



TRANSFORMIG

Polish migrants in Germany
and the UK: Results from
TRANSFORMIG's
online survey

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METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

2



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FINDINGS AT A GLANCE:

- **STAGNATION OF FLOWS TO THE UK, INCREASED FLOWS TO GERMANY:**
The majority of respondents are 'post-accession' migrants; most respondents to the UK arrived there in years 2004-2008 while newcomers make a large share of the surveyed migrants in Germany.
- **YOUNG, WELL-EDUCATED WOMEN DOMINATE AMONG RESPONDENTS:**
Their overrepresentation relates to general trends in emigration from Poland and the specificity of online surveys.
- **MAJORITY OF RESPONDENTS COME FROM POLISH CITIES AND TOWNS.**
- **DOMESTIC AND MULTIPLE INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY EXPERIENCES ARE COMMON**
among the respondents who yet did not change residence in Poland more often than non-migrants.
- **80 PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS DO NOT HAVE A SECOND HOUSEHOLD IN POLAND,**
and those who do, spend most of their time abroad.
- **POLES IN GERMANY VISIT POLAND MORE FREQUENTLY THAN POLES IN THE UK,**
whereby the frequency of visits to Poland is positively correlated with having children in Poland.
- **MAJORITY OF RESPONDENTS DO NOT ENGAGE IN POLISH ORGANIZATIONS ABROAD,**
but Polish groups on Facebook provide migrants with key information on life in Germany and the UK.
- **ACTIVE MEMBERS OF POLISH ORGANIZATIONS ARE WOMEN WITH UNIVERSITY DEGREE,**
while men with poor education and unemployed are very likely to use Polish services.
- **POLES IN GERMANY ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAVE A LIFE PARTNER WHO IS GERMAN,**
or who belongs to an ethnic or national group other than Polish or German, than Poles in the UK.
- **RESPONDENTS FROM LONDON ARE BETTER EDUCATED THAN THOSE IN OTHER CITIES,**
while those in Birmingham and Munich have relatively low level of education.
- **PARENTS OF RESPONDENTS FROM LONDON ARE BETTER EDUCATED THAN OTHERS,**
and the difference is particularly significant for their fathers' level of education.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH:

- **MIGRATORY FLOWS FROM CITIES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED MORE CAREFULLY**
- **MIGRATION MOTIVES OF YOUNG, EDUCATED WOMEN NEED TO BE SCRUTINIZED**
- **FORMS OF TRANSNATIONALISM SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN BROADER CONTEXTS**
- **INTERETHNIC INTIMATE RELATIONS OF POLES REQUIRE CROSS-COUNTRY LENS**
- **MIGRATION RESEARCH SHOULD MORE CAREFULLY COMPARE DESTINATION CITIES**

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BACKGROUND

TRANSFORMIG Transforming Migration: Transnational Transfer of Multicultural Habitus

wants to understand the multi-dimensional situations of cultural encounters between migrants and their hosts and examines how such encounters impact on imaginaries and values of diversity across transnational space and time connecting places of origin and destination of migrants.

TRANSFORMIG studies how recent migrants from Poland experience diversity in their new places of residence in England (London and Birmingham) and in Germany (Berlin and Munich). TRANSFORMIG asks if, and how, these cultural encounters are transformative to migrants' understandings of multicultural societies, and if, and how, Polish migrants transfer their newly acquired competences to their peers back in Poland.

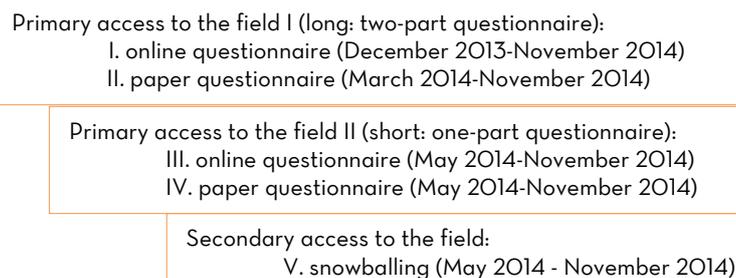
TRANSFORMIG applies a longitudinal mixed method design to capture migrants' individual trajectories of incorporation in the societies. The study includes narrative individual interviews, focus group interviews and a number of ethnographic techniques. The initial research instruments

were selected according to the principles of completeness and complementarity but TRANSFORMIG applies a sequential nested strategy to remain flexible in the research process. The variety of methods will provide a comprehensive set of data that show the complexity of the transformation and transfer of habitus in the course of migrants' adaptation to new environments.

With a series of methodological notes we intend to document the complete research process and contribute to the development of longitudinal qualitative methodology in migration research. This second note in the series is dedicated to the results of TRANSFORMIG's online recruitment survey addressed to the Poles who live in Germany and the UK.

ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE: PURPOSE AND DESIGN

In the following, we present the results of an online survey TRANSFORMIG used as the main tool for recruitment of research participants. Access to the field and in particular to migrants from Poland who meet the multiple selection criteria (see: Methodological Note 1) was the main challenge in the preliminary research stage. Therefore, we adjusted our recruitment strategies to the specific categories of informants, and followed multiple access paths: we used an online questionnaire, postal questionnaire, questionnaire distributed in Polish institutions and during Polish events, as well as snowballing:



The survey included questions in Polish but we prepared two slightly different versions for Germany and for the UK to account for, for example, differences in city names. In turn we distributed two links to the survey on TRANSFORMIG's webpage, migrant forums, Facebook open groups, on paper leaflets delivered to Polish community institutions and to Polish schools in the four selected cities. We shared information about the research project, including links to the online survey in the Polish journal *Cooltura* in the UK and the *Funkhaus Europa WDR* (West German) radio station. The survey went online in mid-December 2013 and stayed open until November 2014, whereby the majority responses were recorded in the first months of 2014.

The questionnaire includes an explanation of the research purpose and an ethical note, and two sections of questions. The first section consists of questions serving to establish whether respondents meet selection criteria (see: table 2 in Methodological Note 1). If a respondent met the entry criteria,



he or she was prompted to share his or her contact details. Finally, a respondent was re-directed to the second section of questions. This section intended to determine respondent's profile in regard to his or her (potentially transnational) migration trajectory, intercultural experiences, and social position, and went beyond the purpose of recruitment.

The two-section questionnaire enabled to achieve the objective of recruiting participants for the qualitative research as well as to gather a large amount of information on mobility and transnational practices of Polish migrants in England and Germany. All respondents who shared their contact details with us filled up the second section of the questionnaire.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

We received 674 responses from Poles living in Germany and the UK; whereby 65 per cent of respondents lived in Germany at the time of the survey. Polish migrants in Germany who participated in the survey arrived in Germany more than 10 years ago (28.9 per cent) or recently, that is after 2012 (30.8 per cent). The respondents in the UK recruit primarily among those who arrived from Poland between 2004 and 2008 (Table 1).

TABLE 1 Length of stay	In Germany	In UK	Total %
Less than 6 months	7,1	2,6	5,5
7 months - 2 years	23,7	14	20,3
3-5 years	22,1	17,4	20,5
6-10 years	18,2	49,4	29,1
Longer than 10 years	28,9	16,6	24,6
Total	100	100	100

The majority of respondents are female (74 per cent) which corresponds to our experiences throughout the recruitment process that women were more likely to get involved in social science research. The average age of respondents is 34 years old. Only 7.5 per cent of respondents are older than 45. There are no significant differences regarding age between migrants in the UK and in Germany. The respondents are relatively young in both countries, which is consistent with other research (GUS 2013, pp.59-61).

The majority of the survey respondents have completed higher education. There are two reasons for this bias: first, the higher the level of education the more likely people are to participate in social science research. Second, the overrepresentation of people with higher education corresponds to the disproportionately high participation of women in our survey. Women now constitute the slightly bigger group of emigrants from Poland, and from Polish cities in particular, but this difference is 6 per cent (for emigration in 2012, GUS 2014). Slany and Ślusarczyk (2013) notice that women migrants are generally better educated than men, and that fewer women than men with primary or vocational training decide to migrate. German Micro Census from 2011 shows that double (!) as many women who migrated from Poland have completed general secondary education (*matura*). According to Polish sources, 41.8 per cent of all female migrants from cities in Poland have tertiary education, compared to 23.1 per cent of male migrants (GUS 2013b).

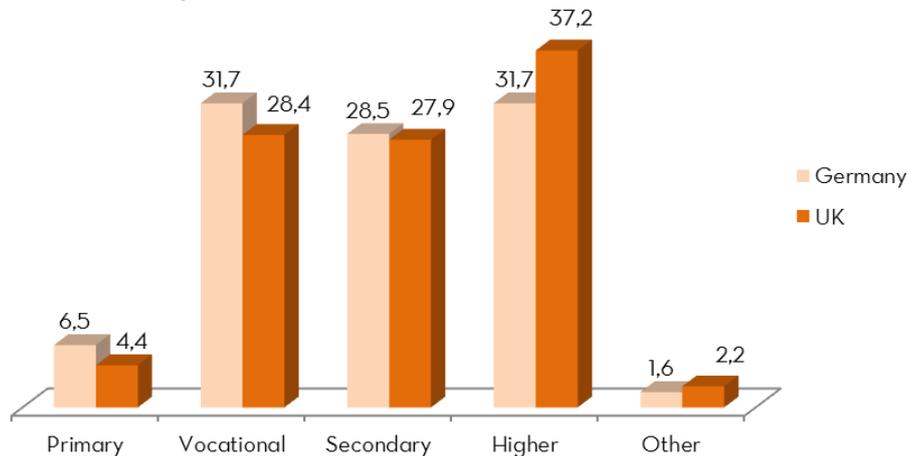
TABLE 2 Migrant's level of education	%	
Which is your highest completed level of education?	Primary	1,6
	Vocational	2,8
	Secondary and vocational secondary	20,7
	Higher (bachelor, master or engineering degree)	67,9
	Other [please indicate which]	7
	Total	100



Overall, there is no significant difference between respondents in Germany and the UK regarding the level of education. There is, however, a disparity between London and Birmingham, the two British cities of interest to our qualitative panel study (see Methodological Note 1). 76.4 per cent of respondents in London have a university degree compared with 57.9 per cent in Birmingham.

We also asked each respondent to indicate his or her father's (and mother's) level of education. There are slight but not significant differences between respondents in Germany and the UK, in particular in relation to vocational and higher education (Diagram 1).

Diagram 1. Education of migrant's father.



We also considered differences between the four cities from our qualitative longitudinal study – Berlin, Munich, Birmingham and London (see Methodological Note 1). Table 3 shows the results for education of father (and mother in bracket).

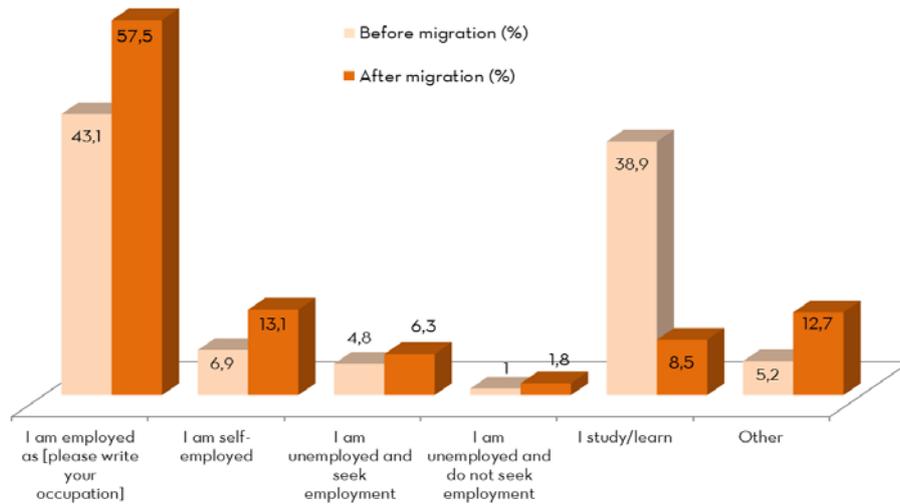
TABLE 3 Level of education of migrant's father (mother), in %	Berlin	Munich	London	Birmingham
Primary	5,8 (4,6)	8,0 (8,1)	4,7 (2,4)	5,6 (0)
Vocational	28,3 (19,1)	36,8 (26,6)	26,8 (14,2)	41,7 (38,9)
Secondary	28,9 (37,0)	31,0 (37,2)	22,8 (40,9)	36,1 (38,9)
Higher	35,3 (38,7)	23,0 (27,9)	43,3 (40,9)	13,9 (22,9)
Other	1,7 (0,6)	1,1 (1,2)	2,4 (1,6)	2,8 (0)
Total	100	100	100	100

While the differences in the level of education of migrant's father are minor in a cross-country comparison, the disparities are visible at the city-scale. In particular, the differences between all four cities with regard to migrant's father's education are remarkable. The results for the level of education of migrant's mother are not that clear, however also here we see significant differences at the highest level of education achieved, in particular between London/Berlin and Birmingham/Munich. London and Berlin seem to attract migrants who are well educated and whose fathers and mothers have higher education degrees. In Birmingham, migrant respondents come mostly from families where the father had primary or vocational education. We discuss these results in the last section of this methodological note.

Diagram 2 shows the distribution of respondents according to their employment situation. We asked the respondents to indicate the status at the time of the survey and at the time of departure from Poland to Germany and the UK respectively. The increase in professional activity after migration points towards economic motivation for migration. Also, young people tend to migrate soon after graduating from universities to seek and find employment abroad. However, also the number of the unemployed is slightly higher after than before migration. This may reflect vulnerability of migrants to the labour market situation (Dustman et al. 2010) and the down-skilling and misrecognition of skills (Geis 2010; Elsner and Zimmermann 2013).



Diagram 2. Employment status prior and post migration



It is also interesting to note the almost double increase of self-employment after migration. Polish entrepreneurs have rapidly established themselves in Germany and the UK in the ten years since Poland joined the EU in 2004. In the UK, Poles rank now number six. More than 21.000 Poles set up companies in the UK, while another 65.000 Poles are self-employed (CFE 2014). In Germany, 116.000 companies were registered as of 2011; alone in Berlin, almost 10.000 companies run by Poles are registered (Zensus 2011). Poles in Germany rank now number one among new migrant entrepreneurs (Leicht and Langhauser 2014). The increase in self-employment after migration shows Poles seize the opportunities offered by the European Union; on the other hand, the increased number of companies is linked to the growing population of Poles in the UK and Germany, and the business opportunities this new market offers for ‘ethnic services’.

Regarding the family situation of the respondents, we asked about their marital status, nationality of a (married/life) partner and place of residence of the family members (Table 4). There are no significant differences between migrants in the UK and in Germany.

TABLE 4 Marital status		%
married		41,2
divorced		5,7
In separation		1,9
single		24,1
In partnership		27,1
Total		100

95 per cent of (married) partners live together with the migrant in the destination country, and only 5 per cent in Poland, and this proportion is the same for respondents in Germany and in the UK. The majority of our survey respondents (53 per cent) do not have children. Those who have children, usually live with them in Germany and the UK. However, 6.6 per cent respondents indicated that their children live in Poland, and further 4.1 per cent that some of their children live in Poland, and some in Germany or the UK,

respectively. In this respect there are also no significant differences between migrants in Germany and the UK.

Diagram 3 shows the nationality of the migrant respondent’s partner. In Germany, 49 per cent of respondents are married or in relationship with a Polish national, in the UK this share is almost double as high. In Germany, 14 per cent of partners are of different nationality than Polish or German, while this share is 8 per cent in the UK. Polish-German intimate relationships constitute 37 per cent of all relationships, while the share of Polish-British partnership is only 12 per cent.

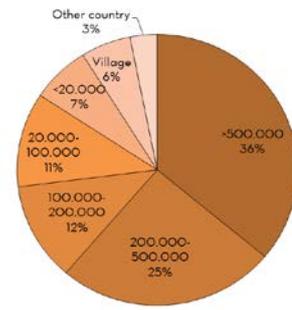
Diagram 3. Partner’s nationality



MIGRANTS' DOMESTIC MOBILITY AND INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Diagram 4 shows our respondents; place of departure. Only 6 per cent or the UK from a village in Poland, 3 per cent moved there from a different country than Poland, and 36 per cent arrived from one of the five cities with more than 500.000 inhabitants. There are no significant differences between migrants to Germany and to the UK in respect to the size of the place of their departure.

Diagram 4. Place of departure



We were also interested in our respondents' domestic mobility. Over 38 per cent of the surveyed migrants have already at least once moved in Poland as an adult, and almost 11 per cent as a child.

We considered whether the respondents had other international experiences prior to migration. One third of the survey respondents had lived abroad for longer than three months before immigrating to Germany or to the UK. 16.7 per cent had been engaged in the activities of an international organization such as AIESEC, Red Cross, Caritas, or other. 38 per cent had participated in an international school or student exchange programme.

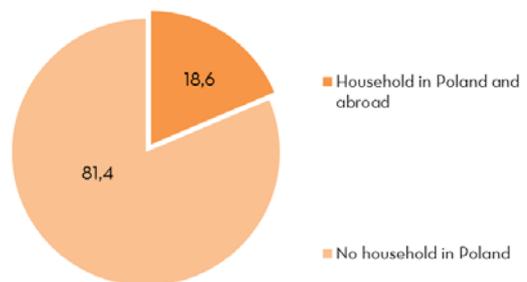
TABLE 5 Domestic mobility prior to migration		%
Which statement best characterizes your relationship with the town/city from which you departed to Germany/the UK? If none of the answers below fits, please use the comment box.	I was born in this town and spent there most of my life	51
	I was born in a different town and I moved to this town as a child	9,2
	I was born in a different town and I moved to this town as an adult person	30,8
	I was born in a village and I moved to this town when as a child	0,9
	I was born in a village and I moved to this town as an adult person	8
	Total	100

Among these respondents who participated in an international student exchange programme, 51.9 per cent lived abroad for at least three months; whereby we did not ask whether such programme was a reason for a stay abroad. Nevertheless, participation in such programmes positively correlates with international mobility: among those who did not participate in them, 77.9 per cent did not live three months or more abroad prior to emigration to Germany or the UK. Among those who did not participate in the activities of international organization, 71.2 per cent did not stay abroad for three months or more. Among those who participate in international organizations, 57.3 per cent went abroad for three months or more.

MIGRANTS' TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES

For the study of mechanisms of cultural encounters and transfer of multicultural competence it was of key importance to understand the nature of the relationship that our research participants sustain with their families and friends in Poland. Glick Schiller et al. (1992) term migrants who develop and maintain multiple - familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political - relations that span borders of nation states (in our case Poland and Germany or Poland and the UK) 'transmigrants'. The degree and form of 'transnationalism' changes with the length of stay of migrants abroad (Vertovec

Diagram 5. Double household

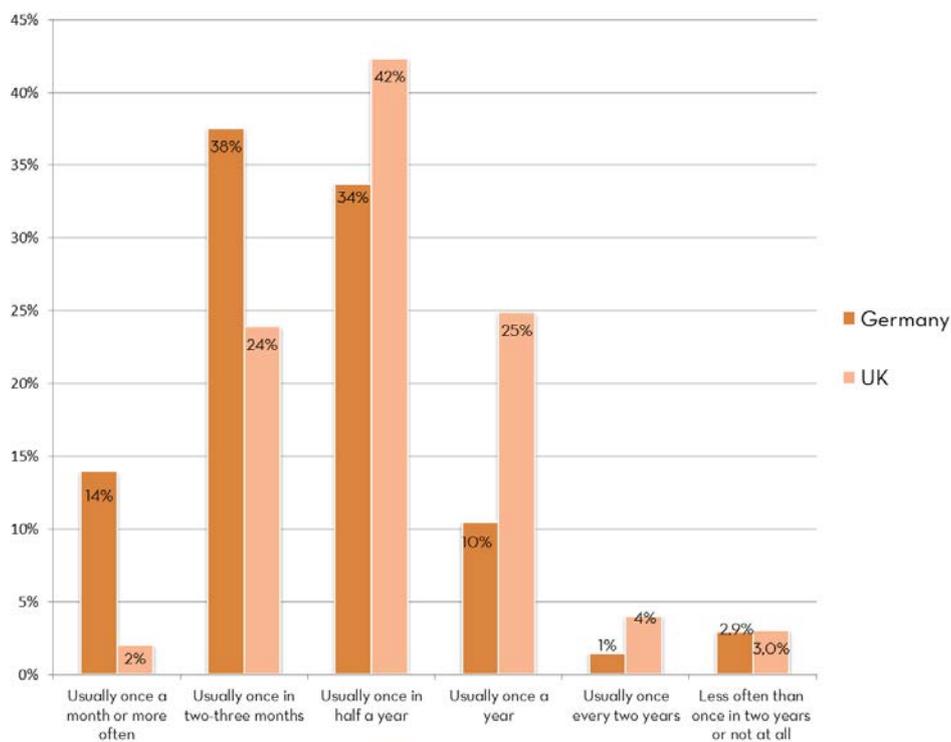


2011) and it also impacts the patterns of incorporation of migrants in the society of residence (Glick Schiller, Çaglar and Gulbrandsen 2006).

Our online survey included a number of indicators of transnationalism related to mobility and cultural practices. 18.6 per cent of our respondents indicated having a household both in Poland and in Germany/the UK (Diagram 4). These shares are almost identical for both countries. From those who have a household in Poland and abroad, the majority spends most of the time in the household abroad (the UK or Germany). The share of those who spend more or less equal amount of time in both households is three times higher in Germany than in the UK (7.8 per cent); also more migrants in Germany spend more time in Poland than in Germany, compared to migrants in the UK (4.7 per cent vs 2.6 per cent).

We also asked how often migrants travel to Poland. The results are presented in diagram 6. Migrants in Germany visit Poland more frequently than migrants in the UK which might be related to the geographical proximity but also to the availability and affordability of transportation (train or private

Diagram 6. Frequency of visits to Poland



cars, as well as car sharing agencies and private arrangements seem popular among Polish migrants in Germany, while air travel is a more obvious choice for Poles in the UK). As a reason for visiting Poland in the last 12 months, the respondents stated mostly visits to family and friends. Holiday, administrative formalities, issues related to health or employment are among other reasons.

The frequency of visits to Poland is correlated to the family constellations. In particular, the frequency of migrants' visits to Poland is strongly positively correlated with the location of migrants' children in Poland. 7.2 per cents of migrants surveyed in Germany indicated that all their children live in Poland and further 3.9 per cent that some of their children live in Germany, and some in Poland. For the UK these shares are 5.5 per cent and 4.4 per cent, respectively.

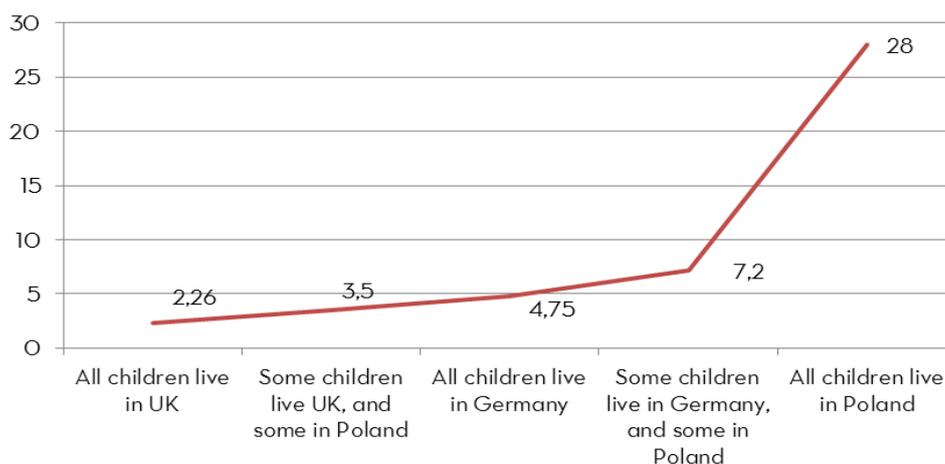
41.7 per cent of migrants in Germany (with a child/children in Poland) visit Poland once a month or more. For migrants in the UK this share is 20 per cent. The difference between Germany and the UK suggest that shorter geographical distance between Poland and Germany facilitates commuting forms of migration and family splits between the two countries, however we do not speculate on the casual effects between family split and commuting migration.



TABLE 6. The reasons for visiting Poland in the past year (multiple answers possible)	%
Visiting family	69,3
Visiting friends	40,8
Holiday	31
Administrative formalities	20,8
Issues related to health	18,8
Issues related to employment	11,3

The correlation is shown in the graph below where we can see average number of visits to Poland (in 2013) for each category of children's location:

Diagram 7. Residence of children and visits to Poland



A particular form of transnationalism are ties with homeland organizations abroad, use of ethnic services abroad, as well as virtual networks connecting with the community of origin, or with community of migrants from the same country (cf Vertovec 2009). Therefore, we ask the respondents about their engagement in Polish organizations and online communities in the UK and in Germany. The survey respondents rarely engage in the activities of associations and clubs of the Polish community abroad (Polonia). The majority of respondents (61.1 per cent) are in no way associated with Polish organizations operating in Germany or the United Kingdom, and they also do not participate in events organized by such organizations.

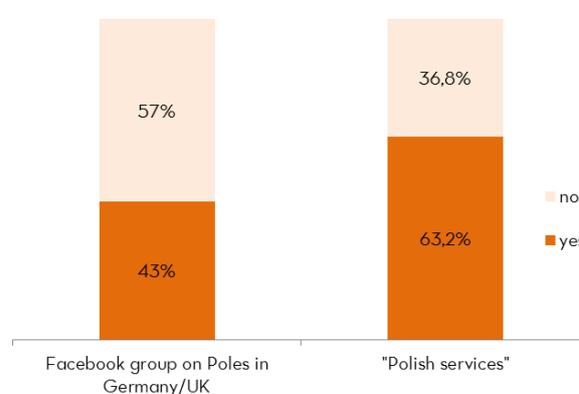
From those who indicated participating in Polonia organizations, 15 per cent are actively involved as members. We observe no correlation between earlier engagement in activities of international organizations in Poland (ex. AISEC) and membership in migrant organizations abroad. The respondents from the UK are to a slightly greater extent (18.9 per cent) active than the respondents from Germany (12.5 per cent). 17 per cent of respondents are passively involved, meaning they take part in events organized by such organizations and directed at the Polish (speaking) audience. The ethnographical work we conducted in Berlin, Munich, London and Birmingham shows a wide range of such activities, from offers of regular character explicitly for children, parents and elderly people through to thematic activities such as hobby clubs, to dozens of irregular events as lectures, concerts or dance parties. Polish organizations provide also advisory on legal aspects of the stay abroad. A statistical respondent actively involved in organizing events for Polish migrants is a woman with higher education degree, aged 35 to 44, with advanced knowledge of German or English language, and migrated before or soon after 2004. On the contrary, a typical passive user of such activities is male, has primary or vocation education, is unemployed, and could also be new to the country.



TABLE 7. Participation in Polonia organizations and events		%
Which answer best describes your involvement in the activities of the Polonia organisations (clubs, associations, etc.) functioning in Germany/UK?	I am a member of such an organisation and I actively participate in its activities (e.g. by organising various events)	7.8
	I am a member of such an organisation and I usually participate in its activities	7
	I am not a member of any such organisation but I actively participate in its activities (e.g. by organising various events)	2.2
	I am not a member of such an organisation but I actively participate in its activities and events	15.1
	I am in no way associated with any Polonia organisation functioning in the Germany/UK	61.1
	Different answer	6.8
	Total	100

Facebook groups operating in Polish and enrolling Poles in Germany or the UK act as a substitute for Polonia organizations in these countries. Some of such groups include “Poles in Munich”, “Polish moms in Berlin”, „Advertisements Munich”, “Events Polonia Munich”, “Poles in Birmingham” or “Poles in London”, and they explicitly address Polish-speaking audience. 43 per cent of all survey respondents are registered members of such groups. They have usually primary, vocational or secondary education, and declare basic knowledge of German or English respectively. In Germany, 80 per cent of Facebook group members have primary education. Respondents from Germany (46.7 per cent) are more likely to enrol in such groups than are those from the UK (36.9 per cent).

Diagram 8. Facebook groups and Polish services



The majority of the survey respondents use services offered by Poles for Polish migrants, such as hairdressing, groceries, car repairs, legal advisory or medical services. Migrants in the UK use such services more often: 85 per cent compared to 50 per cent in Germany. In particular, Polish shops seem to enjoy the greatest popularity – half of the respondents admit shopping there at least once a month. Accordingly with traditional division of gender roles in the family, women use such services more often than man. Also, people with lower levels of education, who are unemployed and live longer in Germany use such services more often.

DISCUSSION

The majority of the survey respondents are the so called ‘post-accession migrants’, meaning they arrived in Germany or the UK between 2004 and 2014. The majority of the UK respondents emigrated from Poland before 2008, while in Germany it is the newcomers who constitute a large share of all respondents. This distribution across the migration duration groups corresponds to the general trend of relative stagnation of emigration from Poland to the UK with simultaneously constant growth of migration to Germany, as demonstrated also by German data (Migrationsbericht 2015).

Representativeness

Regarding age, gender and education, the surveyed sample is dominated by relatively young, female respondents with higher education. The overrepresentation of these groups partly relates to the specifics of the online surveying. People who have internet access are younger and more educated than the population average. Therefore, internet surveys are, generally, not representative of the



population. Further, not all people who have internet access can be reached to participate with the same probability, and their decision to participate might depend on personal characteristics which are correlated with the subject matter which the survey wants to assess (Börsch-Supan et al. 2004). In order to tackle these problems, surveys are usually weighted. Another method applied to avoid biased samples is to use stratified samples (Blasius and Brandt 2010). Both methods do not assure representativeness for the entire population but also did not seem necessary considering the recruitment goals we followed (see Methodological Note 1). When discussing the results of the survey we need to keep in mind the flaws of the sample. Nevertheless, we believe the data from the survey depict important trends, such as composition of migrants' household, their socio-economic status and transnational activities.

General characteristics of studied migrants

What do we learn about the post-accession migration from Poland? In general, we observe that Poles move abroad for work, whereby they change from one employment situation to another. However, a significant group leaves Poland directly after completing education. This corresponds to the data provided by the Polish National Census (NSP) which show that undertaking of employment is the strongest motivation for emigration and that one third of emigrants from Poland are younger than 30 (Slany and Slusarczyk 2013). Our survey also shows the significance of emigration from cities in Poland which also corresponds to the results of the NSP. This trend however makes it difficult to compare our survey results with findings from multiple studies from Poland which, using mostly ethno-surveys, focus on land counties of mixed, rural-urban, character, without distinguishing between rural and urban areas (ex. Jaźwińska-Motyłska 2013). Similarly, aggregated German or British data do not provide sufficient material for such comparisons.

We attempted to put migration of Poles to Germany and the UK in the context of domestic and international mobility. Domestic mobility of Poles is relatively low - 65 per cent of Poles stay lifelong in one place; 35 per cent of population migrate, whereby the majority of them (66 per cent) only once in their lifetime, within the border of the same voivodship (71 per cent), and no further than 50km away (CBOS 2010). City-to-city domestic migration dominates; recently, migration from cities to rural areas gains on importance (GUS 2011). Also, students' mobility is relatively low: 75 per cent of students live with their parents during the education, and only 15 per cent of secondary school graduates eligible for studying wish to do so in a different town (IBE 2015). Our survey results fit well with this trend: one third of all respondents experienced domestic mobility prior to emigration to Germany or the UK, for education or work purposes as an adult.

One third of our survey respondents had lived abroad for at least three months prior to emigrating to Germany or the UK. Some Polish sources suggest that multiple migrations, temporary or permanent, are a common life strategy (comp. Jaźwińska-Motyłska 2013). Also the recent migrant survey of IAB-SOEP in Germany shows that a significant group of migrants has multiple experiences of international mobility (Brücker et al. 2014). There is also evidence that studying abroad increases an individual's probability of working in a foreign country (Parey and Waldinger 2011). 40 per cent of our survey respondents participated in such a student exchange programme and we can observe a positive correlation between student mobility and international migration; the same effect is visible for engagement in the activities of international organizations in Poland. The selectivity of migration thus can be observed primarily in respect to urban origin, gender, education and age, while we see no significant differences between our sample and general non-migrant population in Poland in regard to mobility patterns.

Transnational practices

We considered migrant transnationalism as practice of border-crossing and engagement in "Polish" activities abroad. An important point of orientation for our survey was Glorius' (2007) study among Polish immigrants in Leipzig which explicitly focused on different dimension of transnationalism. While no direct comparison to the Leipzig study is possible due to methodological differences between the surveys, some similarities and differences in results are nevertheless worth mentioning.



Like Glorius, we asked how often the respondents travelled to Poland in the year preceding the survey, and in this respect our results are similar; also the main reasons for visits to Poland – to meet family and friends – were indicated by respondents in both surveys in first place. However, 80 per cent of our respondents indicated not having a second household in Poland, whereas two third of Glorius' respondents have a second household/residence in Poland, usually inhabited by family members. We consider that the character of migration from Poland has changed over the last decade: young people who recently emigrate from Poland often do so soon after graduation and/or before they can afford their own household. Further, more Poles now stay abroad longer than 12 months which indicates a trend for a (more) permanent migration (Slany and Slusarczyk 2013).

Further we recognize that the geographical distance between the place of origin and destination of migrants matters for transnationalism; however, we believe it is important to restrain from drawing simple causalities between distance and form and scope of transnationalism. We see that Poles from Germany visit Poland more frequently than Poles residing in the UK which might be a result of more convenient forms of transportation, in terms of their availability, flexibility and cost. The data show a correlation between families being split between countries and frequency of visits which is stronger for Germany. Yet it is the socio-economic status of migrants rather than sheer distance that impacts of the form of family, and these mediating factors need to be considered. We lack so far longitudinal data which would demonstrate how, at the family level, transnational practices variate over time, and how, at the level of whole migrant populations, the change of socio-economic status of migrants impacts on the forms of transnationalism.

Country and city-scale comparisons

Much has been speculated on the 'competition' between Germany and the UK for new migrants from Poland; some studies observed a certain trend for the UK to attract better educated and younger migrants from Poland, while Germany seemed to accommodate older and worse educated migrants (Kaczmarczyk 2007; Elsner and Zimmermann 2013). We were therefore particularly sensitive to differences between the UK and Germany. Indeed, we see that migrants to Germany tend to arrive there more recently than to the UK; the frequency of visits to Poland differs slightly between the countries as well. The sudden growth in Polish population in the UK resulted in the development of new ethnic infrastructure in many British towns; we notice in our data that Poles in the UK more often than in Germany make use of Polish shops or other services offered to Poles. However, in both countries participation in the activities of Polish organizations is rather low. The most important and indeed puzzling difference are the patterns of inter-ethnic marriage/life partnership. We can only speculate why more Poles marry Germans or other nationals in Germany while Poles in the UK form partnerships within their own ethnic group. What we should keep in mind here are historical traditions of mixed marriages between Poles and Germans (Lucassen 2006), relatively high concentration of Poles in some UK towns creating certain opportunities for intra-ethnic relationships, particular socio-economic structure of Polish populations in both countries, or difference in the level of tolerance or openness towards other ethnic groups in the UK and Germany that facilitates such relationships. We hope to be able to unpack the phenomenon of uneven patterns of inter-ethnic marriages or life partnerships formed by Poles in Germany and the UK with our qualitative study.

While the differences between countries are rather minor, we found significant disparities in the level of education of respondents' parents across the four cities: London, Birmingham, Berlin and Munich. Also, levels of education of migrant respondents differ at the city scale. London and Berlin attract not only educated migrants but also migrants whose parents, in particular fathers, have higher education. These findings have consequences for our qualitative research which considers migrants' habitus. Not only is it essential to draw attention to family's cultural capital when we consider migrants' social attitudes (Bourdieu 1984; Willekens et al 2014) but we also need to be sensitive to how habitus intersects with residential effects, while keeping in mind certain selectivity of migrants in particular cities.



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