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PREFACE

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## Contemporary Migration Studies as a Multi-dimensional Jigsaw

Contemporary debates over migration are conducted within three fields: the social, the journalistic and the political (Duszczuk 2011). Each of these fields is governed by its own rules and this relates to the migratory process in its specific way. In the journalistic field the representations of migrants and narratives of their life trajectories are constructed. They comply with the rules and logic of the attractiveness to a potential viewer, reader or listener. That is why one can find numerous sensational headlines and television news items on Euro-orphans, massive return migration in the time of economic crisis or Polish graduates working in low-paid jobs, which are aimed at arising 'moral panic' (Cohen 1980). In the political field, the debate on migratory phenomena quite often becomes a tool for immediate political goals (election campaigns). The debate can be useful equally in searching for good solutions within policies concerning migrants (social, immigration, integration policy). The social field of interests in migration is the domain of academic inquiries, which involve a complex research apparatus for an honest description of the reality, based on in-depth analysis.

This introductory classification of the migratory fields of interest indicates the complexity and the multi-dimensional nature of migration. What is more, if we look at the contemporary academic field of interest in migration, it will appear fragmentary, composed of many little pieces which belong to the various dimensions of this complex jigsaw.

Our knowledge about migratory processes as a whole and the 'last' wave of migration from Poland in particular (Grabowska-Lusińska, Okólski 2009), which this issue of *Studia Sociologica* is dedicated to, still remains incomplete. This conclusion does not have to be in contradiction to the fact that one can observe a huge increase in the level of interest in migratory processes after Poland's accession to the European Union. The academic production of the last seven years, which includes numerous original research works, publications and reports, is really impressive and still growing. The assumption that our knowledge about the post-accession migration

of Poles is still incomplete is not the result of a lack of research, it proceeds from the complexity and multi-dimensional nature of the migratory phenomenon. What is more, not enough time has passed since Poland's accession to the EU for one to be tempted to write a detailed synthesis. This issue of *Studia Sociologica* is merely aimed at adding a few significant pieces to this complex migratory jigsaw and to provide an addition for just such a synthesis in the future. The papers published in this issue mirror all the dimensions of contemporary migration studies. The multi-dimensional nature of migration is evident particularly in the theoretical frameworks and methodological approaches. In the first case, most of the researchers reject the 'national paradigm' to the advantage of transnationalism according to which, migrants live simultaneously 'here' and 'there'. This shift in paradigm in recent years has been discussed in several works (Garapich 2007). Articles published in this issue mirror this tendency to some extent, but the theory of transnationalism has become critically evaluated in empirical research. Its application turns out to be limited to some categories of migrants: young, single, well-educated, living in big cities, who focus on their own personal development and individual success. Migrants who have families and children perceive being 'here' and 'there' in a totally different way. Their opinions and understanding of living in a different country are full of reflexivity, a lack of belonging, a loss of confidence, depression and homesickness (the articles by Beata Sokołowska and Justyna Bell published in this issue). There is little or nothing in common between transnational migrants focused on the development of their social and cultural capital, which could be used in any place in the World, and circular migrants, who leave their country to achieve a real, mainly economic goal, such as buying a flat or renovating a property. There are many more axes of division and differences between the various categories of migrants and the very fact of bringing them to light is an important achievement of contemporary migration studies.

Thanks to contemporary research instead of talking about one homogenous population of migrants from Poland we talk about individuals, whose positioning in the social structure varies, as do the aspirations, migratory strategies, lifestyles and the process of adaptation in the new cultural environment. There is one more axis of division described in details in the case of Polish migration to the UK (Garapich 2007). This is the evident partition between the settled and stabilized 'Polonia', which includes the generation of post-war, 'political' migrants, and the group of post-accession migrants, who are quite often represented stereotypically as an anonymous crowd motivated by nothing else but economic reasons. This axis refers to two alternative theoretical frameworks in migratory studies: in the first case academics focus on the stable, structured Polish Diaspora which is situated within wider structures, in the second case they focus on movement, mobility and migratory strategies (Garapich 2011). There is one more axis of division in the theoretical frameworks forced by the argument, that the nature of female migration is a totally different kind of experience than the male migratory process (Paulina Pustulka's article). This gender-oriented perspective in contemporary migration studies helps us to overcome stereotypical generalizations. The growing number of research works on female migration (Slany 2008) fills this gap in hitherto studies.

Alternative theoretical frameworks applied in contemporary migration studies result in a variety of empirical approaches. However, one could point out several significant features of contemporary research on migration. First of all, the research has become an interdisciplinary field of inquiry. Among researchers of migratory processes one can find anthropologists, sociologists, cultural studies researchers, demographers, linguists and political scientists. Secondly, the research findings are discussed not just at academic conferences and are no longer limited to an academic environment. There is an increasing number of government representatives from various levels, stakeholders, social activists and representatives of numerous institutions, who are invited to take part in the debate. One can say that the academic inquiries are interrelated with politics. Empirical findings have become an important source in searching for new solutions in immigration, integration and social policies. Thirdly, something that can be seen as a specific trait of the approach to migration research, is the attempt to reconstruct the subjective conscious aspects of the process of migration through quoting the original parts of migrants' opinions and analyzing the way migrants themselves perceive migration of which they are the main actors. The researcher is located inside the population he investigates, he is the part of the population or at least has some migratory experience that provides him with the essential 'insider knowledge' and a sense of empathy. Undertaking the ethnographic perspective makes the researcher's work comparable to that of an anthropologist investigating his own society. What is more, one can see an evident shift in the direction taken by migration research towards explanatory and descriptive works in which qualitative methods prevail, especially: in-depth interview, observation, case study and textual analysis. Researchers are tempted to use various methods. They do not avoid statistical analysis of 'hard' quantitative data, but the data are treated as an introduction to further in-depth analysis aimed at providing an explanation of the phenomena, processes, complex motivations and mechanisms of the actors' actions.

It has been seven years since Poland's accession to the European Union. This period of time is marked by incredible dynamics within the migration research. Some, although not long enough time distance enables us to draw up a draft summary and to reflect upon the stage at which the research into the post-accession Polish migration is. First of all, the research has reached a stage of maturity. This stage is characterized by the development of research networks and integration among academics at the institutional and individual level. The position of co-ordinator of the migration academic environment in Poland has been taken up by The Centre of Migration Studies at the Warsaw University. Researchers from The Center have initialized several initiatives to integrate migration researchers in Poland and abroad (conferences, publications, 'Biuletyn Informacyjny'). Moreover, there are several initiatives outside Poland aimed at integration as well, such as the 'Polish Migration Website'<sup>1</sup> run by Anne White from the University of Bath. The website is a platform for communication and exchange between researchers from the UK,

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<sup>1</sup> The website can be accessed at: <http://www.bath.ac.uk/polis/networks/polish-migration/>

Ireland, Poland and other European countries. Another significant symbol of 'maturity' in the post-accession migration studies is the emergence of a new generation of Polish researchers, who continue their academic studies at universities and research centers abroad. This phenomenon is unprecedented in its scale and specificity. This young generation of Polish researchers with British or Irish university affiliation has entered permanently the European research arena. In many cases, the career path of these researchers is itself a part of the 'last' wave of migration, in particular – the specific kind of migration, which Katarzyna Andrejuk calls 'educational migration' (Andrejuk 2011). On the one hand, studies at a British university enable the young researcher to speak up in the language of global academic world, on the other hand, his natural knowledge of the native culture and society makes him an ideal ethnographer of his own ethnic group's life in a new cultural context. This phenomenon of the young generation of migration researchers might be itself an interesting field of study. There is no doubt that a large group of Polish scientists, who have an experience within international academic environment, intensify the cooperation and exchange between Polish and other European researchers. This phenomenon has been discussed in several works (Garapich 2011).

The 'mature' stage of post-accession migration studies is evident equally in the shift in research topics, the increase in reflexivity and the strategy of demystification implemented in numerous empirical and theoretical works. In the first years after Poland's accession to the EU there were mainly young people onboard, flying to London or Dublin. Today the same planes are full of young parents with children. Researchers follow this symbolical change step by step. They focus on the way migrants' families deal with their everyday life within 'two worlds', the difficulties of growing children searching for their individual and ethnic identity, changing attitudes towards migrants' own ethnic group. Some time distance enables researchers to draw conclusions about the dynamic aspects of migration (adaptation, integration, and migrants' career trajectories), their social and economic implications or about immigration policies themselves. The recent academic works are much more reflective than the ones which were written in the first years of migrants' outflow after Poland's accession to the EU, when a lot of analyses were produced *ad hoc*. They did not follow the dynamics of the changing socio-cultural landscape. It is worth noticing as well, that the goal of many academic works is simply to demystify, 'deconstruct' some simplifications, stereotypes, myths, ideologies, which have grown around the process of migration. This intellectual strand, which is indebted to the best traditions of British cultural studies, has been provoked by the products of 'journalistic field'. Today the media create and disseminate stereotypical representations and simplified, schematic explanations of migratory phenomena. The media with many other institutions determine what and how one should speak about migration. The attempt to demystify the mechanisms of the way the social world is being constructed through the media is a huge achievement of the critical approach within the recent migration studies.

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The title of this issue of *Studia Sociologica* brings together 12 articles on various aspects of the last migration outflow from Poland after 2004, with the particular focus on two countries of destination: Ireland and the United Kingdom. Our goal is to present various conceptualizations of migration, ethnicity and identity as well as original – mainly ethnographic – research work, which enables revision of some theories, in particular – the theory of transnationalism. The structure of the issue, the authors and their articles, mirror the main tendencies in the contemporary post-accession migration studies discussed above. The editor of this issue has had one more significant goal. He believes that papers written by Polish and European researchers and published in English will intensify further integration, exchange and cooperation within the international environment of researchers into post-accession migration.

The issue is divided into four parts. In the first part the readers will find the articles the authors of which critically examine existing theories, concepts and definitions and verify their adequacy and applicability to empirical research. In the first article Małgorzata Irek critically evaluates the academic output within migration studies over the last few years. According to the author, behind the veil of new linguistic concepts, one can find old methods and analytical categories which date back to the research conducted by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki and then – to the Chicago School. The article by Michał P. Garapich is an attempt to understand and explain the paradox of the ambiguous relation of Polish migrants to their co-ethnics. This relation, on the one hand, is evident in declarations of hostility and a lack of trust towards the co-ethnics, while on the other hand – in norms of reciprocity and cooperation, which are the core values of collective Polish culture of migration. Garapich takes an anthropological perspective and a structuralist understanding of myth making practices. He explains the sense of paradox in relation to his research experiences. The article by Anna Karnat-Napieracz is an introduction to the crucial topics in the discussion on identity in postindustrial societies. The author argues that in a globalizing world notions of local, national and European identity – which could be a focal point of migrants' sense of belonging – need to be reflected upon, if not re-conceptualized. Ciupijus Zinovijus continues this critical approach. The author, in presenting his own research work, focuses on the way that migrants from Eastern and Central Europe articulate their cultural identities and evaluate the 'disappearance of borders' in Europe. Zinovijus analyses two alternative discourses of mobility within the European Union and the way that representation of the migrant from Eastern and Central Europe is constructed in the Western media.

The second part of the issue includes the analyses into the demographic and socio-economic profile of Polish post-accession migrants in the UK and Ireland, based on statistical data and quantitative panel research. Małgorzata Krywult-Albańska conducts an analysis of data relating to the inflow of Poles to the EU countries, the share of Polish migrants in the British labour market and the birthrate data of female migrants from Poland. The data relating to the labour market as well as the systematical increase in the birthrate of Poles living in the UK indicate that

post-accession migration is a permanent one. The paper by Peter Mühlau is an attempt to answer the question about the impact of the economic crisis in Ireland on the situation of Polish migrants in the labour market. The author of this paper presents two theoretical frameworks: the theory of human capital and the theory of the dual market. The situation of Polish migrants in the Irish labour market in the light of quantitative panel research, despite the economic crisis, seems to be relatively stable, which, according to Mühlau, indicates the systematic structural integration of Polish migrants.

The third part of the issue includes the articles the authors of which present their empirical findings on the way migrants perceive, construct and talk about their complex identities. The paper by Beata Sokołowska presents the life portraits of migrants' teenage children who are the subject of an acculturation process. They have to search for their own place among their Irish counterparts at school and in everyday life experiences. The opinions of the young migrants indicate the high level of 'emotional investment' which is specific for an attitude open to a new cultural environment. On the other hand, young people declare the need for 'being yourself', which indicates strong ties with the native culture and co-ethnics. Justyna Bell provides the reader with an analysis of three varied life trajectories of migrants living in Belfast. In analyzing narrative interviews, Bell reconstructs migrants' understanding of the sense of belonging, attitudes towards the country of origin and the problematic development of interpersonal relations. Barbara Czarnecka analyses the opinions of Polish female migrants living in the UK, which are published on websites. The aim of the research, for which the theory of 'culture shock' has been applied, is to identify the elements of British culture which are challenging for Poles in their everyday life. Czarnecka also describes the shifts within female migrants' attitudes towards British culture over time.

The last part of the issue includes the articles in which the authors present their empirical findings on migrants' families, the situation of migrants' children, the relation between children and parents and the understanding of parental care in a transnational perspective. Joanna Kosmalska's multi-dimensional study of migrants' children entering the Irish primary education system focuses on the advantages and challenges of multicultural classroom from the teachers' perspective. Ireneusz Kawecki, Anna Kwatera, Bożena Majerek and Sławomir Trusz concentrate on the socio-emotional consequences of the 'temporary orphaned' children of circular migrants. The authors analyze these consequences in relation to family environment, school and peer groups. Paulina Pustułka's focus is on the phenomenon of migrant maternity as a significant element in the discourse of gender. Pustułka, on the basis of her qualitative research (narrative interviews), reconstructs the perception of migrant-mothers within transnational space.

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