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Adaptational difficulties of Polish economic emigrants in the context of globalisation processes

KEYWORDS

Economic emigration
Young people
European Union

ABSTRACT

Guaranteeing the availability of European labour markets constituted a very important element of the Polish foreign policy during the negotiation of conditions under which Poland would become a member of the European Union. At the time of the Polish accession, Poles as citizens of United Europe gained the right to take up legal work in other Member States. This opportunity was taken by Polish young people – "third-generation emigrants" tempted by better earnings and prospects for the future. The proposed text is an attempt to capture migrants' reality in the context of adaptative difficulties experienced by migrants with regard to globalisation-related transformations and the construct of a global teenager. The research results were obtained from two research projects carried out: (1) a research project carried out under the promotional grant in the years 2008-2012 (National Center for Science in Krakow – NN 106 348 140 (grant manager: Prof. Magdalena Piorunek, PhD) under the title: 'Polish emigration and reemigration as an experience. Sociological and pedagogical aspect', the results of which have been published in: Kozielska J., (2014) Post-accession migration. The theoretical and empirical context. Social support. The research sample in the quantitative analysis consisted of 174 persons who emigrated for at least one year and stayed in Poland for at least 6 months from the time of their return to the time of the research. The sample was targeted, and the target group consisted of return emigrants who emigrated during the pre-accession period and decided to stay in a European state rather than a "traditional" country of migration like the United States of America. The quantitative research was supplemented with a qualitative analysis of texts derived from hermeneutic methods, which included online forums (created by and for emigrants, both those who are still abroad and those who are planning to return or have already returned to Poland) and blogs containing fragments of emigrants' biographies; (2) a research project carried out in London and Scotland under the POSTDOC scholarship of the Adam Mickiewicz University "Unique Graduate = Opportunities. An increase in the didactic potential of the Adam Mickiewicz University through pro-innovative education in English, interdisciplinariness, e-learning, investment in human resources" under the title: 'Transnational biographical counselling. A paradigm of qualitative research. An in-depth interview – 15 families with children (aged between 3 and 13 years) (2015-2017)'.

'I'm leaving!' I shouted to my mother, having returned from a meeting with my pals. Astonishment, hundreds of questions to which I did not know answers, because a few hours earlier I had not considered leaving my hometown, let alone my country…

I made my decision spontaneously… I sought, called, sent CVs, but working for 600 zlotys a month was slightly, or rather strongly repelling. So, it was said:

'We're going to Glasgow!'

'Where is it?' I thought.

My pal had read that there were many job offers for Poles, looked out for accommodation on the Internet and sought companions with whom he could emigrate. I agreed: did I have anything better to do?

(Deręgiewicz 2001:3)

Introduction

Human migration is not a new phenomenon relating to the specific nature of our epoch, although it is more visible in times of globalisation-related transformations, if only thanks to the omnipresent mass-media. Human migration has occurred since the dawn of history. In the past, population movements were a very important factor of social development. They caused a "diffusion" of culture and technical knowledge, an expansion of settled areas, an increase in production, and a settlement of political or unemployment conflicts. International migrations on a mass scale have been observed since the 19th century (cf. Bera 2008). Today, however, in the age of social and economic transformations and uniformisation of the world, in the age of the "world of migration" (cf. Niedźwiedzki 2010), these movements have a new quality (cf. Bera 2008). Richard Bera writes after Kapuściński: 'Primitive tribes had to change their places of stay to get food. Later there was the ancient world, also very mobile, covered with Greek colonies between which trade was booming. However, the most mobile civilisation was the European one; it has always been characterised by the curiosity of the world that prompted people to make geographical discoveries, establish colonies, make conquests' (Bera 2008:79). Thus, migrations should not be regarded as a socially new issue; they have always occurred, and the only things that change are motives for migrations, their intensity and direction.

Migrations – the terminological aspect

Because of the interdisciplinariness of analyses of the phenomenon in question and its complexity, there is no universal typology, methodology and method of ex-

plaining this phenomenon (cf. Okólski 2009; Kaczmarczyk, Tyrowicz 2008; Koziel-ska 2014 et al.). We can distinguish four primary methods (perspectives) of the analysis of this phenomenon: migrations treated as: a demographic component; a social and economic manifestation of the adaptation of individuals and social groups to the changing conditions of living; a group of events being a component of the course of life that are a consequence of everyday experiences of people going through successive phases of development; a manifestation of rational behaviours of individuals who intend to maximise their own welfare (cf. Niedźwiedzki 2010). On the further pages of this text, I will refer to the last three components. To put it most generally, migration or a migratory movement is defined as 'the whole range of shifts aimed at the change of residence of persons who move from their place of residence or place of departure to their destination or place of arrival' (Bera 2008:77). Migration is defined as a permanent or relatively permanent change of the place of residence – horizontal migration – occurring in geographical space. It is worth stressing that this change is accompanied also by a change of "social location" (Kawczyńska-Butrym 2009:11). This means that a migrant 'is forced (decides) to part with his family members and friends, or, on a larger scale, members of the ethnic group or nation, which involves a change of surrounding social relations (a change of the institutional surroundings) in a broader sense' (Kaczmarczyk 2005:18). This phenomenon can condition a change of position (promotion or degradation) in the social structure, which is defined as vertical mobility – vertical migration. Horizontal migration may refer to moving within the country or around the world. The first option is called internal migration, whereas the second one is external migration.

Mechanisms of migration. An overview of the theory of migration with regard to empirical exemplifications

A majority of studies on migration focus on selected fragments of reality (reasons, consequences, family, work, welfare assistance and others), which makes it easier to formulate generalisations and identify the rules that govern migrations. Apart from that, research concepts are formulated on the basis of two different paradigms; the first one is created on the basis of the structural and functional paradigm, and the second one is created on the basis of the interactionistic paradigm. The first type of conception concentrates on the level of the social system and, therefore, has a more general and mainly quantitative character; the second type of conception assumes the viewpoint of a social actor. Thus, researchers operating

(consciously or not) within either of the two conceptions do not provide us with descriptions of two differing phenomena, but they attribute different functions to migration in different contexts determined by various models; using other questions as a basis, they can reach different conclusions, and it is one of the aspects that must be taken into consideration in an analysis of studies concerning the impact of emigration on people. Because of a multitude of theoretical references to the phenomenon of migration, the further part of the paper will present theories of migration, which are of importance with regard to post-accession "liquid migrations", taking also into account return migrations, which are the subject of interest of the author of the text, too.

Economic theories assume that economic factors have the biggest impact on decisions concerning migration. According to the classic theory – a macroeconomic level of decisions concerning migration – the human being is 'Homo oeconomicus that rationalises his/her actions and moves in search of better conditions of living. Non-economic costs of migration, such as psychological costs related to longing being a result of parting, are not included in economic theories. These theories combine migrations mainly with the labour market, demand and supply concerning work, financial conditions and the degree of unemployment. Economic factors that determine the making of a decision to leave appear together with the differentiation of the level of economic development of countries. In such case, we speak of factors pushing and pulling from and to a specific country. These are variables such as low income, difficulties in finding a job or unemployment in the country of origin. If both categories of factors occur together in two countries, the migration potential will arise. This does not mean that every difference in incomes of societies, conditions of living and the level of consumption will cause citizens of a poorer country to emigrate from it; this difference must exceed the level of social acceptance. In the light of completed analyses, we can say that the emigration of respondents is not accidental. The dominant motives are not the will to learn or study abroad, or the opportunity to make use of the world's cultural heritage. In the case of the research sample in question (project 1), the primary motives for emigration are economic motives expressed by the will to find a job abroad (43%), the lack of satisfaction with remuneration being earned in Poland (68%) or the will to experience a decent life (43%). Further motives mentioned by respondents (in respect of the number of indications) were unemployment in Poland (37%), a sense of the lack of life prospects (32%) and persuasion from friends already staying abroad who are ready to invite others to their homes and to help them in the first days of their stay. The will to experience a decent life (characterised by the lack of financial concerns and a stable professional and family situation) was indicated as a very important argument for

arriving in the country of migration both by women (96.80%) and men (97.50%) (almost with the same frequency) (p=0.523). There were no respondents who would state clearly that the will to live a decent life was not a push factor for migration. Thus, low earnings, the lack of life and professional prospects and unemployment in Poland should be regarded as important push factors. The supposed better quality of life abroad and the will to experience it is a pull factor. Finding a job abroad already at the time of residing in Poland is also frequently such a factor. And all of this is obviously combined by a comparison of one's own situation in Poland and the situation of others, often resulting from reports of friends living in a foreign country. The neoclassical theory of foreign migrations 'is a result of bringing classic theory closer to reality ... migration is a result of differences between the amount of labour demand and supply in various areas, which leads to the differentiation of the levels of remuneration and migration is a process compensating for these differences'. The theory in question assumes that making a decision is a result of individual calculation of losses and profits being a potential consequence of the movement, and the aim of emigration is to achieve maximum work productivity, so profit is understood as the difference in productivity between the new and old place of stay. Contrary to the previous conception, psychological costs (migration shock, longing, the separation of families and Euro-orphanhood are taken into consideration in the calculation pool.

Another group of theories comprises sociological theories – they are differentiated from economic theories by the fact that sociological theories essentially concentrate on motives for the decision on emigration and often ignore economic factors completely. The theory of migration networks assumes that decisions on migration are influenced most significantly by interpersonal, personal, family, friendly or neighbour connections between former or current migrants (visiting their country of origin) and future emigrants. For persons who consider migrating, emigrants are the best source of information about benefits and risks arising from migration. Respondents (project 1 and 2) admitted that the economic factor was the key aspect of their decision to emigrate, but if they had no family or friends waiting for them on the spot, it would have been much more difficult for them to make the final decision.

The theoretical framework of research concerning emigration experiences of Poles that will constitute an empirical illustration of this text focus on the theoretical conceptualisations that translate into real processes. One of them is the aforementioned theory of economic indirect obstacles (push-pull theory) and elements of sociological concepts that assume the existence of a migration support network. Thus, the reflections presented below refer to international migrations: post-accession, circular, voluntary migrations; life quality improvement; third-generation

migrations (youth, mobility, resourcefulness, purpose), economic, permanent or periodic migrations; liquid migrations – the term that has been coined in the last few years – along with transmigrations, including also return migrations (e.g., "reconnaissance" migrations aimed at testing the situation in the home country).

Polish migratory movements

Migratory movements are almost an inherent part of the last 200 years of Polish history, both with regard to its economic, political and culture-forming dimension. The processes discussed here have been familiar to each generation of Poles. Today, it is actually impossible to come across a Polish family where even a distant relative would not have any emigration episode in his biography. This creates a specific psychological climate in Polish society that is a combination of modelling and facilitation and 'paves the way for further potential emigrants' (Boski 2010:510). Data concerning emigration from Poland, its dynamics and size are characterised by large inconsistencies resulting from failures to adapt the system of monitoring of this phenomenon to the diversity of forms of international movement of people. Analyses being conducted differ in terms of methodological assumptions, which certainly makes it difficult to compare them (Bera 2008:88). The most recent data refer to almost 2 million Poles living outside their country (CEED Institute – Central and Eastern Europe Development Institute 2016).

Globalisation in the context of socio-(pop)cultural processes vs. international migrations

With regard to the concept in question, we can see the tendency to emphasise ambiguity and theoretical incoherence, which has been indicated above in the context of the definition or scale of migration. The same goes for globalisation; we are departing from our earlier fascination with globalisation as a concept that defines with sufficient clarity the existing changes on a world scale and that we can use without the risk of misunderstanding. It is impossible to treat globalisation only as an economic phenomenon; it undoubtedly has a sociological component.

The most important observations resulting from the sociological analysis refer to cultural and social consequences of globalisation-related changes (Okólski and Koryś, 2004:8).

'The globalisation process is accompanied by the flow of information, ideas, cultural patterns, technologies, the standardisation of educational standards, institutions and work methods' (Bera 2008:79). Apart from strictly economic issues (leaving to work abroad), the intensification of migration movements is undoubtedly a consequence of currently broader possibilities of the physical movement of people thanks to modern means of transport, the reduced time of travel and, at the same time, the improvement of its comfort. These factors intensified significantly the migration of the workforce between countries, regions or even continents.

The conception of global culture is a constant part of many sociological conceptions of globalisation. According to some authors, it appears as a 'superstructural effect of global economy and technological infrastructure and the establishment of new global institutions. The primary role in global culture is played by economic potentates and superpowers, and it is the culture of the world dominated by modern media and the world where the division of labour occurs' (Okólski and Koryś 2004:7-9). Global culture is currently decentralised and devoid of context; it is a mixture of essentially different components (cf. Melosik 2003, 2005). Today popular culture plays the leading role in the play about the everyday life of modern societies. It is also a dominant factor of the socialisation of the young generation, which determines their lifestyle and identity. The background for these events is formed by the global ambivalence 'canon and difference, local and global, intellectual and affective, popular and elitist. The binarisms used in the past are vanishing in our own eyes' (Melosik 2003:69). Using T. Luke's words, Zbyszko Melosik refers to modern society as a 'society of consumption-based shows'. The author states that 'identity and life dreams are built around the role of the consumer (who is guided by the pleasure principle). There is no alternative. Sometimes it seems that people exist only in order to run around supermarkets and fill baskets with colourful products, including those that were unknown to them only a few weeks ago' (Melosik 2003:70). "Supermarket euphoria", which replaces family happiness, rich spiritual life or professional success and is inevitably connected with immediate gratification, is associated here with instant culture that is spreading among the young generation. The famous triad "*fast food, fast sex, fast car*" is an exemplification of modern culture (Melosik 200:.71; 2005:15). In the context of foreign migrations of young Poles, the aforementioned issues cannot be ignored. Research on migrations provides us with conclusions that contemporary post-accession migrations are characterised by some features that have not existed before. They have been called liquid migrations (cf. Jończy 2007) or third-generation migrations (cf. Okólski 2008), because they are marked by different quality due to the purpose of migration, which is economic in most cases of contemporary migrations. Migration destinations, unlike

those in the past, are characterised by variability (Ireland, England, USA are only a stop in migrants' trips (with the modern impossibility of remaining in the same place, as specified by Bauman (2000)); we can presume that some other countries will appear on the route of economic travels) and migrants' age – today's migrations are practised mainly by young people, the people who happened to live in times of transformations on various levels 'from society-oriented to more individualistic attitude, …, from the focus on professional work to the focus on consumption, from openness to people to the pursuit of profit, from rootedness to mobility...' (Melosik 2003:84). In times of unrest, ambiguity, social and economic transformations, the uncertainty of tomorrow (cf. Bauman 2005).

Young people migrate in order to participate in the culture of consumption and its "schizophrenic" nature (they declare the financial purpose of migration). They do this by means of a "fast car", which is a symbol of the shrinking world and is currently exemplified, for instance, by planes and cheap airlines offered under the open sky policy by big airline corporations. Because of this form of "immediacy", today's foreign migrations have another feature that was absent in the past. In the 21st century, migrations are not an ultimate act, because you can contact your home whenever you want thanks to "products" of culture and their features via Internet and mobile phone, and if longing is unbearable, you can return from England to Poland by plane within 2.5 hours. As has already been mentioned, post-accession migrations are dominated by youth. The way that youth and young people were described by Melosik correlates with findings from already completed research on the post-accession economic migration of young Poles. 'Today young people do not feel the need for stability; just the opposite, they perceive it with scepticism and suspicion. Young people focus on what is transitory – they are not afraid of changes, they look forward to any of them (and quickly get bored with every novelty) ... Young people are not afraid to live; they have a sense of causal force and control of reality. They … take matters into their own hands' (Melosik 2003:73). Currently also the discourse on reasons of economic migrations has been analysed in the context of certain resourcefulness being a reaction to the situation on the Polish labour market (cf. Bera 2008, 2010; Iglicka 2007; Okólski 2004; Kolarska – Bobińska 2007; Kozielska 2014 et al.).

As numerous empirical verifications show, young Poles living and working abroad get on well in foreign everyday reality. This may have been caused by the fact that they have "practiced" their "life" in different cultural (and other) factors by watching popular American and foreign film productions, listening to music or playing computer games or visiting Dublin and Lonon by clicking online. Since Poland has adopted so many American behaviours (already mentioned Americanis-

ation, Westernisation, Macdonaldisation, Coca-Cola or Los-Angelisation (Melosik 2005:23), traditions and cultural models, we can find their elements also in London, Dublin, Berlin and other popular destinations of migrants' trips. Changing his place of residence, the young Pole moves in a geographical sense, but, in a cultural sense, he is surrounded by young people ("global teenagers") who are similar to him, listen to the same music, watch the same productions, consume similar "meals" and 'share similar identities and lifestyles, irrespective of the country and continent' (Melosik 2003:8). Young Polish migrants, whose aim is often to attain only financial success, fit the concept described by Z. Melosik as a "cult of success" (pressure on success) whose main criteria include the amount of money on the bank account, branded clothes and the car make. Even though in most cases migrants (cf. Okólski 2006; Kozielska 2013,2014) perform works below their qualification level (i.e., 3D (dirty, dull, dangerous) work) (cf. Okólski 2006), they mask the cognitive dissonance with the balance on their bank account.

In the socio-pedagogical discourse on globalisations, information about risks arising from it is reported, as globalisation is accompanied by the 'growing plague of primitive standards of mass culture and consumption-oriented attitudes, fascination with the "have" principle, the distortion of higher feelings, the loss of moral sensitivity and responsibility, the "elimination" … of the book culture, literary and aesthetic culture and the excessively slow process of rebirth of the ethos of work and related values in Polish society' (cf. Bogaj and Kwiatkowski 2006).

To conclude these reflections on the condition of the globalised human being – the wandering human being, we must indicate that globalisation gives countless possibilities to the individual, 'global competition encourages people to move and take on new challenges ..., but people need not only wings, but also roots' (Sarnat 2006:7), although, as indicated by Bauman (Bauman 2009; 2011), due to the requirements of fluid modernity, the root should be replaced by the anchor in the context of variable times and palimpsest, dispersed and fragmentary identity.

The process of adaptation to a new environment is a multi-aspect and complex process; it is a process and result of 'the comprehensive or fragmentary adaptation of an individual or a group to life in a different culture and contacts with its representatives' (Boski 2010:245). It consists in the elaboration of such models of functioning that facilitate and support contacts with the new social environment and minimise those that prevent or make this impossible. The term that corresponds to issues under analysis is acculturation, i.e., 'changes in an individual who participates in a situation of cultural contact, … who is affected directly by the influence of an external culture, and changes in the culture in which he/she participates' (Boski 2010:505).

The global teenager as an emigrant

Empirical verifications conducted in Great Britain in 2006 show that the biggest group of young Polish emigrants (42%) can be classified as "searchers": young people who 'have an individualistic attitude, are socially mobile and use the strategy of intentionality and unpredictability. These persons emphasise the openness of their migration plans, professional and life strategies, which they can put into practice in London, Poland or any other country'. They fit into the concept of the global teenager presented above. Will they experience cultural shock and adaptation difficulties with their adaptation skills and philobatic characteristics (Kubitsky 2012)? Obviously it is a juxtaposition of the theoretical concept of the global teenager and the empirical concept (cultural shock is a concept created on the basis of empirical research). Cultural shock may be felt less strongly than previously (particularly due to the fact that the paper refers to migration within EU structures), but young Polish emigrants certainly indicate a large number of adaptational difficulties.

De-dramatised migration vs. cultural shock and adaptational difficulties

Changes related to emigration from the home country are important and difficult events in the life of migrants and their families. They are often considered in the context of crisis situations, i.e., those towards which earlier methods of reacting and established methods of actions turn out to be insufficient (Kubitsky 2011: 35-58). Migrating persons must be treated as potential recipients of social counselling and social support, whether it is institutionalised and formal or informal. Migrations can be considered in the context of development crises that serve as a turning point in human life; on the one hand, they arouse fear and anxiety in those who experience them, while on the other hand they offer the possibility of internal development (cf. Kubitsky 2012). 'Migration is a special form of crisis. It is a state of disorientation, which requires both internal and external reconstruction. Entering a foreign country forces us to confront a new environment and, at the same time, to reflect on our own life. It takes some time to work through these thoughts and feelings …' (Kubitsky 2012:35). Migrations arouse huge stress in the migrant, and stressors are the requirements and expectations arising from the internal and external world that disturb his/her psychosocial homeostasis. They lead to the deterioration of mental and physical well-being. The need for new strategies arises in

order to restore the disturbed balance (cf. Gembala 2010).. Taking into account the concept of migration and its references to Erikson's development crises, I juxtaposed the typology concerned with the scheme of Cullberg's four migration phases to which J. Kubitsky refers.

Table 1. Migration phases

Phase acc. to Sulzky	Course, characteristics	Phase acc. to Cullberg	Course, characteristics
Preparation (home country)	An important role is played here by elaborate cognitive schemes that consist of positive expectations, images and reflections concerning opportunities and the risk of migration. This stage is a foundation for the formation of individual expectations supported by opinions on life in the place of future residence that exist in the environment of the person preparing for migration. In this phase, much depends on whether realistic (relatively feasible) goals are built at the time of preparation, or illusions arise that will be difficult to correct or frequently even impossible to eliminate.		
Overcompensation (country of emigration)	Everything that has been left in the country of origin is often evaluated negatively to an exaggerated or disproportionate extent, and everything that is new may be experienced far too positively. Things are perceived in a one-sided way, i.e., only positive images are noticed, opportunities are exaggerated, the person is filled with euphoric positive feelings as to the possibility of adapting to the new situation. The possibility of risk relating to the fact of emigration is blocked out of conscience in this phase. A natural consequence of such a situation is obviously the fact that such types of mental images cannot be maintained in such (almost obsessive) condition for a long time, because they are excessively remote from the real world and relations that actually exist in ordinary life.	**Shock**	Confrontation with a new nation, culture or language arouses a sense of strangeness and disorientation. The migrant's reactions in the new country bear the hallmarks of shock; they arouse feelings of helplessness, surprise or even hostility. The loss of one's home, natural environment, persons, language, autonomy and identity manifests itself in sadness, stress, anxiety and/or identity crisis in this phase.

Decompensation	The longest and (in terms of quality) deepest migration phase; the suppressed risk, burdens brought from the home country and the experience of separation become apparent. This leads to psychosomatic disorders and the development of various kinds of addiction; in addition, mental disturbances, heart and circulatory problems may appear. It is in this phase, when its course is extremely unfavourable, that many migrants may begin to attend various clinics and systematically consult a doctor.	Reaction	It usually lasts around 6 months. The feelings of shock and numbness fade and the migrant gradually begins to understand that the reality of his/her existence has changes and realises that he/she no longer belongs to the country of origin, although he is not a full member of the receiving country, either. This phase is characterised by frequent thoughts of giving up migration and returning home. The migrant feels sadness and grief. He/she remembers the country of origin, his/her thoughts often go to persons whom he/she has left in the country, he/she begins to look for help, often through calls, Internet forums, or searching for persons who are experiencing a similar situation.
Multi-generation adaptation processes	This stage is characterised by the development of individual adaptation strategies and the increasingly better handling of the consequences of emigration, or even the skill of conscious experiencing and formation of one's own emigration. In this phase, migrants already have a developed sense of bicultural identification. They can identify with products of two societies or two cultures. Cultures are rarely mixed here. In most cases, people act selectively and "pick" the best things for themselves from each culture. This opens the chance to develop personality to an even fuller extent and to reach a higher level of mental stabilisation.	Repair	It is also called the go-through phase. It is assumed that this phase begins when the migrant goes back to the country of origin in his/her mind more and more rarely and begins to organise his/her own world on the basis of resources of the receiving country. The migrant finds a "transitional object" that functions as a platform between the sending country and the receiving country. This may be the fact of communication with the family (Skype, GG, phone), Polish food bought abroad, etc. At this stage, the migrant feels more confident and begins to build a social network encompassing foreign institutions, foreign friends, etc.
		Reorientation	The last phase, which is already classified as one of the post-crisis phases. If the migrant goes through previous phases successfully (often becoming fixated on and returning to them), this last phase lasts until the end of his/her migration. More and more frequently, the migrant consciously refers to the country of origin as the country where he/she was born and to the receiving country as his/her home.

Source: Own work based on: A. Gembala, 2010; J. Kubitsky, 2012.

The successful completion of migration phases assumes the possession of "intercultural competence", i.e., some adaptation potentials; it is defined as an 'unfinished effort of a culturally relevant person to make use of the potential of his/her capability of culturalness, effort to react to what is unknown and strange not only in an inclusive or exclusive manner, but where he/she is able to shape new experiences creatively by going beyond ethnic-national borders in such a way that, upon consideration of different viewpoints, interests of both parties will lead to the optimum balance, both on an individual and institutional level' (Gembala 2010:156). What is needed here, is some kind of 'flexible balance between two cultures: brought culture and encountered culture and refraining from attempts to evaluate differences' (Gembala 2010:157). Aspects of intercultural education that are necessary for the development of intercultural competence require empathy, conflict-solving skills, language competences, responsibility, the ability to identify differences and common features and tolerance (cf. Gembala 2010).

In response to Poland's accession to the structures of the European Union, migrations began to be characterised by new quality. Thus, according to the aforementioned concept of de-dramatisation of migration, migration phases can also start blurring.

One of the consequences of globalisation is a phenomenon called transnationalism: a process that causes migrants to function on a daily basis (on many levels, including the social, economic, family, cultural and political ones), but somehow in separation from territoriality and without consideration of state borders (Bash, Glick-Schiller, Blanc-Szanton 1994:22). The modern emigrant automatically becomes a transnational emigrant if he/she 'maintains numerous (results of own research clearly show that this is so) (cf. Kozielska 2014) and, more importantly, permanent contacts going beyond borders of national states and builds his/her identity with regard to more than one national state' (Niedźwiedzki 2010:75). The phenomenon in question manifests itself in the fact that the migrant maintains close contact with his/her country of origin and the country where he/she currently lives. The possibility of "keeping in close touch" in spite of large geographic distances is undoubtedly a sign of our times that occurs, for instance, by means of the Internet, telephone, cheap airlines, etc. Transnationalism has changed the image of modern migration from unidirectional to multidirectional (cf. Kubitsky 2012). Being "here and there" affects the sense of identity; in the context of migrants, we speak of bicultural identity or cultural bifocality in such cases. What is fundamentally important here, is the migrant's engagement in life in the country of origin and the country of emigra-

tion, which results in the formation of transnational networks in which non-em-
igrants (their families, friends from home countries) engage, too. These net-
works are informal and based on trust, support and solidarity (cf. Niedźwiedzki
74-75). Transnationalism involves also some dangers, because 'the transnation-
al immigrant does not consider it necessary to acclimate to the new environ-
ment to the same extent as the traditional immigrant does" (Kubitsky 2012:20).
In view of this phenomenon, it is necessary to note that migration is losing its
final and irreversible character in this case. This is caused by the development of
telecommunication, the Internet and the introduction of means of transport on
a mass scale. Transnationality is put into practice by means of a mobile phone; it
is a "first aid kit" to which the emigrant can refer in moments of doubt, nostalgia
for the country of origin or longing for the family. This means that help and sup-
port takes place immediately. Personal costs of migration, longing or sadness
are "treated" at once. The Internet is an "information centre" that constitutes an
invaluable resource along with the migration support network available on the
spot. It can help migrants in looking for accommodation, work, medical aid,
welfare assistance, etc. The television and the Internet allow migrants to keep in
constant touch with the country of origin and to keep track of political, cultural
and sports events. 'The achievements of communication technology eliminate,
or at least reduce, the sense of irreversibility of migration and, at the same time,
often make the emigrant feel that he/she still lives partly in his/her homeland or
that his/her home is within the reach of his/her hand: just a mouse click away'
(Kubitsky 2012:22). As a result of opening the borders wide in the post-modern
age, the word "exile" has changed its meaning and no longer sounds so dramat-
ic. Transnationalism is put into practice by means of globalisation "products"
and creates a new image of post-accession foreign migrations. Post-accession
migrations are completely new travels that do not resemble at all migrations
described in the breakthrough work *The Polish peasant in Europe and America*
(*Chłop polski w Europie i Ameryce)* by Thomas and Znaniecki.

Adaptational difficulties of immigrants

In spite of the conceptions of "de-dramatised migration" outlined above, problems
encountered by Polish immigrants in the receiving country are various and there are
many of them. Only their awareness will ensure the support of the migration pro-
cess and, consequently, the minimisation of migration difficulties. The analysis of re-
search reports allowed us to determined the pool of problems encountered most fre-

quently by emigrants, with particular stress on economic emigration. Respondents were asked to determine the importance (and, therefore, the fact of occurrence) of all problems, the list of which was elaborated on the basis of an analysis of the literature of the subject area: cultural differences difficult to accept, the lack of knowledge of the country of emigration, longing for the family, the initial (short) lack of employment, financial and accommodation problems, the dislike for strangers expressed by native inhabitants, searching for a job for a long time, frequent job changes, looking for accommodation, accommodation problems (e.g. a large number of persons living in one apartment), arranging for formalities – job – offices, transport difficulties, left-hand traffic (for example, in the UK and Ireland), a different climate, food, difficulties in adaptation, the lack of support on the spot, loneliness.

According to respondents, a really serious problem faced by Polish immigrants in foreign countries was their longing for the family staying in the home country (77.59%). High discomfort was caused also by initial difficulties in organising life in the foreign country – finding a job, accommodation, arrangement of formalities (altogether 54.02%). Other problems, which were not indicated so frequently, included searching for a job for a long time, frequent job changes (43.1%), accommodation problems (e.g., a large number of persons living in one apartment) (40.22%), arranging for formalities requiring a command of language – job – offices (49.43%). A different climate and food (47.70%) were also recognised as factors that make adaptation more difficult. They are indicated, for example, in the following opinion posted on the Internet: '*now I can't look at English bread, I'm annoyed at these two taps in the bathroom and that I can't talk freely because my English is poor yet*' (http://magazyn.goniec.com/413/emigrant-na-kozetce/).

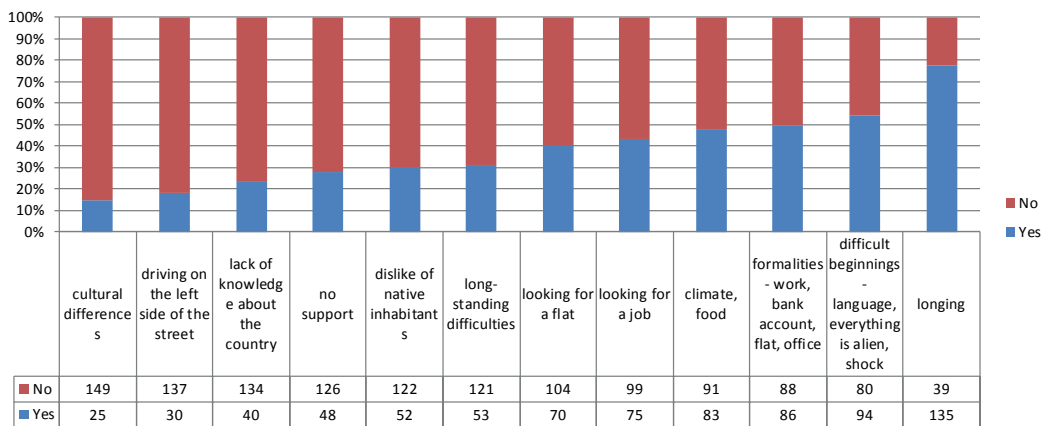|	cultural differences	driving on the left side of the street	lack of knowledge about the country	no support	dislike of native inhabitants	long-standing difficulties	looking for a flat	looking for a job	climate, food	formalities - work, bank account, flat, office	difficult beginnings - language, everything is alien, shock	longing
No	149	137	134	126	122	121	104	99	91	88	80	39
Yes	25	30	40	48	52	53	70	75	83	86	94	135

Chart 1. The occurrence of adaptation difficulties.

Source: own work

The awareness of basic problems faced by emigrants will help to plan the counselling and support process for emigrants more efficiently. It is important to note that cultural difficulties are not a serious problem for emigrants (although they function as such in popular awareness). As many as 85.56% of respondents stated that cultural difference were not a problem for them; the same goes for the problem of the lack of knowledge of the receiving country, because 77% of persons stated that this fact was not a problem, either. In addition, more than one half of return migrants indicated that they had not experienced any hostile reactions from native inhabitants of receiving countries. The issues of left-hand traffic or the lack of support on the spot are not problematic, either, which proves again the existence of useful support networks among migrants; in the age of global changes, they involve both face-to-face and remote contacts. Some important information about the difficulties encountered by migrants is also provided in an analysis of the blogosphere, which is large in this matter. A cosmopolitan emigrant shared her advice on how to survive in emigration by posting it on the forum. She suggests reading an article recommended by her as a warning not to ignore migration difficulties (original spelling):

'I have left. It's hard, sometimes very hard, but I don't regret my decision. I still don't know if I stay here, maybe I'll go somewhere else. I'm one of those who are always on the move. If you're not sure whether to leave or not, read the following article: Infected with emigration (Chorzy na emigrację). That's something not talked about in public. Mental diseases of emigrants could destroy many Polish myths of benefits waiting on the West. We pack our lives into suitcases, believing that we will encounter a country where dreams come true. We are able to face everything: new language, culture, climate. But we cannot face ourselves.. When we enter a new country, all of us are full of hope. No matter whether we want to improve our economic situation, we follow the "voice of the heart' or take up studies at a foreign university. Even though the first concerns appear already in Poland, we effectively chase them away. After all, we are not the first and not the last. … we slowly begin to realise that everything – our home, friends, family – has been left in Poland. And that we are not "at home" at all... Emigration – amputation?- (…)' (Ola80, http://f.kafeteria.pl/temat.php?id_p=3205443)

Being reported by respondents most frequently, longing is perceived in multidimensional terms; migrants long for their families, friends, aromas, tastes and view, the climate of Christmas and Easter, etc. Bloggers and forum users advise one another how to survive the migration crisis and cope with migration difficulties:

'I can't hide my longing. Every day I come back to my Włocławek streets in my mind and I see them in my imagination :). Then I wonder what the weather on each

street is like, since yellow buses are running and people are going somewhere. I recall, for instance, how beautiful it was to come back home in a crowded bus on a winter day, ha ha. I remember biting frost, lights shining in windows of block houses and this aroma of the air. The emotions that accompanied me every day are such intense memories that they break my heart. When I'm in the UK, I feel as if I found myself on a different planet. I'm sensitive, I graduated from an art school, so I think that I'm marked in a special way – it turns out not to be so good. I'm oversensitive, that's the way I am. Yesterday I kept thinking about the garden and seed shop at ul. Wysoka all the time :). This aroma of seeds, spring, walking with my Mother to this shop after school in order to buy products for our allotment garden. The late 1980s and the early 1990s. Those vivid emotions cause a spiritual ordeal, in which I've been stuck for 4 years. There's one thing I know: when I was in Poland, I never reflected on what had been in the past, on the elapsed time, on my childhood years. Now I feel it very intensely. Appreciate what you have! I know it's hard to live in Poland, but it's not worth giving up for bigger earnings. Especially if you're like me 😊. Yesterday, out of sentiment, I watched 4 films by Kieślowski: Dekalog I, II, IV and VII. This is where I can see the Poland that I remember from the 1980s and take this opportunity to refresh human values.' (**Philosophy Of Life,** http://www.lagata.pl/topic/6794-tesk-nota-na-emigracji/page__st__20)

Conclusion

The problems presented as the subject-matter of this paper fit into a broader context of research on the subject area of economic migrations of Poles in which I am interested. They refer in particular to issues being a part of a humanistic discourse on the multidimensionality of human life, with particular regard to functioning on the international labour market. It is worth stressing here that economic emigration, even though it was "de-dramatised" in the age of globalisation-related transformations, is a huge challenge, especially for young people. In spite of the sociological discourse describing the global teenager as a brave man dreaming of pleasant life full of successes (including economic successes) and transnational adventures, who is exposed to (un)familiar global culture in the country of origin every day because of globalisation-related transformations, it is worth emphasising that migration is a challenge and huge crisis (also in terms of development) in human life. The presented scope of problems that were encountered by young Polish economic emigrants is large, which means that they must receive transnational support due to the nature of their functioning.

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