Poles still dreaming the American dream

A majority of Polish migration studies in the last years has been on intra-European migrations. Somewhat surprisingly, the best PhD and MA theses in the field concerned migrations to the Americas. We now know this, because in April the CMR awarded its first ever prizes for best thesis on Polish migrations. The awards, named after distinguished historian and Polish-Canadian activist Joanna Matejko, were made possible by her family.

The prize for best PhD thesis went to Joanna Kulpińska for her work on patterns of transatlantic migration from the village of Babica. The best MA thesis by Gabriela Gałecka was on the Polish community in Paraguay. Theses by Justyna Sarnowska, Zofia Trębacz and Marta Kluszczyńska were also singled out as exceptional. As prof. Marek Okólski, head of the jury noted, the competition was fierce. Thus, below we present all the five award-winning works. Congratulations to all the winners!
The Patterns of Transatlantic Migrations from a Polish Village. The Continuity and Change of Migration Patterns Over the Century

First prize for best PhD thesis, by Joanna Kulpińska

The aim of the presented doctoral dissertation was to analyze the migration process from a Polish village to the United States on the example of a case study of migration from Babica village. The selection of this village as a research area was influenced by the possibility of carrying out extensive comparative studies of past and present overseas migrations there. It was largely possible due to Krystyna Duda-Dziewierz’s work The Village of Małopolska and American Emigration. Study of Babica Village in the Rzeszów district (1938). This work is one of the best publications analysing emigration from the Polish countryside. Its goal is to analyze the impact of emigration on the transformation of the traditional Polish peasant community.

The rich and detailed material collected by Duda-Dziewierz encourages to continue her research. The opportunity arises to show and analyze the migration processes from Babica in their entirety: from the first streams flowing from this place (in the 1890s) to contemporary, though less intensive, transatlantic migrations.

The presented work is based on research that is not a simple replication of Krystyna Duda-Dziewierz’s efforts. The scope of the analysis was significantly extended (the research also included other towns and villages of the Strzyżów district), and the research perspectives that are typical for contemporary migration studies were also taken into account. It should also be emphasized that the dissertation refers to data not yet used in the Polish migration studies, i.e. data from the Ellis Island immigration station, which was applied on such a large scale for the first time. Thanks
to these data, a lot of previously unknown information on migration from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was obtained, including the identification of additional ports from which Polish migrants sailed to North America, and the reconstruction of the pattern of settlement of migrants from the researched area in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the dissertation, the analysis of migration processes and their mechanisms on the mezzo- and microsocial and microhistorical scale was carried out. The study covered the fate of individuals, families and local communities - villages and their hamlets. The analysis was conducted comparatively on several levels: 1) in a synchronic approach – the comparison of migration from many localities at the same time, 2) in a diachronic approach – the comparison of migration from Babica over a century, 3) on a broader background of migration: from the region (district) and Polish territory (general data), 4) the comparison of all local ethnic groups living in the Strzyżów district at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The basic research problem of the presented dissertation was the answer to the question of continuity and changes occurring in the migration process over the century. In relation to the conducted studies, we should point out both the continuity and repeatability of certain migration patterns, such as the mechanism of migration (chain migrations), the settlement system, or adaptation strategies undertaken by contemporary migrants and those from the beginning of the 20th century, as well as some modifications.

The changes concern, to a large extent, the processes that took place during this period, both at the sending and the receiving places. Contemporary Babica no longer resembles the Babica from the time of Duda-Dziewierz's research, which at that time was a closed, self-sufficient entity, with a strongly developed network of relatives and neighbors. The migration undertaken by the inhabitants of the region in the following decades was one of the factors influencing the changes that took place within the studied localities, such as the abolition of isolationism and self-sufficiency of villages, or changes in the social structure of these local communities.

Main directions of migration of the inhabitants of particular villages in 1900-1914.

Source: own elaboration based on passenger lists from the Ellis Island Archive

The modifications also refer to the migrant profile. Contemporary migration flows from the district to the USA reflect global trends in terms of feminisation of migration process. The first migrants were mainly poorly educated men at
a young age. Nowadays, the image of emigrants is no longer so homogeneous. People of different ages and educational levels depart. Nowadays, in relation to migration from the beginning of the previous century, multiple migrations have also been limited. This is, of course, mainly due to the migration restrictions, limiting the free movement of migrants between the country of settlement and origin.

Changes also concern the network of connections. Today, in contrast to the period of the first migration streams flowing out of the analysed area, migration networks have been narrowed down mainly to family ties. Therefore, in modern migration studies, the analysis of migration impact is largely descending from the mezzo (community) level to the micro level, focusing mainly on individuals and families.

This microanalytical, interdisciplinary approach (cultural studies, history, sociology) has allowed for a thorough explanation of the transformations of migration patterns over the century. It also provided a lot of detailed information (impossible to grasp from a macro perspective) concerning its causes, the development of the migration process in the selected region, the organization of travel and life in the host country.

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Polish community in Paraguay: sense of national identity

First prize for best MA thesis, by Gabriela Galecka

The research aimed to answer whether the Polish community in Paraguay has a sense of Polish identity and belonging to the wider Polonia community. Positive confirmation of the above hypothesis allowed for a realization of the predetermined research aims: establishing which factors play a key role in maintaining national identity and determine if descendants of Polish immigrants feel connected with Poland (e.g. as a state), or with Polish culture. The research was conducted between February and April 2016 in: Fram, Carmen del Paraná and Maria Auxiliadora, three districts of the Itapúa department, in the south-eastern part of Paraguay. Nationally and ethnically diverse flows of migration to Itapúa made it one of the most diverse regions of Paraguay. Its society remains multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic and multi-religious. Also, Itapúa department is the region where the most numerous clusters of people coming directly from the historical areas of Poland are located.

The research was based on in-depth interviews and participant observations (the researcher was actively involved in all household activities and the social and religious events of the Polish and the local community). The respondents are descendants of Poles who came to Paraguay in the years 1936-1938. Their roots are mainly in the southeastern area of the Second Polish Republic. Interviews were conducted with representatives of the first and second generation born in Paraguay, giving a picture of the life of four generations. Its members live in relatively traditional and stable social structures, in which the outside context is less important than the context of the family, Polish community and the neighborhood structures constructed and maintained by the Polish migrants. As Polish immigration to Paraguay was mostly agricultural in character, the research focuses on the descendants of migrants who still live in the areas where agriculture and small entrepreneurship are the primary occupations.

The analysis demonstrates that descendants of Polish immigrants in Paraguay consider their national identity in the context of heritage of the previous generations. In response to questions regarding their sense of identity, the respondents use such phrases as “Paraguayed” or “mixed already”. The analysis demonstrates that respondents consider themselves as Paraguayan, and at the same time the members of the community feel very different from the Paraguayans, both physically and culturally. Respondents point out that this perception is not only theirs, as the people of Paraguay in some sense still
treat them as foreigners. Thus, although the members of successive generations of descendants of Polish emigrants have succumbed fully to the processes of state assimilation, the process of cultural assimilation can be regarded as still insignificant and slow. Family is a place of protected identity, and plays the most important role in shaping national and cultural identity in the narratives of the respondents.

The role of international migration in school-to-work transition

Distinction for best PhD, by Justyna Sarnowska

In the literature, there is a division between ‘old’ and ‘new’ markers of transiting to adulthood. The old markers of adulthood are understood as the ones relating to fulfilling specific social roles (graduation, full transition to the labour market, leaving home, starting a family, e.g. Settersten 2007; Mary 2014). New markers are understood in more individualistic and intrapersonal categories, following the concept of Arnett’s (2000) ‘emerging adulthood’. The concept of emerging adulthood is a reflection of the search for one's identity, also associated with episodes of identity crises. The statement about being an adult person or not is associated with an inner sense of maturity and readiness to make autonomous choices and decisions.

The PhD dissertation was about school-to-work transition on the move. Nowadays, the school-to-work transition is a more and more dynamic and time-consuming process than before (Furlong 1992; Hodkinson 1996; Furlong and Cartmel 2006; Hillmert 2002, Beck 2002; Wyn and Dwyer 2000; Mary 2014). Entering the labour market is a stadium in the career path of the individual. People transit from education to work in various ways, looking for their own identity and influenced by macro socio-economic settings (Brannen and Nilsen 2002; Côté and Bryner 2008; Sackmann and Wingens 2003; Brzinsky-Fay 2007). The International Labour Organization (ILO 2009) defines full transition as a stable situation on the labour market or subjective satisfaction with a job. It is important to capture objective as well as subjective determinants while studying school-to-work transition processes and more broadly – transition into adulthood.

The increasing scale of international migration and mobility of young adults made the process of entering the labour market and transition into adulthood more dynamic. More and more people grow up ‘on the move’. The dissertation is a part of the emerging youth mobility studies, which combine two separate subdisciplines – youth studies and migration studies (Raffaetà et al. 2015, Robertson et al. 2017, King 2017). Migration is treated as a rite of passage into adulthood, the cutting of the umbilical cord (Eade et al 2006; King et al. 2016) and stepping out of the parents’ shade (Moroşanu et al. 2018). For youth from less developed areas and less privileged social strata, migration plays an important role in leaving home and gaining independence through getting a job outside the (Horváth 2008, White 2010, Crivello 2011, Punch 2015). For youth from more developed areas and youth from the middle class, spatial mobility is a way of exploring and testing educational and work opportunities, and
gaining competences and skills important on the labour market in the 21st century (King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003, Waters et al. 2011, Silva 2012, Frändberg 2013). For some youth, migration can be an escape from social control (Rutten and Verstappen 2014, Jones 1999, Nilaoire 2010). For others, it is an opportunity to gain or maintain a high position in the social structure. Migration during the stage of growing up is a multidimensional process reflecting previous patterns, norms and values. The main goal of the doctoral thesis was to explain the role of international migration in school-to-work transition, from the perspective of socialization processes. On the one hand, the dissertation explains the importance of socialization in the family for migration trajectories of Polish young adults. On the other hand, the significance of various migration trajectories for the school-to-work transition and more broadly – transition into adulthood has been discussed. To illustrate various migration strategies, the concept of broad and narrow socialization of Jeffrey J. Arnett (1995) has been used. It was assumed that Arnett's concept is based on a particular dimension with two poles. Depending on the source of socialization, individuals experience broad (aimed at building self-expression, self-esteem and independence) or narrow socialization conditions (aimed at conformity, following social norms and values and solidarity with others), as well as broad or narrow socialization influences. Particular attention has been given to parents as socializing agents. The concept of reflective socialization (Archer 2015) was useful in creating a theoretical approach because migration provides a new cultural context (new socialization conditions), in which the individual has to find himself and make choices for existing and new socializing interactions.

The empirical material was based on in-depth interviews conducted with 30 Poles aged 25-34 who experienced migration in the transition from school to work. Using the longitudinal approach, after 2 years, the second wave of the study was conducted and 14 research participants were asked about the importance of migration for entering the labour market and the process of becoming an adult. Time was a variable explaining both the effects of migration on the early career path and first adult decisions, but also for constructing the importance of socialization conditions and socialization influences experienced before migration.

Four types of migrants transitioning into adulthood on the move were coined:

**Rebels:** Influenced by rigid patterns (related to the model of adulthood and work). Parents express strong disagreement with the migration decisions of children. Rebels are critical of earlier norms and values, which favours seeking alternatives abroad.

**Reproducers:** Influenced by rigid patterns (related to the model of adulthood and work). They cannot select contents taken from the socialization agents, which causes a loss. During migration, the acquisition of new norms and values is limited by mental borders.
**Successors**: Open to the world, they are not afraid to move. In their childhood and adolescence, they had many opportunities to travel. The migration confirms norms and values in which they were raised, and multiplies various forms of capital. They are an extension of the social advancement of their parents.

**Leaders**: Open to the world, they are not afraid to move. However, they miss something in life, which is why they choose non-standard models of living.

The research outcomes show that for people socialized in a narrow way, migration is a new marker in the process of transition into adulthood. For people socialized in a broad way, migration confirms norm and values gained earlier. Strengthening the process of becoming an adult through migration is more visible looking at intrapersonal categories of transition into adulthood, than at fulfilling social roles. In the context of school-to-work transition, migration allows for a reflection about a satisfying job. Young return migrants are ready to delay stability on the labour market, and spend more time looking for a career direction.

Not only Palestine. Polish plans for Jewish Emigration, 1935–1939

Distinction for best PhD, by Zofia Trębacz


The idea of deporting the Jewish population of different European countries was part of modern anti-Semitism. Poland was no exception in this regard. Under the influence of other countries implementing anti-Jewish laws, Polish anti-Semitism also became more and more radical. After 1935, such postulates were openly expressed, as the policy of the Polish government had changed its character – from state to national.

I am presenting one of the government’s ideas of solving the so-called Jewish question in the second half of the thirties – an attempt to cause mass emigration of Jews from the Second Polish Republic. I am writing about Polish interwar politics, Polish-Jewish relations, and the pre-war Polish elite’s attitude towards national minorities living in the Second Polish Republic. In my work, I described in detail the project known most often from the slogan ‘Jews to Madagascar,’ showing that it was more than just one of the anti-Semitic slogans. For a group of employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the mass forced emigration of Jews from Poland was a kind of panacea for various internal problems: economic, political, social and national. All this was combined with Polish demands to receive an overseas colony, which would confirm the strength of the Republic in the international arena, and serve as the destination of settlement of its ‘unnecessary’ citizens.
The research aim was to present and describe the mechanisms that caused the appearance and then the attempt to implement these plans. The answer to the question whether such ideas resulted only from anti-Semitic motives, or were one of the elements of a broader project of defusing social, political and national tensions arising from the economic position of the country and its population, proved to be important. I wanted not only to show previously unknown aspects of the discussed issues, but also to analyze them in the context of international policy, hoping my work brings new findings. I tried to answer essential questions about Polish-Jewish relations. What other directions of Jewish emigration were considered? What was the attitude of opinion makers – political leaders and the Polish clergy – towards those ideas? What did Jews themselves think about the Polish plans?

The book includes a diverse source database, including French, Polish and British documents, as well as a rich selection of multilingual press (including magazines appearing in Madagascar) and literature on the subject. Especially French materials, rarely used by researchers, were a valuable and essential source on colonial plans created in the Second Polish Republic. Diaries and memories complement the whole.

The resettlement plans for Polish Jews, their suggested evacuation to uncivilized countries, are significant in the context of Polish-Jewish relations, and also various aspects of Polish internal and foreign policy in the last years of the Second Polish Republic. In-depth analysis of the public statements and documents, particularly the language used by the officials, turned out to be extremely important. What’s more, this work is a vital element of expanding the research into recent Polish history and general history, as well as an important contribution to research in the field of migrations studies.

Couscous or nothing – patterns of integration and intercultural education in Polish and Andalusian primary schools

Distinction for best MA thesis, by Marta Kluszczyńska

What are the different patterns of integration practices? How do Polish and Andalusian teachers of primary schools understand the concepts of integration of “foreign pupil”? And how do they practice and understand the notions of nation and culture? To answer those questions, Marta Kluszczyńska conducted qualitative research in primary schools in Granada (Spain) and Poznań (Poland).

The theoretical inspiration came from the ongoing debate on concepts of: assimilation (Gordon 1964, Kubiak and Paluch 1980), acculturation (Graves 1967; Berry 1997), integration (Giménez 2000), multiculturalism (Walsch 2005, Modood 2014). The project aimed to describe concepts of integration and multicultural and intercultural education, as it is seen from the perspective of the teacher – the core agent of integration.

In some Granadian schools, teachers understand integration widely, as a process of inclusive education, which does not look only at ethnic/migratory background, but tries to cope with and benefit from different socio-demographic features. In most Polish and some Andalusian schools, nonetheless, there is no intercultural education.

For the research, the most important was to look at schools in which we can find some elements of intercultural education or integration practices. They take place mostly during holidays and special celebrations. Sometimes also in everyday work, when the content of the curriculum – during classes of geography, biology or history – allows for reference to the country of origin of students with migration experience. This kind of intercultural education is similar to functionalist interculturalism (in the Cathrine Walsh model), which gives space for the Other, but is not changing the status quo, does not leave space to talk about the reasons of global inequalities or (new) racism. This multicultural education allows to talk about cultural differences, but closes them in the apolitical frame of a bowl of couscous or dancing event.

The classic division between assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization (as in Berry’s model), even if it allows us to see the power relations and inequalities, sees culture and identity in a very essentialist way. A majority of the teachers also perceive culture that way: as an essence which can be shown in small samples, as food or dance, and is understood as a homogenous and stasis idea.

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Dr. Joanna Kulpińska graduated from cultural studies, specialization: Balkan studies, ethnic relations and international migration at Jagiellonian University, Kraków. PhD in cultural studies (Jagiellonian University 2016). Research interests: transatlantic migration, sociology of migration, migration policy.

Gabriela Gałecka, sociology graduate, her MA thesis on ‘Language - Religion - Identity. Polish community in Paraguay’ was prepared under the supervision of prof. dr. hab. Cezary Obracht-Prondzynski at the Department of Social Anthropology of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Journalism at the University of Gdansk. Her research interests are in the area of migration to Latin America, focusing on Polish descendants in Paraguay and their identity. Her other interests include interethnic relations in neighborhoods and local communities.

Dr. Justyna Sarnowska is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University SWPS, Coordinator of the Youth Research Center. She works as a researcher in two projects funded by the National Science Centre in Poland ('Peer groups & migrations: Education-to-domestic and- foreign labour market transitions of youth. The role of local community, peer group and new media' and ‘CEEYouth: The comparative study of Poles and Lithuanians in the context of Brexit’). In 2018, she defended her doctoral thesis: ‘Socializing role of international migration in school-to-work-transition’. In 2014, she has won the prestigious Florian Znaniecki Best Master Thesis Award, granted by the Polish Sociological Association. Her award-winning work was titled ‘Strategies of social sciences graduates in the labour market’. She specialises in socialization, transition into adulthood, school-to-work-transitions, alumni career paths and social & spatial mobility of youngsters.

Dr. Zofia Trębacz is a historian and Assistant Professor at the Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute, where she is currently a member of the Encyclopedia of the Warsaw Ghetto project. She published the book ‘Nie tylko Palestyna. Polskie plany emigracyjne wobec Żydów 1935–1939’ (Warszawa 2018) and several articles on anti-Semitism in prewar Poland and Polish-Jewish relations at universities in the Second Polish Republic. Her interests also focus on the Holocaust. She was a member of the editorial team of the Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto publication project and a participant in several research projects (i.a. ‘Pogroms. Collective violence against Jews in Poland in the 19th and 20th century and its influence on Polish-Jewish relations. History, memory, identity’; ‘Łódź and Łódź region in the years 1938–1939: national radicalization and ethnic segregation’). She cooperated with the University of Łódź Center for Jewish Research and POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews.

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