one of only two employees that were still employed, but her position was converted into part-time
employment. She was also doing less design work and sometimes had to act as a receptionist, as all of the administration staff were made redundant in the first cuts. Furthermore, her employer was often unable to pay her wages and she was receiving her salary in instalments. Finally, in July of the same year, she and her colleague were made redundant. This situation, however, did not motivate her to move back to Poland and she has been living on social welfare payments since then. She explained it as follows:

Gosia: [I am planning] to stay [in Ireland]. Because what. You know, I go back to Poland and what, I will get 570 PLN from social welfare? I would have to go back to my parents. And my parents live in a village, you know, the kind of post-State Collective Farm village, you know, you can basically start to cry. No, then I would prefer to stay here. Maybe somehow... I have great time in here, I have my friends, and I am in the city. And you know, I was paying taxes so... You know, maybe something will come out of it.

In the above quote she does use financial arguments, however higher social welfare payments are not the only reason for her to stay. As she claimed in other interviews, she simply liked her life in Ireland and enjoyed it, not only due to the possibility of earning more money than she would in Poland. Another architect, Maciek, who worked as a project manager, was made redundant in August 2009. At the time of the interview in November 2009 he was still unemployed and he was planning to stay in Dublin. Moreover, he was offered a job in Warsaw, but he decided not to take it. Instead he decided to stay in Ireland and applied for the job seeker’s allowance. Meanwhile, as there were no jobs in architecture that he could apply for in Ireland he started to think about opening his own business in another sector of the Irish economy. Dorota, a civil engineer, who lost her job in summer 2009 and who had had previous experience of unemployment in Ireland prior to that described her reasons as follows:

Dorota: It doesn’t make any sense to go back to Poland. Because what, I would come back, go to work, it doesn’t make sense. I would come back and start a company, then I will get eaten by the Revenue Office and ZUS [state agency dealing with social insurances in Poland]. And if they don’t
eat me, then the neighbours will burn me down. Or they will make a whore out of me, of God knows what. So... You know, maybe when I’m old, if I don’t settle with my life, maybe then I will simply come back there. Or maybe I will settle here or somewhere else. Or maybe I will sell everything in Poland and would only travel to visit my friends and colleagues. And I will buy, I don’t know, a cottage in South Italy. Because in the end the climate is slightly better over there. [...] Everything got upside down... My plan is the lack of plan.

Her attitude could be described by a strategy of ‘intentional unpredictability’, a strategy that seems to be common among some groups of Polish post-accession migrants. In their study on recent Polish nationals living in London, Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2006) distinguished between four broad categories of these migrants: (a) ‘Storks’ who were circular migrants mostly working in low-skilled jobs; (b) ‘Hamsters', who were moving to the UK for certain, uninterrupted period of time in order to gain financial capital that would then be used in Poland; (c) 'Searchers', mostly young and well-educated migrants who could be characterised by previously mentioned 'intentional unpredictability' and (d) 'Stayers', whose plan was to remain in the UK for good. While it is not the main aim of my argument to classify my respondents under this typology, this distinction is still very novel and it presents the phenomena of the Polish post-accession migration wave in a new perspective. What seems to be interesting about this approach is the fact that it acknowledges the diversity amongst this group of migrants. As will be further discussed, most of the studies from the 1990s and early 2000s related to Polish migrants mainly emphasised the economic factors of these migration streams and featured migrants as 'target earners' whose focus is on accumulation of financial capital that can be used to sustain or improve their social position in Poland. It could be argued, however, that this is not necessarily the case of young Polish professionals who recently came to Ireland and that they do not ‘fit’ into these previously established models.

**Quality of Life and Modes of Consumption**

Okolski (2002) differentiates between those from migrants from 'Western' European countries and those who were Polish migrants working abroad. According to him, the former often move to find a 'better place to live' somewhere else while the latter keep
strong connections with their homes and, in fact, never really move to the destination country. In fact, as I have argued in previous chapters, most of the literature related to post-1989 Polish migration tends to put the emphasis on those temporary and circular migrants who usually act accordingly to the New Economics of Labour Migration (Stark and Bloom, 1985). In such cases, migrants do not make their decisions about migration individually, but rather they are delegated to move to another country by their family, which is then supported by the financial resources acquired through the migration process of one of its members. These types of migrants are perceived as 'target earners' whose main aim is to minimise the costs of being abroad and to focus on the accumulation of financial capital. At the same time, very little attention is given to young, well-educated Polish professional migrants who move countries on an individual basis and who often are willing to integrate into the mainstream society rather than remain outside of the social structure of the host country. They are not delegated by their families, and providing for those who are left in Poland is not their main goal. In fact, none of my interviewees reported sending regular remittances back to Poland. Those, who did transfer the money, did so only on an occasional basis. Accumulation of financial capital that could be used to maintain or improve their social standing in the country of origin was also not their main target. In most cases the consumption strategies were orientated on Ireland rather than on Poland. Moreover, saving as much as possible was not a target in the case of these migrants. They were usually spending their money on not only daily needs, but also purchasing other goods, going out, and travelling. They were also often not aiming to minimise the costs of rent and were living in relatively expensive accommodation. The fact of being able to afford more, and the use of that opportunity, often featured in the interviews. Patrycja, when asked how she would assess the time that she spent in Ireland gave me the following answer:

Patrycja: As a constant fun.
Alicja: Meaning?
Patrycja: Because for the first time in my life I could afford everything. I travelled to different countries, you know, I am buying myself some electronics, I walk into a shop and I don't look at a price of a certain item. I am completely not interested in it. I take out my card and I pay... And in Poland it was a life [based on living] from the first of each month to the
first of another. So... During these almost five years in here, well, I could have a rest from problems like bills. And I was having fun, really... [...] In here... I really had a rest. I had a rest and for me it was, in fact, 5 years of fun. Because I didn't save almost any money. So I was spending that money on, as I am telling you, on electronics... travelling abroad... on alcohol, clothes... on fun.

The opportunities to travel featured in other interviews and conversations. My informants were not only going to Poland to visit their family and friends, they were also travelling on holidays to other European countries as well as to North and South America and some Asian countries. Most of them emphasised that they did not have a possibility like that when living back in Poland as it was too expensive for them. Dorota, amongst the things that she could afford after coming to Ireland, also mentioned travel. In fact, during the time spent in Dublin she visited some other European countries and she aspired to continue doing so. As she said in the interview relating to her life back in Poland:

Dorota: It was my life, right? So, of course, there was the work, home... friends... You were simply living. You were. And I would have been still living like that. But... But, you know, for example... Going to Canary Islands was beyond my dreams. And I was working, and I didn't have kids. A trip to Croatia with your own car with as little expenses as possible was almost a trip of a lifetime. And I like to travel and I would like to travel. I would like to see a good bit of the world. And... And you know, besides that... I saw different cities now and different ways of how people live... And that the fact that you have to pay electricity or gas bill doesn't keep them awake at night. And that you can have different dreams. Go to California for holidays and not... not try really hard to save money for five years in order to go for a cheapest trip to the Canary Islands. Or that the car is not a lifetime achievement that you have to preach.

Being able to afford a better life-style was one of the main features of my interviews and conversations with Polish professionals living in Ireland. The above, however, did not mean that they were not making savings from their monthly wages. Some of
my respondents invested the money either in the stock market or in buying a property in Poland. The latter was perceived as a form of investment and security and very few of my interviewees claimed that they would want to live in the places where they purchased property. Most were renting out these apartments and flats thus having the money either to pay off the mortgage undertaken for the purpose of buying them, or to generate additional income. In any case, money earned in Ireland was not used to support families in Poland on a regular basis.

**Political Migrants versus Economic Migrants**

As previously mentioned, the general debate about Polish migration throughout history usually tends to distinguish between political and labour migrants. Very little attention is given to those leaving the country for other reasons. Moreover, this division between political versus economic migrants is often perceived in official Polish discourse in moral terms (Erdmans, 1992, Garapich, 2008; Garapich, 2010). As argued by Garapich, what features in this discourse is that:

> [...] political migration has higher moral status than the economic migration. In Polish emigration ideology, political exile is seen as a sacred act in the fight for freedom and economic migration as a necessary evil, a manifestation of weakness or simply cowardice, egoism and an ambiguous act of turning away from the fate of the nation.

(Garapich, 2008: 7)

In other words, economic migrants are often perceived as ‘traitors’ who left the country when they did not necessarily need to do so. Despite the question of whether or not economic migrants are forced to emigrate, there has still been a lot of discussion about this subject in recent Polish public discourse. Indeed, young and well-educated post-accession migrants were often called ‘traitors’, especially on Polish online discussion boards. These migrants were ‘accused’ of causing the phenomena of ‘brain drain’ and not appreciating the investment of the Polish state in their formal education. Those accusations also appeared many times in topics posted on one of the Polish forums in Ireland. Yet again, counter-arguments offered by Polish migrants in Ireland related mainly to non-financial reasons for their emigration. It could be the case that it is not only the experience of a new
environment that changes the perspective of migrants after they settle in the country of origin. It may be also argued that these recent Polish migrants who live in Ireland themselves do not want to be perceived as 'traditional' labour migrants whose motivations are caused by their 'egoism'. In such cases they often claim that besides having economic reasons to be in this country their decisions about staying here are highly influenced by issues related to a quality of life and a better 'social atmosphere' in Ireland when compared to Poland.

Conclusions

As presented throughout this chapter, while people may move between countries for one reason, their decisions about going back or staying may be influenced by other factors. The economic or political situation in either the country of origin or of destination may shift and individual motivations are not fixed and can change over time. In the case of Polish professionals in Ireland, it needs to be emphasised that the decision about staying in the destination country is not always purely based on rational financial calculations. In fact, the assumption of migration being only related to the economic situation can cause lots of damage to the public perception of migrants. One example of such danger was the recent headlines in the Irish press claiming that, as a result of the economic downturn in this country 'All Poles are going home' (Krings et al., 2009). While it could be true that most of the recent Polish migrants came to Ireland after finding themselves in difficult labour market circumstances in post-accession Poland, it should also be acknowledged that many of them found a new, temporary, or permanent home in this country and may stay here for other than economic reasons. Thus they do not fit into the commonly used binary categorisation of being either 'political' or 'labour migrants.

As pointed out by King (2000: 90) we 'now have a different array of answers than the mainly economic and political ones which shaped our earlier analysis'. Interestingly it has not yet been the focus of studies on migration patterns of Polish nationals. Migration for the purpose of seeking a better quality of life is still perceived as being undertaken by those from the 'old' Member States, who often move within the EU for other than financial reasons (Okolski, 2000; Recchi, 2008). I would argue, however, that while the professional Poles that I came across throughout my research could, to a large extent, be initially categorised as labour migrants, they often cannot be classified as 'typical' economic migrants after settling down in
Ireland. They then 'become' like those from the 'old' EU Member States and they stay in Ireland because they have a better quality of life here.

It also clearly emerges from the data analysed for the purpose of this chapter it that my respondents adjusted to the 'Irish way of life' relatively easily. They adapted to the new culture of workplaces, and some of them also started to follow the mainstream patterns of consumption and every-day living. What is interesting, however, is that they did not develop strong connections with members of Irish society, and to a large extent stayed involved to their own ethnic social circles. In Chapter 7 I will further examine this issue by analysing the role of social networks in migration process as well as the development of such networks after settling down in Ireland.
CHAPTER 7: POLISH PROFESSIONALS IN IRELAND: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

Over the last few decades, social networks have become one of the key themes in the study of international mobility. While chain migration has been examined in earlier research of the 1960s and 1970s (Anderson, 1974; Choldin, 1973; MacDonald and MacDonald, 1964; Ritchey, 1976), the role of community, family and friendships in the migration process has been receiving growing interest from academics since the early 1980s (Boyd, 1989). As a result, a wide range of approaches, conceptual frameworks and definitions of migrant networks has been created within the field of migration studies. Most emphasise the role of social networks in the migration process, migrants' settlement patterns and their links with communities back 'home'.

One of the most well known and also widely quoted pieces of research on migrant networks has been that conducted by Douglas Massey. His definition of migrant networks has also been adopted by other studies including those focusing on recent Polish migrants in Europe and beyond. This definition will also be used for the purpose of this analysis. Massey (1990: 69) defines migrant networks as:

(... sets of interpersonal ties that link together migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin.

In addition, some studies suggest that migrant networks can also include 'intermediaries', mainly recruitment agents, immigration consultants, travel agents, smugglers and other actors located within broadly understood immigrant communities (for example Boyd, 1989: 639). Most researchers, however, focus on migrant networks understood as networks of individuals' personal relations, analysing the role of kinship and friendship in migration process and the migrants' settlement patterns.

There are several ways in which the role of migrant networks can be studied. Firstly, it is useful to analyse the role of social networks in the migration process
itself. In such cases the analysis focuses on their impact on making a decision regarding international mobility and the initial help that migrants can receive shortly after arrival in the destination country. It can be argued that migrant networks can act as a ‘pull’ factor, influencing the migrants’ choice of potential destination country. As I illustrate through the analysis of this research data, some individuals base their decisions regarding emigration to a particular country on the basis of knowing somebody in that place prior to leaving their home. Choldin (1973) distinguishes three types of help that migrants can access by being a member of a migrant network: material assistance, intermediary help, and assistance in making new social connections. The intermediary help in this case means familiarising newly arrived migrants with the host country and providing them with useful and necessary information. By meeting new friends and joining organisations, on the other hand, the individuals gain access to new social connections. According to Choldin, all three types of help can be received from kinfolk and friends in the new destination. Another approach, taken by Schaefer et al. (cited in Oakley, 1992) differentiated between three types of support available through migrant networks: emotional, informational and instrumental or practical. In other words, newly arrived migrants can not only rely on practical help received from their family and friends but can also receive some emotional support while settling down in a new environment.

Secondly, the role of networks can also be studied from the perspective of more settled immigrants and their integration into the host society. It could be argued that, depending on the nature of a particular network, involvement in their own ethnic group can either make integration into the host society smooth or on the contrary, it can slow it down. The latter could be the case of those types of ethnic networks that acquire mainly bonding capital as opposed to bridging capital, where bonding capital is established by individuals involvement with people who are similar to them (in this case, with those who have the same national or ethnic origin) and bridging refers to a form of capital that is established through contacts with people who are different from oneself (Putnam, 2001). Finally, a frequent feature of the literature is the role of networks in the transnational practices of migrants. As migrant networks link together not only migrants, but also those who remained in the country of origin, it could be assumed that those who emigrated maintain having contact with their family and friends who live back 'home'. In fact, the issue of ‘staying in touch’ has been receiving a lot of interest from academics over the years. From a historical point of
view the analysis mainly focuses on letters sent between sending countries and receiving countries. The role of New Information and Communication Technologies is increasingly popular in studies that are focused on the transnational practices of migrants and their links with those who they 'left behind at home'.

Interestingly, the role of ethnic networks is usually emphasised in studies that focus on lower skilled migrants who often, due to lack of sufficient human capital or a difficult legal situation in the host country, almost solely rely on the help of their compatriots after arriving in their new destination. There seems to be a common assumption that those who are highly skilled tend to use other channels in the process of international mobility. For example Iredale (2001), following Findlay and Garrick (1989), classified professional migrants into three main categories based on the channel or mechanism of migration. Firstly there are those who move throughout internal labour markets of multi national companies. Secondly, he lists migrants employed by companies with international contracts that move staff to service their offshore work. The third type of professional migrant group consists of those who are recruited by international recruitment agencies. The role of social networks is, in this case, omitted. This is not to suggest that such networks do not feature in the literature related to highly skilled migrants. What seems to be the case, however, is that they are rather perceived as professional networks rather than ethnic networks and the individuals who are involved in them are not necessarily of the same ethnicity or nationality.

This focus on lower skilled migrants in relation to migrant ethnic networks seems also to be the case in studies conducted on recent Polish migrants. There has been a wide range of research conducted on Poles working abroad in several EU countries before and after May 2004. In most cases, however, regardless of the education level, these migrants tended to work in the secondary sector of the host country labour market (for example: Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2001b, Osipowicz, 2002; Górny, Stola, 2001; Rosińska-Kordasiewicz, 2005). In addition to that, a study conducted by Ryan, Sales and Tilki (2009) on post-accession Polish migrants in the UK found that lower skilled migrants tend to rely on their migrant networks prior to the migration and after the settlement in their new environment. On the other hand:

The migration strategies of the professionals in this study were often markedly different from those of other migrants, and involved developing
contacts with other groups rather than maintaining exclusive ethnic networks. They tended to develop both professional and personal relations with a wider group of people, including both Poles and non-Poles.

(ibid.: 157)

As previously mentioned, this tendency could be explained to some extent by the degree of migrants' human capital and by their legal situation in the host country. Those who arrive at their destination without certain skills and without sufficient knowledge of the host country language often do not have options other than to rely on their family and friends for help. Moreover, those who seek employment on an illegal or semi-legal basis are in many cases also using existing ethnic networks to secure their jobs. Due to the informal character of such employment, jobs in the grey sectors of the host country are often easier to obtain in an informal way, mostly through a recommendation of a family member or a friend. This often creates a situation where immigrants from one origin separate from the natives, thus creating ethnic enclaves. This for example was the case of undocumented Polish migrants working in Belgium, who spent all of their free time together but also lived in the same district (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2001b). Highly-skilled migrants, on the other hand, who are employed within their professions, are more likely to work with people who are from another ethnic origin, often including the members of the indigenous population. Therefore they are also more likely to be exposed to the native culture and their integration can be further facilitated by their good knowledge of the host language. Moreover, as pointed out by Salt (1992: 486): 'Since many [of the highly skilled] moving within the EC (European Community) are Community nationals, they frequently escape statistical accounting. Their middle-class characteristics, and for the most their colour and culture, render them socially ‘invisible’.' In other words, professional migrants are perceived as being more likely to integrate to the host society in a smooth way after a relatively short period of time. Integration here is understood as not only performing well on the receiving country labour market, but also adapting to the new customs and life-styles, as well as integrating on a social level by making new connections and possible friendships with host country nationals. Furthermore, such migrants may be expected to also adapt to the ‘main stream’ society on other levels, such as cultural or political.
In addition to that, migration-related literature often seems to focus on these two extreme cases of migrants, leaving behind those who find the employment in the host countries on the 'middle level' occupational scale. As pointed out by Scott (2006: 1119):

Unfortunately, so far, most studies of migration have only looked at the 'polar extremes', jumping from corporate manager to cleaners and irregular workers, thus failing to appreciate the much more complex and messy middle-ground of our still-evolving European migration system.

As Scott argues in his study on middle-class British migrants in Paris, very little is thus known about social morphology and everyday practices of this group. Following his statement, I would argue that so far not a lot of attention is being given to those Polish post-accession migrants who were recent college graduates without significant professional work experience, but who had skills, education and sufficient knowledge of the English language to be able to secure the employment in the middle positions of the host country's primary sector of the labour market. As analysed in one of the previous chapters, data collected for the purpose of my research shows that during the boom time it was relatively easy for them to find such jobs in some sectors of the Irish economy.

Polish Migrants in Ireland – the Role of Social Networks

Given the characteristics of those middle-class Polish nationals who are employed in the primary sector of the Irish labour market, and the emphasis on professional networks over ethnic networks in the literature, one might assume that after a relatively short period of time they would smoothly integrate into mainstream society, thus becoming, using Salt's (1992) terminology, 'socially invisible'. This type of migrant group consists of people who are young, well educated and who have good knowledge of the English language. In addition to that they are white and of Catholic origin. Moreover, if they are employed in the primary sector of the Irish economy, then they have a greater chance to become more exposed to the native culture. The workplace can also be a good environment to meet new friends and acquaintances who are either from Ireland or from other countries of origin. I would argue however that this is not necessarily always be the case as it was not the case of some of my
respondents who had an opportunity to work with people who were not from Poland, but after work hours they remained involved in their ethnic network of friends who were also Polish.

Firstly, what needs to be emphasised, is the fact that many of them were not arriving in Ireland on an individual basis. Many of my interviewees knew someone who had already migrated to Ireland from Poland. In fact, seven out of ten of my respondents moved via a migration chain. Two of those who did not were directly recruited by Irish employment agencies from Poland; one moved 'on spec', did not have any connections in Ireland prior to coming to this country, and then became a pioneer of a migration chain. Those, who already knew somebody Polish living in Ireland, could rely on help regarding initial accommodation, assistance in finding employment and, what seems to be of a great importance, information about living and working in Ireland. For some of them, access to migrant networks was crucial in making the decision about leaving Poland and also played a role of the major 'pull' factor.

Some of my formal interviewees explicitly said that the fact of having Polish friends in Ireland was almost the only reason for them to come to this country. As shown in Chapter 5, Bartek, who was considering working abroad, initially tried to find a job as an engineer in the United Kingdom, however after contacting his Polish friend who lived in Dublin, he finally made a decision to join him, especially since he was able to secure employment through this connection. His friend was already working as an assistant engineer on a large construction site in the Greater Dublin Area. The job was arranged informally. Although Bartek had to send his CV to the employer, he also claimed that he was hired mostly due to his friend's good relations with the boss. He also had accommodation secured for the first few weeks as the same friend offered him a place in his apartment. His friends also provided him with some basic information about how to register in Ireland, how to look for a place to rent or how to open a bank account. Justyna, a Polish architect who moved to Ireland at the beginning of 2006, left Poland purely because she was strongly encouraged to do so by her friends from college who were already working as architects in Dublin. In fact, she did not even think about coming to Ireland before they contacted her via email and told her that there were a lot of opportunities for architects in Dublin. In her case it was the accommodation and information that she received from her two friends. As she described the help that her friends provided her:
Justyna: Well, the girls offered me accommodation from the very beginning. So I didn’t have to worry about that. Because I came to them. And… They gave that book with all of the addresses of all architects in Ireland.. […]

Alicja: And how about the formalities, like getting the PPS for example or..

Justyna: Well, of course. Yes. Magda went with me to that Social Welfare office and she showed me: 'you go there, you say this and that'… She wrote me a note that she is confirming that I live under such and such address.

It could be argued that arriving to Ireland while being part of a migration chain creates a situation where a migrant already has a security of having friends with whom he or she can socialise. In such a case they may make less effort to try to establish new connections with people of different nationalities. What is also interesting is the dynamic of the development of these chains: despite the fact that migration flows between Poland and Ireland are relatively new phenomena, migration chains were formed very quickly.

Migration Chains
As previously mentioned, data collected for the purpose of this study shows that many Polish migrants came to Ireland by using a connection that had been previously established in Poland. Those who came on an individual basis were often joined later by either family members or friends. This was the case of two of my formal interviewees, Marek and Patrycja, who were recruited by the Irish employer in Poland and who did not know anybody in this country. Marek came to Ireland before the EU enlargement and was later visited by his brother every summer who was coming here in order to work and learn English. Patrycja, recruited from Poland in early 2005 was, after a short while, joined by her younger sister, an architect, with whom she then shared an apartment. Another interviewee, Wojtek, arrived in Ireland 'on spec' and after settling down, in a relatively short period of time, he formed quite a significant migration chain. The following chart illustrates this chain/network (further connections in this chain are possible, although he was able to recreate it only to the point shown in the diagram):
Chart 7.1: Migration Chain

Wojtek
May 2005

Piotrek
August
2005
Marcin
September
2005
Iwona
April 2006
Tomek
October
2005
Oskar
December
2005
Maria
December
2005
Bartek
February
2006
Karolina
February
2006
Michał
October
2006

Irek
February
2007
Arek
October
2006
Ola
March
2007
Robert
May 2006
Grzesiek
June
2006
Marek
June
2006
Filip
December
2007
Danuta
February
2008

Radek
Sierpień
2006
As seen in the diagram, the majority of individuals involved in this chain came to Ireland before 2007. This can be explained by two factors: firstly, the economic situation in both Poland and Ireland with labour market conditions improving in the former and worsening in the latter. Secondly, it has been argued that, in general, the pool of potential migrants diminished, as those young Poles who were intending to leave Poland did so shortly after the EU enlargement in 2005. Some of the individuals in the chain were directly encouraged by Wojtek to come to Ireland. He offered them a place to stay, provided them with information and in some cases helped with getting the job. In other cases he was contacted by those, who were willing to work abroad and who enquired about the possibility of Wojtek helping them to start their new lives in Ireland.

Wojtek was able to directly secure employment for four of the people from his chain. He worked as an assistant engineer on a construction site from 2005 until 2006, which was the time when employers in the Irish construction sector were looking for workers in both skilled and unskilled professions. In all of the cases he recommended those in his chain as potential employees to his employer. Three of them were then employed as assistant engineers and one of them got a job as a manual labourer on a construction site. In addition to that, most of those who are shown as a first connection in the above chart were offered initial accommodation at Wojtek’s place, with some of them staying there up to few weeks. Finally, as a pioneer of a migration chain, Wojtek had become a valuable source of information on the basic facts of settling and living in Ireland: how to look for a job, how to get a PPS number, where to go in order to register as a tax payer or even how to find accommodation in Dublin.

With one exception, connections in the chain had a form of 'strong ties' as opposed to 'weak ties'. In the classical study on people's usage of social networks, Granovetter (1973) argued that, for example in terms of finding employment, one is more likely to secure a job through those not directly connected, meaning not through close friends, in such case using the 'weak ties' within their social networks. Analysis of Wojtek's migration chain, however, shows that most of the help obtained by people involved in it was gained from close friends, often those who were known by migrants for many years prior to moving to Ireland. In such cases they had more benefits from having had strong ties directly after arrival in Dublin. In addition, it could be argued that the usage of ‘strong ties’ is a quite common tactic among Polish migrants in general. As pointed out by Ryan and White (2008), as a result of the
communist period people in Poland tend to put their trust in family members and friends rather than extended acquaintances or official institutions. In this chain, 8 out of 10 people came originally from Wojtek's home town and he knew some of them for a long time prior coming to Ireland. The only ones whom he had not known while living back in Poland were Oskar and Maria, who were friends of his colleague from college. They were also the only first connections, who did not initially share the accommodation with him. Nevertheless, Wojtek arranged for Oskar, a physiotherapist with very limited English, to get a manual job at a construction site.

What needs to be emphasised is that this chain is almost entirely of ethnic character. Contrary to what might have been expected, migrants involved in this network worked in both the primary and secondary sector of the Irish labour market. Ten out of twenty of them managed to find middle-level employment, working as engineers, architects or in managerial positions in hospitality and retail. One person found employment in the financial sector. Eight, on the other hand, worked in lower skilled jobs in hospitality, construction, manufacturing and retail. In most of the cases it was as a result of not having a sufficient level of proficiency in the English language. Education levels also differed with only half holding a university degree. All of them, however, were educated to at least secondary level. They were also of the same age group, with the majority being between 25 and 30 years old at the time of their arrival in Ireland. As Wojtek was already friends with most of those who were the first connections, he also continued socialising with them on a regular or semi-regular basis in Ireland.

Like Wojtek, Maciek, another of my formal interviewees, a Polish architect who came to Ireland in July 2004, was also involved in a chain which consisted of a mixture of low and high skilled Polish migrants. Maciek came to Dublin to join his friend from college, who gave him a place to stay for one night and who also loaned him some money to start. After finding a job as an architect and settling down he was then able to offer his help to other people coming from Poland to live and work in Ireland. In total, five of his friends from college joined him and all five got jobs in architecture. In one case he recommended one of them to his employer and his friend got a contract. He was not able to do this for the other four; although he supported them in other ways. What was especially useful was his already established knowledge about the labour market in architecture in Ireland. Having this knowledge he could help his friends to find the job by explaining to them how to look for
employment in this sector, where to search for advertisements, how to write a Curriculum Vitae and how to behave during the interview. He elaborated this for me in the following way:

Maciek: He had no language whatsoever. Completely. And I taught him… I taught him without him really understanding what he was supposed to be saying, you know, you get me, right? Different sentences so he could put together… You get it, right? I explained to him and I told him to learn it phonetically, you know, how to say something. So I taught him that when he was going for an interview.

Alicja: But you didn’t get him a job at your work place?

Maciek: No. Not at my place. [...] I was doing for him… He was staying at home and I was at work and I was sending his cv all the time, I was writing cover letters for him… I was exchanging emails with all of the firms for him. Practically I found him that job just like I was looking for myself. That was the point. But I was doing all of that from his name. Under his name.

Interestingly, Maciek was not only providing help for his close friends, but was also connected to some individuals in his chain through ‘weak ties’. In one case he assisted two members of a friend’s family. He hadn’t known them back in Poland but due to his support they were then able to bring their entire families to live in Ireland. He explained the situation as follows:

Maciek: It was actually a husband and a father of this girl who I knew in [name of a town in Poland]. That I worked with before in [name of a town in Poland]. She also works in architecture. And she, I don’t know from where, organised my phone number… or an email… I don’t remember. Anyway, she called me and asked me if I could pick them up from the bus station and get them to a hostel. Because they don’t know the language and can lost in the city at night. [...] And it was just before a long weekend so there was no vacancies in hostels, nothing. And I said to them: ‘And how are you guys, what is your plan?’ ‘Well, we will think about the plan tomorrow’. ‘And you do have money, I understand, a lot of money with you?’. ‘No, we have 800 Euros’. ‘Per person?’ ‘No, for the two of us’. ‘Are completely mad, blokes?’ [laughing]. ‘You are coming here desperately, on
a spot?' And it kind of happened that I had an additional flat free. Because I moved out from the old apartment and I still had the keys and I had already moved to the new one, I moved the stuff and so on and I was already living in the new one but I still had keys because my landlords were away on holidays for about a month. And you know, I was waiting for them to come back so I had that flat free all the time. So I got them to that apartment. On Saturday I went... It was Friday. And on Saturday I went to the Organic Market in Temple Bar. And I chatted to the farmers whether or not they needed any workers. And on Monday morning he took them to a farm. Where they had 600 Euros per month plus food and accommodation... So it was ok.

Moreover, one of the migrant’s involved in his chain was a complete stranger. Maciek did not know that person from Poland, neither had they any mutual friends. As Maciek explained to me, while reading one of the main Polish forums in Ireland he found a message posted by a man who was coming to Dublin and wondering if anybody could give him some information about finding a job and an accommodation. Maciek decided to help that person and replied to his post. He further described the story in as follows:

Maciek: So I wrote him a private message to contact me on gadu-gadu [Polish Internet Messenger]. And he contacted me the same day on gadu-gadu, we started to talk.... And I am saying ‘so when are you coming to Dublin?’ And he says ‘tomorrow’ [laughing]. Ok. Cool. And... ‘Do you know anybody here? Do you have anything fixed here, some job or accommodation or anything at all?’ ‘No’. ‘Ok, so we can meet on the airport... We can meet there and go for a coffee and I will tell you, you know, what and where. I can give you some advices’. And of course, you know, when I went to the airport and I saw that guy, with that suitcase... so lost, he was standing there.... In general, you know, that Marian in a suit with moustache. And he is saying that he has 300 Euros with him. And also no language.

In the above quote Maciek referred to this person as being a 'Marian'. This term has been widely used by Polish professionals living in Ireland for a description of a 'bad
Pole', compatriot who can be potentially a source of embarrassment. The use of this term will be further discussed in this chapter.

In the case of the migrant who was described in the above quote, Maciek involved himself in securing accommodation and employment for this person, but they lost touch after a while. In addition to the above individuals, Maciek was joined in Ireland by his two nephews. He arranged accommodation for both of them upon arrival and also recommended them to his landlord as potential employees. He also continued socialising with some people who were involved in his chain, especially with architects whom he had known since college.

**Extending Social Networks and Making New Connections**

Despite already having friends they had known from living in Poland, all of my formal and informal interviewees established new Polish connections after arriving in Ireland. Interestingly, even those highly-skilled migrants who were working within their professions tended to continue extending their social connections with other Polish migrants in this country.

They did so through the workplace, shared accommodation and through other Polish friends. As a result they were not only sticking to the networks that were created during the process of chain migration. It seems to be the case that while chains themselves included a mixture of professionals and lower-skilled migrants, extended networks, while still having an ethnic character, also had a class-based component. This was the case of Wojtek who, as previously mentioned, was a pioneer of a migration chain and who didn't know other Poles prior to arrival in Dublin. The following diagram is a summary of his main connections with other Poles after two years of living in Ireland.
Chart 7.2: Migrant Network

- **Key people in the chain**: 
  - Rafal Finances
  - Monika Rehabilitant
  - Eryk Engineer
  - Anna Finances
  - Dominik IT
  - Barbara Retail
  - Piotrek Hospitality

- **No longer in Ireland**: 
  - Robert Manufacture
  - Marek Retail
  - Ark Retail
  - Filip Architect
  - Danuta Architect
  - Filip Retail
  - Piotrek Hospitality

- **More People but need further investigation**: 
  - More People in the chain

- **Others**: 
  - Norbert Architect
  - Janek Architect
  - Maciek Architect
  - Luba Architect
  - Darek Architect
  - Wiesiek Architect
  - Michael Engineer
  - Julian Engineer
  - Barbara Retail
  - Dominik IT
  - Edyta Architect
  - Maria Architect
  - Justyna Architect
  - Piotrek Hospitality
  - Marcin Hospitality
  - Tomek Engineer
  - Karolina Architect
  - Bartek Engineer
  - Daniel Engineer
  - Maciek Retail
  - Marek Retail
  - Ola Retail
  - Karolina Architect
  - Filip Architect
  - Radek Manufacture
  - Grzegorz Retail
  - Wiesiek Architect
  - Norbert Architect
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  - Wiesie
As illustrated in the above chart Wojtek, besides people in his own migration chain, also formed new ties with members of two other chains. After arriving in Dublin he found his first accommodation in a shared house that happened to be occupied mainly by Polish nationals. Among his new flat mates were Darek and Luiza (members of the chain N2), a married couple, both working as architects. They became friends and moved together to another house which they shared with Norbert who was also an architect. In addition to that, after a month of living in Dublin he found his first job as an assistant engineer through Luiza, who was asked by a colleague whether or not she knew any Polish engineer with good English who would be willing to work on a construction site as a site clerk with a possibility of moving on to an engineering position. As a result of this connection he also met Maciek with whom he still stays in touch and with whom he also shared a house at one point. Connection with the chain N3 was previously established in Poland as one of the members of this chain, Eryk, was Wojtek’s friend from Poland. Eryk came to Ireland in early 2006 to his friend Rafal, who he knew from his home town in Poland. After that he contacted Wojtek and they started to socialise on a regular basis, along with other migrants involved in N3. Wojtek and Eryk now also work for the same company as engineers.

Since coming to Ireland Wojtek has been mainly socialising with other Polish professionals. Even after a couple of years spent in this country he did not establish any significant connections with Irish people or with any other nationalities. Despite having a very good level of English and working in his profession, his relations with non-Poles were mostly limited to the work place during office hours. This does not mean that he was not socialising with his colleagues from work, however it was mostly through formally and informally organised events such as Christmas parties or ‘leaving’ parties. As he kept emphasising in our conversations, being mostly involved in Polish networks in Dublin was not a deliberate strategy. In fact, as he claimed, he was not planning to have any connections with other Poles in Ireland at the time when he was leaving Poland. It was rather the opposite: he was willing to integrate to the main stream society as much as possible and to socialise and become friends with some Irish people.

Wojtek was not the only person amongst my formal and informal interviewees who had similar experiences. One of the research participants, Bartek who worked as an engineer really got to like an Irish engineer of his own age that also worked for the
same company. After leaving this employment Bartek attempted to keep in touch with that engineer but he did not succeed. As he said in the interview:

Bartek: […] in [name of an Irish construction company] I really got to like that engineer and we went out for a pint a couple of times. And we went out with the building crew once. But that guy was fucking great. Unfortunately, regardless of my text messages, he doesn’t want to keep in touch.
Alicja: Why he doesn’t want to?
Bartek: I mean he is claiming that he wants to and that he would call me… Scatterbrained guy… Kind of a scatterbrained type. I am sending him the Christmas greetings and ‘Oh yes, all the best for you as well, I will call you next year, 100 per cent’, and he is not calling. And it was like that about two times. That gives me a signal that he is either, I don’t know, absent-minded, or he doesn’t give a damn. So I am not going to text him anymore.
Alicja: And he is Irish?
Bartek: Yes. But it would be nice to keep in touch with him but… But you can’t force it.

It also seems to be the case that relatively easy access to Polish ethnic networks might have prevented some migrants from making further connections with people of different nationalities, including the Irish. In addition to that, having a large number of Polish friends and a small number of non-Polish colleagues could have created difficult social situations. As explained by Gosia, a Polish architect, when she told me about parties that she and her Polish husband were organising at their apartment:

Gosia: In fact, we don’t have a lot of friends from other countries and we don’t want to have a situation when we invite two people like that and they will not feel comfortable. In the end the majority, you know, is Polish and when it’s the majority of Polish, then sooner or later they will start to talk in Polish. And such a person would feel alienated.

Marek, a Polish engineer who has been living in Dublin since 2002 also admitted that recently he started to socialise more with Polish people than with those of other nationalities. He also claimed that before EU enlargement his situation was slightly
different. As he said in the interview after being asked a question about who he spent his free time with:

Marek: Recently it's more... It's interesting, I haven't been thinking about it but... Let's say two or three years ago [prior 2005] there were mainly the Irish, or there was that guy who I shared a house with and we were going out to pubs together like the Irish do... Twice a week or something, at least... And I don't know if there is more... Now it is more with Polish guys.

The same interviewee, while continuing to elaborate on this subject, explained that in his opinion it was the result of a large number of Polish people living in Dublin. He also said:

Marek: Now I think I have more Polish friends. I don’t know why. It used to be half and a half. Probably because there is a lot of Polish people and it’s because all kinds of these Polish houses.

Interestingly, while the fact of having mainly Polish friends or not enough of Irish friends seemed to be problematic for some of those migrants I was having conversations with, for some it was in fact the opposite. When reflecting on his time in Ireland, Bartek, the same engineer who complained about his Irish colleague who would not or did not stay in contact said:

Bartek: Well... It was specific in Ireland because... We were meeting mostly with Polish people there. There were Polish people at work as well. There were Polish newspapers... So I didn’t feel so disconnected. But I suppose that if I lived, for example,... in some typically Irish neighbourhood and was only around the Irish all the time, at work and outside of work... I think that I would really feel that I am from another country. But I didn't experience that so... So I am guessing. That that's how it could have been like.

While the lack of 'proper' social integration was sometimes perceived as a problem for some of the Polish professionals working in Dublin, in many cases it did not
prevent them from feeling good and comfortable in Ireland. Some even claimed that they started to feel 'at home' after a few years of living in this country. Patrycja, working in a large IT company, explicitly said that when she is in Poland her family over there knows that coming back to Dublin means going home for her. Dorota, a Polish engineer, said in one of the interviews:

Dorota: (...) when they ask me, where I am from... then I am saying that I'm from Poland. And then I start to think that maybe I should start saying that I am from here. Because I am from here and I am not going anywhere at the moment.

Another issue that emerged in the course of this research was the transnational practices of these migrants. Literature about migration studies often emphasises the fact that migrants often continue to keep strong bonds with their countries of origin, sometimes even living 'in between' two worlds. In extreme cases such a lifestyle keeps them outside of the host country social structure. Interestingly, while keeping strong connections with other Polish migrants in Ireland, my interviewees did not seem to keep such strong bonds with people back in Poland. Their contacts were mainly limited to members of family and closest friends with whom they would also meet when visiting the country. One of the explanations of that situation, given to me by some of the research participants, was that due to the lifestyle that they have been having in Ireland they are socially disconnected from their old colleagues in Poland who have different views on career and living paths. For example, in some conversations with my respondents the issue of 'settling down' before the age of 30 was of great importance for those living in Poland. Those who had migrated had in some cases adopted new life patterns and postponed their plans of buying a house and starting a family until a later stage in their lives.

The Role of the New Information Technology in the Migration Process and in 'Community Formation'

Analysis of the data clearly shows that 'traditional' migrant networks played a crucial role for most of my respondents. The fact of having existing connections in Ireland in many cases influenced the decision to move to this country. The fact of having friends or family members already in Ireland helped these migrants in getting access
to employment, accommodation, or, what is even more important, access to information about all kinds of aspects of living and working there. In addition my informants made further connections with their co-ethnics after settling down in Ireland. What is, however, quite striking about this migration process is that, besides the high importance of migrant networks, it was also to a large extent facilitated by the Internet. First of all it was used as a valuable source of information about Ireland before and after coming to this country. Secondly it also played a role in 'community formation'.

According to statistical sources, contemporary Polish migrants living in Ireland are predominantly young and well educated (CSO, 2007). Other research conducted on this group of migrants showed that these people are more likely to use the Internet in their communications and in search for information (Milewski and Ruszczak, 2006). It was also argued by Grabowska-Lusinska and Okolski (2008) that the post-accession international mobility of Polish nationals can be characterised as being a 'www migration'. The three 'w' stand for: (a) www, meaning that those involved in this migration process are sufficiently competent in the Internet usage; (b) higher education (Polish wykształcenie wyższe); and (c) age (Polish wiek) meaning that these migrants are young.

All of my interviewees were relatively young and well educated and they all actively used the Internet while still living in Poland. Despite the fact that many of them came to Ireland via chain migration, some did seek additional information on various websites prior to the move. In the past migrants often had to rely on what had been said about the host country by those who were already living there. This does not has to be the case any more and potential migrants have the opportunity to collect and compare the information from various sources and combine their friends' stories with those read on various websites. Those Polish migrants, who were thinking about moving to Ireland, could use either Irish websites such as citizeninformation.ie and irishboards.ie or Polish websites run by Poles living in Ireland. The latter could be extremely useful for those with limited English language skills. In fact, even though most Polish migrants came to Ireland around Accession, it was striking how fast these kinds of website were established and by the end of 2004 there was, relatively, a lot of information about this country accessible in Polish. They had different forms and were mainly run as portals, with some of them having discussion boards and forums associated with them. In addition some stories about the day-to-day life in Ireland
could be obtained through blogs written by individual Polish migrants living and working in Ireland.

In many cases the Internet played a key role for those who were moving to Ireland on their own and who then often became pioneers of migratory chains. As argued in one of the previous chapters those who do not have access to social networks and thus to social capital, usually needed to substitute this form of capital with their own individual characteristics such as skills, experience or the knowledge of the host country language. Nowadays the ability to efficiently use the Internet becomes another virtue. One of my informants, Wojtek, who moved to Ireland in early 2005 and did not know anybody living in this country prior to the move, argued that he solely relied on the information obtained through various websites. Interestingly he claimed that he used Polish sources, mainly Polish forums run by his co-ethnics living in Ireland. From there he learned how to look for a job and accommodation, how to get a PPS number, and open a bank account. Other migrants’ stories also helped him to find out about the situation and conditions in this country and, to some extent, he knew what to expect and how to act after the arrival. In the interview he also said that this information was very useful:

Alicja: And do you think that all of this information that you got from the internet about Ireland, labour market, living conditions, was it sufficient, or did the reality surprise you?

Wojtek: No, it wasn’t a surprise. I think that we’ve done a good investigation... Not in a hundred per cent, of course, but the vision that we had was close to the reality.

As presented in other studies, the Internet plays an important role not only for those who are planning to move to a destination country, but also those who are more settled migrants. Members of the online forums often discussed various topics around the issue of living and working in Ireland. The practical information that they shared between each other can be divided into two broad categories: (1) Practical information such as paying taxes, the social welfare system, labour regulations, trade unions, dealing with landlords, buying a car etc.; (2) Information related to 'Irish customs' such as what to wear for an interview, how to dress to work or what to buy as a gift for an Irish wedding. Sharing practical information online has also been the
case of Polish migrants living in other European countries. Furthermore, migrants are also discussing other experiences related to their lives abroad. In her analysis of the online activities of Polish post-accession migrants living in the UK, Siara (2010: 167) argues as follows:

The Internet is widely used by these migrants in a variety of forms; many Poles use an array of Internet portals for obtaining practical information related to their lives in the UK. However, Poles also participate in a diverse range of Internet forums which provide them with an opportunity to discuss various matters connected to their experiences in the UK.

Similar situations can also be observed in the case of Polish migrants living in Ireland. Online discussions are not limited to sharing advice about practicalities, but also include subjects related to the experience of living in Ireland, issues related to being Polish abroad and also general discussions about social, economical and political situation in Ireland and in Poland. Moreover, in some forums migrants were simply engaging in general chat thus not treating the forum instrumentally, but rather as a place to socialise with other Polish migrants in Ireland.

In the past the social life of migrant communities, including Polish communities abroad, tended to be centralised within some form of an ethnic neighbourhood. As discussed in previous chapters, Polish neighbourhoods in traditional destination countries such as United States or United Kingdom were organised around the local Catholic parish, which acted not only as a place of religious practices, but also as a place where migrants could receive information, help, education and also to socialise. As the role of the Catholic Church in Polish society has recently diminished (especially for young people with higher levels of education), this no longer has to be the case. Gill (2009) argues that nowadays migrants have other places to meet. In his research on the place-making processes of Polish migrants in the United Kingdom he noticed that, for example, Internet-based social networking sites gained started to gain the importance in terms of where people socialise. A similar process can be observed in the case of Polish migrants currently living in Dublin. Despite the recent large inflow of Polish citizens to Ireland, most of them settling down in Dublin, there has been no geographically distinct Polish neighbourhood in this city. Although Polish ethnic infrastructure flourished rapidly after the EU enlargement in 2004, it has not
been centralised around a Polish parish or around any other important ethnic institution. I would argue, however, that the Internet, especially Polish online forums in Ireland, started to act as a form of a ‘virtual neighbourhood’, where people could get information, help, discuss issues that were important for them, and socialise. It also acted as a place where migrants could meet new people and even establish friendships, that sometimes were then transformed into off-line relations. As argued by Carter (2004), although online friendships are not based on face-to-face interaction, they are to a certain extent often established and maintained in a similar way to ‘real’ life friendships.

The data collected for this research shows evidence of Polish migrants being actively involved in online interactions with other Polish migrants in Ireland through various forms of forums and chatrooms. Some claimed that they were doing it simply out of boredom, often during office hours but also at home. People were also attending offline meetings that were organised through those forums by other members. One of my respondents, Patrycja, when asked for the purpose of such activity said as follows:

Patrycja: Well, why not? In fact I have... Well, because of the forum I discovered these meetings, the meetings of that kind of Polish ‘intelligencia’ abroad. It is cool to talk to people who have the same attitude to life, who are not here as a result of a punishment and they are not typical labour emigrants and you can, you know, talk to them on a decent level. And they don’t watch every Euro that they spent, they don’t calculate them into Polish Zlotys and you can go with them to the movies or to a theatre and they don’t think that you are insane.

The above quote also shows another interesting feature of Polish 'community' in Ireland. This respondent explicitly said that she could meet a certain type of Polish people on the online forum: not 'just' a Polish migrant in Ireland, but a Pole who was similar to her on other levels, such as attitude and life style. It has been evident throughout this study that professional, well educated Polish migrants living in this country have been trying to distinguish themselves from 'other' Poles to whom they did not feel connected and sometimes did not want to be associated with. The issue of
internal divisions amongst Polish migrants in Ireland will be further discussed in the following section.

**Internal divisions amongst Polish migrants in Ireland from the middle-class migrants perspective**

From the outsider's point of view the Polish 'community' in Ireland may seem to be a homogenous unit where all of its members have a shared feeling of solidarity based on shared ethnic origin. Research conducted on other migrant groups shows that this is sometimes the case. For example, what featured in a study on Ghanaians living in London was a common reference to 'my people', meaning the broad Ghanaian community living in this city (Vasta and Kandilige, 2009: 591). However, what occurred from the literature on Polish diaspora is the recurring issue of strong internal divisions amongst Polish migrants in their destination countries. Research conducted, for example, in the United Kingdom as well as in the United States shows that are the intergenerational differences and conflicts play a major role. Sometimes the boundaries are being drawn between the 'good' political exiles, who had no other choice but to leave Poland and who had in the past supported Poland's fight for independence, and the 'bad' labour migrants who left the country 'in the time of need' (Erdmans, 1995, Garapich, 2007). Conflicts between different generations of migrants can be observed at both a private and organisational level. In the United Kingdom, for example, there are some tensions between the 'old' post-war migrants and the 'new' labour migrants who have been coming to that country from 1990s onwards, and these tensions are in fact based on different sets of values as well as on limited common interests (Garapich, 2007, Ryan, Sales and Tilki, 2009). Those different migrant cohorts are broadly described as the 'Polish ethnic group' and they do share a considerable level of commonality; yet, it is being argued that 'at the discursive and performative level a highly visible feature is the powerful boundary dividing the group within - a very important 'us' and 'them' inside the diaspora' (Garapich, 2007: 6) and what can be observed are 'complex cultural, generational, social and structural differences between migrant cohorts' (*ibid.*: 2). Furthermore, in studies conducted on young, well educated Polish migrants living in the United Kingdom, Fomina (2010) argues that there are three 'parallel worlds' in which Polish migrants in this country live. Not only did she differentiates between those 'old' and 'new' migrants; she also analysed a distinction that is drawn by these new migrants
who had a university degree and who worked in 'good' jobs: according to her research, these migrants were disconnecting themselves from those who were lower skilled, had limited English and did not aspire to integrate into the mainstream society. As presented in all the above studies, migrants’ ethnic identity seems to be contextual and 'ethnic solidarity' is very often being contested. As was pointed out in one of the research reports on Polish migrants in London: 'Through ethnic categorising by the outsiders, individualistic migrants are being associated with people they would rather avoid contact with' (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2006: 15). The existence of internal boundaries within migrant groups is not only distinctive of Poles. Similar situations where people have been drawing divisions within their own ethnic category can also be found in case of other migrant groups, for example Romanian migrants in Ireland. In her recent study Macri (2010) shows how those Romanian nationals who are well settled in Ireland distinguish themselves from more recent newcomers from poorer and less-developed parts of Romania, as well as from those who are of Romanian Gypsy (Roma) origin. Furthermore, some ‘better-off’ Romanians seem to ‘blame’ the latter groups for causing the construction of a negative image associated with being a Romanian, especially due to the high visibility of those who are members of the Roma group.

As the Polish ‘community’ in Ireland is still under the process of formation and there has been no significant migration streams between Poland and Ireland in the past, these common generational differences cannot be observed. It does not however imply that there are no internal differences and boundaries within this group. In addition to that, patterns from other countries can often be observed and those who are broadly categorised as 'Poles in Ireland' do distinguish between 'us' and 'them' inside their own ethnic category. It is also important to emphasise that people like to think about themselves in positive terms, thus 'us' is usually perceived as 'better' than 'them' (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

This pattern also featured in both, formal and informal interviews conducted with Polish professionals for the purpose of this research. While having a significant number of Polish friends, my interviewees also often had a negative image of the 'other' Poles. Some when distinguishing between two groups of Poles in Ireland referred to a name ‘Marian’ which seems to be a stereotypical representation of a 'bad' Pole. Dorota, a Polish engineer, when asked about her opinion on Polish migrants in Ireland in general stated that:
Dorota: I think... You know, it's like there were those two groups. One group are those typical 'Marians'... And the other group are the normal people. Somehow not... Of course it is generalising but... but, for example,... there are loads of those 'Marians' but on the other hand I have a number of friends... And they are decent people. I don't have any friends who would work as a dishwasher person. I have one who works manually but he is a chef. So you cannot say that he is a nobody. If he is some kind of... a chef in a restaurant. Not even a kitchen porter.

Interestingly, while in some conversations it was the occupational group that was the marking point in establishing who is 'decent' and who is 'not decent', most of the interviewees referred to a certain way of 'Polishness' that in their opinion was performed by 'Marians'. Stereotypical 'Marians' behaved in a rude way, had loud conversations in Polish and were a source of embarrassment for those Poles who were trying to become invisible in the main-stream society. 'Marians' were also perceived as those usually working in lower skilled jobs, with limited English and no intentions to integrate with the Irish society. The stereotype of 'Marian' also included being a 'target earner' and having a goal of accumulating as much of financial capital as possible, thus spending very little money in Ireland and living in bad conditions.

The distinction between 'us' and 'Marians' featured quite strongly in conversations with my respondents. Interestingly, however, while having no problems describing the characteristics of 'Marians', my interviewees had difficulties in describing the characteristics of 'decent Poles'. They were simply referring to their close friends as those who represented the latter but the sense of belonging to a certain category was constructed through difference (e.g. 'my friends are decent because they don't behave like 'Marians'') rather than through similarities.

This situation is not unique to Polish 'middle class' migrants in Ireland. Studies conducted in other countries also provide some evidence of similar situations. For example recent research on Polish migrants living in the Netherlands shows that some Poles were ashamed of the 'bad compatriots' who:

(...) are considered the cause of the negative image that is widely spread among the Dutch – the existence of which the Poles are very aware of. Thus, by avoiding being associated with the wider ethnic group, Polish
migrants distance themselves from all co-nationals that they are not sure of. This way they no longer feel that they are a part of the same category as those that ruin the image of Poles. (Torunczyk-Ruiz, 2008: 43)

What needs to be emphasised here is that, for the majority of my interviewees, it was rather the fear of the possibility of a negative image of a Pole in Ireland being created. While disliking the 'bad Pole' image they, at the same time, were hardly ever the subject of any kind of discrimination or negative comments from the members of the Irish community. Moreover, some were positively surprised about the image of Polish migrants in Ireland. As pointed out by Marek, an engineer who came to Ireland before the EU enlargement in 2004:

Marek: I am positively surprised [about Polish people here]. After those 4 or 5 years since so many of us came here. [I am surprised] that we still have a very good opinion amongst the Irish people. (...) Anyway, it is a common opinion that in Germany, for example, Polish people don't have a good opinion. Similarly in Austria. That they are kind of second-category citizens, which is, to some extent, their own fault. Why is it like that? I don't know. As I worked in Austria when I was a student, I was afraid that when the big group of Polish people come here, the same thing would happen. And it turned out that it wasn't like that at all. And it's cool.

In addition to that which also features in other studies on recent Polish migrants in the EU is the tendency to ‘avoid Polish strangers’ as a result of a common belief that 'Poles Don't Help Each Other' (Ryan, Sales and Tilki, 2009; Torunczyk-Ruiz, 2008). While having a supportive and trustworthy circle of Polish friends in the destination countries, Polish migrants also have a stereotypical idea of other Poles being competitive and unfriendly. This issue also arose in some of the interviews. Maciek, when asked about receiving help from other Polish people in Ireland said that he was ‘avoiding other Poles by definition’. Patrycja elaborated about the Polish abroad as follows:
Patrycja: My father worked in Berlin for 7 years and I remember when at some stage that book “Rat-Poles” was published, [the book] about Poles working illegally in the United States... And when you were reading it, about how those Poles are saving money and so on and I was saying ‘God, it’s the same’. And when I came here it was the same. And one always knew how, more or less, it was going to look like. And that ‘A Pole is a wolf to his fellow Pole’ abroad and so on and so on. So no, nothing really surprised me here, neither about Poland nor about the Polish people. I knew what to... What I was going to see here.

This quotation shows that it was not a negative experience with other Polish migrants that created that image in the case of Patrycja but it was rather a ‘common knowledge’ that she brought with her to a new destination country. In fact, the phrase she used, 'A Pole is a wolf to his fellow Pole' is a paraphrase of the Latin ‘Homo Homini Lupus’, a common expression used in Poland in relation to Polish migrants abroad.

**Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter was to present the importance of social networks in the process of migration of Polish highly-skilled migrants to Ireland, and their involvement in such networks after settling in this country. While the literature related to migration studies has become more focused on the issue of social networks, there are not sufficient studies conducted on those who are 'middle class' migrants. Such migrants are, to a large extent, different from those who are in located at the lowest and on the highest positions. Those working as professionals at the top levels of the occupational structure seem to be using professional networks which are not necessarily constructed out of people of the same nationality but rather out of people of the same occupational group, such as, for example, medical doctors or IT specialists. Those at the bottom level of the labour market, on the other hand, tend to rely heavily on their migrant networks not ‘by a choice’ but rather as a necessity, often due to the lack of knowledge of the host country language, lack of skills or simply because of their difficult legal situation in the destination country. This analysis of the data collected on Polish 'middle class' migrants living and working in Ireland, however, shows that while not being ‘forced’ to use ethnic networks they are
still engaged in them during the migration process itself and after settlement in the host country. At the same time it needs to be emphasised that while their migration chains consist of a mixture of higher and lower skilled workers, their social life within Polish migrant networks tends to have a social class component. In many cases Polish professionals socialise with other Polish professionals. In addition to that they themselves distinguish between two groups of Poles: 'good' Poles with whom they are familiar and with whom they are friends with and 'bad' Poles with whom they do not want to be associated with and who feature in some conversations as a stereotypical 'Marian'.
The aim of this doctoral research was to explore, in-depth, the lives of young Polish professionals in Ireland, focusing on those living in the Greater Dublin Area. Throughout my thesis I have argued that this particular group of people have not received enough attention within social sciences. First of all, there has not yet been much literature on Poles living in this country as the migration from Poland to Ireland is a relatively new phenomenon. Secondly, most of the studies conducted on contemporary Polish migrants in Europe, and beyond, tend to focus on those who are employed in lower skilled occupations, despite often having secondary or tertiary education. What emerges from the data collected for the purposes of my research, however, is that during the boom in the Irish economy it was relatively easy to find employment in middle and higher-level positions for those who arrived in Ireland after Poland joined the European Union in May 2004.

As emphasised in previous chapters, Poland has been a country of emigration for many decades. People were leaving the country for both economic and political reasons and in fact these two types of migration dominate the studies conducted historically and contemporarily. Polish nationals moving around the world established what is called 'Polish Diaspora', they also established Polish communities and ethnic neighbourhoods in many countries in Europe, America and beyond. What is also important is the fact that, especially from 1990s onwards, migration became one of the livelihood strategies for those living in Poland and better economic opportunities elsewhere were facilitated by the existence of long established migrant networks.

Most of the recent studies conducted on contemporary Polish migrants living in other European countries focus on the economic character of these outflows. Researchers apply such frameworks as Dual Labour Market theory and New Economics of Labour Migration thus emphasising that migrants often remain 'outside' of the social structures of the receiving societies and they also tend to work in lower skilled jobs located at the bottom of the host country’s labour market. On the contrary, very little has been said about those Polish nationals who obtain 'good' jobs abroad and who find employment in middle and higher employment. These type of migrants
have not yet been the subject of many studies. I argue that, especially in the light of the free labour movement regime, the Polish professionals working in the primary sectors of other European Union countries, including Ireland, have recently became more visible and apparent.

There has been relatively little written about the outward migration stream that occurred after Poland joined the European Union in May 2004. What could be observed, however, were the concerns about the ‘brain drain’ and ‘brain waste’ phenomena, present in the public debates in Poland following the Accession. Yet again, these discussions tended to be based on the assumption that this migration stream has a purely economic character and that those who work in other EU countries tend to have lower skilled occupations, often significantly below individuals’ qualifications. Special concerns were raised around the issue of those with third-level education who spend their time abroad working in the secondary sector of the host country labour market in, for example, construction, hospitality or agriculture. To-date there has been very little said about the more ‘successful’ stories of those who were able to secure the ‘good’ employment in other European countries.

What emerges from the data, however, is that these ‘successful’ stories have happened in the case of some Polish professionals in Ireland. While it has to be emphasised that a lot of Poles with a third level degree do work in 'bad' jobs in Ireland; some were able to secure employment in the primary sector of the country’s labour market. Some of my respondents were able to find jobs related to their qualifications relatively shortly after arrival or even immediately after coming to the country, particularly those working in architecture. In many other cases, my interviewees worked in the lower skilled occupations at first and then moved to better, usually office based jobs. What was also significant was the fact that most of them were content with middle-level positions and claimed that they did not want to move up the career ladder as more responsible positions would be more stressful for them and it did not suit their lifestyle.

Another issue that emerged from the data was that despite relatively easy labour market integration, many of these migrants tend to strongly connect with other members of their ethnic community, mainly with other Polish professionals who live in Ireland. They not only kept in touch with those whom they knew prior to leaving Poland but also further extended their connections with other co-ethnics.
There were several issues and themes that I decided to explore within the course of my research. Firstly, it was important to analyse migrants’ motives for leaving Poland and coming to Ireland (push and pull factors). Secondly, I discussed issues related to my respondents' reasons for staying abroad and not going back to Poland. Thirdly, I explored the role of migrants’ networks in the migration process itself and also after the individuals settled down in Ireland. I was also interested in the question of Polish ‘community’ formation and the cohesiveness of that ‘community’. Finally, to some extent, I looked at the role that the Internet played in this migration stream.

The analysis of the data, presented in the empirical chapters of this thesis shows that the situation of those middle-level professionals currently living and working in Dublin differs to some extent from the situation presented in studies on Polish migrants in other EU countries prior the 2004 Accession. I argue that this may be the result of the individual characteristics of these migrants as well as the specific case of the Irish economy at the beginning of the 21st century.

**Moving for one reason, staying for another**

Data collected for this research suggests that these young, well-educated migrants left Poland for economic reasons. High levels of unemployment in Poland along with low wages featured as one of the main push factors. What needs to be emphasised is that, as suggested by Iglicka (1995), it is not objective factors that play the major role in making a decision about migration but it is rather how people perceive their situation. Interestingly most of my interviewees either had a job in Poland or were recent college graduates who never even tried to secure employment in Poland. Most of them, however, complained about the low wages there that were insufficient to live their lives to the desired level. Ireland, on the other hand, seemed to be a country where people could find a job easily and the earnings were significantly higher compared to those available in Poland.

What emerges from my research, however, is that these migrants did not follow the rule of being delegated for migration by their households. It was rather the opposite – they moved on either an individual basis or with a partner. None of those I interviewed were sending money back ‘home’ regularly and their earnings abroad were not a part of the income of their families in Poland. They were thus different from those Polish migrants from the 1990s and early 2000s who, to a large extent,
used their earnings from abroad to support their relatives in the communities of origin.

What is even more important is that, in many cases, earnings from Ireland were not to be used for the purpose of improving one's social standing in Poland. It is suggested by Dual Labour Market Theory that migrants often stay outside the host country social structure and accept jobs of a low social status as they are 'target earners', meaning that they collect financial assets in order to maintain or to improve their social status back in the country of origin. As previously mentioned, that was also often the case for pre-Accession Polish migrants working in other EU countries. This, however, did not feature in the data collected for the purpose of this research. First of all, these professionals claimed relatively easy access to jobs in primary sector of the Irish labour market. I would argue that this was the result of three main factors. Firstly, their individual characteristics, secondly, free labour movement regime, and thirdly, the nature of the Irish economy around 2005. My respondents were young and well-educated, they also sometimes had good work experience and skills. Their knowledge of English played an important role for them in accessing work in the primary sector. The free labour movement regime, on the other hand, and the fact that they did not have to obtain a working permit, allowed them to easily switch employment. Therefore, those who initially worked in low skilled jobs were not 'trapped' there (which was often the case among pre-Accession Polish migrants in other European countries who had to rely on semi-legal jobs within the informal economy of the host country labour market). Finally the Irish economic situation of the early 2000s was unique. As a result of the Celtic Tiger boom, there was not only a demand for lower skilled workers but also for those with higher skills, especially in such sectors as IT and construction. The fact that there were not enough Irish workers available to work in these jobs provided the perfect opportunity for these well-educated Polish people to fill the gap.

I would also argue that the frame of reference has also been different for these migrants. It seems to be the case that they often did not compare themselves (in terms of the employment) to their family and friends who stayed in Poland but they related instead to other Polish friends living in Dublin. In other words, those who already had 'good' jobs in Ireland acted as a motivational factor for those who had just moved to the country and were either searching for employment or were temporarily employed in lower skilled positions. It is also interesting that, initially, some of them accepted
lower wages after moving into jobs in the primary sector of the Irish labour market, which shows that they were not target earners.

As the analysis shows, in the case of most of my respondents, 'push' and 'pull' factors were mainly economic. They did not have the opportunity to earn enough money in Poland and they saw moving to Ireland as a chance of finding good employment and improving their financial situation. Furthermore, most of my respondents already had friends in this country and some chose Ireland over, for example, the United Kingdom, as they perceived the former as being more 'friendly' than the latter. What needs to be emphasised, however, is that after settling down in Ireland they claimed that they didn't want to go back to Poland for other than just economic reasons. Their motivations thus shifted towards other factors. In fact, most of the literature on migration seems to focus on the 'initial' push and pull factors. In other words, what is often analysed is the question of why people leave one country and choose to go to another country. This may lead to the assumption that migrants' motivations are to some extent fixed and that the motives for staying in the host country remain the same. I would argue, however, that in some cases this is not necessarily the case. In fact, most of my interviewees, even those who left Poland purely for economic reasons, made their decision about not going back to Poland and staying in Ireland for different reasons. First of all they tended to make constant comparisons between the workplace culture in the two countries. The Irish workplace appeared to them to have a much better atmosphere. Not only did they not feel discriminated against at work, in some cases they also felt appreciated. The social 'atmosphere' in Ireland was also perceived to be better and people in Ireland were perceived to be 'more friendly'. Another issue that emerged from the data was the fact that according to my respondents, career and lifestyle expectations in Poland were perceived to be too high. This was of great importance for my female interviewees who complained about being expected to start a family before the age of 30 in Poland, which was not the case in Ireland. The Polish political scene was also often a subject of the discussion and it was perceived as chaotic and unacceptable. Finally, what commonly featured in the interviews were complaints about the high levels of bureaucracy back in Poland in comparison to the way the Irish institutions worked.

Interestingly, during the times of the recession in Ireland many of my interviewees decided to stay in Dublin, even while unemployed. It could also be
argued that some of them had simply settled down here and did not want to be confronted with starting everything again after moving back to Poland. The strategy of permanent settlement, however, sometimes did not feature in the interviews. This seems to also be the case of other post-Accession Polish migrants, for example in the UK. As shown by the research recently conducted on Poles living in London, some of them adapted a strategy of 'intentional unpredictability', which meant that migrants may want to keep their options open (Eade et al. 2006). Drawing on these findings I would argue that in case of my interviewees they were rather, as described by one, adopting the strategy of 'going with the flow'.

Social Networks and the formation of the 'Community'

Studies on Polish migration often seem to focus on lower skilled migrants when analysing the issues related to migrant networks. What emerges from some research is that those of higher skills working in professional jobs tend to have links with those of other nationalities while those in lower skilled positions often rely on their ethnic networks (e.g. Ryan, Sales and Tilki, 2009; Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2001b). Furthermore, some of the literature suggests that when higher skilled workers move internationally, they move not as part of migratory chains but they use professional networks rather than ethnic connections (Iredale, 2001). In such cases, after a relatively short period of time they become 'invisible migrants' (Salt, 1992). Data collected for the purpose of my research, however, shows that this is not necessarily always the case. Networks among those who came to Ireland directly after the 2004 EU enlargement and potential migrants in Poland in fact grew rapidly. As a result, many Polish professionals came to Ireland through migratory chains. The interviews suggest that these chains tended to be a mixture of higher and lower skilled workers and both kinds could rely on their family and friends in terms of information, accommodation and sometimes securing employment. It could even be argued that the fact of having somebody, who was already in Ireland, was the major pull factor and some would not consider moving to Ireland without having had prior connections. What also needs to be emphasised is that people were using strong rather than weak ties and some even claimed that they initially tried to avoid other Poles living in Dublin; in other words they put strong trust into their family and friends while not trusting those Polish people they do not know so well. Such attitudes towards other co-ethnics has featured in other recent studies on Polish migrants,
where people were claiming that 'Polish strangers should be avoided' and 'Pole is a wolf to another Pole abroad' (Ryan et al. 2009; Torunczyk-Ruiz, 2008)

Nevertheless, after settling down in Ireland, many of these Polish professionals kept strong connections with some of their co-ethnics and some further extended their links with other members of the Polish ‘community’ in Ireland. Some socialised mainly with their Polish friends and some complained about not having enough Irish friends. They made these new connections through workplaces and through other friends. Some met new acquaintances online, mainly by chatting in forums run by Polish migrants in Ireland. This was often the case even for those who had a strong willingness to integrate and who wanted to establish connections beyond their own ethnic networks but for some reason did not do so. Interestingly, however, while migratory chains were often a mixture of the higher and lower skilled, this was not necessarily any longer the case after settlement. Most of the Polish professionals who I interviewed mainly had friendships with other Polish professionals working in their office environment.

What also emerges from the data is a strong sense of internal divisions between different groups of Poles living in Ireland. This is not a new phenomenon – research conducted in other countries, for example in the UK and the US shows strong divisions different generations of migrants in these countries (Garapich, 2008, Erdmans, 1995). As migration from Poland to Ireland is relatively new, no intergenerational divisions could be observed. Instead, those professional Poles living in Dublin whom I talked to, often distinguished themselves from the other, 'bad' Poles often referred to by my respondents as 'Marians'. In fact, the 'bad' Poles and 'Marians' were a common subject for discussion amongst my respondents. They claimed to be embarrassed or even ashamed by the behaviour of some of their co-ethnics, especially in public places. One subject of this criticism was ‘loud’ behaviour while speaking Polish. This was more than a ‘cultural cringe’: the young professionals’ desire to distance themselves from ‘Marians’ reflected their desire to integrate and to make further connections with the members of the Irish society – a desire that the ‘bad’ behaviour of ‘Marians could undermine. It needs to be emphasised that although my respondents did not yet establish significant friendship with Irish nationals, they often expressed their willingness to do so and to socialise more often with people of other ethnic origins. I argue that due to all of the above we cannot observe a formation of one, homogenous Polish ‘community’, consisting of all
Poles living in Ireland. What might be the case instead is the existence of ‘parallel worlds’ within the Polish cohort living in this country. I would argue that some of these professional migrants simply place themselves within extended networks of friends with whom they have more in common than just the fact of being Polish. Clearly ethnicity, or the fact of ‘belonging’ to a certain national group, is only one of many possible elements of an individual’s identity. Sharing the same ethnic background does not necessarily mean sharing other, sometimes even more important, characteristics. In the case of my respondents the other significant characteristics that they shared with those who were ‘like them’ and who were ‘decent’ Poles include education or occupation, willingness to integrate with the host society, knowledge of the English language (or at least the effort to learn the language and improve fluency). In such cases they do not develop a broader sense of belonging to what would be generally understood as the ‘Polish community’ in Ireland but rather stay attached to their own, smaller communities of those who are ‘alike’. In addition, while being quite clear about who the ‘bad’ Pole is, my respondents could not easily define who the ‘good’ one is. Their understanding of shared belonging thus was created more on the basis of difference rather than sameness. They also did not undermine the fact of being Polish and could not be referred to as ‘cosmopolitans’ or as having a ‘hybrid’ identity. They were often proud to be Polish; yet they did not want to be associated with those Poles who, in their opinion, could damage the opinions held by Irish nationals of Poles and possibly threaten the position of Poles in Irish society.

**The role of the Internet**

Historically speaking, migrants who were considering moving to another country tended to rely on the social capital that was available to them through their migrant networks. In some cases, these networks were the only source of information about living and working in a potential destination country. Furthermore, as shown in studies on Polish migrants in European countries as well as in the US, what could be observed in many larger cities around the world was the formation of geographically distinct Polish neighbourhoods that were providing migrants with so-called ‘institutional completeness’. After arrival migrants could choose to live in such neighbourhoods and thus not only have easy access to Polish infrastructure, but could also establish new social connections with other Poles in their local neighbourhood.
Nowadays potential migrants gain new access to information about living and working in potential receiving countries via the Internet. This is especially important for those who do not have any connections with other co-ethnics already living in the destination country. As shown in my research, the Internet was of huge benefit to the pioneers of migration chains: not only could they find all kinds of information about Ireland but they also had the opportunity to establish connections via online forums with those who were already in Ireland. Moreover, the Internet also becomes a place to meet other Poles after settling down in this country. Interestingly, in the case of Dublin, there is no geographically distinct Polish neighbourhood. Polish infrastructure can be found around almost the entire city and Polish migrants do not tend to live in one particular area. Thus, I argue that the Internet substitutes the lack of such localities and to some extent it becomes what may be called a ‘virtual neighbourhood’.

**Issues for further research**

As this migration stream is still a relatively new phenomenon, some of the dynamics could not yet be observed during the course of this research. First of all, the vast majority of the data was collected prior to the recession or at the beginning of the economic downturn. The view of Ireland as a ‘nice’ and ‘friendly’ country may change over time, especially if there are any anti-immigrant voices raised in the future. Another issue that will require further examination is the issue of language use: it has emerged from the data that some of these migrant seem to live in ‘parallel’ bilingual worlds, where they speak English at work and Polish after work. Finally, what would require further monitoring is the integration of these migrants on different levels, especially the economic and social integration, as well as the adaptation on cultural, political and organisational levels. Findings of this research suggest that young and well educated Polish migrants perform well on the Irish labour market. This, however, may no longer be the case during the economic downturn as migrants are often the group that is affected more by recession when compared to the indigenous population. This research also showed some evidences that the cultural adaptation process was already underway, in the workplace and beyond. This process should be further analysed over a longer period of time. Those who participated in this study, however, have not yet established strong bonds with the members of Irish society. On the other hand it could be argued that it was simply too early for these
migrants to integrate socially. Most of my interviewees were in Ireland for a period of less than five years at the time of the interviews. It may be the case that over time they will develop further links with members of other nationalities, including the Irish. Moreover, it is possible that in the future they will also establish friendship outside their ethnic networks and some will also form relationships with people who are not of a Polish origin.

Final Remarks
As the migration stream between Poland and Ireland is a relatively new phenomenon there has been relatively little research conducted on this subject when compared to studies conducted on Poles living in other countries. Nevertheless, over the period of only a few years, Ireland has become a very important destination country for Polish migrants. While there is no doubt that many of them followed the patterns of the international mobility of Polish nationals in the 1990s and early 2000s, some new themes have started to emerge. What is novel about the group of migrants that were the subject of this research is that while moving through migratory chains and channels typical of lower skilled migrants, they had relatively easy access to the primary sector of the Irish labour market and often secured employment according to their qualifications. Moreover, unlike other groups of professional migrants, some have stayed tightly connected with their co-ethnics, mainly of similar occupational status long after settlement. All of the above raises the question of social integration: professional migrants are often perceived as 'invisible' and integrating quickly into the host society, which seems to be the case of my interviewees. Finally, another important characteristic of the Polish migrant group in Ireland is the fact that there is no geographically distinct Polish neighbourhood in Dublin, nor is there a homogeneous Polish ‘community’, though the internet has provided a focus for some community activists and the young professionals who participated in this study. As ethnicity is only one aspect of one’s social identity I argue that Polish professionals tend to remain within social networks of other Polish migrants with whom they share other characteristics, such as educational background or a place within the occupational structure. The internal divisions are, in fact, quite strong and it cannot be forgotten that through the process of placing the individual into a broader ethnic category people may be perceived as being associated with others with whom they themselves do not want to be associated.
### APPENDIX A

Table 8: Interviewee Details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (Pseudonym)</th>
<th>Year of Birth</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Date of Arrival in Ireland</th>
<th>Employment in Poland</th>
<th>Employment in Ireland</th>
<th>No. of Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wojtek</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>MSc in Civil Engineering</td>
<td>May-05</td>
<td>Not employed, left Poland after graduating from college</td>
<td>Manual Worker for the first month, then working as Civil Engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartek</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>MSc in Civil Engineering</td>
<td>Jan-06</td>
<td>Not employed, left Poland after graduating from college</td>
<td>Civil Engineer</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marek</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>MSc in Civil Engineering</td>
<td>Sep-02</td>
<td>Working as Civil Engineer</td>
<td>Manual Worker for the first few months, then working as Civil Engineer</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawel</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>MA in International Relations and Secondary Level Qualification in Geodesy</td>
<td>Sep-05</td>
<td>Working as an assistant in geodesy company</td>
<td>Manual Worker</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>Start Date</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Special Information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maciek</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>MSc in Architecture</td>
<td>Jul-05</td>
<td>Working as an Architect</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosia</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>MSc in Architecture</td>
<td>Feb-06</td>
<td>Working as an Architect</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorota</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>BSc in Civil Engineering</td>
<td>Apr-04</td>
<td>Clerical Officer in Polish Customs Office</td>
<td>Catering Assistant for the first six months, then working as Civil Engineer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agata</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>MSc in Civil Engineering Management</td>
<td>Jul-05</td>
<td>Administrator in a private company</td>
<td>Waitress</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justyna</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>MSc in Architecture</td>
<td>Jan-05</td>
<td>Working as an Architect</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrycja</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>IT Technician</td>
<td>Jun-05</td>
<td>Working in PR</td>
<td>IT Technician</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDES: Migrants Careers and Aspirations
Qualitative Panel Study

Wave 1 Interview Guide: Pilot

Biographical information
Gender
Date of Birth
Place of Birth
Citizenship/Nationality
Marital Status/Children
Other Dependents
When did you come to work/live in Ireland?
Where did you live before you came to Ireland?

Educational Background
Where did you go to school/college?
What educational qualifications did you receive?
What broad subject areas did you cover?
What professional qualifications did you attain?
What languages do you have? Proficiency?

Have you ever worked outside of Poland before?
If yes, then when and what country?
How did you find it?

Did you ever work in Poland?
If yes, then what were you doing and how did you find it?

Why did you leave Poland?
Why did you choose Ireland?

**Employment History**
Where have you worked before?
When was that?
What did you do in that job?
Why did you leave your last position?

**Current Employment**
Where are you currently working?
What is your job?

How did you hear about the job?
Was your education relevant or essential to your current job?
Did you need particular skills/experience for the job?

What is your salary range? Has it change over time?
Have you got promoted?
Are you satisfied with the position that you have

What type of employment contract do you have?
What are your hours of work? Any overtime?
What kind of salary are you on? Any bonuses?

Were you given induction training for this position?
Are you working at the same job you were recruited for?
What kind of training/education have you received in this job?
What would be helpful/essential to perform more efficiently?

How do you get on with your colleagues?
Do you socialise with your colleagues?
Do you like your job?
What are the biggest problems to getting on with the job?
Are you a member of a union?
Is your place of work unionised?

**Plans for the future**

Is this your ideal job?
Are you satisfied with the payment rates?
Are you satisfied with the promotion opportunities?
Are you planning to stay in this job?
Where would you like to be in 5 years time?
What needs to happen to achieve your goals?
What would ‘being successful’ in your career look like?
What kinds of training/education are necessary to achieve your goals?

**Social Life**

Where have you been living since you came to Ireland? Who do you currently live with?
What do you do with your spare time?
How do you spend your holidays?
How often do you go to Poland?
Who do you spend your evenings and weekends?
What countries are most of friends from?

Do you read any Irish newspapers, watch Irish TV or listen to the radio?
Do you know anything about Irish politics?
Are you planning to vote in local elections?

Do you read any Polish newspapers? If yes then which ones?
Do you use any Polish online services in Ireland (for example forums). If yes, then can you describe these activities?
Are you involved in any of the Polish Community organisations?

Do you shop in the Polish shops?

Are you planning to stay in Ireland?
Do you want to go back to Poland?
Do you like being here? Are you experiencing any problems?
Have you ever felt discriminated?
If you say home, what place do you mean?
Wave 2 Interview Guide – Workplace and Work Practices

QPS Participant Changes in Life
What has changed since we last met?
Have you changed job? Is yes, where have you moved to and why?
Did you try to change job? Is yes, what prevented you from doing so?
Any significant changes in your own life?

Entry into new job, if changed from previous wave
How did you get this particular job?
Did you need formal qualifications for this job?
Did it require experience or skills which you could show that you have?
How is it related to the jobs you have done in the past, in this particular workplace or another workplace?

Any significant changes in your own life? (partner/children etc)

The Nature of the Business
What does your employer’s business do?
Is it privately owned? State owned?
How big an organisation is it? How many employees?

Employment Contract and working hours
What hours are you contracted to work for your employer?
Do you have a contract? How long is it for?
What kind of procedures are in place for dealing with dismissal or disciplinary matters? Have you ever been subject to formal procedures?
Do you mind telling me what you earn each week/month? Is this subject to an annual review or is it a fixed amount?
What kind of opportunities are available to you for promotion? Have you been promoted? Have you been encouraged to apply for promotion?
Do you think you could do the job of the person above you?
The Nature of your employment
What do you do in the course of your work, for example, what is a typical day at work like for you?
Do you have a job description?
How closely does it relate to what you actually do every day?
Is your work varied or is it repetitive?
Can you vary or control your own pace of work?
If you are unsure how to do something at work, who would you ask for advice?
What technologies do you use or come into contact with in your work?
Email/internet/phone?
Have there been any changes recently in your workplace which have affected your own working practices?

The Physical Environment
What is your workplace like? (type of building/space/light/noise)
Do you physically move around in the course of your work day or are you in one location?
Is your workspace near the rest of the organisation?
Are particular work responsibilities located in separate areas?

Supervision and Management
What aspects of work are you responsible for?
Who supervises your work? Who tells you what to do?
How do they carry out their supervision?
How do you get on with this person(s)?
What nationality is this person?
How mixed is the hierarchy in your workplace?
Do you supervise anyone in your workplace?
Who do you tell what to do? How do you do this?

Work-life (Career)
What does work-life (career) mean to you?
To what extent do you believe your employment in Ireland is a part of your work-life?
What does your employment in Ireland add to your curriculum vitae? (Does it add anything?)

How would you assess your migration to Ireland in terms of your work-life – did you progress? How?

What has been your biggest work-life success so far?

What is most important for you that you get from your job? Satisfaction, money, others?

What employment opportunities do you believe are open to you in Dublin? How much did you know about them before coming to Dublin?

If you were paid the same amount in Poland, would you return?

If you were offered a job in other country, would you accept it? Where and under what conditions?
Wave 3 Interview Guide: Social Networks

QPS Participant Changes in Life
What has changed since we last met?
Have you changed job? Is yes, where have you moved to and why?
Did you try to change job? Is yes, what prevented you from doing so?
Any significant changes in your own life?

Entry into new job, if changed from previous wave
How did you get this particular job?
Did you need formal qualifications for this job?
Did it require experience or skills which you could show that you have?
How is it related to the jobs you have done in the past, in this particular workplace or another workplace?

Any significant changes in your own life? (partner/children etc)

Work

Do you work with any other Polish?
How would you describe your relations with people of different nationalities at work (Irish/non-Irish)

Do people of different nationalities at work mix or separate?
Are there any tensions between different ethnic groups?
If yes, then how are they being resolved?

What language do you use at work?
Are you expected to speak English?
Is there any translation in use?

How do you spend your breaks? With whom?
What is the reason for you spending your breaks the way you do?
Do you socialise with people from work after work?
If yes, then what do you do and how often?
Is it organised or spontaneous?

Do you think that you have more contacts with other nationalities at work or outside of work?

**Non Work**
Did you come here on your own or did you know somebody in here?
What kind of help did you get from those who you knew back from Poland (e.g. accommodation, getting a job, information about living in Ireland)?
Are you still in touch with them?
Did anybody from Poland come to you (to live/work)?
If yes, then how did you help that person? (e.g. accommodation, getting a job, information about living in Ireland)
Are you still in touch with them?

With whom do you live?
How did you meet your flatmates?
What are your relations with them?
How did it change over time?
What languages do you speak at home?

How do you spend your free time (evenings/days off)
With whom?
How do you spend your holidays?

Do you stay here for Christmas or do you go to Poland (or somewhere else?)
If you stay here, then how and with whom do you spend Christmas?

Were you ever invited to an Irish home? (or any other non-Polish home)

Are you involved in any formal organisations (Irish/Polish)?
Are you involved in any ‘social clubs’ (hobby groups etc)?
What do you think about other Polish in Ireland? Irish? Other nationalities?
Have you ever pretend that you are not Polish?

Mobile phone question – Ask the interviewee to talk about last 10 phone numbers on his/her call log
Wave 4 Interview Guide – Career, Education and Training

QPS Participant Change of Job
What has changed since we last met?
Have you changed job (or sector)? If yes, where have you moved to and why? What do you think helped you change your job?
Did you try to change job? If yes, what prevented you from doing so?

Entry into new job, if changed from previous wave
How did you get this particular job?
Did you need formal qualifications for this job?
Did it require experience or skills which you could show that you have?
How is it related to the jobs you have done in the past, in this particular workplace or another workplace?

Changes in the workplace
Have there been any changes in the way you do your job? In the way your employer has asked you to work? (e.g. full-time or part-time)
How have these changes affected you?
Have there been changes in your work colleagues? (e.g. increase or decrease in numbers at work)
What kind of job changes have your colleagues/friends made?

Any significant changes in your own life? (partner/children etc)

Career
What characteristics make you attractive for Irish employers? (Education/Skills/Experience/Attitude)
What do you think may have prevented some successes in the Irish labour market? (English language/lack of qualifications/relevant experience)
Do you think this is different in the case of other than Irish employers? (Polish or else)

When you think about the skills that you need to do your job, how did you acquire those skills?

What skills/education/training do you have that you have not been able to use in the Irish labour market?

**Career - mobility**

What made you choose Dublin and not e.g. Cork/Limerick? Why not e.g. London?

How is working in Dublin different from other places you have worked?

What kind of job could you move to in your organisation? (get promoted, move to another department within your company)

Would you like to do so?

Is there a clear career structure in your organisation?

What kind of job could you move to outside your organisation? (move to another company in the sector, move to a different sector)

Have you thought about moving to another country?

Do you consider these options?

How do you assess your chances?

Are you happy to stay in your current job? (occupation/sector)

Do you think your social position improved/worsened with migrating to Ireland?

In the previous question when you were talking about your present social positioning whom did you compare yourself to (peers back home, peers in Ireland, Polish in Ireland, others in Ireland)?

Do you monitor job adverts? If so, what positions are of interest to you?

Are those positions only in Ireland or do you check job adverts elsewhere as well?

Do you ask your family / friends in Poland or elsewhere about job opportunities there etc?
How relevant do you consider ‘attitude’ to achieving your ideal job/career/worklife goals?
Wave 5 Interview Guide – Keeping in Touch

QPS Participant Change of Job
What has changed since we last met?
Have you changed job (or sector)? If yes, where have you moved to and why? What do you think helped you change your job?
Did you try to change job? If yes, what prevented you from doing so?

Entry into new job, if changed from previous wave
How did you get this particular job?
Did you need formal qualifications for this job?
Did it require experience or skills which you could show that you have?
How is it related to the jobs you have done in the past, in this particular workplace or another workplace?

Changes in the workplace
Have there been any changes in the way you do your job? In the way your employer has asked you to work? (e.g. full-time or part-time)
How have these changes affected you?
Have there been changes in your work colleagues? (e.g. increase or decrease in numbers at work)
What kind of job changes have your colleagues/friends made?

Any significant changes in your own life? (partner/children etc)

ICT Usage and other transnational practices
I would like to do something a little different today. Show map of world!

Can you tell me who you talk to/communicate with?

What technologies do you use for communicating with these people?
Do you use different technologies for staying in touch with people in Dublin and elsewhere? [Are you still in touch with people in Ireland?]
(What other information and communication technologies do you use?

Mobile phone
Email
Texting
Skype
Social networking sites – Bebo, MySpace, Facebook
Specific Polish sites – Gadu Gadu, Nasza Klasa, Onet.
Polish Forums – Forum Polonia/other?
Dating websites)

When did you start using these technologies?
Has your ICT usage changed since living in Ireland? [being back in Poland]

Where do you access these tools? At home? At work? In public spaces? [Is it more difficult or easier to use these technologies now that you are back in Poland?]

What are you talking about with these people?

If you need to make an important decision, who do you talk to? How?

Has using these technologies helped you make friends? Find a job? Socialise more? Do voluntary work?

When you were considering moving to work in Ireland, where did you look for information about Ireland?

Journeys
Can you tell me about your last journey?

Where did you go and what was the purpose?
How long did it take you to plan it?
What did you bring with you? (to Poland and back to Ireland)
Who did you go with? Who did you see there?
What travel documents or identification did you carry with you? How did the airport security go?

Was this journey any different from the recent journeys that you have been taking? Do you travel for work or study purposes?

How often do you travel to Poland and elsewhere? When were you last there? Where else do you travel? How do you travel?

Show Map

What are the purposes of these visits? Do your family or friends visit you in Ireland or do you meet them elsewhere? How do you feel about Ryanair?

Would you ever travel to access particular services e.g. hairdresser/doctor/dentist. Do you also have these services in Dublin or have you kept your old services in Poland?

Tell me about the first time you travelled to Ireland? Mode of transport? Who did you travel with? [How have your travel plans changed since returning to Poland?]

What is the next journey that you are going to take?
Wave 6 Interview Guide – Looking Back

**QPS Participant Change of Job**

What has changed since we last met?

Have you changed job (or sector)? If yes, where have you moved to and why? What do you think helped you change your job?

Did you try to change job? If yes, what prevented you from doing so?

**Entry into new job, if changed from previous wave**

How did you get this particular job?

Did you need formal qualifications for this job?

Did it require experience or skills which you could show that you have?

How is it related to the jobs you have done in the past, in this particular workplace or another workplace?

**Changes in the workplace**

Have there been any changes in the way you do your job? In the way your employer has asked you to work? (e.g. full-time or part-time)

How have these changes affected you?

Have there been changes in your work colleagues? (e.g. increase or decrease in numbers at work)

What kind of job changes have your colleagues/friends made?

Any significant changes in your own life? (partner/children etc)

**Connections to Poland/Ireland/Other**

Do you own property in Poland/Ireland? Did you purchase property since your stay in Ireland?

Have you ever sent money to Poland?

Did you invest in any business with a view to returning to Poland or moving on to another country in the future?
Tell me about the experience of packing up and leaving Ireland. How did you move your belongings to the next country/back to Poland?

**Citizenship/Identity**
Has your time spent away changed how you think about Poland?
Now that Poland is part of the EU, what does this mean for you?
Do you consider yourself European?
Do you still have a “permanent address” in Poland/Ireland?
Have you any plans to apply for Irish citizenship?
Do you consider yourself a emigrant/immigrant? Do you feel at home in Ireland?
Where is home for you?

**Looking Back**
As you know this is our last interview, I would like to spend some time looking back on your time in Ireland.

How would you assess your time in Ireland in general? Has your time in Ireland changed you?

How would you assess your time in Ireland in terms of your career/worklife experience? (Hard/soft skills).

If you could make the decision again, would you still choose to come to Ireland, go elsewhere or stay in Poland?
(Are you glad you moved to Poland/elsewhere or do you think you should have stayed in Ireland?)

Has your time in Ireland lived up to your expectations? There is obviously a recession occurring in Ireland now – has this changed your impression of your time in Ireland?

**Plans for the future**
Is this your ideal job?

Are you planning to stay in this job?
When you think about the experiences you have had over the past few years, do you think you have greater possibilities now for moving to other places? Where would these be?

Where would you like to be in 5 years time?

What would ‘being successful’ in your career look like?

Before we finish, I’d like to take the opportunity to thank you for participating in this research. We greatly appreciate the time you’ve contributed to the project but most importantly for sharing your experiences with us. I’d like to finish by asking you to briefly reflect on what participating in these interviews every few months has meant to you.
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