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An outline of the phenomenon of refugeeism in Poland. Towards research into refugee resilience

Streszczenie: Aktualnie obserwujemy na świecie wzrost zainteresowania badaczy problematyką uchodźstwa. Mimo faktu, że w Polsce relatywnie niewielka grupa cudzoziemców otrzymuje ochronę międzynarodową, to zakres badań prowadzonych przez przedstawicieli nauk społecznych (w tym pedagogów) poszerza się. Analiza treści literatury przedmiotu wskazuje na to, że wciąż brakuje opracowań poświęconych indywidualnym, jak też społeczno-kulturowym aspektom wspierania przymusowych migrantów (dzieci, młodzieży, dorosłych) przebywających na terenie kraju. Artykuł stanowi przegląd kierunków badań realizowanych w różnych krajach, które dotyczą zasobów odpornościowych uchodźców, w kontekście mechanizmu resilience, i ma na celu zasygnalizowanie ścieżek projektowania inicjatyw badawczych, jak również działań edukacyjnych wspierających proces integracji osób z doświadczeniem uchodźstwa w Polsce.

Tekst składa się z trzech komplementarnych części. W pierwszej zostały zaprezentowane prawne aspekty sytuacji przymusowych migrantów w Polsce. W części drugiej ukazano główne wyzwania związane z integracją tej grupy osób. W części trzeciej, w odniesieniu do problematyki integracji, w szerszej perspektywie został przeanalizowany rozwój koncepcji resilience w naukach społecznych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem przykładów prowadzonych na świecie przedsięwzięć badawczych, jak też egzemplifikacje działań praktycznych wzmacniających zasoby odpornościowe osób z doświadczeniem uchodźstwa. W artykule podkreślono potrzebę prowadzenia badań dotyczących indywidualnych, jak też społeczno-kulturowych czynników, wspierających uchodźców w pokonywaniu trudności adaptacyjnych i przeciwności losu. Na podstawie przeanalizowanych wyników badań można stwierdzić, że wzmacnianie zasobów indywidualnych i społeczno-kulturowych, związanych z wymiarem społecznym, kulturowym, politycznym, ekonomicznym i środowiskowym wspiera proces integracji przymusowych migrantów oraz dobrostan psychiczny zarówno samych uchodźców, jak i społeczeństwa przyjmującego.

Słowa kluczowe: osoby z doświadczeniem uchodźstwa, integracja, zasoby odpornościowe, badania

Introduction

The issue of forced migration is still current and vital from the perspective of various scientific fields (including pedagogy). There are many empirical studies devoted to the topic of refugees, taking into account its many aspects. The analyses carried out around the world concern mainly refugees': trauma (i.a. Seddio, 2007; Silove, Derrick and Franz, 1999; Heptinstall, Sethna and Taylor 2004), life situation (i.a. Fvan der Boor, Amos, Nevitt and Dowrick White, 2020; Bjertrupa and Bouheniaa, 2016), acculturation, integration (i.a. Hynie, 2018; Agar and Strang, 2008), resilience (i.a. Kuttikat, Vaillancourt and Massey, 2018) and education (i.a. Sellars 2020; Sengupta and Blessinger, 2018). Also in Poland, despite the fact that a relatively small group of foreigners receive international protection here, the scope of conducted research is expanding. The studies on forced migrants, situation are carried out in Poland from the following perspectives: the legal (Chrzanowska and Gracz, 2007; Klaus, 2008), sociological (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Łodziński, 2008), anthropological (Ząbek and Łodziński, 2008; Pawlak, 2013), psychological (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, 2000) and pedagogical one (Jaworska and Alieva, 2018; Januszewska, 2010, 2019; Januszewska and Markowska-Manista, 2017; Młynarczuk-Sokołowska and Szostak-Król, 2016; Potoniec, 2015; Gmaj, Iglicka and Walczak, 2013; Januszewska, 2010). However, new directions of research analysis are still needed.

The aim of the article is to review different directions of the research conducted in various countries that relate to refugee resilience in order to present the possibilities to prepare research initiatives as well as educational activities, which may support the integration process of refugees in Poland. The text consists of three parts. The first part shows the legal aspects of the situation of forced migrants in Poland. The second part presents the main challenges connected with integration of this group of people. In the third part, in relation to the issues of integration, the development of the concept of resilience in social sciences is analyzed (in a broader perspective), with particular emphasis on some examples of research projects carried out around the world, as well as the exemplification of practical activities strengthening individual and socio-ecological resources of forced migrants.

The authors believe that the content of the article may be an inspiration to design research initiatives on resources of forced migrants who reside in Poland, as well as social and educational activities aimed at integrating refugees at different ages.

Legal aspects of the refugee situation in Poland

Institutionalized support has been provided for thirty years in Poland. This is related to the implementation of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Journal of Laws 1991 No.119, item. 515)/Geneva Convention, the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees established in New York on January 31, 1967 (Journal of Laws 1991 No.119, item. 517)/New York Protocol in 1991, acts of EU law over the years, and thereby the acceptance of international obligations regarding the protection of forced migrants. Currently (with reference to international legislation), the forms of foreigners protection in the territory of Poland are regulated by Act of June 13, 2003 on granting protection to foreigners within the territory of the Republic of Poland (Journal of Laws of 2003, No. 128, item 1176) and Act of 12 December 2013 on foreigners (Journal of Laws of 2013, item 1650). Due to its geopolitical location, Poland increasingly participates in the international system of protection of people with refugee experience (GrzymałaKazłowska, Stefańska, 2014). However, Poland still has relatively short-term experience in providing institutionalized support to those who have experienced war, persecution, unequal treatment, etc.

National and international law define a refugee and the forms of national and international protection granted in Poland. The forms of international protection include: refugee status, subsidiary protection, and temporary protection. The following are the forms of international protection: asylum, stay for humanitarian reasons, tolerated stay, a temporary stay permit in the case of a victim of human trafficking, temporary stay issued due to respect for the right to family life and the rights of the child (see more: Act of June 13, 2003 on granting...; Act of 12 December 2013 on foreigners...). In Poland, after applying for international protection, foreigners are directed by the Border Guard officers for a short period of time to reception centers (2 outposts). A center for foreigners is an admission point for foreigners who have submitted an application for sharing foreigners' rights (Act of 12 December 2013 on foreigners... art. 2, 9aa). From there, they go to the residence centers located around the country, where they wait for granting international protection (9 outposts) (Centers for Foreigners: https://udsc.gov.pl/uchodzcy-2/pomoc-socjalna/osrodki-dla-cudzoziemcow/). In justified cases, at the request of a foreigner, it is also possible to obtain a cash benefit to cover the costs of staying in Poland outside the center (rented apartment) Act of June 13, 2003 on granting..., art. 72).

The refugee statu is granted to foreigners who meet the criteria included in the Geneva Convention. Each application of a foreigner for granting protection in Poland is treated as an application for granting the international protection, unless the foreigner clearly indicates that they are referring to asylum. If, in the course of the proceedings, it turns out that the applicant does not meet the criteria for granting the refugee status, the conditions for granting subsidiary protection are examined. Depending on the situation, foreigners may also be covered by other forms of protection (see more: International protection w 2020, https://udsc.gov.pl/ochrona-miedzynarodowa-w-2020-r/, Act of June 13, 2003 on granting...; Act of 12 December 2013 on foreigners..., Grzymała-Kozłowska and Stefańska, 2014).

During the procedure related to granting international protection, in the period of staying in the residence centers for foreigners, people who live there, can use the help provided by the state. In addition to accommodation and meals, residents of the centers have psychologist's support, medical care and they receive small financial benefits (for their own needs). They can also attend Polish language classes conducted in such institutions (Regulation of Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration of the Republic of Poland of December 6, 2011 regarding the regulations connected with the stay of foreigners applying for the refugee status).

The people whose legal situation will be regulated are obliged to leave the centers. Regulating the legal situation is connected with obtaining the right to legal work, health insurance, etc. In the case of obtaining refugee status or supplementary protection, foreigners may participate in Individual Integration Programmes (Social Welfare Act of March 12, 2004, article 92). They ensure the right to collect – for a period of 12 months – financial benefits to cover cash benefits intended for living costs (clothing, food, shoes, personal hygiene products, housing fees), expenses related to Polish language course; payment of health insurance contributions; social work; specialist counseling (including legal, psychological and family counseling); providing information and support in contacts with other institutions, in particular with labor market institutions, with the local community and non-governmental organizations; other necessary activities supporting the process of foreigner integration (Social Welfare Act...). For foreigners to participate in this type of programmes, and thus in benefits related to it, it is necessary to meet such criteria as having a place of residence (rented apartment) and staying in Poland, or meeting the income criterion. During the participation in Individual Integration Programs, foreigners should take up a job and develop their

language competences so that they would allow them to live independently and integrate with the Polish society. Employees of government assistance institutions, as well as non-governmental organization's activists, help in this process. Persons who have been granted a form of legal protection other than refugee status or subsidiary protection may only use social benefits under the same terms as Polish citizens (Social Welfare Act…).

According to the reports of the Office for Foreigners, a relatively small group of foreigners applying for international protection in Poland receives it (International protection in 2010, 2011, 2012 and in the following years till 2020, https://udsc.gov.pl/ochrona-miedzynarodowa-w…). Over the years, foreigners from many different countries located in Africa (e.g. Ethiopia, Somalia) and Asia (Sri Lanka, Iraq, Lebanon, etc.) have applied for international protection in Poland. The nationality of people applying for international protection results from the situation in the countries in the world. Political and social instability, wars and persecution in a given country result in the influx of their citizens to Poland. For example, in the period from January 1 to December 9, 2013, 14,996 people applied for international protection in Poland. Among them were people from 51 countries. The most numerous group of citizens were citizens of Russia of Chechen nationality (over 80% of the total), and then of Georgia (approx. 8% of all applications). Among the largest groups there were also citizens of Syria (252 people), Armenia (205 people), Kazakhstan (205 people), Kazakhstan (91 people), Kyrgyzstan (61 people) and Afghanistan (49 people) (Information of the Head of the Office for Foreigners, 2013).

The wars in Chechnya meant that Chechens began to come to Poland and they became the main group of foreigners applying for international protection on its territory. They have been coming to Poland since the end of the nineties (e.g. they accounted for over 90% of all applicants in 2006–2008) (Grzymała-Kozłowska and Stefańska, 2014). As a consequence, because of them, the overall number of forced migrants began to increase (Ząbek, Łodziński, 2008). For many years, it was a group that led the way in terms of positive applications for international and national protection and still ranks high in the statistics (International Protection in 2020, https://udsc.gov.pl/ochrona-miedzynarodowa-w-2020-r/). Despite the end of wars, the situation in Chechnya is still far from stable and does not guarantee respect for human rights. Currently, the second and most important reason why Chechen citizens come to Poland is the need to look for a better life abroad.

In recent years (since 2014), as a result of activities related to the military aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine, the second largest group of

people applying for international protection in Poland are citizens of Ukraine (including those identifying with the Crimean Tatars group). According to statistics, in 2014, 2015, 2016, 2019, citizens of Ukraine remained in the second place (after Chechen citizens) in terms of positively examined applications for international protection (International Protection in 2014, 2015, 2016, 2019; see: https://udsc.gov.pl/ochrona-miedzynarodowa-w-...). In 2017 and 2018, Ukrainians received the most positive decisions (International Protection in 2016, 2017, see: https://udsc.gov.pl/ochrona-miedzynarodowa-w-...).

In 2020, almost 400 foreigners met the conditions for granting international protection. They were mainly citizens of Turkey (85 people), Belarus (81 people), Russia (76 people), Ukraine (28 people) and Tajikistan (27 people). In connection with the situation in Belarus (including the issue of the presidential election), the situation of Belarusian citizens has changed most dynamically. In August, the number of their applications began to increase and since September it has been around 80 per month (International Protection in 2020, https://udsc.gov.pl/ochrona-miedzynarodowa-w-2020-r/).

In Poland, children and teenagers (regardless of their nationality, social status, etc.) from the age of 7 are subject to compulsory education, which obliges them to study in an eight-year primary school, but not longer than when the student turns 18. According to the educational law in Poland, an integrated model of supporting foreigners in the school space has been implemented. This means that children and teenagers with a migrant experience (including forced migrants) are included in mainstream education. Pursuant to the Polish law, it is possible to support students form migrant environments through education in preparatory classes (welcome classes), cooperation with the help of a teacher (intercultural assistant), participation in additional Polish language classes, remedial classes (in different subjects), classes of developing their cultural identity and religion (Act of December 14, 2016, Education Law, Journal of Laws 2017 item 59; Regulation of the Minister of National Education of August 23, Journal of Laws 2017 item 1655; Regulation of the Minister of National Education of April 14, 1992 on the conditions and manner of organizing religious education in public schools, Journal of Laws 1992 No. 36, item 155). A new and still rarely implemented opportunity of working with migrant students in Poland is organizing so-called welcome classes (Regulation of the Minister of National Education of 23 August 2017...). Theorists and practitioners from different countries of the world often approach this solution critically (the issue of separation of students with migrant experience).

Taking into account the period of creating the institutionalized system of supporting people with refugee experience in Poland, it can be noticed that many important solutions have been developed. However, Poland still faces many challenges in this regard.

Socio-cultural integration of refugees in Poland. Main challenges

Foreigners who are applying for international protection, at every stage of the 'refugee path' live in a sense of uncertainty, danger and they carry with them a bigger or smaller burden of difficult and even traumatic experiences. Difficult experiences are collected already in the period preceding the decision to leave the home country. In countries affected by armed conflicts and war, people feel the tension associated with everyday fights, they witness dramatic scenes, have contact with death and are often malnourished. The whole range of negative experiences and the lack of opportunities for development make it difficult for them to keep a psycho-social balance (Chung, AlQarni, AlMazrouei, Muhairi, Shakra and Mitchell, 2018; Gracz, 2007). In the case of people with refugee experience in the new country of residence, the so-called post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is sometimes diagnosed, which is an individual's response to traumatic situations. It manifests itself in the form of a disorder of social and individual behavior (Chung, 2018).

In the case of foreigners who try to receive international protection, the change of residence place usually occurs rapidly without prior preparation. Thus, entering a different socio-cultural reality has a violent nature. The change of place of residence may be accompanied by a series of emotions of varying intensity. At some point during a stay abroad, people begin to notice that their culture differs from the culture of the host society. The migrants realize that they are different from most people around them. This situation is usually accompanied by the feeling of psychological tension caused by the effort related to psychological adaptation to the new country, its society and culture. Using Geert Hofstede's language, when 'software of the mind' of foreigners, very differs from the host society, they may be perceived by its members as Strangers/Others who behave in incomprehensible ways (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010). The behavior of foreigners can be interpreted by the members of host society as inappropriate, glaring or aggressive. It is connected with cultural differences, which often take place on many different levels. They may result from belonging to traditional cul-

tures, to a small extent affected by industrialization and Western lifestyle. They may also result from non-traditional (urbanized) cultures under the influence of the highly industrialized and urbanized lifestyle that dominates Western societies (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, 2000). Their cause may be the degree of hierarchy of individual countries, the multiplicity of levels and divisions of power (power distance, hierarchy), the type of social structure and interpersonal relationships, the role of the group and the range of expectations towards it (individualism – collectivism), gender perception in society, division of roles, tasks (masculinity – femininity). Moreover, the differences can result from the degree of avoiding unclear situations, creating standards, social agreements and the extent of respecting them (avoiding uncertainty), basing decisions on tradition, past or present and future (long-distance – close orientation) (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov, 2010).

Generally, the life of migrants (including refugees) is determined by a number of situations in which their cognitive, affective and behavioral reactions have different meaning and have different effects than those they were used to in their country of origin (Kubitsky, 2012). Often, foreigners seeking international protection quickly experience a negative cultural shock, which is the result of their functioning in a new environment and the accompanying cognitive disorientation (Boski, 2009). They also experience a sense of losing relationships with relatives, friends, and family members who stayed in the country of origin. There is a longing for particularly close places. The belief in being rejected by people surrounding forced migrants in a new country may be born. There is uncertainty about the proper behavior. All this causes astonishment, fear, helplessness and even a kind of disgust and indignation accompanying the awareness of the differences between host and home culture.

Typically, affective and cognitive experiences of people applying for international protection are different than for example the ones of economic migrants. In the case of forced migrants, the honeymoon phase of the fascination with culture and reality of the new country is very rare. This is related to the overall context of their migration, related to running away from the life and health threat in their home country. Psychologically, this is a traumatic situation and its effects are observed in the cognitive, affective and behavioral areas of human functioning. Hence, in the case of this group of migrants, usually at the first stage of their stay in a host country, they are more focused on experiencing the effects of trauma than on the excitement connected with a new environment (Młynarczuk-Sokołowska, 2020a).

Integration is the most desirable adaptation strategy in the case of forced migrants (and other groups of foreigners) to find their place in a new society from the social and individual point of view. There are many definitions of integration in the literature. Depending on the adopted theoretical context, integration may be perceived as a result of the acculturation process, some kind of relationship between migrants and the host community, or the adaptation of newcomers to the conditions in a new country, usually determined on the basis of the requirements that they should meet in order to be able to function independently (Budyta-Budzyńska, 2011). In broad terms, the integration of refugees is a dynamic, multifaceted two-way process that requires effort on the part of all concerned, including refugee readiness to adapt to the host society, without renouncing their own cultural identity and the same readiness of host communities and public institutions to accept refugees and meet the needs of a heterogeneous society (Conclusion on Local Integration, 2005).

The process of preparing for life in a new society should, by definition, begin during the stay at a residence center for foreigners. Usually, it is a period of psychological suspension. Living in the center more than once causes learned helplessness. People who decide to live outside the center have more autonomy and contact with the host society. From the adult perspective, the time spent in the center is quite monotonous. Each subsequent day is not much different from the previous one. The day-to-day tasks of women usually include housekeeping and caring for children. It happens that men do odd jobs until the evening hours (legally or illegally) and are not present at the facility. Sometimes women also take up jobs of a similar nature (e.g. in bazaars). The way forced migrants spend their free time is, in most cases, limited to being among relatives and friends living in the neighborhood. The reasons for this state include a small network of contacts with Poles, unfamiliarity or low language competences (Polish language), uncertainty of reaction to cultural diversity, as well as negligible financial resources, which is not conducive to even taking advantage of the cultural offer of a given city (Młynarczuk-Sokołowska, 2020). People with refugee backgrounds who live in the residential centers for foreigners do not feel psychologically or economically stable. Undefined life situations do not motivate them to take actions aimed at self-development and self-realization. These are undoubtedly barriers to intercultural integration. Yet, due to the presence of people in a similar life situation, with the same cultural and religious affiliation, the center provides forced migrants with a sense of psychological safety. From

the perspective of children and youth, it is an important environment for creating peer relations (Młynarczuk-Sokołowska, 2020). In the case of children, educational institutions are the main areas of integration. In kindergartens and schools, they acquire linguistic competences in the use of the Polish language, learn about Polish culture (e.g. everyday life) and cultural heritage (e.g. traditions, holidays), and have the opportunity to establish peer relations.

Regulating the legal situation requires leaving the residence center for foreigners. In the case of people who receive refugee status and subsidiary protection, it is possible to participate in Individual Integration Programmes. Joining the program is associated with a series of challenges, such as finding a flat and taking up regular Polish language learning (which in this case is already obligatory). Forced migrants very often face barriers on the part of the host society, which are the result of negative stereotypes and prejudices and thus a lack of knowledge about the refugee situation, cultures and religion (Social Welfare Act of March 12, 2004, article 92). People who have received forms of protection other than refugee status or subsidiary protection may benefit from much lower social support than in the case of forced migrants who participate in integration programmes. The unfavorable economic situation forces refugees to find a job as soon as possible which is often complicated due to low language competences of Polish and low professional qualifications. Generally Individual Integration Programmes are considered to be ineffective and effective in the context of supporting the process of integration of people looking for safe living conditions. This is related, i.a. with the fact that they last a relatively short period of time in order to master the Polish language well, find a place on the labor market in a new country, etc. (Ząbek, Łodźiński 2008) From the psychological point of view, the moment of completing participation in the programs is once again associated with the experience of the loss of safety.

Therefore, a very large number of people (especially men) decide to work illegally, which entails the risk of unequal treatment (wages, insurance, etc.). Many people, especially those from Chechnya, whose culture and religion differ significantly (Caucasian people professing Sunni Islam) from Polish, cannot find their place in Polish socio-cultural realities. That is why they try to go to other European countries where foreigners receive better social support, where their relatives live, etc. From there, after a longer or shorter stay, due to the applicable international law, they return to Poland. Changing the place of residence several times is particularly problematic with regard to the education of children and teenagers with refugee backgrounds, therefore

the school backlog is growing and there is no continuity in learning the Polish language. Easily, due to their cultural and religious similarity, foreigners from Ukraine and Belarus adapt to Polish socio-cultural realities. It is also important that the standard of earnings and living in Poland is satisfactory for them.

The processes of people from forced migrant environments entering the host society may refer to the following dimensions: economic, cultural, socio-political, and the dimension of identity. The economic dimension is related to functioning on the labor market, the cultural dimension is related to the acquisition of cultural and linguistic competences, the socio-political dimension determines the social relations and the foreigner's place in the state, and the identity dimension of the change is the sense of national identity. In each of these dimensions, we can deal with a different degree of integration of the foreigner into the host community (Budyta-Budzyńska, 2011). It should be remembered that in the process of adaptation of forced migrants in the new society, the country's integration policy and institutional support are extremely important.

Forced migrants at every stage of the refugee path face many challenges. They experience a language barrier, unequal treatment, are perceived by the host community as Strangers/Others, etc. From the perspective of supporting the refugee integration process, it is important to be aware of their resilience, which should be explored in a scientific way. On the basis of obtained research results, practical activities could be undertaken, which aim to strengthen their resources by designing educational activities (projects, programmes etc.) that can result in adequate educational and social work methods (within the respect for home and host culture). The results of this research could be beneficial for the well-being of refugees, establishing relationships with the host society and developing different guidelines for adjusting local and national policy to protect refugees in Poland.

Individual resilience and resilient human systems – exemplification in research on refugee resilience

Approaches that relate to vulnerability and problems, which concentrated on risk factors, appeared insufficient to explain appropriate and adequate functioning (positive adaptation) of those who were affected by various risk factors and experienced different types of adversity. That is the reason why in social sciences in the 1970s divergent perspectives towards the resilience

concept started to grow in number. Since that moment resilience was perceived mainly as an individual trait mostly of children and youth – the resilient child as invulnerable (Anthony, 1974) or invincible (Werner and Smith, 1982), but less as a feature of adults.

In the case of research among refugees there are few findings about personal traits or competences that help overcome adversity. High standards and tenacity, trust in intuition, tolerance of negative affect, strengthening effects of stress and positive acceptance of change (Amen and Cinkara, 2018), self-efficacy (Lim and Han, 2016), avoidance and hope (Sleijpen et al., 2016) and acting autonomously (Sleijpen et al., 2017) are those intrapersonal resources that make forced migrants more resilient.

Later due to the groundbreaking work of Rutter (1987), the approach towards resilience was broadened. He claimed that protective factors initiated certain processes in the case of individuals. These processes concern reducing exposure towards risk and impact of risk factors, developing adequate self-esteem and mostly revealing the view that opportunities of child and family development depend on an adequately shaped environment. Other scientists followed the concept that resilience is a dynamic process concerning positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity (Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker, 2000).

Similarly, there is little recognition of resilience as a process in the case of research among refugees. It was found out that waiting for a long period for a residence permit and being older negatively influence refugees' resilience strategies. These findings suggest that resilience refers to a dynamic process that is context and time specific (Sleijpen et al., 2017). Another study reveals that female refugees' resilience arises from mundane practices of everyday life and is located in interactions between people and different environments of participation. Marginalized single mothers who were refugees demonstrated the multiple ways in which some developed pathways to resilience in everyday tasks and within their social spaces related them to external issues. Moreover, it is a process that operates inter-subjectively in social spaces connecting them to the environment (Lenette, Brough and Cox, 2012). Facing adversity relates to the internal processes that refugees are currently dealing with and which depend both on time and context. Moreover, in the case of fostering resilience among refugee women, more important are those everyday activities that are undertaken regularly and which can link them to different environments of their participation, both from home or host societies and cultures.

Recently more researchers have become interested in resilience not only as an individual trait or a current process, but also as an element of the environment and whole communities. Resilience is specific to a given context and circumstances. It refers to broad socio-ecological conditions such as socioeconomic status, culture, policy and so on. 'Socio-ecological factors such as family, school, neighbourhood, community services, and cultural practices are as influential as psychological aspects of positive development when individuals are under stress' (Ungar, 2012). Resilience is defined as a set of behaviors over time that reflect the interactions between individuals and their environments, in particular the opportunities for personal growth that are available and accessible (Ungar, 2010a, 2010b, 2011).

Nowadays, a holistic and more integrative approach towards resilience is commonly discussed by researchers and it is called 'resilience of human systems' (Wilson and Wilson, 2018). It is assumed that whole communities and systems should be resilient for increasing well-being of individuals and societies we live in. Resilience of human systems can be best defined as the interrelation between socio-ecological aspects, such as: social, economic, cultural, political and environmental dimensions as well as the capacity of individuals to respond and adapt to changes (Emery and Flora, 2006; Kelly et al., 2015). As the results of research in the area of individual refugee resources have been presented above, the socio-ecological resources in the context of being more resilient by forced migrants will be analysed here, based on the assumptions of the 'resilience of human system' approach. In this respect, the following domains have been distinguished: social, cultural, economic, political and environmental one.

The social domain is characterised by many variables that concern two key categories relating to 'bonding' and 'bridging' capital in human systems (Cumming et al., 2005; Wilson, 2012a; Kelly et al., 2015). In the case of refugees, bonding capital concerns relationships, trust, and social support networks with relatives, friends, and other significant members from the home country that strengthen homogeneity in the refugee community. By contrast, bridging capital refers to establishing, building and maintaining relationships between heterogeneous groups, refugees and mainly individuals and groups from the host country.

The social domain is one of the most common in research on refugees' resilience, as it is presumed that home and host societies play crucial roles in overcoming adversity after changing location by forced migrants. The following groups of social factors that foster refugees' resilience can be distinguished: bonding with relatives from nuclear and extended families, friends

and other members of the home country, bridging with representatives of host countries communities and finally getting independence. All those variables play a crucial role in facing and dealing with adversity. For instance, social support that Sudanese refugees obtained from their families helped them cope with constructive responses to trauma (Schweitzer, Greenslade and Kagee, 2007). Similarly, in the case of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees who were placed in refugee camps in India, social networks and support that they gained from relatives and friends remake their broken souls (Kuttikat, Vaillancourt and Massey, 2018). According to another findings of Goodman et al. (2017) among refugee women who developed resilience, external processes that reveal family circumstances and social networks were of higher importance than internal processes which were only used by those who were deprived of external factors.

In the media, people hear a lot about the fact that many refugees are willing to reach their final destination in Western countries, as they are seeking social support and possibilities to get a better life, but that is a half truth, easy to understand from the Western perspective. The other reason for choosing a final destination is the fact that they have relatives and friends there, and from their perspective what is important are kin-based relations. Refugee longings for moving are linked to places with a potential for kin-based support. Family networks between Somalis and Dagahaley refugees camp in Kenya and their relatives in the diaspora support collective imaginary about a better future in Minnesota (Ikanda, 2018). Another study reveals that bonding as a supportive element in refugees' resilience can depend on gender. In case of Afghan refugees residing in the USA, intimate and extended family ties are strongly associated with lower distress for women and have little correlation with men's distress level (Stempel et al., 2016).

An additional condition under which social participation can develop refugee resilience is giving independence in acting, which will support and fulfill the need to be autonomous. Participation in theatre projects by urban and camp-based refugees in Kenya, under the conditions that participants were the owners of the project and create an environment of trust, made positive contributions to build resilience in the community (Borisenko, 2016). Needs, strategies and recommendations that are suggested by refugees themselves could be a great inspiration for developing adequate interventions to assist the enculturation process and successful resettlement.

A further example of strengthening social resources related to, in this case, bridging with host society, is when the youngest generation of refu-

gees usually comes into contact with representatives of host society from the health, education, governmental or non-governmental institutions dealing with refugees. Moreover, often children and adolescents are those who build bridges between their parents and other adult members of the refugee community and representatives of the host country (Ameen and Cinkara, 2018), because they better know language and easier adapt to existing social conditions.

What is worth pointing out is that in conceptualising and doing the research on refugees resilience, as well as designing educational activities, it is important to pay attention to resources that relate to bonding with relatives and friends from home societies as well as those variables that help bridging with members of host society to help to find out, function and thrive by those who were forced to migrate.

Another dimension that is widely and commonly investigated in the case of strengthening refugees resources is the cultural domain. Key cultural resilience variables include the importance of languages and dialects, traditions and rites, religion, worldviews and taboos in human systems and how they may raise or lower resilience (Wilson, 2012a).

As communication is crucial for survival, language skills and performing at schools by children and youth are essential determinants that foster family resilience. Younger generation can undertake the role of relatives' translators and supporters in the case of formal contacts especially with governmental and non-governmental institutions. Speaking the language of the host country provides numerous opportunities for individuals to succeed (Ameen and Cinkara, 2018) and similarly, speaking fluently was a facilitator of resettlement (Earnest et al., 2015).

According to the research, it is also known that some cultural factors such as e.g. spiritual influence (Ameen and Cinkara, 2018), religion (Kuttikat, Vaillancourt and Massey, 2018) and religious beliefs (Schweitzer, Greenslade and Kagee, 2007) can foster resilience. From the perspective of the researcher who conducts the research on refugees resilience, it is crucial to be sensitive and possess a great knowledge about religion and religious influences on social relations of the subjects who participate in the research.

Another factor which is connected to culture and plays a crucial role in refugees resilience, are acculturation strategies. To adhere to one's own culture is a strong protective factor for refugees, as it increases the security level. Affleck et al (2013) found out that Sri Lankan Tamil refugee men who were refugees in Canada, tried to rebuild their masculine identity by e.g. undertak-

ing different leadership roles in community organizations. It was suggested that reviewing and rebuilding masculine identity for those men supported their mental health. Another study reveals that traditionally oriented Afghan refugees women and egalitarian men had lower levels of distress, but also that experiencing greater dissonant acculturation increased distress for men, but not for women (Stempel et al., 2016).

To summarize, culture matters for resilience not only in the case of fixed attributes, but these attributes are present in interactions between refugees and home and host societies and cultures. Both refugees and those systems are immersed in a double culture (mixture of host and home culture), which means that diverse traits of individuals and interactions between systems are affected by culture. While doing the research on refugees resilience it is crucial to be both aware of the complexity in which individuals and families with forced migration experience are currently functioning and cultural sensitivity which is 'the ability to be sensitive to cues that are often subtle or unfamiliar and to adjust behavior and expectations accordingly' (Stone, 2006, p. 348).

Political and economic domains are other dimensions that may have an impact on refugees' resilience. The role of political and economic resilience variables are highly socioculturally contingent and closely interlinked with social and cultural resilience variables (Nathan, 2003).

In the case of political resilience, the key issue concerns the question of power. In more detailed analyses of strengthening the individual and sociocultural resources of refugees, attention is drawn to the role of institutional forms of resilience in the field of political domain around democratic or non-democratic political systems, different legal systems or institutional transparency. Similarly, economic resilience variables are commonly used to assess the resilience of the human system (Wilson, 2012b). These variables concern e.g. wealth or poverty, economic structure or infrastructure development.

Concerning economic and political variables, the most common research, in the case of refugees, is the development of infrastructure in which refugees can obtain assistance in a form of support structures in the host country e.g. intervention programmes, support from cultural communities, accessibility to governmental and non-governmental organizations. Intervention programmes should be constructed and adjusted to the current needs of those who suffered e.g. war, discrimination, persecution and currently experience migration. Those programmes should have different components, such as interventions overcoming trauma experienced in the past, but also intervention and support in the case of daily stressors, obstacles and inconvenience

that is addressed to individuals, families, and whole communities (Kuttikat, Vaillancourt and Massey, 2018). From other findings it is known that both informal (cultural communities, non-governmental organizations) and formal (governmental organizations) support is crucial for reinforcing resilience among refugee women (Chung, Hong and Newbold, 2013). Gained support should be adequate to current needs or unsolved past problems of refugees, but also should take into account many different variables resulting from the original social and cultural conditions of refugees which are the legacy from the country of origin, as well as the prevailing socio-cultural, political and economic conditions in the host country.

The last variables in the concept of "resilience of human systems' are those related to the environment. Environmental resilience variables concern resilience research in ecology (Adger, 2000). Most frequently they include climate changes, ecosystem stability and resources availability and their sustainable use. In social sciences, there is a lack of research and the need to understand as local environmental conditions (such as access to fresh water and clean soil, vegetation cover or biodiversity etc.) have an impact on refugee resilience.

When undertaking research on refugee resilience, it is important to take a comprehensive and complex approach, in which the interplay between social and cultural, economic and political, environmental dimensions as well as individual capacity to cope with adversity and ability to adapt to change will be considered. Developing and supporting individual capacities and socio-ecological resources could enable refugees to overcome different forms of trauma and empower them to actively participate in their integration process.

Conclusions

In the article, the authors attempted to outline the phenomenon of refugeeism in Poland in the context of the need to conduct research on refugee resilience. The state of research conducted by Polish scientists on the refugees issues and the scope of scientific literature is widening, however there are no theoretical reflections as well as empirical studies in the field of refugees resilience. Therefore, there is a need to conduct holistic and complex research on refugee resilience including the concept of 'resilience of human systems', in which many variables are taken into account in social, cultural, political, economic and environmental domains.

In the case of research on refugee resilience, in general, most exploration is undertaken in the social and cultural domains, which may indicate the key role of resources from these dimensions in a successful integration process in the host society and culture. In Polish conditions, it is worth undertaking research on resources in the area of social and cultural domains and their role in empowering refugees. Those resources should be related to the role of bonding with home community and culture and bridging with representatives and socio-cultural conditions of host community and culture. Additionally, when designing research in Poland, it would be worth taking into account the impact of a range of variables related to home and host society culture on forced migrants' resilience.

Other dimensions that have an impact on refugee resilience are political and economic domains, which are closely interlinked with social and cultural resilience variables. In the perspective of political factors increasing refugee resilience, it would be worthwhile in Poland to undertake research on the role of variables related to power, democratic political system or legal system, in developing resources of forced migrants. Additionally, in the economic domain, there is a lack of analysis in the area of accessibility, the specificity of functioning, as well as the role of institutional offer in fostering the resilience of refugees.

Moreover, there is a lack of research on the impact of the environment on refugee resilience both in the world and in Poland. There is a need for reflection in the area of changing location by forced migrants, including changes of local environment conditions and their impact on empowering refugees.

Developing and supporting individual and socio-ecological resources could enable refugees to overcome different kinds of trauma that they experienced before, during and after transition to a new culture and conditions of a host country. Additionally, thanks to those resources refugees could feel more empowered to actively participate in their integration process and be more involved in cooperation with different institutions to support their well-being. Moreover, conducting the research on socio-ecological determinants of refugees resilience will enable designing methods of working with refugees with respect for home and host culture and will support the acculturation processes which finally help increase the welfare level for both refugees and host society. The results of those studies could be also beneficial for developing different guidelines for adjusting local and national policy to protect refugees' health, welfare and keep them safe at the labor market; socioeconomic policies for health, local and national economy; access to material resources;

adequacy of general laws and legal systems for protection of forced migrants. Additionally, the authors express their conviction that the article may be useful to people interested in the issue of refugees, inclusive education and intercultural education in Poland and may provide a contribution to further, more complex theoretical analyses and empirical research in this area.

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An outline of the phenomenon of refugeeism in Poland. Towards research into refugee resilience

Abstract: Worldwide, the issue of refugeeism is getting increased interest of researchers. Despite the fact that in Poland a relatively small group of foreigners receive international protection, the scope of the research conducted by the representatives of social sciences (including educationalists) is expanding. The analysis of the literature shows that there is still a lack of studies on refugees' resources.

The article is a review of research directions carried out in various countries that relate to the resilience of refugees in the context of the resilience mechanism, and aims to signal pathways for designing research initiatives as well as educational activities supporting the process of integrating people with a refugee experience in Poland. The text consists of three complementary parts. The first presents the legal aspects of the situation of people who experience forced migration in Poland. The second part presents the main challenges related to the integration of this group of people.

The article emphasizes the need to conduct research on individual as well as socio-cultural factors supporting refugees in overcoming adaptation difficulties

and adversities. On the basis of the analyzed research results, it can be concluded that strengthening the resources such as: gender, religion, culture and relations with members of the same national group as well as the host society supports the process of integration of forced migrants and the psychological well-being of both refugees and the host society.

Keywords: people with refugee experience, integration, resilience, research

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Translated by Anna Młynarczuk-Sokołowska
and Emilia Żyłkiewicz-Płońska

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