



Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych
Center for International Relations

Reports & Analyses

2 / 0 8

Krystyna Iglicka

Survey Research on Legal Job Migrations from Poland to Great Britain after 1st May, 2004

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ul. Emilii Plater 25, 00-688 Warszawa
TEL.: (22) 646 52 67, FAX: (22) 646 52 58
www.csm.org.pl, info@csm.org.pl

Survey Research on Legal Job Migrations from Poland to Great Britain after 1st May, 2004

*For those who wanted to get by without being well-connected
For those who wanted to get by without stealing
For those who were not afraid to have their own plans
8.15: London, sold out a month in advance.
/IRA Music Band/*

All the results presented below refer to job migrations from Poland to Great Britain. Originally, we planned to focus on legal migrations taking place after 1st May, 2004. However, due to the fact that, according to the data collected by the British Home Office, as much as 40% of the Poles who registered under the Workers Registration Scheme after 1st May, 2004, had already been employed in Great Britain before on an illegal basis, we decided not to narrow down the sample and allowed also for those who, at the time of the survey, worked there legally despite the fact that up to 1st May, 2004, their employment had been illegal.

The survey research described in this report is the **first quantitative survey done in Poland in respect of a sample of individuals legally employed in Great Britain**. Still, since the questionnaire used in this survey research included 48 questions out of which some were of an open-ended type (respondents could give full meaningful answers to them instead of short or single-word responses) we have also managed to collect interesting and rich qualitative material.

The results shown below refer to the survey research done this autumn. The time critical demands and a desire to **update** our readers **on the most significant developments** in the respective area explain why the report does not include any deepened statistical analysis and is limited to a descriptive part followed by short comments. What deserves mention here is the fact that the said results are only part of the whole survey research. Our project also covered migrants from Poland legally employed in the USA (results respecting that group of job seekers shall soon be published on: www.csm.org.pl).

The objectives of the Project included research on:

- **dependencies between the level of education and the amounts of money transferred by migrant workers;**
- **role of money transfers from migrant workers contributing to a better standard of living;**
- **attractiveness of the countries being the main destinations for migrant workers from Poland;**
- **tendency towards returning there;**
- **integration and assimilation of Poles in their host communities.**

The survey research was funded by the **German Marshall Fund of the US (GMFUS)** and conducted under the ***Migrations Program*** run at the **Center for International Relations**. The Project was headed by **Prof. Krystyna Iglicka¹**. The Authors wish to acknowledge the kind contributions and cooperation in this huge undertaking of members of the **Statistical Club at Warsaw School of Economics**, representatives of the **'Poland Street' Association of Poles in Great Britain and Northern Ireland**, and the **Association of Polish Engineers in Great Britain**.

¹ Lazarski School of Commerce and Law in Warsaw.

It is impracticable to do this type of survey on random samples. Consequently, we decided on purposeful sampling. With regard to the USA, the survey research covered a group of 564 Poles employed legally in the USA under the *Work and Travel* Program.

As for Poles employed legally in Great Britain (GB), we decided to apply the GB Questionnaire to a target sample of 636 respondents.

We arrived at a conclusion that, should we do our survey at airports or bus stations in Poland, the conditions might have affected reliability of the data, in particular those related to such sensitive areas as the earnings, the savings, or the political preferences. The population of Poles legally employed in Great Britain is by far more differentiated than that of our compatriots having legal jobs in the USA. The 2006 Communication of the European Commission on the influx of workers from the new Member Countries to those Member Countries who “opened” their labour markets after 1st May, 2004, and the British data collected under the Workers Registration Scheme and the Labour Force Survey helped to describe the sample profile: a) young people with undergraduate or postgraduate degrees and diplomas whose job positions were inadequate for their level of education; b) average- and low-skilled workers with jobs adequate for their qualifications; and still another (not so numerous) group of holders of higher education schools diplomas working under labour contracts corresponding with their education (doctors, engineers, teachers, etc.). The sampling was purposeful, and the migration data were stratified with due regard to the above mentioned categories. The survey research was conducted in London, in the autumn of 2007.

RESULTS

I. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL PROFILE OF THE ANALYZED SAMPLE

It was the male respondents who were the predominant group in the sample (53%), with the remaining 47% of the female respondents. (See: Table 1.)

Table 1. Respondents, by gender

Men	Women	Total
336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

Table 2. Respondents, by age and gender

Age at the time of the survey research (xoi – x1i>	Men	Women	Total
Do 20	4	12	16
20-25	72	88	160
25-30	140	104	244
30-35	60	52	112
35-40	24	20	44
40-45	16	-	16
45-50	8	16	24
50-55	-	4	4
55-60	12	4	16
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

The age group which prevailed among both the male and the female respondents was that including 25-30 year olds. They accounted for as much as 38% of all the respondents. Both the youngest (up to 20-year-old) and the oldest (55-60-year-old) respondents represented 2.5% of the sample. **The average age of the male respondents** at the time of conducting this survey was that of **30.2 years old**, while for the female respondents that of **28.9 years old**. **The average age of all the respondents** at the time of conducting this survey was **29.5 years old**. (See: Table 2.)

Table 3. Respondents, by place of residence in Poland

Place or residence	Men	Women	Total
Cities with population of over 200 thousand	128	72	200
100,000 -200,000	44	40	84
50,000-100,000	40	40	80
20,000 – 50,000	60	68	128
10,000 – 20,000	24	28	52
5,000 – 10,000	8	12	20
Up to 5 thousand	20	20	40
Countryside	12	20	32
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

In the analyzed sample **31% of the respondents** came from **cities with population of over 200 thousand**. **As much as 20% of the respondents reported coming from small and medium-sized towns with population between 20 thousand to 50 thousand**, while the countryside was represented by 5%. (See: Table 30.)

Table 4. Respondents, by level of education, and by gender

Education	Men	Women	Total
Primary	16	4	20
Vocational	36	12	48
Technical	20	4	24
Secondary	100	92	192
Undergraduate	28	32	60
Postgraduate, no degree	36	28	64
Postgraduate, master degree	100	128	228
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

The respondents holding undergraduate or postgraduate degrees and diplomas accounted for 36% of the sample. That proportion amounted to 43% for women, and to nearly 30% for men. **In general, respondents with experience of higher education courses done in Poland**, which respects both undergraduate studies and postgraduate courses of study for a master degree, accounted for as much as **55%** of the analyzed sample. (See: Table 4.)

Both the young age of the respondents and their level of education are those variables which are responsible for a low level of activity of the analyzed sample in the labour market. (See: Table 5.) **23% of the respondents had not been employed in Poland before leaving for GB.** The activity of the women in the labour market was lower: as much as 29% of that sub-group did not have a job when in Poland, compared to 17% of the men. The most often reported reasons for not having any employment record in Poland included: *'I attended school', 'I was a student', 'I was unemployed'*.

Table 5. Respondents, by employment status prior to leaving Poland, and by gender

Employed	Men	Women	Total
YES	280	212	492
NO	56	88	144
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

II. JOBS ABROAD, WORKING IN GREAT BRITAIN

One of the areas of interest in our survey research concerned other than GB-related job migration experience of the respondents. (See: Table 6)

Table 6. Respondents by other migration experience: of seeking jobs in countries other than GB

Job abroad	Men	Women	Total
YES	252	192	444
NO	84	108	192
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

Considering the young age of the respondents, the sample demonstrated very high international mobility related to job seeking. As much as 75% of the male respondents and 64% of the female respondents had sought employment in other countries as well prior to their job migration to Great Britain. These results seem interesting considering that 23% of the respondents had had no former job experience in Poland.

The most popular destination country for job seekers was that of **Germany**. (See: Table 7.)

Table 7. Respondents, by main job migration destination, and by gender

Country	Men	Women	Total
Germany	132	76	208
Italy	32	52	84
Austria	28	13	41
USA	20	21	41
Other	40	30	70
Grand total	252	192	444

Source: Own survey data

As it has already been mentioned, according to data from the British Home Office, 40% of all the Poles who got registered under the Workers Registration Scheme on 1st May, 2004, had worked in GB on an illegal basis prior to the EU enlargement. The respective status of the analyzed sample is shown in Table 8 beneath.

Table 8. Respondents, by illegal employment in GB prior to 1st May, 2004, and by gender

Illegal employment	Men	Women	Total
YES	100	96	196
NO	226	204	430
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

Nearly 31% of the respondents had already had some experience of working in GB before the EU enlargement. The percentage of the respondents was not differentiated on the grounds of their gender in this respect. The said proportion, for both the male and the female respondents employed in GB prior to 1st May, 2004, fluctuated around 30%. This does not mean, however, that all of them settled in GB upon getting employed in that country. Issues pertaining to the duration of job migrations were reflected upon in the block of survey questions below.

By asking about the year of arrival in Great Britain (See: Table 8) **we wanted** to find out whether there were any **settlement processes** under way, whether the duration of the respondents' stays in GB was indicative of their permanent or long-term migration, and what the directions and effectiveness of the **migration streams** were.

Table 9. Respondents, by year of arrival in GB, and by gender

Year of arrival in GB	Men	Women	Total
Prior to 1 st May, 2004 (including 01-04. 2004)	88 (4)	84 (20)	172 (24)
May-December, 2004	64	60	124
2005	80	64	144
2006	68	64	132
2007 (till the survey date: 10 -12. 2007)	36	28	64
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

27% of the respondents arrived in GB prior to the EU enlargement (1st May, 2004), and the remaining 73% after that date. However, if we take into account the fact that it was only 10% of the respondents who arrived in GB in 2007, we may be right to say that what is characteristic of the analyzed **sample is their taking roots in GB in terms of the duration of their stays there, which is typical of long-term migrants**. Those relatively long stays in GB, together with the respondents' attitudes toward coming back (See: Block Four of this report) may also be clearly indicative of their settlement plans taking shape.

Migration streams intensifications were quite proportional over the years 2004-2006. In the year 2004 23% of the analyzed sample flowed in GB, and in 2005 that percentage was identical, reaching a similar level of 21% in the year 2006, but only as little as 10% in the year 2007, as it has already been mentioned. Those proportions have been confirmed by the Home Office latest data publications in which they indicated a decrease in the number of registrations under the Workers Registration Scheme pertaining to new Member Countries' citizens. It should be kept in mind, however, that the same British data sources refer to an increase in the number of dependants of the workers already employed in GB, which testifies to the migration growing in volume under the provisions on family reunification. The tendencies pertaining to the respondents' long-term or even permanent settlement plans which manifested themselves in this survey research seem to confirm the said direction of changes.

What constituted another area of interest for us in this survey research were also the patterns of social and economic behaviours adopted by the analyzed sample while looking for their first jobs in GB. Was it an independent group within which everybody counted for himself/herself, or rather a network of connections between Poles in the homeland and in GB, which was an important factor enabling one to find a job abroad? Or, perhaps, it was the awareness-raising campaign on "opening" the EU labour markets, run by both the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and by the British Embassy in Poland that facilitated, to a significant degree, search for the first legal jobs in GB? The statistical data related to the above questions are presented in Tables 10 and 11 below.

Table 10. Respondents, by period of searching for the first legal job in GB, and by gender

Job search period	Men	Women	Total
Prior to leaving Poland	96	72	168
After arrival in GB	240	228	468
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

An overwhelming majority of the respondents (as much as 74% of them, including 71% of the male respondents and 76% of the female respondents) arrived in GB having no idea of what kind of work they would take up or what the working conditions would be over there. Therefore, one may say that neither the activity of job centers in Poland nor the Polish awareness-raising campaign on "opening"

the EU labour markets were those factors which considerably facilitated the respondents' finding their first legal jobs in GB. Consequently, what could the factors in question be?

Table 11. Respondents, by factor determining their finding of the first legal jobs in GB, and by gender

Factors decisive for job finding	Men	Women	Total
Help from Polish contacts in GB	120	96	216
Help from British contacts in GB	12	24	36
Family in GB	4	24	28
Other	104	84	188
Grand total	240	228	468

Source: Own survey data

What was singled out as the key factor with a positive impact on finding the first legal jobs in GB by the respondents was (for both the male and the female respondents) the help rendered by their Polish contacts in GB. **Consequently, the role of the Polish diaspora network of contacts in GB was decisive for the respondents' finding legal jobs there. Number Two determinant** indicated by as much as 40% of the respondents was linked to the "Other" item in the table above. As it follows from the analyzed material, this category was most often referred to as "**own initiative**", including both its most intelligent and dynamic manifestations and those which were the most pains-taking ones:

My own initiative. I contacted the company myself, sent them my CV, and they found my performance during the interview satisfying. (W. 17).

I distributed my leaflets on my own. (W. 634)

I kept searching till I found it. (W. 17)

In a newspaper add. (W. 5)

I came across such a notice displayed in a shop window by chance. (W. 19)

Through a British job center. (W. 39)

Via the Internet. (W. 62)

11% of the female respondents and only 5% of the male respondents owed their jobs to the British who helped them find employment in GB. What seems to be interesting is that the data pertaining to the integration of Poles into the British society (Section 6 of this Report) show a bigger openness of the female respondents to contacts with the local communities as compared with that of the male respondents. **Perhaps it is just the absence of fear of accepting help from the British in the initial phase of migration that gets translated into quicker integration further on?**

We were also interested to hear about the jobs performed by the respondents, whether they corresponded with their qualifications or required lower level skills, and whether any of the respondents had been promoted at work. The results are shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Respondents, by job, qualification, and gender

Job requiring lower level skills	Men	Women	Total
YES	91	128	219
NO	245	172	417
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

65% of the respondents held jobs suitable for their qualifications. That group included individuals with completed primary or secondary education who found employment as average or low skilled workers. The occupations most often reported by that group of respondents included those of construction

workers, plumbers, dustmen, shop assistants, caretakers in social welfare homes, carpenters, engineers, welders, store-keepers, leaflet distributors, metal coating workers, diggers, electricians, mechanics, etc.

What may be interesting is that a relatively high percentage of the respondents holding university degrees had found in GB jobs corresponding with their qualifications. However, those of the respondents with completed higher education courses who held jobs for which they had been trained at university were employed in Polish centers as more broadly understood. Therefore, I have also included in that group Polish language teachers (holders of a master degree in Polish Language and Literature) who had found jobs in Polish schools in London, journalists who had embarked on careers in journalism in GB working for Polish newspapers or for the Polish radio, as well as fresh graduates in English Language and Literature teaching English to Polish children in GB.

35% of the respondents, i.e. 27% of the male respondents and as much as 43% of the female respondents worked in GB in areas having nothing to do with their original qualifications. This was mostly true for respondents holding undergraduate and graduate degrees. The most striking disparities respecting the major subjects taken by them at university and the jobs they held in GB are shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Most striking disparities respecting the major subjects taken at university and the jobs held in Great Britain*

Field of Study / Major Subject	Job Profile in GB
Public Administration	Construction worker
Politics	Cook's Assistant
Administrative Studies	I'm making sandwiches and salads
Agriculture and Shaping the Natural Environment	Furniture deliverer
English Language and Literature	Food and beverage industry
Electrical Engineering	I'm an office worker
Textile Studies (Major: Textile Raw Material Technology)	I'm on the cleaning team at "Marks & Spencer"
Performing Arts (an actor)	Receptionist
Tour Operation	Waiter
Recreation and Tourism	Shop assistant
International Law	Carpenter
Environmental Engineering (Ventilation and Heating Systems, Protection of the Atmosphere)	Bar person
Philosophy, Psychology	I'm selling coffee
Polish Language and Literature	Taking care of children
Polish Language and Literature	I'm working at a hotel
Polish Language and Literature	Self-employment: 'Cleaner'
Polish Language and Literature	I'm cleaning hotel rooms
Agriculture and Shaping the Natural Environment	Cleaning job
International Relations	Catering worker
Rehabilitation	Shop assistant
Sociology	Waitress
Geology/Land Surveying	Manual worker: injection moulding press operator
Computer Studies	Housekeeping
Finance Management	I'm collecting occasional advertisements
Performing Arts (Singing)	Taking care of children

*Respondents' original descriptions and phraseology

Source: Own survey data

III. MIGRATION STRATEGIES: EARNINGS, SAVINGS, INVESTMENTS

It was the **average net monthly earnings** (in PLN) ranging from **4,000 to 6,000 PLN** that prevailed in the analyzed sample. Such were the amounts reported by as much as 34% of the survey respondents. As for the lowest net earnings ranging from 2,000 to 4,000 PLN, they were reported by 24% of the respondents, while the highest earnings (above 10,000 PLN) were reported by 10% of the respondents.

Table 14. Respondents, by average monthly remuneration and by gender

Average net monthly earnings (in PLN)	Men	Women	Total
2000-4000	80	72	152
4000-6000	88	128	216
6000-8000	76	56	132
8000-10000	36	24	60
Above 10000	56	8	64
No data available	-	12	12
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

Our basic analysis of the sample structure reveals **a significant differentiation in earnings on the grounds of gender within the highest earnings group**. As much as 17% of the male respondents and only 3% of the female respondents reported the highest level of earnings: above 10,000 PLN. At the same time, the percentage of female respondents reporting the lowest earnings ranging from 2,000 to 4,000 PLN was similar to that of the male respondents in that sub-group, on the level of ca. 24%. **The average monthly earnings** in the sub-group of **male respondents** amounted to **6,404 PLN**, while for **female respondents** it was **5,972 PLN**. **The average net monthly earnings of the analyzed sample amounted to 5,972 PLN**.

Tables 15 and 16 below present, in detail, the proportions of respondents by earnings, gender, and level of education. Analyses focused on the impact strength and directions related to the interdependencies among the respective attributes shall be conducted in later stages of the Project.

Table 15. Women, by level of education and by remuneration

Level of education	Primary	Vocational	Technical	Secondary	Undergraduate	Postgraduate (no degree)	Postgraduate	Total
Remuneration								
2 000 – 4 000	4	4		16	4	12	32	72
4 000 – 6 000		8	4	56	12	8	40	128
6 000 – 8 000				12	8		36	56
8 000 – 10 000				8			16	24
Above 10 000					4	4		8
Grand total	4	12	4	92	28	24	124	288

Source: Own survey data

Table 16. Men, by level of education and by remuneration

Level of education Remuneration	Primary	Vocational	Technical	Secondary	Undergraduate	Postgraduate (no degree)	Postgraduate	Total
2 000 – 4 000	4		12	8	12	16	28	80
4 000 – 6 000	8	16		32	8	4	20	88
6 000 – 8 000		20		20	8	4	24	76
8 000 – 10 000	4		4	12		4	12	36
Above 10 000			4	28		8	16	56
Grand total	16	36	20	100	28	36	100	336

Source: Own survey data

65% of the respondents reported that they were able to save some money / that they had savings earned in GB. The percentage of male respondents in that sub-group was on the level of 68%, while the corresponding value for women was only 63%. (See Table 17.) Some of the survey respondents suggested that their stays in GB were too short so that they could save any money. The survey interviewers noticed that respondents were rather unwilling to give answers related to their savings and to the appropriation of such savings. The average net monthly savings earned in GB and reported by the respondents amounted to **1,230 PLN for the female respondents**, and to **1.570 PLN for the male respondents**. **The average net monthly savings for the whole sample group were on the level of 1,400 PLN.**

Table 17. Respondents, by savings and by gender

Savings	Men	Women	Total
YES	228	188	416
NO	108	112	220
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

60% of the respondents who had savings reported sending them to Poland. (See: Table 18.)

Table 18. Respondents, by transfer of savings to Poland, and by gender

Savings transferred to Poland	Men	Women	Total
YES	140	108	248
NO	88	80	168
Grand total	228	188	416

Source: Own survey data

In most cases, the savings were wire transferred to Poland: as much as 52% of the respondents reported such transfers. However, the traditional method of bringing the saved money to Poland “personally, during travel home” also enjoyed considerable popularity: 35% of the respondents reported such “transfers”. (See: Table 19.)

Table 19. Respondents, by method of transferring savings to Poland, and by gender

Savings transferred to Poland	Men	Women	Total
Personally, during travel home	48	40	88
By wire transfer	80	48	128
Other	12	20	32
Grand total	140	108	248

Source: Own survey data

As it was the case with our survey research on job migrations from Poland to the USA, we have attempted to enrich our statistical material concerning job migrations to Great Britain with a qualitative component. Appropriation of the savings was one of those questions to which the respondents could give their own meaningful answers. **In general, those who were saving the money earned in GB could be divided into two sub-groups: those providing for their families, and those attempting to invest in Poland or in Great Britain (on their way to well-being).** As for the most frequently cited investment, it was a flat of one's own: obviously the most desired objective and one difficult to reach for a number of successive generations of Poles. **Unlike the surveyed students of elite Warsaw schools for higher education working in the USA under the Work and Travel Program who mostly appropriated their savings for stock investment, tuition fees, and entertainment / foreign travel, the repeating motif in the responses given by the "British" sample was that of everyday life as not seen through rose-tinted glasses.** See below for the most typical responses.

Savings appropriated for the purpose of supporting the relatives:

Helping Mum with everyday living expenses. Her old-age pension amounts to 840 PLN, so when she pays the rental and the energy bills she is left with nothing to live on. (W. 41)

Towards my old-age pension, and to help my daughter with her university studies. (W.78)

For my parents, towards the medical treatment costs and their everyday life expenses. They are ashamed to take money from me. But I have found a way, and give them extremely expensive and useless presents. I know that they sell them afterwards. Our neighbour has told me so. (W. 85)

Towards the future needs of my child, and for my wife's foreign language course. (W.11)

Towards the current needs (fees and payments) over there, in Poland, and towards my children's maintenance costs.

Savings appropriated for investment purposes:

For purchasing a flat in Poland. (W. 95).

I have bought a flat over here: mortgage (repayment of a bank loan) (W. 521).

I have bought a house in Poland: repayments. (W. 602).

We want to purchase a flat in England. (W. 17).

They are in my account in here, for my future needs. (W. 86).

IV RETURNS

The collected material respecting the earnings and the savings of the analyzed sample, both in its quantitative and in its qualitative aspect, is a sad picture of a generation of those who have been, in a way, excluded, and whose migration is an attempt at securing a certain basic standard of living for themselves and for their relatives.

The collected material related to attitudes towards possible returns could be used to write a similarly pessimistic scenario. It is worth pointing out here that Poland seen by the “British” respondents is totally different from Poland in the eyes of the respondents who have migrated to the USA under the Work and Travel Program. A strong negation of Poland noticeable in the emotional responses gathered in the “British” survey is as surprising as the strong patriotic attitudes typical of the “American” survey.

As a matter of fact, most of the respondents (51% of them) answered that they wanted to come back to Poland (see: Table 20) as compared to 23% of those who were decided not to come back, but a further analysis of the time horizon for such returns, as well as the qualitative material gathered in the survey, are not indicative of a high level of certainty about their coming back, and, if so, such returns should rather be expected over a longer time horizon. (See: Tables 21 and 22.)

I'll only come back when I have enough money to start something on my own. (W. 611)

I have some dreams which I want to make come true here. I want to go to university. Computer graphics. (W. 8)

I'll come back, but everything depends on the social and economic situation in Poland. The direction of legislative changes, reforms instead of stigmatizing attitudes towards those who are active. (W. 18)

Table 20. Respondents, by decision to come back, and by gender

Decision	Men	Women	Total
YES	172	152	324
NO	92	52	144
I DON'T KNOW	72	96	168
Grand total	336	300	636

Source: Own survey data

I'm not coming back since what I have left behind is nothing but boredom and poverty; you cannot live there, you can only be a living dead. (W. 28).

I haven't thought about coming back to Poland. I'm concentrated on what I've got now. In Poland I had some plans, but they went phut. (W. 187).

I'm afraid of that Poland. I don't know what I can expect over there, and so I'd rather not [come back – K.I.] (W. 45)

People are not afraid to have children here. In Poland we would have depended on our parents all the time if we had had a child. (W. 86)

*Because it's like life in the town of Podunk over there, and those bulls**t jobs, 1,000 zlotys per month? (laughter)* (W. 79)

This is where my most important family lives, and that close family of mine in Poland has already become more remote (W. 611).

Poland is my fatherland, but this is where my home is. (W. 61).

Table 21. Women, by level of education, and by decision to come back

Level of education	Primary	Vocational	Technical	Secondary	Undergraduate	Postgraduate (no degree)	Postgraduate	Total
Planned return								
As early as this year	4					4	12	20
In 1-2 years		8				4	24	36
In 2-5 years			4	20	4	4	12	44
In 5-10 years				28	8		16	52
Grand total	4	8	4	48	12	12	64	152

Source: Own survey data

Table 22. Men, by level of education, and by decision to come back

Level of education	Primary	Vocational	Technical	Secondary	Undergraduate	Postgraduate (no degree)	Postgraduate	Total
Planned return								
As early as this year		4			4			8
In 1-2 years				16	8	4	8	36
In 2-5 years	4	12	8	20		4	20	68
In 5-10 years	4	8	4	28		4	12	60
Grand total	8	24	12	64	12	12	40	172

Source: Own survey data

In general, the female respondents showed a bigger inclination to come back earlier. 37% of them stated their readiness to come back that year, or in 1-2 years' time. The proportion of the male respondents reporting their return planned over such a time horizon was on the level of 25%.

As much as 32% of the respondents stated that their return, if any, should take place no sooner than in 5-10 years' time. As little as 9% responded that they should come back as early as that year. Further analyses, focused on the impact strength and directions related to the interdependencies between a decision to come back and the gender of the respondent shall be conducted in later stages of the Project.

V. PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL LIFE IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IN POLAND

What results from the existing knowledge about the life of Poles (Polish job migrants) in GB after 2004 is that quite many of them have started thinking of settling down in GB as in their destination country. Quite a number of them are highly satisfied with their decision to stay on and settle down. What we wanted to verify through this survey research was whether the respondents had participated in the local elections in GB: it is obvious that Poles, as the EU citizens from the 2004 year, may take part in such elections held in any EU member country. Political participation is indicative of a political and social involvement in the problems of the destination country, and, in a way, a measure of the migrants' integration into the host community.

The results of our test are presented in Table 23.

Table 23. Respondents, by participation in the local elections in GB, and by gender

Participation	Men	Women	Total
Yes			
No	340	295	636
Grand total	340	295	636

Source: Own survey data

None of the respondents participated in the local elections in GB! It is worth mentioning that **6% of the sample did not understand the question.** They thought that the opinions sought from them were to be about the election in Poland, and, by way of justifying their absence, they wrote (selection of the most interesting opinions, K.I.): "I cannot stand PiS (Law and Justice);", "I abhor communists;", "PO (Civic Platform) are wrigglers."

The justifications provided for the political non-participation of the respondents may be grouped as follows: **70% of the respondents replied that they were not interested in politics**, that it was too soon for them to have a clear understanding of the political situation in GB, that they were still more concerned about the political situation in Poland. **10% of the respondents** knew that such elections had been held during their stay in GB, but **excused themselves by referring to their difficult economic situation:**

I work hard here, I have no time for it. (W. 97)

I know there was an election, but I wouldn't even think of it. It was at the beginning of my stay here. I fought hard to survive, and I had a rather poor command of the language back then ... (W.167)

I wasn't settled well enough in life back then to think about the election. (W. 86)

I worked hard, and I missed it. (W. 54)

10% of the respondents did not know whether there had been any local elections in GB during their stay there, while 4% claimed that there had been no such elections.

Although the surveyed respondents claimed that they were all the time concerned about the political life in Poland, this did not get translated into their more active participation in the last election. **As little as 7% of the respondents took part in it. The preferences within that group (of 44 persons) were distributed among PO (Civic Platform: the prevailing number of the votes cast), LiD (Leftists and Democrats, second to PO), PiS (Law and Justice, Number Three), and PSL (Polish People's Party, Number Four).**

As for the Polish election, it may be justifiable to think that in the future the percentage of those participating in such election should be higher as the respondents complained, first and foremost, about a disastrous organization of the election.

I treasure my time. The queue is too long. (W. 9)

We live 50 miles away from London. Why should we come up and queue? (W. 99)

I live too far away ...(W.17)

VI. INTEGRATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

In this respect, we were more interested in the social dimension of the integration process. We wanted to find out whether the respondents were in closer relationships with the host community, whether they knew British people whom they met them after work, their next-door neighbours, their partners.

Our statistical analysis of the phenomenon in question is presented in Tables 24 and 25. **In general, it was the female respondents who had demonstrated greater readiness for establishing closer relationships, other than the working ones, with the British as compared with the male respondents.** Nearly **59% of the female respondents** had such relationships, when for **the male respondents** the corresponding proportion was on the level of only **48%.** **What is interesting, the male respondents holding undergraduate or postgraduate degrees proved a proportionally smaller number of contacts other than the working ones with the British as compared with men who had primary or secondary education completed.** As for the female respondents, it was only those with high school or undergraduate diplomas who had fewer contacts other than the working ones with the British.

Table 24. Women, by level of education and by being in touch with the British after work

Level of education	Primary	Vocational	Technical	Secondary	Undergraduate	Postgraduate (no degree)	Postgraduate	Total
Relationships								
YES	4	8	4	44	12	16	88	176
NO		4		48	20	12	40	124
Grand total	4	12	4	92	32	28	128	300

Source: Own survey data

Table 25. Men, by level of education and by being in touch with the British after work

Level of education	Primary	Vocational	Technical	Secondary	Undergraduate	Postgraduate (no degree)	Postgraduate	Total
Relationships								
YES	12	20	12	52	12	12	40	160
NO	4	16	8	48	16	24	60	176
Grand total	16	36	20	100	28	36	100	336

Source: Own survey data

The grounds provided for weak personal relationships of the respondents with the representatives of the host communities included both the argumentation referring to cultural differences, and to the social and economic status of Poles in GB.

It's difficult to say. There're no such contacts. It's about keeping distance, and this has nothing to do with the language. There's much more going on in Ealing (a Polish district in Western London, K.I.) (W. 14).

Relationships depend on the work place. In general, it's much easier with the integration in town. In villages Poles work hard in factories, and then it's only the church. That's why they don't become integrated. (W. 336)

There is a big cultural difference. I'm not one of those who don't fancy sitting at a pub, and this is how they spend their free time. People of our age don't have children here . We could get in touch with 30- or 40-year-olds instead, but they're already well settled in life. They look at everything in a different way. (W. 2)

There are only Poles in the factory. Perhaps also Lithuanians and one Slovak man. (W. 18)

Because I meet Poles only. I know some English men, but they seem to be distrustful of foreigners. I also prefer to stick to my people...(W. 96)

I don't work with the British, only with immigrants. (W. 32)

I live and work with Poles. (W. 77)

No time to spare, any free time I have is for my family. (W. 238)

My command of the language isn't that good. (W. 601)

VII. SUMMARY

The above results are not representative. As it has already been mentioned, the survey research was done on a sample representative of **the generation of the excluded ones who, through migration, strive to secure a certain basic standard of living for themselves and for their relatives.** What is typical of that group is, in my opinion, their young age on the one hand (the average age of Respondent at the time of the survey research: 29.5 years old), and their high level of education and low level of activity in the labour market in Poland, on the other hand. **The profile of the sample is that of long-term migrants with quite clear plans to settle down in GB.**

Some of the respondents holding postgraduate degrees may take up jobs suitable for their qualifications owing to the quick development of new centers of the Polish diaspora in GB. Our initial analysis of the survey allows reflection as below. The most striking factors:

- relatively high (as compared to the young age and no work experience in Poland) international mobility of the analyzed sample, focused on job seeking;
- attitude to migration treated as, in a way, a survival strategy, and the resulting relation: work-saving money-work to which the whole life is subordinated;
- strong negation of Poland noticeable in the emotional responses to the question about possible returns;
- tendency to come back being stronger with the female respondents;
- positive opinions for GB and for plans to settle down there or to stay there for a longer time *versus* a complete lack of interest in the political life in GB manifesting itself in their non-participation in the local election, in particular in the context of the high level of education completed by the respondents;
- little interest in the political life of Poland manifesting itself in the last parliamentary election poll, in particular in the context of the high level of education completed by the respondents;
- lower readiness of the male respondents to establish closer relationships with their host communities, which is true, in particular, for the male respondents holding university degrees, as compared to bigger openness to such contacts proved by less educated male respondents and by the female respondents.

The above conclusions shall be tested in the next stages of the Project implementation.