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**Irish Labour Migration of Polish
Nationals: Economic, Social and
Political Aspects in the Light of
the EU Enlargement**

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1. Introduction

International labour migration accelerated in Western Europe since 2nd World War. From the point of view of destination countries, the post war tide of European migration occurred in four phases. In the first phase right after the war, many refugees migrated from the Eastern part of Europe to Britain, France, West Germany and the Benelux countries (mainly into the coal and steel industries). France and the Netherlands have seen the immigration from former North African and Asian colonies. The second phase, from about 1955 to the early 1960s was characterised by migration flows within the European Economic Community and within the Nordic labour market. The third phase, which lasted until about 1973, comprised the northward movement from the Mediterranean countries to Switzerland, Belgium, France and West Germany, first by Italians and then by Greeks, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Turkey and more recently Yugoslavia became major suppliers of migrant workers especially to West Germany in the 1960s. The fourth phase followed the oil crisis of 1973 marked a fundamental change in European migration. Between 1973 and 1975, virtually all European receiving countries either stopped recruitment of foreign workers or sharply increased selectivity and administered vigorous controls of inflows (Straubhaar 1988). 1980s and the beginning of 1990s is mainly time of emigration from Central Eastern Europeans mostly to Germany, Austria and France. Ireland has never been any major destination country for immigration (e.g. for the Polish nationals) since an improvement of the economic situation in Ireland, meaning 1993/1994. This paper is going to deal with migration between Poland and the EU countries, particularly Ireland in light of the EU enlargement.

There are serious grounds for brief inclusion of several decades before 1990 in this analysis, and also for separation of the transition period (1989-2003) in Poland where immigration into Ireland has taken place. This seems to be appropriate, because migrations of the Polish population that took place in earlier periods significantly influence a number of features of that phenomenon in the 1990s. The importance for the recent migration of outflow from Poland that took place until late 1940s, and of accompanying mass displacements or deportations of Polish population, is unquestionable. What seems, however, to have been much more important from that viewpoint are population movements of the seventies and eighties. Migrations of the 90s are a continuation of those observed in years immediately preceding the year 1990 (Okólski and Stola 1999).

During nineties emigrants from Poland had taken two major continents of destination into account: Europe and North America (i.e. USA and Canada). On the average they accounted for 98.0 per cent of the total and this share rose from 97.3 per cent in 1991 to 98.3 in 1999 (with an exception in 1996 and 1997 - decline by 19.4 and 4.6 per cent relative to previous years). Such pace was followed in 2000. Almost 99 per cent of all emigrants headed for European countries, USA and Canada. Moreover, among European countries the most common choice one had been Germany. In the decade of nineties, emigrants going to this country accounted on the average for 87.3 per cent of all emigrants who chose one of the European countries for settlement. In 2000 this was even more visible - 89.5 per cent of them headed for Germany (Okólski and Kępińska 2001).

Although Ireland hasn't been any important destination/ receiving country for the Polish migrants, a study of the Irish labour migration of the Polish nationals is important for a number of reasons. First, it provides an example of intra-European movement of workers after EU enlargement. The fact that the two countries - Ireland and Poland have never had before any of common in terms of labour market makes this study particularly interesting for people concerned about free movement of workers in the European Union. Second, Ireland is changing its face and becoming more intercultural which could be positively impacted on the

lives of Polish people in Ireland. Despite these findings, surprisingly little research has been conducted on issues of labour migration from Central and Eastern European countries to Ireland. Furthermore, for the most part, the research will focus on the macroeconomic determinants of this kind of migration. A part devoted to migrants' experiences will be rather an exemplification of the subject matter. My study is going to contribute to the topic of immigration to Ireland. The research will involve the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data which facilitate a more complete understanding of the subject. It will provide me with statistics about the macro and micro determinants of this kind of migration.

A picture of Polish labour migration will be set of equations with many, often interrelated variables. Constant elements are few, and just as few are those as to which changes can be anticipated with considerable certainty. This paper is going to anticipate the changing shape of the political, legal and economic conditions, and even more difficult - the social reactions to such conditions, which translate into actual and future population movements through individual migration decisions (Zolberg 1989).

The establishment of the right to freedom of movement within the European Community plays both a practical and symbolic role in the process of construction the European Union. This right is closely linked to the labour market, which means new challenges and opportunities as well as new difficulties and distortions while welcoming new members on the doorsteps. The accession of the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) to the EU implies the free movement of labour force and migration can become one important channel to close the income gap across the countries. However, since free circulation of labour migration is heavily debated and objected by the present EU members, it is likely that the Eastern European candidate countries will have to accept a further transition period after EU accession until their labour force is allowed to be as mobile as in the present EU (Kułakowski et al 2002).

The situation raises a number of questions about the present and the future. With regard to the present, it immediately raises a number of questions: what novel elements go to make Eastern Europeans so mobile in terms of Ireland? What are the existing forms of mobility and migration? What are the obstacles standing on their way?

The future of mobility within a new EU also raises many questions: what will be the impact of the EU enlargement on the EU labour market? What economics and sociology will tell us about the reasons of the new waves of migration from Central Eastern European countries to countries of the EU like Ireland who had never been any destination/ receiving country? How should we learn from the EU enlargements in terms of free movement of persons to avoid mistakes?

The aim of this paper is to answer above questions. Chapter three and Chapter four will seek to present the 'state of the art.' As regards the mobility and migration of labour in Europe in a macro sphere with special attention given to Ireland and Poland. I would like to set out in this part current concepts in the field. I would also like to provide a historical review of statistics on migration between Ireland and Poland up to the present day. I would sum up the relationships between the theories and facts noted in the previous points. Tackling all those points I would like to pay special attention to aspects relating to legal questions of transitional periods 'maintaining' free movement of labour.

Chapter five will present the characteristics of the Polish migrants in the Irish labour market as interviewed which help me to analyse the various portraits of the Polish job migrants. This chapter will also help me to review the phenomenon of the Irish labour migration of the Polish nationals: push and pull factors to mobility/migration as experienced by migrants.

In Chapter six I would like to supplement the analysis of policy recommendations in terms of free movement of persons between 'old' and 'new' Member States.

2. Methodology of the Study

A study will employ a number of techniques to collect a variety of data, including both quantitative and qualitative techniques. This data will include Central Eastern Europe Eurobarometer 1991-2003 (primary data sets; questions on mobility and migration), ISSP 1995 Survey (questions on mobility), The Economist Country Reports for Ireland, ESRI Mid-Term NDP Reviews, The 2002 Census of Poland and The 2002 Census of Ireland, OECD Surveys, data kindly supplied by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment and 20 in-depth interviews which can help to understand and explain some 'hard data' findings.

The work was organised into five research phases: mapping of the research field; the analysis of public opinion surveys; the collection of additional material (such as statistics, policy documents available in print and on the web, internal reports of the agencies, daily press); the conduction of interviews; the analysis of the transcripts. The data collection process *via* SPSS analysis, desk research analysis and in-depth interviews is the means at hand to answer questions relating to push and pull factors: determinants, reasons and motives to emigrate for job or stay at home (Ireland and Poland as a case study) and all aspects involved in this process.

Public opinion surveys - SPSS analysis (Chapter three) consists of analysis of raw data sets provided by Eurobarometer and Centre of Public Opinion Research in Poland (see App. 1). I used the statistic techniques of SPSS such as cross tabulation, correlation (r-Pearson). I also cut the sample where needed and excluded some countries from my calculation where necessary.

Desk research study (Chapter three and four) consists of a careful analysis of existing data: internal and external government documents and publications, as well as non-confidential results of previous market and public opinion studies, catalogues, reports, newspapers, Internet, etc. Desk research usually provides with an introduction to complex research projects, though sometimes it can effectively replace surveys, panels and even less complicated qualitative studies. Its objective is to obtain fairly general information concerning subject, establishing which data are missing and what kind of analysis should be undertaken. They are, so to say, an introduction to further analysis but often they prove to be an independent study. References provide an idea of sources of information explored in desk research (Grabowska et al. 2002).

In-depth interview (Chapter five) is a technique used most often in more thorough studies aiming to reconstruct emotional and motivational patterns, consumer decision models, and opinions on sensitive subjects. During the 45-90 minute semi-structured or unstructured interview, information is gathered on experiences, knowledge, language, ways of thinking and experiencing, preferences and habits of the persons studied. The atmosphere created during the in-depth interview and the battery of projection techniques used makes it possible to study things that are not revealed during other types of studies (Grabowska et al. 2002).

The kind of methodological eclecticism (compatibility) used within this study: desk research, in-depth interviews provides us with a complex introduction leading to a comprehensive understanding of the process of labour migration.

The part of the study covering 20 in-depth interviews aims to include men and women of Dublin area. It was to give primary attention to what migrant workers themselves had to say on history of their labour migration, determinants of migration and their Irish workplace. Contact was made with 20 Polish migrant workers and individual interviews were arranged. Interviews were recorded and transcribed. Three intermediaries were crucial in facilitating the interviews. Interviews took form of guided conversations on topics mentioned above. Socio-demographic information was collected for each interview in the form of questionnaire. The study was focused on a variety of employment sectors where Polish workers are employed - a

spectrum from high-skilled, well-paid to low-skilled, low-paid jobs (see App. 3 – comprehensive table).

Migrant workers interviewed for the study came from various regions of Poland. They held work permits, work authorisations, working visas or were undocumented. Majority of them were interviewed in the Greater Dublin area. Assurances of anonymity were provided by the researcher each time before an interview.

3. Migration of Workers in the Context of the EU Enlargement

Process of labour migration constitutes a complex phenomenon. Its analysis is proving increasingly to be interdisciplinary. This is also true of the attempt to answer the central questions of research into migration within theoretical approaches. Here the causes and effects of migration as well as its social and economic policy consequences are prominent (Borjas 1996). This paper is going to scrutinise the grounds for labour migration from Eastern to Western European countries based on the case study on labour migration from Poland to Ireland. There is a lot of anxiety in relation to the forthcoming and the biggest historical enlargement of the European Union and some current members are apprehensive, believing that they will lose from this expansion. My primary objective in this paper is to present the push & pull factors of labour migration in the wider social, political, legal and economic perspective. I would like to arrive in the recommendations with a motion that this kind of migration can enrich and fill in the gaps between Western and Eastern Europe, within the continent that is going to be fully united. Moreover, enlargement can bring the CEECs up to the Western European standards, impart skills to firms and workers with modern technology in order to foster economic development in the countries of origin, decrease the immigration pressure from these countries and promote economic co-operation with these countries.

3.1 Free movement of workers in the European Union and evaluation of potential migration flows from Central and Eastern Europe to the EU

A common European market demands unimpeded cross-border movement of goods, services, capital and **labour** as Article 7a of the Treaty of The European Union (TEU) states: *The internal market shall comprise an area without internal frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty* (Rudden and Wyatt 1999).

These four basic freedoms were largely achieved with the completion of the single European market in 1993. The free movement of labour had already been in place considerably longer. Freedom of movement has been possible for workers from Member States of the European common market since 1968. There are several central legal issues that arise in the context of free movement of workers. These include the direct effect of Article 39 (ex Article 48) the European Community Treaty (EC Treaty), which provides as follows:

1. *Freedom of movement of workers shall be secured within the Community.*¹
2. *Such freedom of movement shall entail the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States as regards employment, remuneration and other conditions of work and employment.*
3. *It shall entail the right, subject to limitations justified on grounds of public policy, public security and public health:*
 - (a) *to accept offers of employment actually made;*

¹ Treaty of Amsterdam amended this paragraph so as to delete the words 'by the end of the transitional period at the latest.

(b) to move freely within the territory of Member States for this purpose;
 (c) to stay in Member State for the purpose of employment in accordance with the provisions governing the employment of nationals of that State laid down by law, regulation or administrative action;

(d) to remain in the territory of a Member State after having been employed in that State, subject to conditions which shall be embodied in implementing regulations to be drawn up by the Commission.

4. The provisions of this Article shall not apply to employment in the public service.

The free movement of persons is one of the four fundamental freedoms upon which the EU is founded. Despite the entry into force of the internal market on 1 January 1993, this freedom has not been fully established in the EU. The concept of one market without internal frontiers is elaborated in Article 7a TEU but after a time it became apparent that different States had diverging interpretations of the provision: while the Commission and the majority of Member States understood Article 7a (formerly Article 8a EC Treaty) to mean the abolition of all border controls for EC citizens as well as third country nationals, other Members, in particular the UK, held the Article 7a only applied to EC citizens and allowed for maintaining controls on third country nationals. Under these circumstances, the States which have interpreted Article 7a in a wider sense have joined the Schengen Convention (EP 1996).

Different approaches have been used to explain the emergence of an EU immigration policy framework. Some scholars have argued that this was a spill-over effect of the Common Market and the need to harmonise external frontier controls (Callovi 1992; Geddes 1995) while others sustained that it was a response to increasing migratory pressures and attempt to build a 'fortress Europe' (Convey and Kupiszewski 1995). More recently, an alternative approach has been proposed which pays attention to the specific institutions and procedures that were created to deal with migration policy at the EU level (Stetter 2000). According to this approach, although the European immigration policy framework² was initiated as a side-effect of the Single Market, supranational authority delegation emerged as a response to the costs of international (intergovernmental and partly European) regulatory failure (Triandafyllidou 2003).

An analysis of the free movement of persons within the territory of the European Community, must consider a number of changing circumstances. Although the free movement of labour has been in existence for a long time and constitutes one of the major achievements of European integration, it still evokes fears with every enlargement of the European Union which result transitional periods. This is frequently lamented with the comment that cheaper, unemployed workers from Central and Eastern European EU-candidate countries will flood the current EU reducing the wages of native workers or pushing them out of their jobs. Similar fears were voiced when Greece, then Spain and Portugal applied for EU membership. Yet, despite the economic differences between these countries and the richer North, the expected mass migration did not occur. It is therefore not clear *per se*

² Towards a common EU immigration policy: immigration issues outside the EC policy domain until the European Council in Paris in 1974; in the period between 1974 and 1985, MS realised the need to consult one another and co-operate in migration policy issues as to promote further integration; organisation of TREVI Group; European Commission, Guideline for a Community Policy on Migration (COM 85 (48)final); Ad hoc Working Group on Immigration set up by the European Council in 1986 European Commission given observer status to this Group; 1985 Schengen Treaty, enters into force only in 1995; 1990 Dublin Convention on Asylum and Visa issues, enters into force only in 1997; Migration policy was brought into the institutional structure of the EU by the Treaty on European Union (Maastricht) in 1992; Title VI TEU: Provisions on Co-operation in Justice and Home Affairs; Visa policies integrated in First Pillar (Article 100c of the EC Treaty; Amsterdam Treaty, 1999 incorporates migration policies in the European Community Treaty as Title IV: Visas, Asylum, Immigration and other Policies related to the Free Movement of Persons (in: Triandafyllidou 2003) and Working Group no. 10 Justice and Home Affairs within the framework of the Convention on the Future of Europe.

whether the current EU members have to fear mass migration from the East to the West, when the Eastern European candidates become EU members. When free movement of labour was under discussion in the 1960s, there were fears that Italian workers would flood the labour market (Penninx and Muus 1989). At that time Italy was the major country of emigration. But the tide of Italian workers never came. The employment of Italian workers in the EU-12 did in fact increase, but Italian migration was less than the average for EU-12 members as a whole between 1962 and 1972.

However free movement of persons between community and new members is possible 'by the end of transitional period at the latest'. Transitional arrangements are usually set in the Accession Treaty. Transitional period is a given time 'designed to prevent the impairment of labour markets in older Member States due to anticipated waves of immigration from the newer members' (Delgado 1993). Accordingly, a distinction can be made between Community workers who had already settled prior to the date of accession, and those demanding their first work or residence permit after the date (such as in the case of Spain). In relation to the enlargement 2004 to The Laeken Group (Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Hungary, Malta, Lithuania, Cyprus) developments are established in the Act of Accession.

However, the Irish government decided in April 2003 to allow workers from eight of the new European Union member-states immediate free access to Ireland's labour market after enlargement, due in May 2003. Access to EU labour markets for Cyprus and Malta nationals is automatically provided for in the Treaty of Accession. Ireland joins Denmark, Greece, Sweden, the Netherlands and Luxembourg in allowing immediate access. At present, workers from non-EU countries require work permits or work visas in Ireland, while those from EU member states not. But safeguards are being written into new legislation providing for the re-introduction of permits if there are dramatic changes in the labour market, or a downturn in economic circumstances (Irish Independent 2003). Only in the long-term the EU countries have several options regarding policy towards the potential migrants. Sometimes a selection of migrants may be beneficial.

An introduction of free movement of workers without a transitional period between Ireland and Poland may bring a change in the scale of migration within an enlarged European Union. An influx of workers from Poland to Ireland can exceed an expected amount due to introduction of transitional period for free movement of workers by some countries, which were traditionally chosen by the Polish people to go to work (Germany, Austria, France, Belgium).

It is very difficult to estimate the potential flow from East to West. Studies attempting to estimate the size of the potential migration have arrived at very different conclusions. Existing surveys in the potential sending countries indicate that the short-term migration potential might be higher. Due to existing migration networks, this inflow will largely be a problem for Germany and Austria (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999).

In 1997, officially 950,000 persons from the Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) lived in the European Union. This amounted to a share of 0.2 per cent of the total population, only. This migration, however, was unevenly spread across European Union countries. Germany and Austria were affected strongly. Although the economic consequences of this migration are still disputed, their political impact has been highly visible in terms of changes in migration policies in both countries, and to a large degree these experiences of early transition influence discussion on the accession of the CEECs in the EU. Undoubtedly the question which is asked the most often in respect of enlargement is: how many migrants will come?

A series of economic and sociological studies has recently addressed this issue concentrating on the estimation of migration flow by focusing (almost) exclusively on per capita GDP differentials as the driving force behind international migration.

To this end I will shortly describe the results of previous studies, which attempt to assess the migration potential from Central and Eastern Europe and confront them with potential migrants' declarations.

A number of estimates of the 'potential' migration from the CEECs to Western Europe have been presented by various authors. These are characterised by a relatively large variance. For instance Zimmermann (1996) states that between 5 to 50 million people could move to Western Europe within a period of 10 to 15 years, Baldwin (1994) mentions figures of 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the population of the CEECs moving to the EU. This would amount to a migration potential of about 2 to 6.6 million people from the CEFTA³ countries alone and between 3.2 to 10.6 million people from all CEECs. While most of these studies have the character of 'guesstimates', since they simply make assumptions on the percentage of the population to migrate, more recent studies have attempted to make a closer connection to empiricism. In a study considered to be 'the most serious, albeit still simple and rough estimation' by Straubhaar (1988), Franzmeyer and Brucker (1997) estimate an annual 'migration potential' of between 340,000 to 680,000 people from the CEFTA countries until 2030. The potential migration from all CEECs could reach between 590,000 to 1,1 million annually. In this study coefficients to estimate 'migrate potentials' are drawn from a study by Barro and Sala-I-Martin (1995). Other studies such as Orłowski and Zienkowski (1999) from which they derive coefficients for their forecast and provide slightly more elaborate theoretical and econometric foundations for their estimations. These kind of studies most often implicitly or explicitly assume that the level of GDP per capita differences are the primary force motivating labour migration followed by the level of employment and unemployment (often by gender and by sectors).

In relation to the Polish workforce in particular, reports and studies keep saying that there won't be any major increase in migration flow from Poland into the countries of the European Union. Various groups of factors can influence the size of migration from Poland. The size of outflow is estimated to be stable or even can drop after Poland's accession to the EU. It is forecasted that wages went up with Poland's accession to the EU. An average wage has been going up throughout the course of the decade 1989-2000 from 1.5 per cent to 18.0 per cent of the German average wage (Portugal had 22 per cent at the momentum of accession). Moreover, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimates that the level of unemployment in Poland has no major impact on emigration from Poland due to low level of knowledge of foreign languages and high costs of migration (family, friends, locality). This could be confirmed by low level of interests in taking jobs in Germany (quota - 1000 employees in IT sector within the framework of bilateral agreement between Poland and Germany was not used). There is a forecast confirmed by various studies that no more that 2 per cent of the population in the age cohort of the highest productivity can go and work abroad, which means between 140,000-170,000 and seasonally from 550,000-600,000 (Stepniak 2001). Stepniak indicates in his study 'Free Movement of People in Light of Poland's Accession to the EU' that the size of migration will be strongly correlated with the difference of GDP *per capita* between current and new Member States. Zienkowski⁴ indicates that if the difference in GDP had been at the current level throughout next 10- 12 years - very little probability - after freedom of movement of workers, 1,470,000 Polish workers would go and work abroad. If, let say, economic growth in Poland was at the level of 4 per cent every

³ The Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, the Slovak Republic and Slovenia.

⁴ Data is a courtesy of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

year, and economic growth of the EU - 2 per cent a year, half of the number indicated above would leave Poland then. If Poland's economic growth was at the level of 7 per cent each year, only 380,000 people (including seasonal workers) would leave Poland in order to work abroad.

3.2. Labour Market Immigration Policy in Ireland

Labour market immigration policy is a new challenge for Ireland. Ireland has been long known as a country of emigration, the 'human resource warehouse of Europe' as some writers described it. Even as late as the 1980s, Ireland continued to export its 'surplus' population in great numbers (Allen 1999). In recent years, with a growing demand for labour immigration, Ireland has begun to modify its own immigration policies. These policies are still largely grounded in legislation dating back to 1935 but have increasingly reflected a pragmatic and market-led approach with the introduction of special work visa/ authorisation programmes for certain high skills immigrants and the widespread use of short-term work permits (with some echoes of the Gastarbeiter system of the 1960s) for other immigrant workers. However the modalities of Irish policy, with strongly privatised elements are at variance with the most static approach applied in continental EU Member States, which emphasise the official management of migratory flows including the use of quotas (Einri 2002).

In the mid 1990s, with the take off the Celtic Tiger era the face of Ireland had changed. The influx of a small number of refugees and economic migrants shifted the political agenda and Ireland had apparently developed an 'immigrant problem' (Einri 2002: 91). Spectacular growth brought newcomers who helped to plant in the Irish decision makers the seed of new immigration policy. The largest group of immigrants is classified as coming from UK and the USA followed by Germany and Australia. Emigrants have traditionally gravitated to where economic activity is most vibrant and Ireland in the mid 1990s has proven to be no exception (Einri 2002: 98-99). However, in discussing economic migration facilities in general and work permits in particular, it is helpful to point out that what is involved is the granting of permission to a non-national to work in a particular state, in effect a concession granted by Irish society or, indeed, by other societies. That permission can be granted subject to conditions which should be transparent to all concerned from the outset.⁵

The principal means of entry to work in Ireland (similar to the UK) is through the work permit system, the aim of which is to strike the right balance between enabling employers to recruit or transfer skilled people from abroad and protecting job opportunities for resident workers. The system is employer-led: an employer is granted a permit for a named individual if the job and individual meets the required criteria. The criteria include the level which are eligible for permits, whether the employer must first 'test the labour market' (asking state agency FÁS whether the vacancy can be filled first by an Irish person or citizen of the EU for a given position) and the remuneration conditions must be not less than those offered to a resident worker doing the same job. There are special arrangements for individuals with special skills i.e. doctors, entertainers, professional sport persons and participants in exchange programmes recognised by the Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment. Moreover, there are special conditions for international companies who wish for one of their employees to spend a certain amount of time in Ireland to work for them (Ward 2001). There is no quota or limit to the number of permits and the number of permits issued has risen significantly in recent years. In the five years of Ireland's greatest boom, a grand

⁵ Extracted from grey literature (internal reports, analysis) kindly supplied by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment.

total of 106,751 thousand work permits have been issued (Sexton 2003). At present, nationals of Accession Countries account for about 35 per cent of all permits issued. The system is reviewed now and there are expectations, particularly from employers' lobby, to introduce a series of measures to make it easier and quicker for employers to get a permit for a wider range of jobs.⁶

In details, Ireland decided to control over labour market by work visas/work authorisation and work permit system. Work visas are issued for highly skilled and experienced workers while work permits have been primarily used for unskilled jobs (Isik et al. 2003). Data suggests that about 70 per cent of the jobs filled under the work permit facility are relatively low skilled or unskilled.⁷ At present a Work Permit is issued to a specific employer to employ a specific employee to fill a specific vacancy. According to the understanding of the Irish legislation *“a work permit is a permission for an employer to employ a person who is not a national of a European Union or European Economic Area (EEA) State. Only an employer can apply for a Work Permit. An employer can only employ a Non-EU/EEA national where the employer has been issued with a work permit for that specific person. The Work Permit Section of the Department of Enterprise, Trade & Employment examines applications from employers and issues permits where appropriate. A scale of fees ranging from €65 to €500 applies depending on the duration of the permit”* (ENTEMP 2003).

Work permits holders have the right to enter employment and reside in the State. Nonetheless, they do not have the right to free medical care and social welfare entitlements. Furthermore, they do not have the right to free education (Ward 2001: 19).

Under the current Work Permit system, the State does not exercise a major role in determining the overall number or the selection of migrant workers coming to Ireland. Under the scheme employers must provide evidence that they have searched unsuccessfully for suitable workers within the EEA before a Work Permit could be issued. However, given the scale of the labour shortage problem in 2000/2001 this rule was not always adhered to in practice. This may have led to some employers substituting domestic unskilled workers with cheaper foreign labour. Since the economic slowdown, a more rigorous enforcement of the EEA-search rule has begun, with FÁS facilitating the job search recruitment through its own national vacancy system and the EURES system (Irish Market Review 2002). Despite this in 2002 a substantial number of work permits (47,632) have been issued.

⁶ Compare Spencer 2002: 28-29.

⁷ Extracted from grey literature (internal reports, analysis) kindly supplied by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment.

Table 1. Total Posts and Work Permit Applications Submitted to Foras Aiseanna Saothair (FAS) Year to Date 2002 by Category (a)

Category	Total Posts	Work Permits	% Work Permits
Animal, Land, Mining & Exploration	2,989	2,394	80
Hotel, Tourism, Travel and Catering	11,967	7,170	60
Factory, Production & Related Services	5,076	2,870	57
Social, Health, Welfare, Childcare	2,501	1,017	41
Trades & Related Occupations	5,947	2,183	37
Cleaning, Security & Maintenance	4,728	1,503	32
Purchasing, Warehousing, Transport, Distribution	2,333	696	30
Sales, Marketing, PR, Advertising & Property	4,258	927	22
Professional, Administrative, Clerical	5,885	745	13
Total	47,632	745	13

(a) any category with less than 1,000 posts is not displayed but is included in the total figure at the bottom of the table

Source: FAS 2002

Arrangements involved in the work permit system are recognised as do not always worked out. Employers can and do let people go and employees do walk out for a variety of reasons. The Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment has been able to take a flexible and pragmatic attitude and has been prepared to issue a new Work Permit to a second or subsequent employer, when an otherwise valid application is submitted. Data suggests that in 2001 the Department issued 2,570 "second" permits. Trend in the first half of 2002 indicated that the annual total for the year would probably be close to 3,500.⁸

In 2000, in March, The Irish Deputy Prime Minister - Tánaiste and Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment Mary Harney, announced details of a new labour market immigration policy designed to meet the skills requirements in the Irish economy over the next six years (ENTEMP 2000). A working visa and work authorisation⁹ scheme was introduced to facilitate the recruitment of suitably qualified people from non-EEA countries for designated sectors of the employment market where skill shortages are acute. Persons with job offers in Ireland can obtain immigration and employment clearance from the Irish Embassies and Consulates. Unlike work permits, these visas allow the individual to work in any firm or organisation that would be considered an area where are employment shortages. These designated areas include: information and computing technologies, architecture, construction engineering, quantity surveying, building surveying, town planning, nursing. These visas and authorisations are usually granted for a period of two years by the Irish Embassy or Consulate and can be renewed by the end of that period. Holders of work visas and authorisation can enter the employment and reside in the state. Some 8,000 + persons have availed these facilities since year 2000. They are also permitted to bring dependants into

⁸ Extracted from grey literature (internal reports, analysis) kindly supplied by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment.

⁹ Work authorisation is granted to persons from any country, which does not need an entry visa to enter Ireland. Work visas are granted to persons who do require a visa to enter Ireland.

the State to reside with them provided that they can financially maintain them. Dependent children under the age of 18 are entitled to free primary and secondary education (Ward 2001 :20).

"All in all this new policy is indicative of a modern, thriving economy and reflects Ireland's new found status as a self-confident society no longer challenged by its past. I am confident too that the measures we are taking will contribute to the development of our labour force and will ensure that we can continue to lead the world economies into the new century," said the Tánaiste (ENTEMP 2000).

Implementation is defined as an administrative process through which policy decisions or legislation are actualised in society with the aim of addressing and rectifying or modifying a given social situation (Triandafyllidou and Veikou 2001). It is essentially a political activity, like policy making, and is pre-determined at a high level in a prior stage of policy formulation (Kosic 2002). Ireland managed to develop an *ad hoc* labour immigration policy. Irish approach to immigration policy is in line with that of European countries generally, although Ireland is more liberal in implementation, because of its very changed labour market situation in recent years. However, recent developments can suggest more systematic approach which also answers the question about free movement of labour force between Ireland and Poland.

The Government has proposed and the Oireachtas has recently passed the Employment Permits Act 2003¹⁰, which will allow full freedom of access to the Irish labour market to nationals of EU Accession States (Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia, Cyprus and Malta¹¹) with effect from May 2004. This decision is in keeping with certain other Member States including Denmark, Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, Greece and the UK. It also puts in place a safeguard mechanism whereby a requirement for employment permits can be re-introduced in respect of nationals of the relevant countries, should the Irish labour market suffer a disturbance after EU enlargement (ENTEMP 2003). However, provision is made for the re-imposition of employment permits during the seven-years transition period if labour market conditions so require. While nationals of these countries will continue to need to apply for employment permits until that time, the Government has also decided that they will be given preference over other applicants.¹² The Employment Permits Act 2003 also incorporates a provision whereby for the first time, the requirements for employment permits in respect of non-nationals working in Ireland are set out in primary legislation (Sexton 2003: 9).

3.3. Public opinion survey findings

Mobility and migration constitute a complex phenomenon. In the literature there is no clear differentiation between the term *mobility* and *migration*. In some cases they are even used synonymously and they are overlapping each other. Nevertheless the two terms need distinction as follows (Borjas 1996: 279-315). What should be understood by the term spatial (interregional) mobility of workers is in general any movement of the production factor of labour (or the possibility of moving it) from one region to the another. Spatial movement of labour with simultaneous change in residence is migration. Thus the term 'migration' is associated with more permanent character. If the spatial movement of labour does not involve a change of residence, we speak of commuters (Tassinoplos and Werner 1998).

However some distinctions between 'work abroad' and 'mobility' are developed in the surveys used by me in this subheading. In this subheading I would like to use four sources of

¹⁰ Available online at www.gov.ie/bills28/acts/2003/a703.pdf

¹¹ Already provided for in Treaty of Accession.

¹² Immigrant Council of Ireland, op. cit., p.24.

data: Central and Eastern Europe Eurobarometer 1991 (CEE), ISS Global 1996, CBOS 2001, CBOS 2003 (for surveys descriptions: see app. 1). I used my own calculations only¹³.

CEE Eurobarometer 1991 asked two similar questions that were by the way impacting each other: 'Have you ever seriously considered going and working in a country in Western Europe?' followed by 'How likely is it that you will move to Western Europe to live and work?'

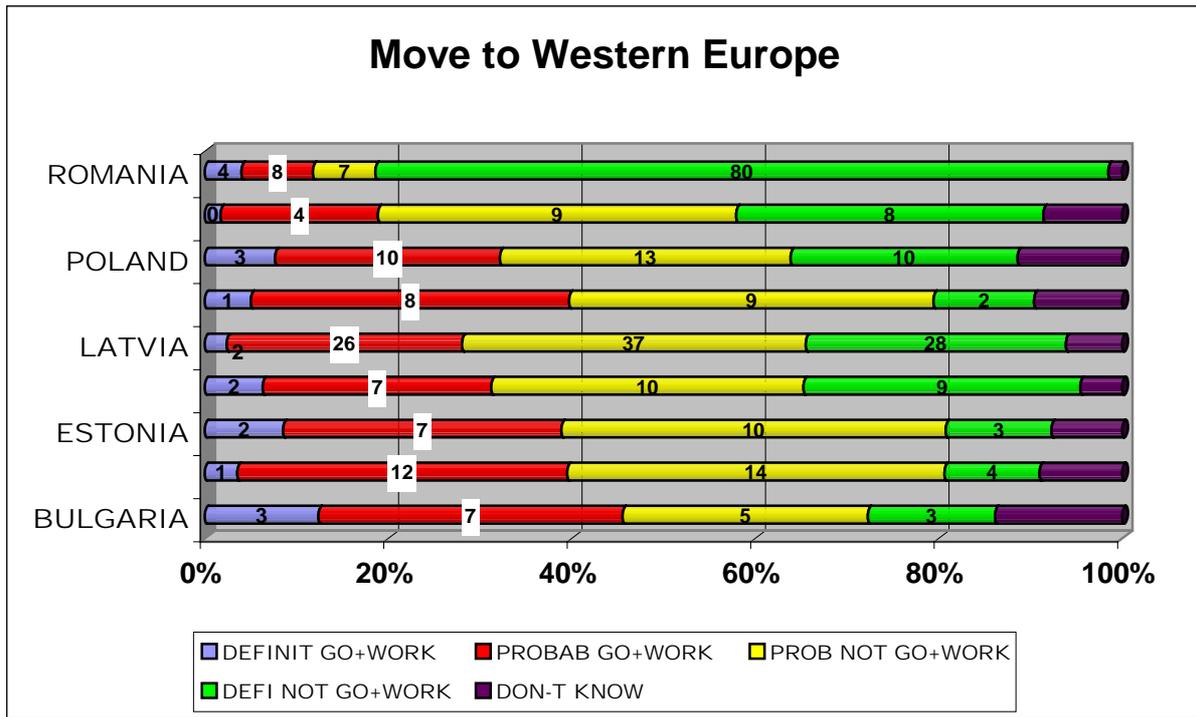
At the beginning of 90s (when the survey was carried out) people from Central and Eastern Europe had just started enjoying 'open borders'. That time Latvians had the highest level of mobility declared (28 per cent wanted to go and work in Western countries) following by Czechoslovakians (13.5 per cent) and Poles (13 per cent) (see Figure 1).

In the International Social Survey of 1996 respondents were asked: If you could improve work or living conditions, how willing or unwilling would you be to move to another: neighbourhood (or village), town or city within this county, another county, move outside a home country, move outside Europe. I picked up only the part of the question assigned to move outside a home country. Americans as a 'nomadic society' had the highest willingness to move and work in another country (44 per cent - both very willing and fairly willing) followed by Dutch 41 per cent. The EU Candidate Countries at average have respectively to the USA very low level of willingness to move to the other country (average 23 per cent). The explanation of this is that: people of Central and Eastern Europe are more attached to their land and particularly in 1995/1996 they enjoyed economic prosperity and real hopes for better future, six - seven years after collapse of the Communist rule.

In terms of willingness to go and work in Western countries (Eurobarometer 1991, Q: 'Have you ever seriously considered going and working in a country in Western Europe?') the data differs in comparison to mobility and work (as asked along). We can see that among Central and Eastern European countries as listed by Eurobarometer in 1991 Poles represented the highest propensity to labour migration (38 per cent) followed by Czechoslovakians (34 per cent) (see Figure 3).

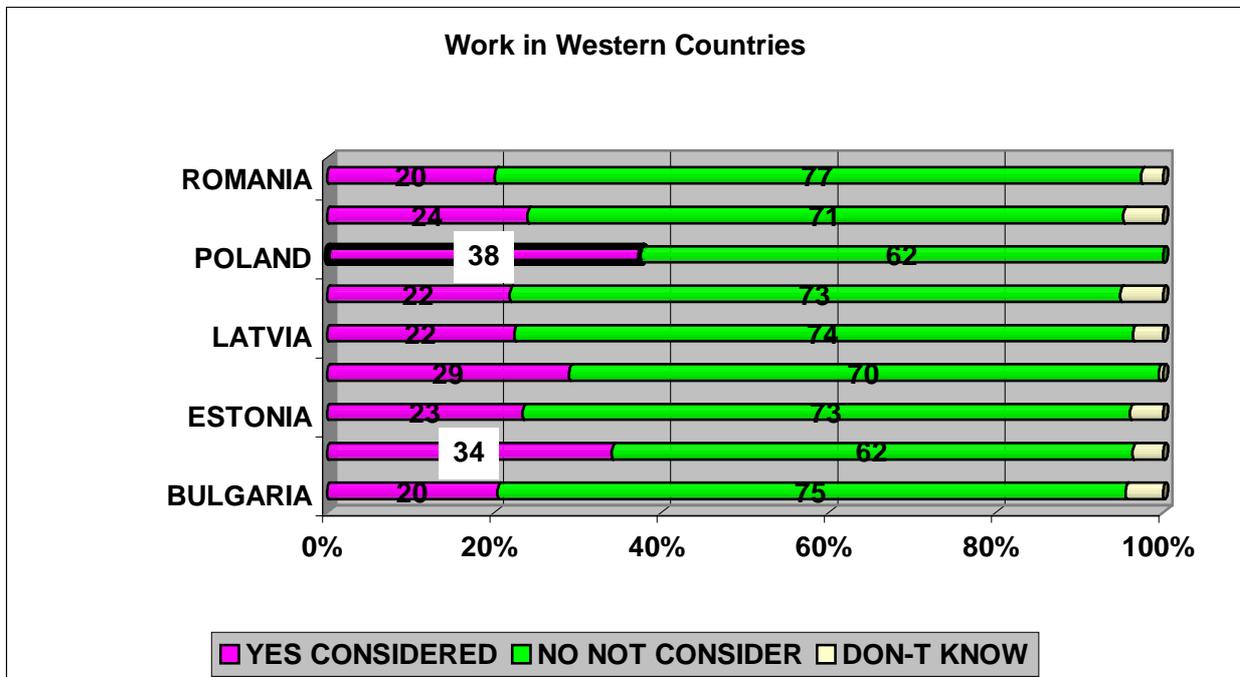
¹³ I excluded Albania (Albania was listed but data wasn't provided in the data set) from any calculations in order to avoid miscalculations in relation to the other countries.

Figure 1. Move to Western Europe



Source: CEE Eurobarometer 2 1991

Figure 2. Work in Western Countries



Source: CEE Eurobarometer 2 1991

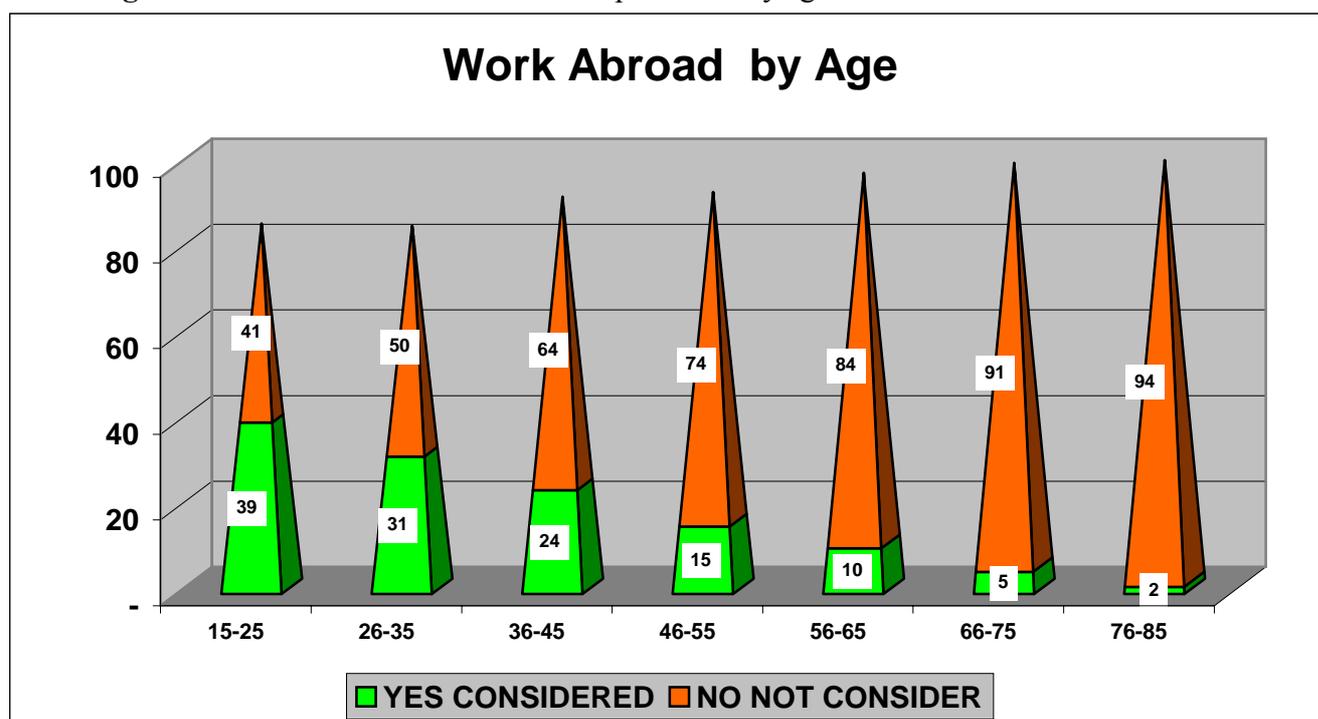
3.3.1. Propensity to migrate

Propensity of the migrants to go and work abroad seems to become a key variable in the evaluation of the effects of international labour migration. It should be said, however the empirical measurement of this propensity is rendered by the fact that direct labour migration effects are short while indirect effects of labour migration induced flows are long-term (Straubhaar 1988). Here I am going to focus on a number of socio-demographic variables, which can interact with the willingness and readiness to go and work abroad.

Age variable

In 1991 (CEE Eurobarometer) people between 15-25 years of age (46.3 per cent) and between 26-35 (37.3 per cent) had the highest propensity to migrate. People in their middle age (46-55) who were young in the Communism time, seemed to be well settled and having very low level of mobility to go and work in Western countries - 80.9 per cent preferred to stay at home. In this case we can confirm the hypothesis that the highest propensity to migrate have people in the age of the highest productivity and those who were looking for seasonal jobs at the time of school breaks.

Figure 3. Work in Western countries as presented by age



Source: CEE Eurobarometer 2 1991

Gender variable

At the beginning of 1990s men had more often considered going and working in Western Europe than women, respectively 32.5 per cent and 19.8 per cent.

Household size variable

People from medium-size households (3-5 persons in the household) considered going and working abroad more often.

Status of employment variable

At the beginning of 1990s of the 20th cent. the highest propensity to migrate across the Central and Eastern European countries (former Soviet republics and Soviet satellites) had people who were self-employed, 40.1 per cent considered going and working abroad in the countries of Western Europe. We can assume that they started running their own business just after fall of the Communist rule and they didn't see any perspectives at home to develop their own businesses or they just wanted to enjoy 'open borders' and trade in with Western countries. On the other hand people from state owned sectors had the lowest propensity to migrate to go and work abroad that time (about 70 per cent have not seriously considered going and working abroad).

Education variable

In relation to education the highest propensity to work abroad had people who obtained some second level education (about 30 per cent considered working abroad). The majority (79.4 per cent) of people with elementary level of education haven't even seriously considered going and working abroad. They felt more comfortable at home.

Size of locality variable

People from medium and big size cities (over half mega) most often took into account possibility to earn money abroad while leaving and working there.

Support for membership variable

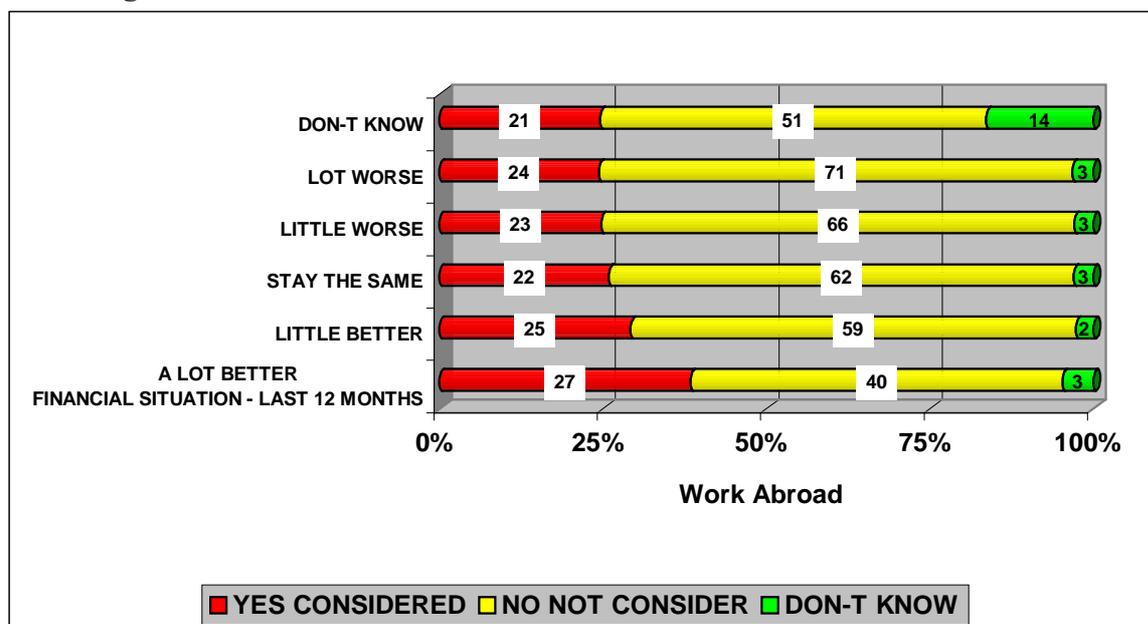
More often people who favoured the EC membership either way (either strongly for or somewhat for) were eager to go and work abroad than those who were against. The 57.7 per cent considered going and working in the Western countries at the beginning of 90s even though the membership of the EC was quite distant in time but quite close ideologically.

Nationality variable

At the beginning of 1990s people weren't so eager to go and work abroad. However even then the Polish people had the highest propensity to migrate. Almost 40 per cent of people interviewed seriously considered going and working abroad. Czechoslovakians followed Poles at that time and almost 35 per cent of them took into serious consideration going and working abroad.

Financial situation variable

Financial situation was not that strong factor at the beginning of 90s of the 20th cent. as one can assume. This could be also confirmed by the very low correlation between financial situation and going and working abroad (r -Pearson = 0.3). Only 24 per cent of people whose situation worsened last 12 months considered going and working abroad. The same level of declaration was presented by people whose financial situation has been improved during last 12 months (respectively little better - 25 per cent considered, a lot better - 27 per cent considered) (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Financial situation and work abroad

Source: CEE Eurobarometer 2 1991

3.3.2. Labour migration/mobility of the Polish people - a case study

I cut the multinational sample of CEEE 2/1991 and ISS Global/1996 picking up the sample for Poland only which allowed me to find out what was the propensity of the Polish people to work abroad at various points in time (1991, 1996, 2001, 2003). At any given time I found out that men have usually higher propensity to go to the other country and work there. In 1991, up to 66 per cent among Polish men considered going and working abroad while only 34 per cent of female. In 1996 in ISS Global 23 per cent of the Polish men were willing to go and work in another country while only 16 per cent of women. In 2001 and 2003 about 40 per cent of men and 30 per cent of women. Young people, mostly between 18-24 followed by 25-34 age group have had the highest propensity to go and work in various country. Across the surveys Polish people from medium size cities (less than half mega) have the highest propensity to migrate. Low skilled labourers and those who have been unemployed for some time considered working abroad.

With Poland's accession negotiations in the area of the free movement of people, in 2001 Centre for the Public Opinion in Poland surveyed attitudes of the Polish people to going and working in the countries of the European Union. Nearly half of an adult population of Poland (46 per cent) answered that they would not be interested in going and working abroad. Third part (31 per cent) of the population did not have any clear opinion on this (or they thought that it was too early to say or they were not going to make own effort in searching for any job). Every eighth respondent declared that he/she would try to find a job for sure, every tenth was saying that he/she would apparently try searching for a job.

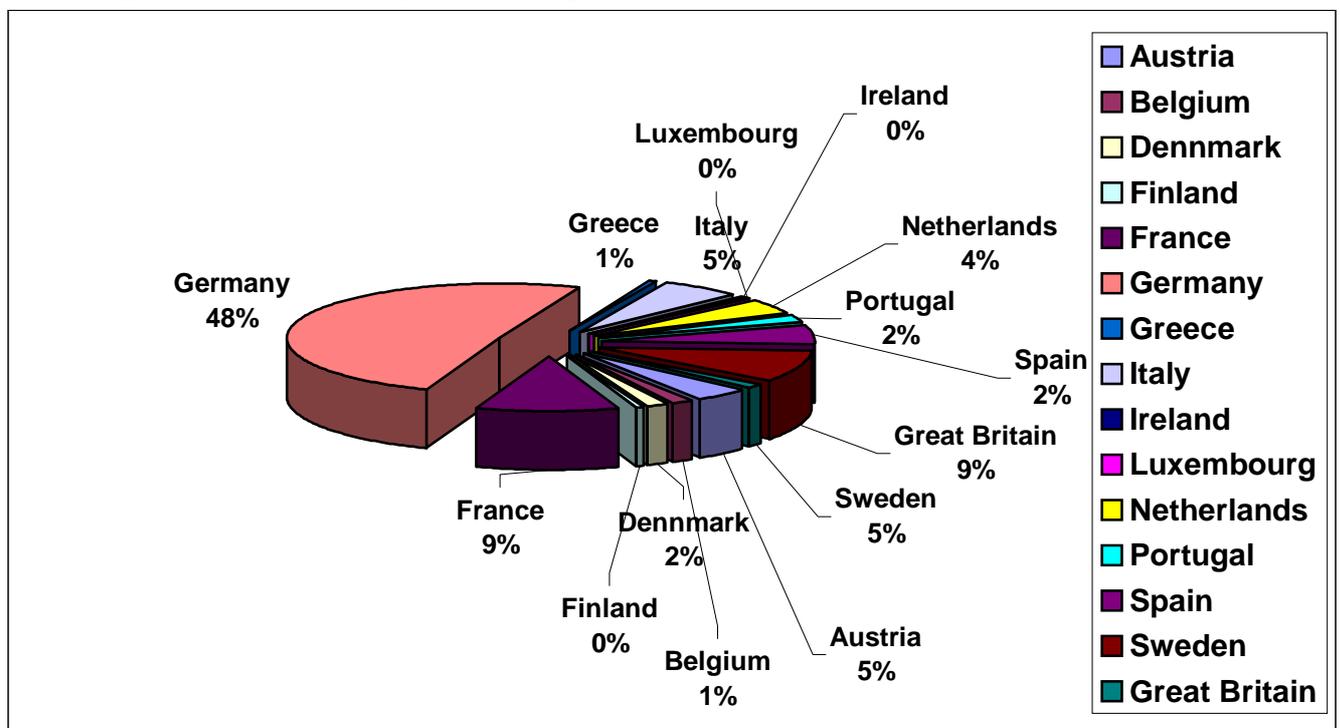
Table 1. Would you be personally interested in getting a job in one of the MS of the EU after Poland's accession?

	Poles	
	September 2000 (in %)	May 2001 (in %)
Yes, I am very much interested in getting a job and I am going to have one	10	13
Yes, I am very much interested in it and apparently I will try to get a job	8	10
I would be interested in it if they had offered me some job. I won't be searching job myself	11	14
It is too soon to answer this question	16	15
No, I won't be interested in it	18	15
No, I won't be interested in it for sure, even though I would have been offered some job	33	31
Difficult to say	4	2

Source: CBOS 2001/14

People who considered possibility of going and working abroad indicated country where they would like to work. Polish people in their majority favoured the German market (48 per cent). Every other respondent pointed out this country as his/her work destination. Smaller group of people pointed out either France or Great Britain as a place to get a job (both countries got 9 per cent). Ireland is not statistically significant as a work destination country (less than 0.05 per cent indications).

Figure 5. Which country of the European Union would you like to work in?



Source: CBOS 2001/14.

*Where 0 value is indicated, the % was less that 0.05%.

N = 379 - only those who considered going and working abroad.

Those who considered going and working abroad wanted to work there rather on short-term than long-term contracts. Half of the population wanted rather to commute to work abroad than to settle down there. Only every eighth Pole who considered going and working abroad said that he/she wished to be a permanent resident there while every fourth only wished to work abroad longer than one year.

Table 2. How long would you like to work in the EU country of your choice?*

	Poles (N = 379) in %
Up to about two months	4
From two to six months	11
From six months to one year	14
From one to two years	16
More than two years	12
I would like to get a permanent position there and get a residency	13
I would like to work in the European Union but live in Poland	25
Difficult to say	5

*Only those who considered going and working abroad

Source: CBOS 2001/14

The Polish respondents who considered going and working abroad were asked about the level of the salary to be an incentive for them to be employed abroad.

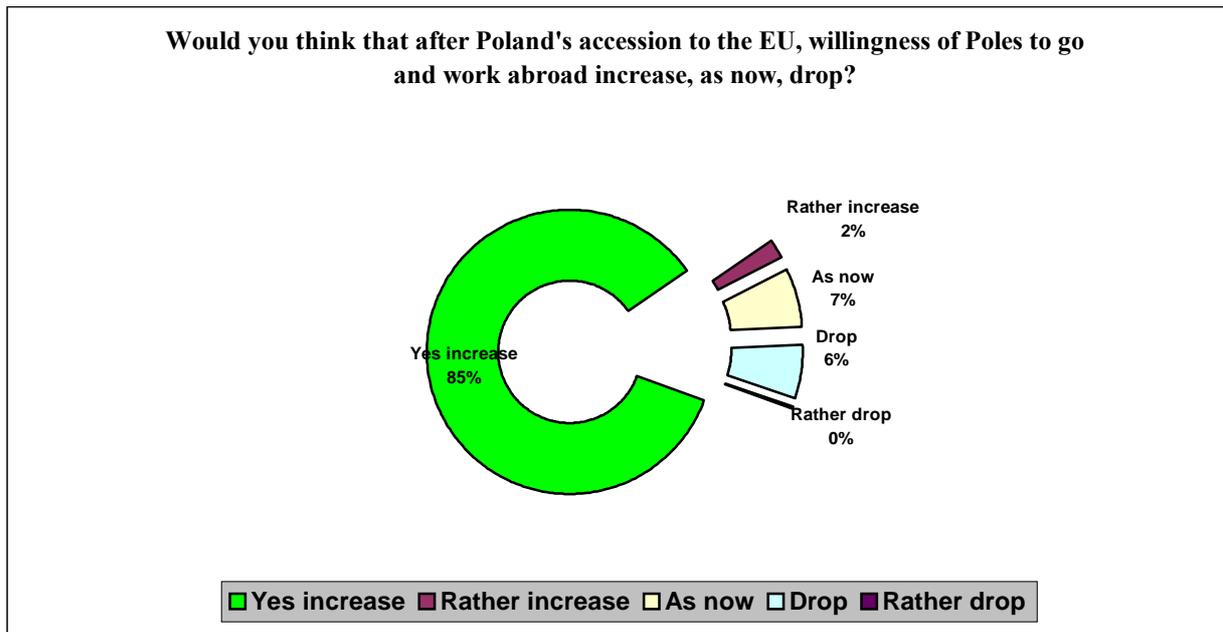
Table 3. How much would you consider your monthly salary to go and work abroad?*

	Poles (N = 379*) in %
Less than 750 euro	17
750-1249 euro	30
1250-1749 euro	31
1750 euro and more	20
Difficult to say	2
Medium: 1289 euro	

*Calculated exchange rates: zloty (PLN) to euro; exchange rate in 2001 - about 1 euro = 4 PLN

Source: CBOS 2001/14

Since 2001 unemployment rate dramatically increased in Poland. In 2003 46 per cent respondents think that after Poland's accession unemployment will drop, 16 per cent think that will be as now, 22 per cent predict that unemployment will rise up. People hope that the rate of unemployment would decrease after Poland's accession to the European Union along with economic growth and partly with the flexible access to the EU's labour market. In February 2003 people were more often convinced (85 per cent) that after accession Poles' mobility to go and work abroad would go up (respectively in 2002 77 per cent favoured this opinion).

Figure 6. Accession of Poland to the EU and work abroad

Source: CBOS 2003/ 39

Albeit respondents predict that mobility to go and work abroad will increase after accession, they themselves are moderately interested in getting job in the EU's countries. Every fifth Pole is going to search a job abroad, however only every ninth declares it very positively. Every seventh (14 per cent) takes this possibility into account when he/she would be offered a job from the EU's country. More than a half of the population (53 per cent) says that it is not interested in it at all.

Table 4. Would you be personally interested in getting a job in one of the MS of the EU after Poland's accession?

	Poles	
	October 2001 (in %)	February 2003 (in %)
Yes, I am very much interested in getting a job and I am going to have one.	13	11
Yes, I am very much interested in it and apparently I will try to get a job.	7	10
I would be interested in it if I was offered some job. I won't be searching a job myself.	15	14
It is too soon to answer this question.	12	12
No, I won't be interested in it.	21	18
No, I won't be interested in it for sure, even though I would be offered some job.	32	35

Source: CBOS 2003/ 39

In 2003 men (26 per cent) more than women (16 per cent) considered going and working abroad which confirms the trend described in the literature on labour migration (traditional model of family, men as bread-winners). Young people more often consider going and working abroad, every other person from group of less than 24 (50 per cent) is going to arrange something in order to achieve this goal, 18 per cent say that they will try to arrange a job for sure. Cohort '25-34 years of age' is less eager to go and work abroad. 29 per cent of them consider going and working abroad (19 per cent do this for sure, 10 per cent is more reserved about this). Among pupils and students respectively 15 per cent and 34 per cent consider work in the European Union's countries. Personal situation in the labour market (employed, unemployed, career curriculum etc.) is also a variable of high importance which has an important impact on potential migrants' decision and declarations. Unemployed are interested in getting a job abroad the most. About a quarter declares searching a job abroad, 16 per cent declare that rather do this. In general people with primary education, low skilled and with low level of income *per capita* in family more often consider going and working abroad.

4. Macroeconomic Determinants of Polish Migration to Ireland

This chapter reviews economic theories of labour migration as well as the existing empirical evidence on the determinants of migration of this sort. To speak of the 'migration of economically active people' would be still more precise and is done henceforth synonymously with 'migration characterised by a human resource transfer'. In line with international usage, economically active persons include employers, people working on their own account, salaried employees and wage earners as well as family workers. The scope of this definition extends to persons seeking work for the first time, seasonal workers, part-timers and employed and unemployed people alike. It excludes students, women occupied solely in their own household, retired persons, persons living entirely on their own means and persons wholly dependent on others (Böhning 1984).

Ravenstein stated in 19th century that 'the major causes of migration are economic (Ravenstein 1889:214:301). Economic approaches take into consideration a number of both macro and micro aspects of migration. From the economic perspective, international migration is a mechanism to redistribute labour. Consequently, international migrants are equated with workers and existing economic theories are aimed at explaining 'labour migration', meaning the international movement of economically active people (Zlotnik 1998). As Lee (1969) stated that the volume of migrations varied with the fluctuations in economy', with the business cycle. For the purpose of this study – the free movement of labour and migration in the EU – I will look predominately at economically, socially and politically motivated reasons for migration.

Contemporary scholars (such as Sjaastad, Harris and Todaro) have modified the classical theory developing the neoclassical theory of migration which states that countries with a large endowment of labour relative capital will tend to have a low equilibrium market wage, whereas countries with a limited labour endowment relative to capital will tend to have high market wages. The resulting wage difference entices workers from low-wage countries to move to high-wage countries. The macro-level determinants are thus the basis for migration decisions. Potential migrants must take their decision about relative advantage, either staying or moving to certain destinations. The above macroeconomic formulation has a microeconomic counterpart that focuses on individual migrants acting as rational actors and deciding to migrate on the basis of cost-benefit circulation. Recognition of the limitations of neoclassical theory has led to the propositions of alternative theories. The most recent, known

as the new economics of migration, focuses on the micro-level, but instead assuming that migration decisions are made by individuals acting largely on their own, assumes that people act collectively, typically within households or families, not only to maximise expected income but also to minimise risk and to loosen constraints associated with a variety of market failures (Lee 1969: 3-5).

Labour migration by definition is caused by economic factors and considerations. But a good part of contemporary migration is propelled by mixed (economic and non-economic) motivation or composite factors. A further complication stems from the fact that even when the migrants are clearly motivated by economic factors, they do not necessarily participate in the organised labour market or do not do so in a uniform manner - in either sending or receiving country. Julien van den Broeck (1996) distinguished universal categories of migrants:

- those who move for sheer economic survival;
- those who do so to improve their earnings and welfare;
- mobility and opportunity seeking migrants who are essentially traditional labour migrants (eg. guestworkers in Western Europe, contract workers in the Gulf countries and professionals across the globe).

4.1. Reasons to migrate: a survey of the theoretical and empirical literature

A recognition of the relevance of a broader range of factors is very important in explaining migration decisions. Migration is not cost free. Proximity or distance play a very important role in the process of making decision to migrate. So-called gravity models of migration have incorporated the importance of geographic distance into economic migration research (Tassinopoulos et al 1998). A general view of labour migration can be given by the push and pull framework, which integrates the neoclassical approach, human capital theory, asymmetric information about workers skills, family migration, network migration. Lee (Lee 1966) found that both areas of origin and destination are characterised by sets of positive factors, or forces of attraction or retention ('pull' factors), and negative factors or forces of repulsion ('push' factors). The greater the perceived difference in the net forces of attraction (positive minus negative factors) in places of origin and destination, the more likely migration is to occur (Lee 1966: 45-47) (factors for Ireland and Poland presented in Scheme 1). This is also worth mentioning that push/pull model can refer to individual factors and decisions (micro level examined in Chapter five) and can be used for empirical studies on different degree of aggregation. Obviously the migrant's decision process is influenced by additional motives (Straubhaar 1988):

- The concentration on the real income difference between home and abroad¹⁴ neglects costs which are related to migration abroad (e.g. non-monetary costs: demographic factors, social milieu, geographic and individual factors).
- The concentration on real income differences neglects profession-specific factors, which are not reflected in actual wage differentials.
- The concentration on actual real income differences neglects the return a migrant expects to earn in the future.
- There exists a lack of information about conditions in the prospective country of immigration.
- A lack of information can also prevent migration-willing workers from moving abroad.

¹⁴ With 'abroad' I mean here every potential destination country for an emigrant.

Zimmerman (1999) defines demand-pull migration and supply-push migration in line with shifts in the aggregate demand and supply curves of the receiving economy. Push-supply migration affects the aggregate supply curve alone, while pull-demand migration deals with migration that responds to a shift in the demand curve. All internal factors affecting aggregate demand are considered to be determinants of pull migration, while all internal or external factors affecting the aggregate supply and that are also associated with migration are defined to be determinants of push migration. This is a particular way to define push and pull, namely to stress the economic context of the inflow of workers. In practice, push migration arises from various sources. Among them are positive economic conditions in the receiving countries relative to the sending regions as measured by variables such as unemployment, wages, working conditions, social security benefits, and the structure of the economy. Demographic determinants such as size and age distribution of the working population also effect the labour supply decisions of migrants. Family migration and inflow of asylum seekers and refugees are also considered to be push migration. Family, chain migration - reunification of the family could also be considered pull migration (Bauer and Zimmermann 1999).

According to the human capital theory international labour migration the result of international differences in the present value of all the future net gains from migrating or staying at home. A special type of a human capital approach is the Todaro model. The idea behind it is that labour migration is based primarily on individual economic expectations. A migrant considers the various labour-related opportunities related to him/her, choosing the one that discounted present value of the expected gains of migration. A human capital approach can be seen as a job search process. A potential emigrant decides to select a particular potential destination countries and chooses the one that leads him to expect the highest discounted real income (Straubhaar 1988: 72-76).

The realities of today economic migration are, however, far more complex than implied in theories mentioned above. Emigration affects the labour market, including labour mobility, the production system and the economy of sending country mainly through the selection of migrants, remittance flows and return migration.

Skilled migration

From theoretical point of view skill migration has several effects in the sending countries. Given the higher wage in the receiving country it normally increases the income of migrants. Second, it raises the income of those skilled personnel left behind. The realities surrounding skill migration in most-labour surplus countries are very complex. Not surprisingly, skill migration has been one of the most widely debated aspects of labour migration since 1960s. It has been strongly argued that the selection process as discussed above tends to deprive the sending countries of high-skilled, well educated people. An extensive outflow of skilled and highly skilled workers (including professionals and technicians; the debate in Poland on German quota for Polish IT professionals) has been under criticism which can lead an already fragile economy into stagnation. More recently, a similar concern has been expressed in the context of actual and anticipated migration of skilled personnel from East and Central Europe. The counter argument is that since skill migration is the result, and not the cause, of lack of opportunities the phenomenon may be also seen as 'brain overflow'. From this perspective, the movements actually reduce the supply-demand gap of skilled workers in the sending countries and ensure optimal allocation of unused human resources from which world economy gains (Böhning 1984).

Table 5. Determinants of migration

Macro-economic determinants	Operational variables (measures)
Real income differences	Purchasing power parity wage differentials, purchasing power parity GDP per capita differences
Employment possibilities	Unemployment rate, hires, vacancies, population growth
Local, non- tradable (differences in regional living standards)	Index of living cost (rents in particular), percentage of home owners, degree of urbanisation, public education expenditures, level of social transfers, temperature
Microeconomic determinants	Operational variables (measures)
Age	Age structure
Qualifications	Qualification structure
Household structure, marital status	Average household size
Risk aversion	Coefficient of correlation of income variations
Relative deprivation	Variance in income distribution
Direct cost of migration	Distance in kilometres
Information- and search cost	Number of resident migrants in receiving countries (network-effect), previous immigration rates
Other determinants of social, psychological and political costs	Squared per capita GDP growth (option value for waiting) Index of political and social stability, index of acceptance of migrants in destination country.

Source: OECD 2001

Low skilled/ Unskilled migration

Low skill/ unskilled migration was always quite controversial problem because they merely contribute to the labour market and family reunion means no reason to come back to a country of their origin. But on the other hand ageing populations of the high wage and post industrial countries and affluent life styles require servicing by unskilled or low-skilled workers.

There are various groups among low skilled workers. Holiday makers, mostly young people between 17-27 who come to Ireland during school breaks. Seasonal workers (agriculture, fishery, forestry and tourism) who work seasonally and then come back home and regular low skilled contract workers. Taking low skilled jobs not always means being low skilled. Sometimes adaptation constraints such as lack of confidence in the labour market, problems in communication in a language spoken in the host country decide about taking low skilled jobs. Through out the course of the last decade it seemed to be experienced by the people from Central and Eastern Europe.

Today labour is organised into many diversified forms including full time, part time, temporary, work from home etc. Labourers have become both more flexible and less static as they have to change jobs many times during their lives. In this sense markets have become not only more flexible but also more differentiated. Well-educated and highly skilled

cosmopolitan people are moving easily across the earth in search of better opportunities that are increasing. Low paid, low-skilled jobs, like: housekeeping, cleaning services are increasing at the same time because of affluent style of living of the modern societies and at the same time low-skilled workers become more and more marginalised. In this context migrant work becomes functional in western societies.¹⁵

4.2. Conceptual order - hypothesis

Hypothesis 1: A landscape of the Irish economic development, which means skipping directly the agrarian economy onto the post-industrial economy and approaching rapidly an information economy; lack of extensive industrial development, creates niches in some sectors of the economy, which gives employment to the workers from Poland (push and pull factors).

The European economy's 'Golden Age', which spanned the period 1950-73, was an era of unprecedented growth, cyclical stability and real convergence in living standards. Ireland was an outlier in terms of its poor performance during this period. To some extent, recent growth can be viewed as a delayed catching-up process or delayed convergence. Irish underperformance during this period has been ascribed to a mixture of poor policy choices and inefficient institutions, but also misallocation of investment, excessive scope for rent-seeking behaviour which resulted in inward-orientation and excessive interventionism in the early part of the period (Barry and Crafts 1999: 2). Ó Grada shows that Ireland underperformed relative to other Western European countries in the convergence stakes up until the late 1980s, but that when economic performance over Celtic Tiger era is factored in, growth per head over the entire period since 1950 was just as would have been predicted given the country's low starting level of income per capita. What needs to be explained in this view then is not strong performance of the last decade but the very weak performance of earlier decades. Ó Grada and O'Rourke (1996) analyse this in detail. They find the main culprits to be the lingering effects of Ireland's failure to drop its trade-protectionist stance and increase educational throughput until about a decade after the rest of Western Europe. Adjustments issues are typically resolved over years rather than decades. The delayed convergence perspective suggests that simply getting the various policy dimensions right in the late 1980s allowed automatic convergence (Ó Grada and O'Rourke 1996: 37).

The most industrialised countries of Western Europe throughout 1950s and 1960s welcomed immigration as a means to resolve labour shortages and adopted policies facilitating large-scale labour migration (Collinson 1994). The demand for additional labour was based on the need of economic recovery after the destruction of the Second World War as well as the rapid economic growth following this recovery. Ireland with its 'delayed convergence' with countries of Western Europe experienced labour shortages in the end of 1990s and since then Ireland has been facing the problem of decreasing labour supply, as new technologies (so quickly developed in Ireland by an FDI inward inflow) create a demand for skilled labour and as ageing population and affluent lifestyles require servicing by unskilled or low-skilled workers.

¹⁵ Compare Strath 2003: 6.

Hypothesis 2: Due to an intensive economic growth in Ireland (1997–2001), Ireland has become a new destination of the ‘labour journeys’ of the Polish people. A period of labour emigration of Poles overlaps last phase of system transition in Poland, which generates reasons and motives of labour emigration to Ireland and Irish investments in Poland.

As illustrated in the Figure 7 the systemic transition in Poland with its results such as high level of unemployment across all occupational sectors and levels of education (mostly third level graduates affected) and slowing down of economic activity affects mobility of labour. Polish workers have found Ireland with its economic boom and labour shortages very attractive. Throughout the course of last four years economic situation in Poland has been gradually deteriorated while at the same time economic situation in Ireland was flourishing. The unemployment rate became very high already in the beginning of economic transition but in the middle of the 1990s it seemed to have stabilised around 13 per cent. In the second half of that decade, however, the rate started to rise anew, and by the end of 2002 passed the level of 18 per cent mark as in Ireland in the mid 1980s. Predictions concerning that phenomenon for the next few years are rather unfavourable (Kępińska and Okólski 2002).

More Polish people become interested in taking foreign employment e.g. in Ireland. Different sources indicate that candidates for foreign employment as much as those actually employed in foreign countries were increasingly originating from various categories of labour and various regions of Poland. One of the manifestations of that phenomenon was higher propensity than in earlier years of the unemployed to actively seek jobs outside Poland (Kępińska and Okólski 2002: 17).

Poland in the last phase of its systemic transition and as a sending country can make use of its comparative advantages such as labour surpluses and skills in sectors such as information technology. Economic growth in Ireland and last phase of the systemic transition in Poland help to balance out shortages and surpluses of labour which facilitate an adequate utilisation of the European jobs pool and better allocation of the labour force.

Hypothesis 3: Paths of social mobility from Poland to Ireland were trodden not by low skilled workers but by high skilled employees, sent to contracted jobs in multinational companies. Channels of movement of labour force were gradually shifted to seasonal jobs in Ireland (germ. 'guest workers').

The Irish immigrant population is very different from most of these migrant communities with a very high proportion being very recent arrivals, high skilled and mostly from high-income countries (Walley 2001).

High-skilled workers from Poland have been employed mostly on the bases of work permit system from the very beginning. They are employed on the lower positions than their Irish relevant comparators. High-skilled people started arriving in Ireland at the beginning of the economic boom and majority of them is still in Ireland, picking up fruits of their well-established positions in the market. Majority of the Polish people employed in the Irish high-tech sector is outsourced from the Polish branches of their 'mother' companies.

Hypothesis 4: With the labour shortages in Ireland and ad hoc immigration policy we are experiencing process of de-skilling foreign workers.

High qualified, mostly with third level education people from Central and Eastern Europe, unemployed at home coming to Ireland and take low-skilled and low paid jobs in order to be able to improve their English language skills. While short-term it can work as a stimulus, long-term can cause a damage effect on professional skills (*de-skilling*) and lack of individual confidence in the labour market.

Hypothesis 5: Young Polish adults, well educated in the country of their origin, mostly with third-level degree have the highest propensity to go and work in Ireland.

As public opinion surveys indicate young Poles between 15-25 years of age during school breaks and young professionals between 26-35 years of age (just after graduation or with some experience in the Polish labour market) have the highest propensity to migrate to Ireland. These two groups of the labour force fulfilled shortages in the Irish labour market both in services and in high tech sectors the best possible way. Majority of them have found jobs in Ireland using a network of friends.

Poland was the first country in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) to break out of communist rule. Poland was also the first country in CEE to begin the breakthrough transition from a planned economy to a market system. This transition began under extremely difficult conditions of high inflation, scarcity of consumer goods and highly concentrated production (UNIDO 2001).

The introduction of radical reforms was a precondition of Poland's survival. The "shock therapy" programme applied in late 1989 by the Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, resulted in the dismantling of all central and economic planning mechanisms and the introduction of market economy. The transformation of the Polish economy that began at the turn of 1989-1990 had to perform a double role. In view of the existing profound imbalances it was necessary to first stabilise the economy as a prerequisite for further economic transformation. Stabilisation steps consisted in following three principal line of action. First, prices were freed - prices liberalisation - from prices fixed centrally by the state to prices fixed by the market. Second, the budget deficit of the state, inflated as a result of the irresponsible pre-election decisions of the last communist government, was set on a path of steady decline. Third, monetary policy was radically tightened by rising significantly the nominal interest rate so as to obtain a high positive real rate and thus reduce credit expansion (Foreign Trade Research Institute 2001).

Factors of system transition in Poland

However, the systemic transformation took place in complex socio-political situation that can be described as the "Solidarity Paradox". The transformation in Poland was launched by a clearly defined political opposition in the form of "Solidarity" social movement, having its roots primarily in the working class of large socialist production enterprises (shipyards, mines, and the like). The communist system was thus abolished by the big industry workers who should be, according to communist doctrine, the mainstay of the system. The paradox arises in that it was the same large and inefficient industrial mammoth that first fell victim of the process of market reforms. The rapid stabilisation of the economy and progress in systemic transformation was shortened to two years. As early as 1992 the Polish economy - first among CEE economies - started to grow again. After 1995 growth reached 6-7 per cent annually, among the fastest in Europe and perhaps in the world. This growth was especially propelled by domestic consumer demand, which was growing rapidly after its decline in early

1990s, particularly when compared with the slower growth in real income. Investment, initially slow-growing, accelerated since 1994, and in 1997 investment growth reached 21.7 per cent (Foreign Trade Research Institute 2001: 15-16). In 1998 economic growth slowed to 4.8 per cent and to 4.1 per cent in both 1999 -2000 caused by the Russian crisis - collapse of exports to the Russian market and other markets of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Process of systemic transition also resulted in problems like unemployment. But the though principles of the market economy soon began affecting the labour market. Unemployment appeared in 1990 and reached 1.1 million people or 6.3 per cent of labour force. It peaked and stabilised in 1994 at a level of 2.9 million, or 16 per cent of the labour force and from then on started to decline up to 1998 when risen again mainly as a result of industrial restructuring and structural changes within companies geared towards increasing labour productivity and improving the competitive position. An additional factor was a slow-down in the economy that began in 1998. At the end of 2000 the number of unemployed reached 2.7 million or 15 per cent, in 2001 17.5 per cent, in 2002 1 per cent more which virtually means size of 'pathological' unemployment, 2003 forecast is 18.9 per cent mark. Out of the 2.7 million unemployed, 1.21 million have been without work for more than one year. 80 per cent of the unemployed are not eligible for benefits and a substantial number of job seekers are school leavers. Many of them have acquired good professional qualifications but cannot find work because the vocational education system has not kept up with the changes in demand for specific professional skills. In 1999, university graduates constituted about 11 per cent of the over 15 years-old population (UNIDO 2001). All of these factors pushed people to go and seek job abroad.

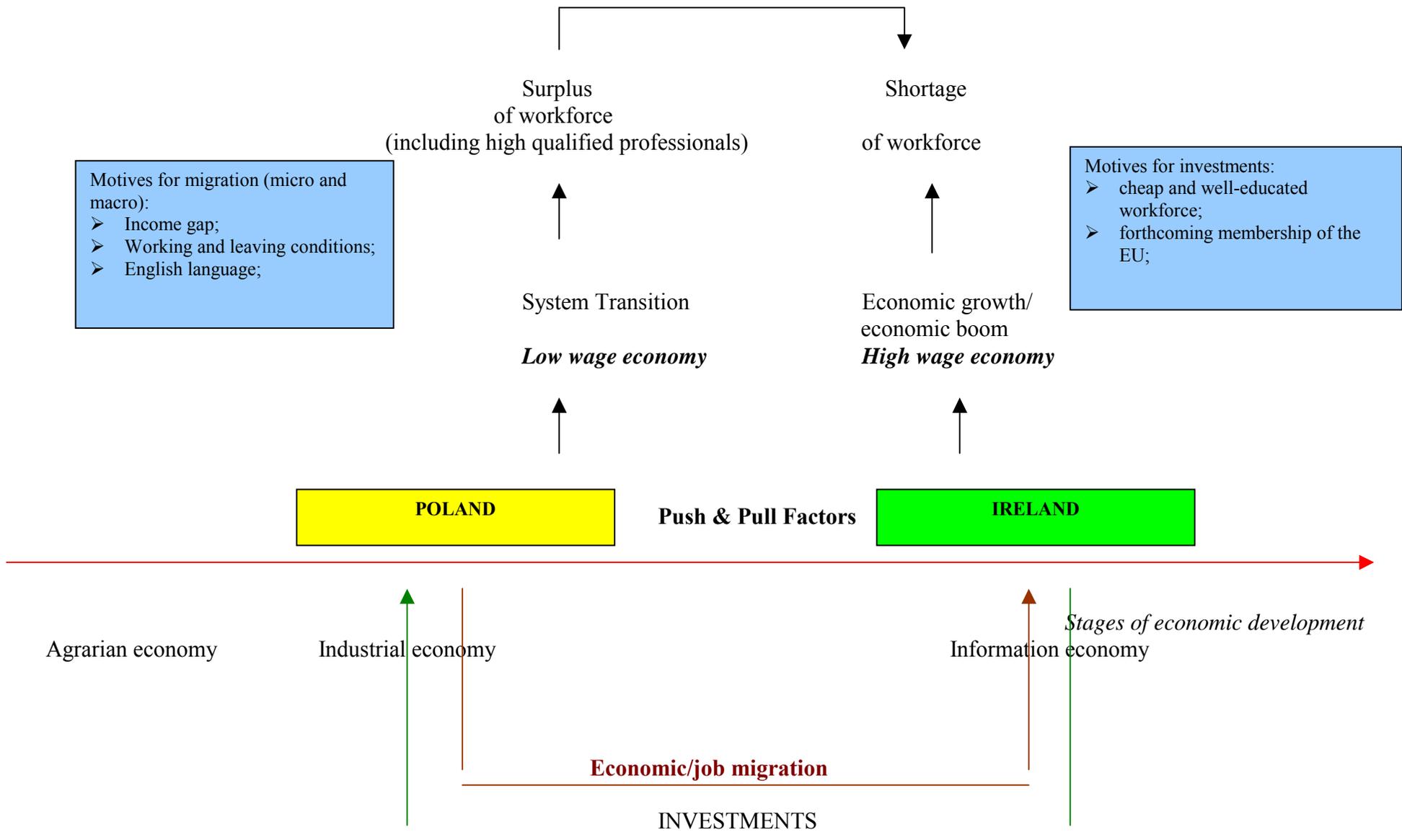


Figure 7: Model illustrating hypothesis 1 & hypothesis 2

Table 6. Economic Factors of Ireland and Poland: Real Growth

Year	Poland	Ireland	Number of work permits and work visas/ work authorisations issued for the Polish people'		Irish investments in Poland (mln euro)
	Real Growth		Work permits	Work visas/work authorisations	
1991	-7.0	2.0	-	-	
1992	2.6	4.2	-	-	
1993	3.8	3.1	-	-	
1994	5.2	7.3	-	-	
1995	7.0	11.1	-	-	
1996	6.1	7.4	-	-	
1997	6.8	9.4	-	-	
1998	4.8	8.6	-	-	
1999	4.1	10.9	188	-	
2000	4.1	11.5	899	16 (Jun-Dec)	
2001	1.0	5.7	2 490	45	
2002	1.1	3.9	3 142	35	
2003 forecast	2.3	4.2	2 355 (mid June)	1 (till March)	
Total			9 074	96	1, 05 billion

Source: Data is a courtesy of Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment.

Table 7. Economic Factors of Ireland and Poland: Inflation

Year	Poland	Ireland	Number of work permits and work visas/ work authorisations issued for the Polish people'		Irish investments in Poland (mln euro)
	Inflation		Work permits	Work visas/work authorisations	
1991	76.5	3.2	-	-	
1992	43.0	3.1	-	-	
1993	35.3	1.4	-	-	
1994	33.2	2.3	-	-	
1995	27.8	2.5	-	-	
1996	19.9	1.7	-	-	
1997	16.0	1.5	-	-	
1998	17.0	2.4	-	-	
1999	9.0	1.6	188	-	
2000	10.1	5.6	899	16 (Jun-Dec)	
2001	5.5	4.0	2 490	45	
2002	2.1	4.8	3 142	35	
2003 forecast	2.6	3.8	2 355 (mid June)	1 (till March)	

Source: Data is a courtesy of Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment.

Table. 8 Economic Factors of Ireland and Poland: Unemployment

Year	Poland	Ireland	Number of work permits and work visas/ work authorisations issued for the Polish people'		Irish investments in Poland (mln euro)
	Unemployment				
1991	9.2	14.7	-	-	
1992	12.9	15.1	-	-	
1993	14.9	15.7	-	-	
1994	14.4	14.8	-	-	
1995	13.3	12.2	-	-	
1996	12.4	11.9	-	-	
1997	11.5	10.3	-	-	
1998	10.4	6.4	-	-	
1999	13.0	5.0	188	-	
2000	15.1	4.3	899	16 (Jun-Dec)	
2001	17.4	4.0	2 490	45	
2002	18.4	4.0	3 142	35	
2003	18.9	5.0	2 355 (mid June)	1 (till March)	

Source: Data is a courtesy of Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment.

5. Why People Emigrate from Poland to Ireland: the Motivating Factors Behind Decisions to Emigrate or Stay at Home

Individual decision to migrate is a complex phenomenon. This decision is often inferred unproblematically from censuses or migration cards or derived from specially constructed sociological surveys asking individuals why they have chosen to migrate. As well as the many technical difficulties of assessing subjective evidence, the major difficulty with a subjectivist starting point is that the researcher has to assume that the individuals concerned operate with a rational, decision-making model of the world, with which they weigh options and possibilities in an environment of free choice. It is apparent, however, that the freely - reached decision can only operate within the constraints of the opportunities on offer. This general proposition applies with particular force to decision to migrate, where opportunities are tightly constrained and structured by such factors as rural poverty, employment and housing prospects, transport costs, international law, immigration policies, the practice of recruitment by agencies and employers, and the need for documents like passports, visas and work certificates. In short, the individual's resolve to migrate cannot be separated from the institutional context in which that decision was reached (Cohen 1987) (see immigration policy of Ireland).

Böhning (1984) states that migration is in essence a social process. A migrant decides to leave one social context for another on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values. For the economic migrant the socio-economic deprivations at home are generally a sufficient condition of his/her migration.

5.1. Characteristics of the general population of the Polish migrant workers in Ireland

Polish migration flows to Ireland started in mid-90s and were mainly motivated by economic reasons. However there are some signs of earlier migration flows of the Polish people, however not significant in numbers:

- Just after the WW 2nd, the Irish government founded university scholarships including medical for the Polish people. Mostly, people who emigrated to England or were forced to emigrate by communists because themselves or their families were attached to the Home Army that fought the Nazis and then opposed communist rule in Poland. It has been estimated that about 1,000 Polish people were invited to Ireland that time¹⁶ but nobody knows how many of them accepted these rewards.
- Early 1980s - 'Solidarity Migration' - not significant in numbers but significant in activities. These people in tune with the others organised charity aid for the Solidarity activists during Martial Law in Poland.
- Mid 1980s of the 20th cent. - 'Migration of Hearts'. Mostly Polish young women emigrated from Communist Poland to marry Irish men. They often gave up their Polish citizenship in order to get the Irish one through marriage.
- Since 1997, since economic boom in Ireland, migration has been mainly motivated by economic reasons. In the process of economic and political transition that Poland experienced, living standards fell dramatically, unemployment rose and the opportunity to travel and even migrate was offered to the Polish people. With the depriving economic situation since 1999 the size of migration has increased. During summer vacations time the size of migration can be doubled, mostly with students and seasonal, mostly summer workers.

Polish migration of 1990s and the beginning of the 21st cent. to Ireland is two folded. On the one hand is a process of outsourcing, transferring workers from the Polish branches of multinational or Irish companies (high-skilled workers came over ahead of low-paid, semi-skilled or low-skilled workers in Ireland) and on the other hand a chain migration: majority of my interviewees (in the case study) had their jobs arranged for them through friends or relatives. During the initial period, Polish people, mostly semi- and low-skilled found accommodation through contacts with fellow nationals and Polish NGOs. High-skilled workers have been offered help by the human resources (HR) departments of the receiving companies.

The patterns of entry to Ireland for the Polish people facilitate somehow this kind of migration. Low and semi-skilled Poles take advantage of an existing policy provision, lack of tourist visa requirement. First they are coming into Ireland, exploring job opportunities and then ask employers for work permits.

According to figures extracted from data kindly supplied by Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment people between 25-44 years of age have the highest propensity to migrate. Throughout last five years (1999-2003) one can observe that service industry is one of the most popular sector receiving economic migrant from Poland followed by agriculture and fisheries, catering and industry sectors (see table below). A number of 4556 work permits have been issued for the Polish people in service industry from 1999 to 2003 out of total number of 9074 work permits issued for the Polish people in that period.

¹⁶ Information is a courtesy of the Irish-Polish Society in Ireland.

5.2. The case study and research design

The case study concentrates on economic migrants from Poland into Ireland. I have chosen Ireland because of its novel experience in relation to immigration. Ireland was for over 150 years a country of emigration and now facing the challenge how to manage the immigrant flow and has received hundreds of thousands of Irish coming back from Great Britain and the USA. Ireland does not yet see itself as a country of immigration. Ireland has never been any destination country for the Polish people of any kind of migration.

The choice of Polish nationals as an example was an obvious one to me because I had the access to it through language, personal contacts, knowledge of the history, culture and tradition. It is also one of the biggest economic migrant group in Ireland next to Latvia and Lithuania (by the number of work permits issued). I conducted 20 in-depth interviews. The interviews were organised from April to July 2003 (Appendix 2). All the interviews were conducted in Dublin area. The interviews being conducted are semi-structured and aim to gain an insight into the views and conditions of non-national workers: their history of migration; push and pull factors of their migration and their work environment. I interviewed the Polish people of various age, gender, profession and date of arrival in Ireland. During interviews I always attempted to create a relaxed atmosphere and to gain the interviewees' trust with the aim of obtaining more sincere and 'free' responses. It seems to me that all the interviewees spoke openly about their experiences in the Irish labour market. Although the interviews were relatively long (in some cases, more than an hour and a half), interviewees did not show any sign of impatience or any lack of willingness to speak with me. In some cases the process of interviewing was in a way 'a process of catharsis'. Some people said that this interview helped them to review their decisions, make up their minds and make the decisions for the forthcoming future. The interviewees did not object to the uses of a type recorder, herewith all interviews were type recorded. All the interviews were subsequently transcribed.¹⁷¹⁸

¹⁷ At this moment transcriptions of interviews are available in Polish only.

¹⁸ Compare Kosic 2002: 5.

Table 7. Work Permits issued by sector for the Polish nationals 1999-2003

Nationality	Year	Sector	New Permits	Renewals	
Polish	1999		152	36	
		Agriculture & Fisheries	27	1	
		Catering	6	-	
		Education	1	-	
		Entertainment	7	-	
		Exchange Agreements	1	-	
		Industry	6	7	
		Service Industry	104	28	
	2000			804	95
		Agriculture & Fisheries	139	1	
		Catering	71	2	
		Domestic	36	-	
		Education	4	-	
		Entertainment	13	1	
		Exchange Agreements	4	-	
		Industry	163	8	
		Medical & Nursing	6	1	
		Service Industry	366	82	
		Sport	2	-	
	2001			2,075	415
		Agriculture & Fisheries	412	35	
		Catering	292	16	
		Domestic	58	2	
		Education	6	-	
		Entertainment	9	-	
		Exchange Agreements	1	1	
		Industry	345	115	
		Medical & Nursing	17	3	
		Service Industry	934	234	
		Sport	1	-	
	2002			1,951	1,191
		Agriculture & Fisheries	287	147	
		Catering	306	98	
		Domestic	43	7	
		Education	8	2	
Entertainment		18	1		
Exchange Agreements		74	-		
Industry		282	283		
Medical & Nursing		30	6		
Service Industry		897	846		
Sport		6	1		
2003 (mid June)			1,475	880	
	Agriculture & Fisheries	166	78		
	Catering	260	95		
	Domestic	14	6		
	Education	9	2		
	Entertainment	10	4		
	Exchange Agreements	50	1		
	Industry	163	192		
	Medical & Nursing	29	17		
	Service Industry	771	485		
	Sport	3	-		

Source: Extracted from data kindly supplied by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment

5.3. Findings

Propensity to go and work abroad across the sample of the case study - socio-economic profiles of interviewees (see also appendix 3)

Twenty interviews have been conducted with Polish immigrants: 12 women and eight men. Most of interviewees come from the biggest Polish cities (Warszawa, Wrocław, Kraków, Lublin, Poznań) and reside in Dublin area (migration centre-to-centre). They are young, between 20-34 years of age, which can confirm the age cohort with the highest propensity to migrate. Twelve interviewees are single and eight are married. But only in five cases, interviewees are with their families in Ireland. Seven of them had experienced work migration to: the Great Britain, Italy, Germany, Norway, Czech Republic. They found jobs in Ireland *via*: friends, companies in Poland, Internet, directly. They arrived in Ireland between 1997-2002 when Ireland was growing economically and the economy has started slowing down. Majority of my respondents (16 interviewees) have third level degrees working both in low- and high-skilled sectors: IT, banking, tourism and catering industry, services. However, eleven people said that they worked in their professions in Ireland. On the whole, Polish immigrants employed in various sectors are highly mobile and actively seek better jobs. Fourteen people are satisfied with their jobs but only two expressed willingness to stay in Ireland for longer period of time. Majority of my interviewees enjoy leisure opportunities but some of them decided to endure their living conditions in order to save money and send them back home. Majority of my respondents said that they wanted to come back to Poland at some stage, maybe in a year or two. They connect their return to Poland with Poland's accession to the European Union, which helps, in their opinion, to combat unemployment, to create new work places, to improve living and working conditions in Poland. Sometimes they were forced to prolong their stay because they realised that conditions of life in Poland haven't improved yet.

Majority of my respondents came in their biographical situation in which they had to look for new orientation: leaving universities, schools, unemployment, going broken, long-lasting difficult relations with an employer. Migration was considered as an option for a new orientation.¹⁹

Polish people are employed both in the formal and informal economies. Those who are/were employed in the informal one put some pressure on their employers to be employed legally in order to achieve freedom of movement between Ireland and Poland.

History of migration - migration situation

There is a great diversity in personal histories of migration, but I can derive some sequential phases of economic migration:

Initial phase: advertisement in local media; underground information from the companies in Poland; holiday experiences of Ireland one year - two years before; local contacts with people who experienced working in Ireland

Aneta (24 years, customer care, telecommunication company) 'Firstly my friend was here for last two years. Last year I met her on the bus [in Poland] and she told me that she was going once again to Dublin for [job] holidays to Ireland. I asked her: shall I go with you? I got my BA. To educate further one needs money. (...) To take the MA programme you need to have money. To have money you need to work but there is not enough employment in Poland. She said that it was no problem. At the beginning I was thinking about holidays only but then I didn't want to return and I decided to stay to improve my English skills. (Int. A/9)

¹⁹ Compare Vogel 2003: 13

Decision-making phase: considering and weighting *pros and cons* of migration to Ireland (an analysis of respondents' lives: strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats);

Marzena, (28 years, software test engineer), 'Pawel's first reports that there are high standards and people live normally (...) he was calling, texting and delivering more and more interesting information, experiences but not from work only...' (Int.M/1)

Phase of new arrivals: searching accommodation (sometimes job); renewing contact with friends and friends' friends; building up chain network (via places where the Polish people used to meet e.g. the Polish House);

Adaptation phase: getting used to new conditions and challenges; improving English; building up new relationships;

Preliminary stabilisation phase: settled in the place of accommodation; organising social life;

Stabilisation phase: grounded knowledge of the market; well settled in; well organised social and cultural life;

Decision-making phase to leave: getting bored with the host country; new contract abroad with the same company; family problems in the country of origin; goals have been met.

Joanna (27 years, housekeeper, third level degree in economics), 'I have been here more than a year. I can speak English what was my goal to meet and my purpose of arrival in a way. I am longer and longer ahead of my graduation and I am becoming less attractive to an employer'. (Int.J/5).

Migrant may return during the phases or fall back from the one phase to the other. My interviewees arrived in Ireland from 1997 to 2002, that means that their length of stay is from 6 years to 1 year (see app. 3, column 7). Interviewees started migration earlier than their parents. Sometimes people may regret that they arrived at certain moment, some of them are convinced that they should have arrived earlier, at the beginning of economic boom in Ireland or even before it started. They would be offered more, and they would be more attractive employees.

Pawel (33 years, IT specialist), 'I regretted that I didn't arrived in Ireland in 1993-1995'. (Int. P/1).

Push & pull factors as reported by the Polish economic migrants

The most powerful factor for migration of people from interviewed group was to find a fine job and improve contains of living thanks to higher wages. Some people were still working in Poland when they decided to migrate. Some of them took unpaid leaves in Poland to experience work in Ireland on the one hand and to secure a workplace in Poland on the other.

Henryk, (34 years, carpenter), 'It was summer. I had my holidays to spend. I told my boss that I was going abroad and if I managed to accustom there I would not come back. I had very good relation in my Polish workplace'. (Int. H/12).

Majority of interviewees could not find any employment after their graduations or when they finally found an employment their wages were at the level of social benefit.

Kasia (not a real name, 27 years old, catering company) 'After graduation... (third level in environmental engineering) my husband was proposed 100 euro per month (in Poland)... It was impossible to live for it'. (Int. K/7)

Tomek, (not a real name, 28 years, coffee shop assistant), 'Economic situation [in Poland]. Just after coming back [scholarship in Ireland] I defended my thesis [environmental engineering]. I was searching a job in Poland for four months and I was offered a wage 480PLN [110 euro per month]'. (Int. T/8).

A majority of people work in Ireland for financial reasons only which means improving living conditions and expand the level of consumption, maintaining and supporting family in Poland, affording travels and hobbies.

Witek, (27 years, engineer), '(...) I have my own family. It was above all to do something with myself and to maintain my family and I think that it was the most important factor'. (Int. W/9).

Tomek (not real name, 28 years, coffee shop assistant), 'Life quality'. (Int. T/8)

Aneta (24 years, customer care, telecommunication company), '(...) my parents, my family went into financial difficulties, last year before my departure. I can say that my stay at home wasn't nice because of money difficulties'. (Int./ A/9)

Witek, (27 years, engineer), '(...) Work perspectives weren't so good in Poland and I could compare what money I could have here and what...(...) I can achieve working here, even not in my profession, even physically, and what I can achieve in Poland at the managerial position, if I had found this kind of employment'. (Int. W/10)

Henryk (34 years, carpenter), 'I started building a house... I was working a year and a half [in Poland] and I couldn't see any results of my work and I needed to do something with it. Work abroad, it was the only chance to finish up this house'. (Int. H/12).

Kasia (not a real name, 27 years, catering waitress), 'We are missing Poland, our fatherland, family. We have a house in Poland. It might be easy to live there, under conditions that we would have a job. There is no employment at this moment and it is very difficult. It is easier in here, financially.'. (Int. K/7)

Henryk (34 years, carpenter), 'It is really... this, catching up money. You are building up the house and you are losing something more valuable (being apart from your family). From time to time, I am questioning myself whether this migration had any sense? But I will have some effect of this... this house will be lasting for generations... It will be lasting, isn't it? (Int. H/12)

People do recognise general difficulties of the Polish and global economies as transposed onto their personal career curriculum. They also recognise high competition in the Polish labour market because the number of unemployed third level graduates is going up every year. They see chances, indeed, with Poland's accession to the European Union. On the other hand the changes won't be so rapid and effective but they do believe in more flexibility of employment either in Poland or abroad, not only in Ireland.

They experience, sometimes painfully, effects of a systemic transition in Poland which affected directly their employment.

Agnieszka (not a real name, 30 years, personal assistant to a disabled person), 'Unstable situation in the Polish market. (...) I took a job in the Polish Tourist Development Agency in Cracow but it was a communist company so it collapsed after one year when my job commenced'. (Int. A/4)

Radek, (30 years, engineer), 'I would like to return to Poland for retirement maybe. There is no jobs in my profession in Poland, the situation is tragic' (Int. R/14).

Despite all of this, people also have other than economic reasons to move, to leave their homes and come to the west.

Marzena, (28 years, software test engineer) A comparison of working conditions, standards of the office, we hadn't even had a lunch time break in Poland. We were eating at the computer desks'. (Int.M/1).

Pawel (33 years, IT specialist) 'It was quite simple with me because I was working in the company having headquarter in Ireland. I arrived in here to work in different conditions, to compare to those which I used to have in Poland. The comparison was positive, positive for Ireland'. (Int. P/2).

Marzena, (28 years, software test engineer) 'Among reasons of my arrival, among others, my husband (was in Ireland before), economic situation [both in Poland and Ireland] and my interests in Vikings. It was rather to learn more about this country, to see, to experience it. We had plenty of information from newspapers. We were reading a lot of features on [Celtic] Tiger and we were interesting in it.' (Int. M/1).

Pawel (33 years, IT specialist), 'At the beginning I didn't want to come back to Poland. When you exchanged 13 years old Fiat Mini for Mercedes Benz you don't want to drive a Fiat Mini once again' (Int. P/2)

For young people, migration relates to their economic status and personal achievements. They see the experience abroad and contact with other cultures as an opportunity to work, learn and travel. (Kosic, Triandafillidou 2002).

People choose Ireland as a destination country for their labour migration because of earlier links with Ireland e.g. scholarships, working holidays; company transfers, English speaking country and easier entrance than to the Great Britain.

Slawa, (29 years, architect), 'I wanted to improve my English language skills. It was difficult to enter the Great Britain, the USA is too far away and Ireland was the easiest'. (Int. S/11).

Marzena, (28 years, software test engineer) 'We didn't choose any different country because there is in here companies where we were working in Poland for and it was the next stage in our career curriculum. It means that we are in the headquarter now, and before we were with subcontractors and now we are in the headquarter...'. (Int. M/1).

<i>Push Factors (from Poland)</i>	<i>Pull factors (to Ireland)</i>
<p><i>Macro (general) factors:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - increasing unemployment in Poland; - no job opportunities for university leavers; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - low wage economy; - corruption of the political elites; - to overstay difficult economic and social situation in Poland before its accession to the EU; - the learn the EU countries before Poland's accession; <p><i>Micro (personal) factors:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - family in financial need; - no opportunities for personal, professional developments and improvements; - new life orientation (university leavers; newly weds; death of member of family); - difficult relations in the workplace because of worsening general situation in the Polish market. 	<p><i>Macro (general) factors:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - English speaking country; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - high wage economy; - high living and working conditions; - economic growth in Ireland and shortages of the labour force; <p><i>Micro (personal) factors:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to improve English; - getting better money; - opportunities for using better equipment; - better conditions in the work place (e.g. lunch breaks, less formality, more flexibility); <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reunification with family; - life experience; good point in CV ('Ireland is a model of a success for Poland'); to gather some work experience; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - remittances; - earlier links with Ireland <i>via</i> scholarships; working holidays.

Workplace

At work migrant are able to construct their personal, career and national identities as comparing to the other nations.

Interviewees see themselves as people who are able to work efficiently, punctual, meeting deadlines, ready to work; who are actively seeking their chances (particularly recent third level graduates); who deliver work of higher quality than the Irish worker at the same position and at the same time earning less than their relevant comparators, mostly Irish. They stress their high work motivation and good job performance.

On the other hand they can feel discriminated against their nationality.

Joanna, (31 years, PA in construction company), 'I realised that an Irish being on my position would earn more. Positions, which we -Poles held in the company are quite low.(...) I cannot move upward in my company because we are foreigners, we don't have any opportunities... That's why I am not going to stay here...(.) Because of their racism(...) We have low wages... They still treat us as a cheap labour force. (Int.J/18).

People do experience process of de-skilling which can undermine self-esteem and confidence in the labour market. Short term can work out as a stimulus (such as improvement of languages) while long-term as a process of getting out off the specialisation.

'Do you feel that you work below your qualifications?

Michal, (34 years, sales/transport assistant), 'Yes I do, for sure. At some stage I noticed that I could give something from my education, they could learn something from me but what for? I see know that they are very resistant to knowledge'. (Int. M/3)

Harsh conditions and circumstances in Poland push people to undermine their self-esteem and hesitate challenges in the labour market while searching jobs.

Marzena, (28 years, software test engineer) 'I was applying for the lowest position and I made mistake. (...) But I have chosen the lowest position, the lowest in the hierarchy. I did wrongly, though that I didn't manage to... (take up a higher position) because of my poor English'. (Int. M/1).

Why do Irish people employ foreigners, Poles in particular? Polish economic immigrants do believe that the general opinion on them is more positive than about other nationalities. They justified these positive attitudes, in line with the literature, in terms of their readiness to work, being precise and trustworthy. (Kosic, Triandafillidou 2002)

Ala, (not a real name, 22 years, waitress), 'I think that employers prefer Poles, Czechs than Spaniards. Spaniards are very lazy but Poles are very precise and they do their best at work. That's why they prefer people from this part of Europe [Central and Eastern]. (Int. A/17).

The Polish economic migrants notice that the Irish people want to enjoy an affluent life style -a novel element for them which means more time apart hectic, 'dirty', time consuming, low paid jobs.

Michal (34 years, sales/transport assistant)' Once I met some Irish who spoke to me some Polish word. I asked him how you knew this vocabulary? He answered: I employ seven Poles who arrived in Ireland in 1980s. What do they do for you?, I asked. 'They crumble stone', he answered. 'They crumble stone in a terrible noise' - he was an owner of this company and he couldn't find any Irish. He didn't have any problems with documents for them because he made arguments of their employment: working conditions - 100 decibels-level of noise, and they knew (in Work Permits Office) that he couldn't find any Irish to take up these jobs. But for a Pole who used to be a miner, and worked with a pneumatic hammer - it was a piece of cake'. (Int.M/3)

Michal (34 years, sales/transport assistant) 'When I was searching my job, I finally realised that they (Irish) looking for people to take up jobs which they don't do themselves'. (Int. M/3)

Agnieszka (not real name, 30 years, personal assistant to a disabled person), 'The Irish Wheelchair Association is not a job where Irish people would be keen on work. They don't want to take up jobs in restaurant because it is tough job. And foreigners have their chances here. They can search a job where a very narrow specialisation is demanded and they [Irish] do not have such or not enough people with sufficient experience and they employ foreigners, or there is a job where Irish people do not want to work because it is though both physically and psychologically. (Int. A/4)

Some people also explain the reasons of employing Poles by their companies along with companies' investments in Poland or in Central and Eastern Europe in general.

Beata, (30 years, economist in the banking sector), 'Because my company has its investments in Poland, meaning 70,5 per cent shares in...(banks). I work in Poland Division so they need a person familiar with the Polish market and having both Polish and English skills. So they appointed a person with a native Polish. It would be rather difficult to find an Irish person with Polish but if they had found one, she/he would have a yield to take up this job'. (Int. B/6).

Anna (26 years, financial analyst) 'Because of a language. My position was connected with the Polish language. I deal with Central and Eastern European market... (Int. A/15)

Interviewees also notice many similarities between Ireland and Poland: history, Catholicism etc. and they derive these positive Irish attitudes to the Polish employees from these cultural proximity.

Aneta, (24 years, telecommunication company, customer care), 'Irish keep saying that Poles are like them a little bit. (...) Irish have very good opinion of us and they like us' (Int.A/9).

Summary

Pawel (33 years, IT specialist), 'A departure to work abroad is an investment in your future, a bullet point in your curriculum vitae'. (Int. P/2)

Polish people seem to be very mobile and flexible. Maybe, because of the tradition of emigration in the history of Poland. They often try to move socially upwards after some time. They are more flexible to change their jobs and professions than their parents. They often want to improve their skills and they finance their education (e.g. English language schools, new diplomas or second masters while being abroad).

Albeit every interviewee was particular in a sense, I found some typical patterns among my interviewees:

- Bread -winner abroad, money earner, supporting family in Poland and spending money in Poland. Money earned abroad covers daily needs of the family in Poland but also help to achieve advanced consumption level in a way of a process of implementation western European countries' life-style. This life-style wasn't experience by the bread-winner abroad in most cases.²⁰

²⁰ Romaniszyn (2002) in her recent studies emphases that 'the diffusion of new consumption patterns acquired by migrants abroad, brought back upon their return, and "implemented" by the means of remittances (...) reveals a strategy of postponed consumption as opposed to immediate consumption, occurring in the host country'.

- Global migrant, moving to the other (higher wage; post-industrial) country in order to improve living and working conditions of his/her; often a couple without children.
- Affluent life-style migrant, exploring opportunities of multicultural metropolis and aspirant to cultural and social life of the upper middle class of the elites in receiving countries.²¹

6. Conclusions and Policy Considerations

In this chapter, I summarise the material presented in my study and derive some policy conclusions and considerations from my findings. As I do so, I am conscious of the wide range of issues involved in the analysis of immigration to Ireland based on the case study of the Polish people. It is not possible in the confines of a single study to explore in detail all these issues. In this overview, I attempt to present a relatively self-contained review of the study which draws attention to the silent factors behind in recent process of immigration into Ireland, the social, economic and political implications of immigration in the Irish context, and the policy issues raised by this outlook.²²

I hope that I managed to show that the understanding of migration process is among others about understanding both 'push' (sending country) and 'pull' factors (receiving country), which can help to design the labour immigration policy. With the enlarging European Union it is not possible at this stage to design purely national immigration policies: a Union that encompasses an internal market, a joint labour strategy, an area without internal border control, a common social policy agenda and a shared set of human rights commitments. Many European countries, Ireland among them are currently experiencing economic growth and job creation, leading to pressures on governments, mainly from the side of employers, to adopt more effective and transparent immigration policies (Niessen 2002: 15-17).

Migration is an option for meeting socio-economic challenges and a complementary labour market strategy can shape the economic and social futures of European countries (Niessen 2002, 20). The study emphasises the need to recognise the social, economic and political causes of migration, in line with the literature, (Kosic and Trandafyllidou 2002). Many people leave their countries because they are not satisfied with the conditions they have there, and the time devoted to economic development of the country is simply too long. People are tired waiting for better living and working standards to which they aspire.

Labour immigration policy needs to take account of the fact that patterns of labour mobility are changing. Both policy makers and employers need to anticipate future trends, future shortages, and the extent to which those shortages can and should be met by internal recruitment and re-training or through migration.

Basically, the analyses set out in the earlier chapters have indicated that recent Polish labour emigration derived not only from depressed conditions in the domestic labour market *per se*, but also closely related to the relative performance of the Polish economy with reference to Ireland. Poland has languished in recession three/ four years ago, some time after the beginning of the systemic transition starting with the collapse of the Communist rule. There is, as presented in statistics, an evidence that unemployment will rise up. The scale of the employment crisis in Poland which befell the Polish economy after 1998 has not to be recounted in this study.

²¹ Compare Vogel 2003: 14.

²² Compare National Economic and Social Council 1991.

The longer term effects of migration are much more uncertain. For sure, Polish migration from the country of labour surpluses is a supply of labour in Ireland, country of labour shortages. Migration involves both high skilled and low skilled persons. The questions is rather towards Poland whether this emigration will deprive the country socially and economically. Such problems will be accentuated in Poland if the situation had last long. In this context, certain features of the current migratory outflow are worrying, not least of which is the number of skilled young persons involved. This of itself might not constitute a long-term disadvantage, but it can be viewed from the perspective of economic integration of Europe in light of the forthcoming enlargement of the EU. But on the other hand, with the outflow of young, skilled labour force from Poland, it could be difficult to achieve higher level of growth and economic convergence with the current Member States. However, the supply pressure in the Polish labour market and in the youth market in particular, are high and it will be very difficult to accommodate this labour force in Poland who has quite high aspirations.

Turning to the influence of Poland's relative economic performance on the outflow of the labour force from Poland, I have emphasised the final phase of the systemic transition and its factors as a key determinant of labour emigration. The final phase of systemic transition in Poland overlaps with economic boom and good economic performance of Ireland. The prospects for the future are, therefore, crucially dependent on how rapidly employment and living standards improve in Poland relative to what happens in Ireland, Europe, elsewhere. The prospects in this regard are good because Poland with other nine accession countries is about to join the EU 1st of May 2004. The marked under-performance of the Polish for last four years is due to several factors, including policy mistakes, that should not hopefully recur in the 1990s (even though the current global slow down casts a cloud over the horizon). Poland is experiencing now delayed convergence with Western countries, 20-30 years behind Ireland.

This study does not confirm the fears of massive influx of labour from Poland to Ireland after its accession to the EU. We can conclude that the migration of Polish workers will follow similar pattern to labour movement. It will be in general temporary, limited to certain sectors.

Allowing free access to the Irish labour market, Ireland can be a net beneficent having cheaper, relatively well-trained labour force from the Accession Countries: employers can appreciate the potential offered by access to the labour of the Accession Countries and experience less hectic administration after May 2004.

In Europe, processes of transformation of labour markets, migration and social policy have been put into a new framework, that of the European Union. Labour mobility has been facilitated among member states at the end of transitional periods at the latest. Can we expect that accession countries will experience political bargaining, benchmarking rather than binding legal rules, to define the level of welfare protection to be safeguarded as well as the level of labour market protection to be guaranteed (Strath 2003: 7)?

The 'inter-linked economy' increasingly provides for a 'borderless world' facilitating unimpeded travel and economic activities, it is the global elites who increasingly enjoy such tendencies. However *en détail* that often proves to be more of a vision than reality. In contrast, low-skilled, low-paid workers are still subject to rigid immigration controls. In fact, both are wanted by the employers, both are integrated into the labour market, and both derive their identity from economic activity (Duvell 2003: 17).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Sources of data

Name and no. of survey	Sample	Questions	Notes/ Remarks
1. Eurobarometer No. 2/ 1991 (September - October).	Multinational sample N = 10025	Q32 and Q33 + Section D: demographics D1-D18 (see app.1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ From the e-mail correspondence with Eurobarometer office: questions were stopped to be asked since 1991. ➤ At some stage of my research I also cut the data sets using Poland's sample only. ➤ I excluded Albania (Albania was listed but data wasn't provided in the data set) from any calculations in order to avoid miscalculations in relation to the other countries.
2. International Social Survey Global 1996 (National Identity and the Role of Government)	Multinational sample N = 30894	Q2 + characteristics: Q52-Q77 (see app.2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ At some stage of my research I also cut the data sets using Poland's sample only.
3. Centre for Public Opinion Research (CBOS) in Poland, Report 2001/14 'Do Poles want to work in the EU countries?'	National sample N = 1032	Q51, Q52, Q53 + demographics: M1 - M24 (see app.3)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The data set was ordered in Poland (SPSS format sav.) for the purpose of this project
4. Centre for Public Opinion Research (CBOS) in Poland, Report BS/39/2003 (February) 'Optimism and Pessimism in thinking about the effects of the European Integration'.	National sample N = 1004	Q29, Q30 + demographics: M1 - M26 (see app.4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ The data set was ordered in Poland for the purpose of this project.

Appendix 2. Timetable of interviews across occupational sectors

Occupational sectors/ date of interview	8.04. 2003	13.04. 2003	18.04. 2003	19.04. 2003	23.06. 2003	27.06. 2003	28/29.07. 2003	29.07. 2003	30.06. 2003	03.07. 2003	03.07. 2003	11.07. 2003	13.07. 2003	15.07. 2003	16.07. 2003	16.07. 2003	16.07. 2003	20.07. 2003	29.07. 2003	29.07. 2003
Clerical and Administrative																		18		20
General Labourers and Builders										10										
Operator and Production Staff																				
Sales Staff			3																	
Transport Staff																				
Childcare, Nursing and Home Cleaning Staff				4	5														19	
Hotel Tourism and Catering							7	8												
Craft Workers												12								
IT	1	2											13	14						
Banking, Finance and Telemarketing						6			9						15					
Construction and Architect Specialists											11									

No. 11 - before in childcare 2 years

Appendix 3. Respondents' characteristics

No. of interview And name of interviewee	Gender	Place of residence in Poland	Place of residence in Ireland	Visiting abroad before	Age	Year of arrival in Ireland	Way of finding job in Ireland	Work abroad before coming to Ireland	Marital status	Family in Ireland	Education	Profession	Work in Ireland	Work in profession in Ireland	Satisfaction with job	Organisation affiliation	Stay in Ireland	Return to Poland
1. Marzena	Female	Warszawa	Dublin	Yes	29	2001	Firm in Poland (Polish brand); husband; friends)	Yes (during vacations: Italy)	Married	Yes	Third level IT, engineer; specialisation : software	Software Test Engineer	Software Test Engineer	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not permanently	Yes, in the future
2. Pawel	Male	Warszawa	Dublin	Yes	33	1999	Firm in Poland	No	Married	Yes	Third level education; Software engineer	Software engineer	Software engineer	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
3. Michal	M	Warszawa	Dublin	Yes	34	2000	Advertising in the newspaper; friends	Yes (GB)	Married	Yes	Third level; Transport and public communication engineer	Transport and public communication engineer	Sales Assistant	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
4. Agnieszka	F	Kraków	Dublin	Yes	30	2000	friends	No	Single	No	Third level	Physical geography	Disabled Care Assistant	No	Don't know	Yes	No	Yes
5. Joanna	F	Wrocław	Dublin	Yes (vacations)	27	2002	friends	No	Single	No	Third level	Economist; marketing	House cleaning	No	Yes	No	Difficult to say	Yes
6. Beata	F	Kozinice (Central Poland)	Dublin	Yes	30	2000	Company in Poland (tourist fair)	Yes (Italy)	Single	No	Third level	Economist: management	Banking, finance	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
7. Kasia	F	Warszawa	Dublin	Yes	27	2002	friends	No	Married	Yes	Second level	Artist: artistic ceramic	Catering company	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
8. Tomek	M	Warszawa	Dublin	Yes	28	2002	Friends, scholarship in Ireland	No	Married	No	Third Level	Engineer; Environment Protection	Cafeteria	No	No	No	No	Yes
9. Aneta	F	Lublin	Dublin	Yes	24	2002	Advertising - USIT, Internet	Yes (Germany, Austria)	Single	No	Third level	German philologist	Consumer care	No	Yes	No	No	Difficult to say
10. Witek	M	Podkarpackie Region	Dublin	Yes	26	2002	On the street	No	Married	Yes	Third level	Engineer: material and ceramic	Audio Video System Installation	Yes and No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
11. Slawa	F	Kraków	Dublin	Yes	29	2000	Door - to- door	Yes (Norway, GB)	Single	No	Third Level	Architect	Architect (before au pair)	Now, yes	Yes	No	No	Yes, difficult to say

12. Henryk	M	Lubajny, Warmińsko - Mazurskie Region	Dublin	Yes	34	1999	Local newspaper	Yes (Germany, Czech Republic)	Married	No	Second level	Wood Technology specialisation : furniture	Carpenter	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
13. Jarek	M	Józefów/ Warszawa	Dublin	Yes	31	1997	Friends, Internet	Yes, GB, scholarship	Single	No	Third level	Engineer, telecommunication	Engineer supervisor and consultant	Yes	Yes	No	Rather, not	Rather, yes.
14. Radek	M	Dębica	Dublin	Yes	30	1998	Newspaper in Poland	No	Single	No	Third level	Engineer	Software and microprocessors	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
15. Anna	F	Tychy	Dublin	Yes	26	2001	Friends	Yes, the USA	Single	No	Third level	Economist	Finance, Microsoft	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
16. Tomek	M	Opole	Dublin	Yes (holidays)	20	2002	Direct; FAS; friends	No	Single	No	Second level	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
17. Barbara	F	Kraków	Dublin	Yes	22	2002	Direct	Yes (GB)	Single	No	Second level	Curator	restaurant	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
18. Joanna	F	Poznań	Dublin	Yes	31	2001	Newspapers, interview in Poland	No	Single	No	Third level	Economist	Constructing company	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
19. Agnieszka	F	Nowy Sącz	Dublin	Yes	27	2001	Career centre at the university	No	Single	No	Third level	Pedagogue Nurse	No	Yes	No	Yes	No response	Yes
20. Barbara	F	Warszawa	Dublin	Yes	25	2000	Husband	No	Married	Yes	Third level	Sociologist	Administration	Yes	No response	No	No	Yes

Appendix 4. Discussion Guide

- 1. Relaxation of the respondent**
 - a. explanation of the purpose of the interview
 - b. double assurance on anonymity
- 2. History of migration**
 - Chronology of migration year by year
- 3. Explaining migration decisions:**
 - Migration intentions and behaviour:
 - a. migration motives and determinants (general and personal)
 - b. facilitating and constraining factors on migration
 - c. reasons for leaving
 - d. reasons for emigration – those with jobs in Ireland.
- 4. Workplace**
 - a. Why does your employer employ foreign labour force?
 - b. Why Poles in particular?
 - c. Your industrial relations in your workplace:
 - with manager
 - with your fellows.
- 5. Respondent's characteristics (app. No 5)**

Appendix 5. Questionnaire

Interview No.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

Gender:

A	Male	
B	Female	

1. Where do you live in Poland?

.....

2. Where do you live in Ireland?

.....

3. Have you ever lived outside Poland before?

A	Yes	
B	No	
C	Refused/No Answer	

3a. If yes. Where?

.....

4. Can you tell me your year of birth, please 19.....

5. How long have you been to Ireland?

.....

6. How have you found your job?

.....

7. Have you ever worked outside Poland before?

A	Yes	
B	No	
C	Refused/No Answer	

7a. If yes. Where?

.....

8. What is your current marital status?

A	Married	
B	Living as married	
C	Widowed	
D	Separated	
E	Divorced	
F	Never married	
D	Refused / No Answer	

9. Is your family here with you?

A	Yes	
B	No	
C	Refused/No Answer	

10. What is the highest qualification level you have reached in your education to date?

.....

11. Please describe the nature of business which you work in.

.....

12. Do you work in your profession?

A	Yes	
B	No	
C	Refused/No Answer	

13. Are you satisfied with your job?

A	Yes	
B	No	
C	Refused/No Answer	

14. Are you affiliated to some organisation / social group?

A	Yes	
B	No	
C	Refused/No Answer	

14a. If yes. Please describe the nature of the organisation which you are in:

.....

15. Would you like to stay in Ireland?

A	Yes	
B	No	
C	Refused/No Answer	

16. Do you want to come back to Poland?

A	Yes	
B	No	
C	Refused/No Answer	

16a. If yes. Why and when.....

16b. If no. Why.....

Thank you.