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Literature on Job Mobility in Poland

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VI. Literature on Job Mobility in Poland

1. Premise

1.1. Introduction

Before summarising the literature on mobility in Poland, it is crucial to list four key insights necessary to understand the overall situation in the country.

The historical and cultural background

Poland has a long tradition of the international migration, and very strong migration networks, some of them coming from XIX century. There are regions in Poland where the majority of inhabitants have more family members abroad than in other regions of Poland (e.g. the small town Nowy Targ has strong family ties with United States of America); in Silesia more than 0.5 million people have both Polish and German citizenship. In result, in many cases, the mobility infrastructure is more available and more efficient for moving abroad than to move inside Poland. Migration was not only accepted, but highly valued life strategy during the period of “iron curtain” (1945 – 1989), especially bearing in mind the black market exchange rate: the average salary in Poland calculated against US dollar was app. 20 “black market” USD. It goes without saying that internal job mobility could not provide such level of economic remittances. And still cannot, especially for people with low skills.

Mobility and economic transformation in Poland

Before the 2nd World War, Poland was underdeveloped country, with more than 60% of people employed in agriculture (small and very poor family farms), and weak industrial potential. After the war, under the new socialist government Poland underwent so called “forced industrialisation”: masses of people from the villages were encouraged to move to the newly built (or rebuilt) industrial plants. That massive movement continued till seventies, when the demand for “blue collars” and unskilled manual labour went down. Thus, in that period Poland experienced mass job mobility in various forms: (1) moving from the rural to urban areas, linked with acquiring “blue collar” status; (2) commuting to jobs in the nearby town (industrial plant) while still keeping small family farm.

Poland entered 1989 as the industrial society, with 33% of economically active employed in industrial sector of the economy, 38% - in service sector, and still 29% employed (mainly self-employed on the small family farms) in agriculture. With introducing market economy, the country undergoes de-industrialisation, and the modern labour market segment develops. As those who lose jobs in the industry (unskilled and skilled blue collars) and agriculture (closing down the state owned collective farms, “kolchoz” type, collapse of many of the small family farms confronted with market competition) have very low levels of education, the unemployment got very high in Poland. For those people, internal mobility is not an option: the demand is for the “modern,” high skilled occupations. In result, the job mobility in Poland is very low. Its main “attractor” is the modern segment of the labour market, and it appears mainly as the part of the strategy of young people from “provincial” regions: they come to big cities (University centres) to study, and then try to find a job and stay. However, the supply of “young educated” is higher than the number of attractive jobs: for many of the young people, international migration is a much better option, both economically (salaries) and as an investment for the future (good language skills and experience abroad is a huge competitive advantage on the Polish labour market).

All in all, Poland is far from the (post) modern type of mobility, staying still in the more traditional mode of economically driven mobility oriented toward “survival,” and not toward career or self-development. There are not enough economic incentives to become mobile internally: the levels of salaries and wages do not differ that much, and the well paid segment of the labour market is only opened for the best educated, young people. To the contrary: one may even say there are disincentives to become mobile in Poland. The prices of flats (and for renting the flat) are extremely high; the majority of Poles do not own their flats (in terms of having legal ownership) so they cannot sell them in order to buy another one somewhere else. The transportation system, especially intraregional, has collapsed making commuting difficult. The legal regulations on the Polish labour market do not stimulate job mobility either: employers do not subsidise renting flat (or subsidise for few months only), do not offer help for finding a job for the spouse or for settling down. All these makes internal mobility quite exclusive behaviour in Poland.

The “pay offs” of international versus internal job mobility

Poland is among the poorest countries of the European Union, as measured by GDP at Purchasing Power Parity. The salaries and wages are significantly lower than in the “old” EU

15. The differences in the potential of the economies still encourage international migration, though for two different reasons. For low skilled people, who have major difficulties in finding the permanent job in Poland, seasonal work abroad or other forms of migration (e.g. incomplete, or circular) is the winning option: few months abroad can give more money than the yearly wage in the low paid job in Poland. These are very often “illegal” workers abroad. On the other side of the labour market, for high skilled and young people (medical doctors, information sciences specialist and students) the ratio of local salaries against those offered abroad does not leave much space for doubts.

This makes Poland the country with job mobility being predominantly cross border mobility, and not internal one, as the pay off of the former one is much bigger, and – on top of that, the networks and infrastructure of migration is well developed; may be even better than the infrastructure for the internal mobility.

The phenomenon of the Polish family

Poland has just entered the 2nd demographic transition, with typical changes in the demographic behaviour: delaying marriages, which contributes to the decline of the marriage rate, lower birth rate and improvement in the life expectancy at birth. Yet, compared to the developed European countries, Poland is still family-centred: the marriage rate is still high, the divorce rate, though on increase, is still relatively low, the “singles” and modern family life patterns (e.g. Living Apart Together) are marginal. Due to the very low efficiency of the family – oriented service sector and inefficiencies of the state institutions, Polish family has to cope on its own, relying rather on the informal (family) networks than on institutions. This makes Polish family quite strong: it still has to serve a “social unit” to support individuals, rather than the emotional space for individuals to grow. Family – marrying, having a long term close relationship, having children, living quiet life among the closest ones composes the most valued set of values for the Polish society, including young people (e.g. European Value Systems Survey).

Paradoxically, this works in favour of the international job mobility. First, because of the economic reasons (higher pay off), second – because of the well developed norms and culture of migration (it is easier to accept father working in Germany than in another region of Poland), third – because of some cost being lower (including the status deprivation: low status job abroad is not that “visible” as the low status job undertaken in Poland). Moreover, migration is predominantly the family matter: both in terms of the motivation to migrate (to

support family via remittances), and in terms of the family networks utilised.

To summarise: the specificity of the Polish history, the shape of the internal labour market, together with the difference in the economic potential of Poland against other EU member states makes Polish job mobility biased toward international migration of various types. This explains also why the migration problems prevail in researches and theory. The very fact that migration is undertaken mainly by people with family status (married, often with children) explains, in turn, why the impact of migratory job mobility is analysed in the frame of the “family disruption.”

Internal job mobility was the major topic of sociological examination in the sixties, in the specific period of “forced industrialisation.” It is worth mentioning, in this context, that in the main economic survey in Poland (continuous monitoring of the labour market BAEL, i.e. the Survey of the Economic Activity of People) there is no question included concerning the time needed to get to the job (or any other indicator of job mobility). Similarly, research on family life in Poland focuses on the changes of its structure and values and strategies of coping. Apart of the specific occupational groups (e.g. sailors), and outside of the migration context, the question of the impact of mobile living on the quality of family life is not even asked. NB, this shows the importance of “JobMob” project for Poland.

1.2. Phenomenology of mobility types in Poland in regard to the project typology.

Let us comment now on the mobility types that are present in Poland against the project typology of 11 forms of mobility (proposal p. 8). The recent situation in Poland is marked by the predominance of international migration, with only small contribution of the internal mobility types like commuting, shuttling and moving. A tentative explanation will be given when discussing infrastructure and social capital issues, as well as culture of migration. Another important characteristic of Polish migrations is their local specificity: there is different intensity of cross border mobility, different cultures, strategies and destinations of migration in various regions: e.g. Silesia is “sending” migrants predominantly to Germany, while Podlasie has strong links to Belgium and United States.

	TYPES OF MOBILE LIVING (JobMob)	TYPES OF MOBILE LIVING IN POLAND	AVAILABLE LITERATURE
1	Daily commuters	marginal, involves either suburban areas (a) or borderland (b)	scarce
2	Shuttles	Marginal	none
3	Long distance relationship	Rare (4%?)	none
4	Varimobile	pertains to specific vocational groups (c)	some
5	Seasonal workers	Considerable	yes
6	Movers	Marginal	none
7	Migrants	Big	Yes
8	Foreign delegates	pertains to corporate delegates and scientific migration	scarce
9	Job nomads	Rare	none
10	Multi-mobiles	Rare	none
11	Multi-mobilities	Rare	none
	--	temporary, circular, “incomplete” migration (d)	Yes

Due to the differences between Poland and the countries in Western Europe, it is key to describe the mobility types as they appear in Poland, including the ones that are specific for our country (namely, a through d). Without these explanations, one may be easily misled by the names: e.g. vari-mobile appears in Poland, but for very special occupations only; so it is driven by the necessities of the job and not by the individual choice. Sailor is “vari-mobile” just because he is a sailor, and not because he and his wife (partner) made a specific choice as to their family arrangement.

Daily commuters. The (a) type is exactly the very type of commuting defined in the project typology, but the phenomenon itself is very recent and restricted to suburban areas of big Polish cities, thus not massive (Nowak, Sikora 2004).

The (b) type, although may seem similar to regular commuting, is a “grey zone” economic activity – thus not regular or legal job. This type of “daily commuting” is a particular form of “trade” - commercial cross-border activity. It consists of the series of cross-border transactions. Taking advantage of the price differential on the two sides of the border

so called mrówki (lit. “ants”) circulate daily between two sides of the border buying and selling goods in small quantities to avoid paying customs (Matejko 2006). By definition this type of mobility is locally specific (limited to borderland).

The rural – urban commuting is no longer present as it used to be before 1989 (Okólski 2001). As explained in the Introduction, there are no jobs for the rural (the group with the lowest skills and the lowest levels of education) people in the urban areas: the industry shrinks, and the growing service sector demands much higher qualifications.

Vari-mobile. The (c) type is present and studied in the form of impact of sailor job on his family (Janiszewski 1986, Janiszewski 1991, Kaczmarczyk-Sowa 1996). Other varimobile job categories present in Poland (e.g. stewards/esses, drivers) remain unexplored.

The (d) type. The most important and characteristic type of Polish mobility seems to be the (d) type, so-called “incomplete migration” (Jaźwińska, Okólski 2001). It is quite common and seems to be a dominant trait of Polish migrations (Jaźwińska 2001). “Incomplete migration” is a temporary or circular mobility that involves irregularity of stay or work in the host country while maintaining close and steady contacts with migrant's household, without the intention to settle down in the host country. “Seasonal work” can be seen as a type of “incomplete migration.” It tends to be a long term strategy (lasting for couple of years), and is mainly undertaken as a survival not advancement strategy. Migrants, recruited from peripheries, work in secondary labour market in receiving societies (dual labour market theory: Piore 1979, Massey 1999). It results in social exclusion of the migrant in receiving as well as sending country (Osipowicz 2001).

1.3. Theories

In Polish mobility studies the following theoretic approaches are used: neoclassical economics, new economics of labour migration (Oded Stark), dual labour market theory (Michel Piore), social capital and social networks theory (Bourdieu, Coleman, Massey).

1.4. Methods

In Polish mobility studies the classical survey research are applied, as well as mixed methods strategies, mainly ethnosurvey (Massey 1987, Jaźwińska & Okólski 2001, Jończy 2003). Qualitative studies on selected cases (local communities, communities of migrants) are also used quite often.

2. Job mobility and motility (incl. infrastructure)

2.1. Demands of high mobility of modern life

It should be stressed Poland is still modernizing rather than modern country. With very high unemployment, there are not many local labour markets that would “pull” people from other regions. The shortages of the work supply appear more as the result of the migration than as an outcome of the modern life demands: e.g. there are problems with seasonal workers in the tourist segment, as Poles prefer to work in UK or Ireland than in Polish hotels/restaurants. The demand for really modern jobs – in banking, modern services, is still quite low, and can be easily fulfilled by local people. The “high mobility issue” (call for more flexibility, life long learning etc.) is overshadowed by the extremely difficult situation on Polish labour market; lack of jobs combined with poor transport infrastructure fosters internal mobility, while encouraging certain types of international mobility. As estimated recently (Rzeczpospolita, June 16th 2006), over 2’000’000 Poles has left Poland already to work abroad – mainly in Germany, UK, Ireland, Spain and Italy.

2.2. Mobility potential or motility: the access to transport infrastructure

In Poland the transport infrastructure is more an overall barrier against mobility than a facilitating factor. Infrastructure shortcomings form an important obstacle to internal mobility (commuting, shuttling, LDR). At the same time, international transport is being developed (e.g. economic airlines and direct private coach transport between sending and destination areas), which facilitates and encourages the trends toward cross-border mobility.

As far as the road infrastructure is concerned, there are three main barriers against mobility: lack of highways system (only short sections have been built), lack of bypasses/ring roads around big cities, and poor condition of the existing roads. The railroad infrastructure has also a lot of serious problems: it lacks high speed connections between the capital city and other cities, the regional and local (intraregional) connections have collapsed (thus “cutting off” a lot of small towns and villages from the centre of their respective regions), the technical infrastructure is in poor condition: e.g. the system of tracks is so old and underinvested that trains cannot develop higher speed (MTiB 2003). A focused study by Kochańska 2002 showed the crucial role of transport infrastructure in coping with the new reality of the transforming economy. The workers of ex-“PGR” (nationalised collective agriculture units, developed during socialism) - who are generally believed major “losers” of transformation, are “economically imprisoned”: after they have lost their jobs in PGR, they can neither

commute to the nearby towns to find a job there (lack of transportation), nor sell their flats and move (they do not own their flats).

The situation inside the cities is not much better: with the rapid growth of the number of inhabitants and even more rapid growth of the number of cars, travelling the same distance takes more and more time (traffic jam). The condition of the public transportation has not improved enough to compensate. Thus commuting is growing more problematic. However, in the biggest cities there is a recent tendency to move into suburbs and commute daily to work (Nowak, Sikora 2004).

Kryńska (2001) lists other barriers against mobility in Poland. Apart from infrastructure condition and general tendency toward immobility, the crucial factors to be taken into account while analysing mobility potential in Poland are housing situation (shortage of flats, prices and lack of legal private ownership) and dysfunctional labour information system (the last factor analysed also in Szewczyk 2004).

2.3. Mobility potential or motility: the competences

The major forms of mobility in Poland, incomplete migration and seasonal work, are connected with unskilled labour demand in the host societies. Therefore these are not skills that form the major mobility competence. As far as psychological traits are concerned their meaning is suggested to be marginal (as in the case of risk inclination, Hirszfeld, Kaczmarczyk 1999). The factor that remains important is individual's social capital. Górny and Stola (2001) noticed, however, that it is crucial only in the case of the first trip abroad: after the first step has been made successfully, an individual migrant acquires experience and knowledge of how to cope on his/her own, so the next migrations are undertaken relying on social networks.

As far as seasonal work is concerned a study of migrant woman by Matejko (2004) showed that the migration triggered an entrepreneurial spirit in them and a sense of personal autonomy.

Knowing the language of host society is a basic skill that one would expect from immigrants. Yet, as a study by Koryś (2001) showed, most of the migrants from outside Warsaw and around half of those from Warsaw didn't have any competence of the language before arriving. This lack in cultural capital was made up for by relying on social networks, but the latter at times turns out to be unreliable (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001). Her study

showed how, with the maturing of Polish migration in Brussels, growing saturation of labour market and the rivalry among compatriots, personal traits like linguistic competence but also interpersonal skills become more and more important in successful career on the labour market, while at the same time enabling one to build independence from social networks (that are no longer functional).

2.4. Mobility potential or motility: the appropriation, the culture of mobility

Poland has a long history of being a migrant, sending country. Starting from 19th century (e.g. Praszalowicz 2005, Hirszfeld, Kaczmarczyk 2000) migration was a widespread strategy undertaken throughout centuries for economic as well as political reasons. Emigration forms an important part of Polish collective memory. The mobility culture in Poland is a migration culture.

Many researches conclude that the overall acceptance of migration as coping strategy, as a normal part of life is very high in Poland (Kaczmarczyk, Hirszfeld 1999, Kaczmarczyk 2001, Solga 2002, Romaniszyn 2002). The “inclination, readiness to migrate” remains high among people who have never migrated yet (Slany 1997). The declared intention to migrate among Polish students is as high as 66% of surveyed sample - though more detailed analysis using couple of control questions estimated the real mobility potential on the level of 15% (Sygnowski 2004). However, even if the “real” migration intention is lower than the declared one, the study shows how accepted and high on the agenda of the life choices is migration in Poland. The interesting fact is that the children of migrants – i.e. the children of parents who use to migrate or migrated, are being socialised to migration. They claim they would undertake migration as soon as they leave school (Hirszfeld Kaczmarczyk 2000, Łopacka-Dyjak 2006).

The migration in Poland is usually the group (local community, family) activity: migrants rely on established networks, learn specific competence and go for specific destinations. Thus, migration in Poland is nested in local communities and in result shapes specific, local migration patterns. The existing social networks affect both the type of migration and the destination areas (Jończy 2003, Solga 2002, Jaźwińska & Okólski 2001).

Kupiszewski, Okólski 2004 claim that there is a direct link between the internal migration of the previous period (dual employment: commuting to the job in the city while still keeping small farm) and contemporary international migration, also being circular. There

is a shared general acceptance of migration though also a shared opinion about its drawbacks, which are mainly located in the realm of the family life (Solga 2002, Giza-Poleszczuk).

3. Family functioning, family structure, family development

In the recent major family studies (“sociology of the family”) the issue of the relation between job mobility and the quality of the family life is not raised or studied (e.g. Tyszka 2004, Slany 2002). The main reason is the very low – although increasing, level of the (internal) job mobility. The impact of the modern labour market demand (flexibility, mobility) is only considered in the frame of the 2nd demographic transition: the job and career demands affect family formation patterns of the young people (delaying marriages, staying single etc. – Slany 2002).

Thus the only information about the impact of job mobility on the family life is available in migration studies. The family under the migration condition, when one of the parents is temporarily absent, is seen as a temporary incomplete family and the fact of family “separation” is stressed.

In Polish migration literature the “family as a group/social unit” (versus “family as a set of individuals”) perspective is dominant. This approach has a long tradition in social sciences in Poland, started with the classical Thomas and Znaniecki studies, continued e.g. by Chałasiński (1936); Duda-Dziewierz (1938). The first comprehensive studies (famous “Polish Peasant” by Thomas and Znaniecki) that examined the impact of migration onto the family life found migration the disintegrative factor, leading to the decomposition of the family. The tendency to look at the migration from the point of view of the family as the social unit is still prevailing, and, in result, the consequences of migration are examined from the perspective of the family functioning, and not from the point of view of individual stress or the quality of (individual) life. The Polish theoretical tradition is one of the sources of that approach. Another one is the reality of Polish life, with the strong role of the family network compensating for the inefficiencies of the market and state institutions. Yet another impulse to look at the family as the social unit rather than the set of individuals is the high position of “family” in value system of Poles (e.g. CBOS 2005). People in Poland do make “sacrifices” for their families, and take family interests in consideration while making their life choices.

It is no wonder then that contemporary migration research choose the new economics of labour migration (Oded Stark) as one of the main theoretic perspectives (e.g. Jaźwińska,

Okólski 2001). In Stark's theory, the migration decision is taken by the household as a whole, not by an isolated individual; these are the members of the household who designate migrants in such a way as to maximise benefits and minimise costs for the family. The scope of migration is aimed at satisfying the household's needs (e.g. the status position among other households in a given locality), and at diversifying the economic risk by relying - apart from the domestic one, on the foreign labour market.

Interestingly enough, in Poland there is a growing proportion of female migration (due to foreign labour markets' demands), including married women with children. We should not, however, take this tendency as a sign of individualisation or emancipation of Polish women. This is still a family-centred migration, made for the sake of the family here, and not in the name of the personal benefit (Kępińska 2004, Okólski 2001, Kaczmarczyk 2005).

According to the recent studies, migration in Poland is not an individual strategy but rather a family strategy (or family-centred strategy of an individual).

3.1. Family structures

Mobility - family relation in Polish literature is analysed in regard to only one type of family: heterosexual (married) couple with or without children. There is no literature examining other family types: cohabiting couples, single parent families, recomposed families, same sex partnership etc. In Poland, however, the process of the pluralisation of family types has only started. For example, there are only 3% of singles in Poland (understood as people 35+ who have never been married), and only 2% of cohabiting couples.

3.2. Family functioning: The division of domestic and professional labour within couples

Mobility with a temporary absence of one of the partners obviously affects the division of labour within a household. Most probably, there are few models adopted by "migrant" households. One of them has been captured in Silesia (Opole) (Solga 2002): with the migrant man (father and husband), woman usually quits her job to fully take care of home duties and children.

Obviously, the partner that stays home is generally responsible for more duties than while both partners were present. However, the situation differs for men and women: there is a shared agreement in literature that the strategies of coping depend on who stays home (Giza 1996, Łukowski 2001, Solga 2002, Latuch 1996).

It has been proved that with man migrating, the left behind woman is overburdened with responsibilities and tasks to the point of the role-strain syndrome (Solga 2002). On the positive side, Kukułowicz (2001) points out that woman who has to cope on her own develops new skills and personality traits: becomes more self-sufficient and independent.

When this is a woman who migrates, then according to the research conducted, the left behind man is poorly coping with the domestic responsibilities, and is often prone to pathologies (e.g. heavy drinking); moreover, he seeks assistance of relatives (parents), especially in taking care of children (Łukowski 2001). Łukowski also noticed that the migrant woman tends to coordinate the family life even from distance. Thus, even under migratory condition, families are able to reproduce the traditional division of labour in the household: absent woman still responsible for the domestic sphere, man not able to cope with running home and taking care of children on his own, thus assisted by women relatives. It has been also proven, however, the migrating women become more independent – “liberated” (Matejko 2004); sometimes they even treat the temporary absence as a form of retreat from the burdens of everyday life (Korczyńska 2003, Łopacka-Dyjak 2006). The studies suggest also that in the case of mother’s migration children get more involved in housework (Łopacka-Dyjak 2006, Solga 2002).

Overall, job mobility (even international one) does not affect strongly the traditional division of duties between partners; however, women can gain through migration more independence and self-confidence.

3.3. Family functioning: an autonomous self versus a family as a group

The prevailing approach is in favour of viewing family as a group, with its own “collective” logic. Together with new economic theoretical approach, it results in looking for the cost and benefits of migration – for the family, not for an individual. On the side of the benefits, there are mainly financial values; on the side of cost, family disruption is very often mentioned. The general conclusion of the studies states migration has an overall negative impact of on family, and the migratory decisions are forced by the economic factors “at the cost” of the family values (Giza 1996, Solga 2002, Kaczmarczyk 2005).

Subjective view on migration – produced by migrants themselves, seems to suggest migration is always a trade – off. Migrants and their families appreciate the economic benefits (remittances) of migration, they are aware of its negative aspects, but they tend to accept the

trade-off. The awareness of the negative impact on family is largely shared in migrant communities; it will be discussed in the next paragraph “Family problems.”

Thus, migration is triggered by economic benefits. Remittances from migration are used for the family current consumption, often conspicuous; seldom for investments. The economic aspects of migration are crucial - especially in the case of the incomplete migration. The research prove incomplete migration is survival strategy for the family, not the strategy for investing or for advancement (Hirsztfeld, Kaczmarczyk xxxx, Korczyńska 2003, Romaniszyn 2002). It should be stressed benefits from migration are usually analysed from the point of view of household/family; they are not seen as an investment in individual human capital.

There is also, however, a more individualistic type of migration, driven by the personal development plan (or dream). This concerns, in general, certain groups of professionals and specialist (Kaczmarczyk, Okólski 2005), who are motivated to become mobile (migrate) with the perspective of settling in the receiving communities and pursue the personal career. However, these groups are to certain extent “pushed” by their professional situation in Poland. For example, medical doctor is paid in Poland almost ten times less than in Sweden and almost three times less than in Spain, Wyborcza (2006). Another group we can expect individualistic mobility from, are students and graduates (Sygnowski 2004). These are clearly, however, the pioneers of the new trends, that are still weak in Poland. Individualistic mobility, undertaken to find better, more encouraging environment for personal development, is still to come.

3.4. Family problems and ways of coping

In literature, various dimensions and aspects of costs/problems caused by mobility are discussed:

The bonds between family members weaken and become more and more superficial, which results in conflicts, parallel relationships and divorces (Łopocka-Dyjak 2006, Kaczmarczyk-Sowa 1996, Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001b, Romaniszyn 2002). It is worth to notice, however, that some studies (Romaniszyn 2002, Matejko 2004, Rosińska-Kordasiewicz 2005) suggest family crisis can be prior to migration, thus becoming a migration push-factor; so that migration is not always a cause of the family crisis, but at times also its symptom.

At the psychological level, the temporary separation from the partner results in stress,

depression, lack of sense of security, sense of loneliness etc. (Korczyńska 2003, Romaniszyn 2002, Solga 2002, Łopocka-Dyjak 2006, in sailors' families Kaczmarczyk-Sowa 1996).

When it comes to the impact on children, it is stated the negative consequences start appearing when the separation is longer than 3 months (Korczyńska 2003). The negative impact shows in worse performance at school and in vulnerability of the child to pathologies (e.g. drug addiction, juvenile criminality Solga 2002). At times the overburdening of the child with domestic tasks results in problems with coping with school tasks (Łopocka-Dyjak 2006).

However, the intensity of the negative consequences varies. There are families where the negative impact is high and vivid, but there are also cases of the families (under migration conditions) that do not suffer any negative consequences, and migration can even become a stimulus for integration of the family members and more involvement into the everyday activities (Łopocka-Dyjak 2006, the integrative function of sailors' absence: Janiszewski 1982).

Families struggle to cope with the prolonged separation, i.e. struggle to keep in touch, mostly by telephone calls (Korczyńska 2003), by buying gifts in order to compensate separation (mainly to the children), by visiting home as frequently as possible, in exceptional cases cooperating with other migrants to "change the shift" abroad in order to come home more frequently (Łukowski 2001). The help of extended family can be also seen as a coping strategy.

In the migrating communities e.g. Silesia (Opole) there are specific psychotherapeutic institutions which provide help for family members to cope with problems caused by mobility.

3.5. Family life cycle

Family life cycle affects the mobility patterns in various ways and differently for both genders. The relation between family life cycle and mobility, or more generally - the activity on the labour market and mobility, is stronger for women. The "small children phase" reduces the feasibility of migration to women but not the men (which is shown e.g. in Jaźwińska 1996, Kępińska 2004).

The childless seasonal workers declare different migration motives than migrants with children do (Korczyńska 2003). Jończy (2003) states that childless men undertake short-term,

temporary migrations, while men that have children get involved in long term, more stable work abroad (Jończy 2003). The similar effect is noted in Korczyńska 2003: having children generally motivates men to undertake the seasonal work. Among migrant parents there is a difference between the use that is made of remittances in relation to the age of children: when children are small, the remittances are being used to improve the living conditions, when the children are teenagers most of remittances are invested in their education (Korczyńska 2003).

4. Job market

4.1. Social mobility and spatial mobility

There is a vast agreement among Polish researchers that spatial mobility isn't necessarily accompanied by social mobility (Jaźwińska 2001, 2004). The types of mobility which do not trigger social advancement are connected with low paid unqualified jobs (without opportunities to become promoted) that form so called "secondary labour market" in post-industrial economies (Piore 1979). These are: seasonal work in agriculture (Korczyńska 2003, Kaczmarczyk, Łukowski 2004), "incomplete migration" in domestic and care service sector (women) (e.g. Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001a, Rosińska-Kordasiewicz 2005) and in constructions (men) (e.g. Hirszfeld, Kaczmarczyk 1999). As far as the above mentioned phenomena are concerned the spatial mobility not only does not promote the mobile individual in society, but to the contrary - it petrifies his or her marginal position on the labour market in sending as well as receiving country.

Social mobility correlates with spatial mobility in case of two professional niches: specialists and professionals on the one side, and qualified workers and office workers on the other side. These are, however, only small part of the overall mobility, additionally blocked by the politics of acknowledgement of the professional titles and certificates in the host countries (Kozek 2006).

4.2. Spatial mobility choices according to opportunities and requirements of the job market

The main mobility push factor in Poland is unemployment (currently 17,2% of labour force, April 2006). Its role in triggering mobility - e.g. seasonal work migrations, has grown in nineties (Kępińska 2004). Unemployment is selective: the groups that are most vulnerable to unemployment are women, young population, especially graduate people without work experience (Sygnowski 2004). Unemployment is also unequally distributed across country (Antoniszyn 2004). Women and young people having less opportunity on domestic labour

market are more prone to migrate (Kaczmarczyk 2005).

It was noted that migrant women' in comparison to migrant men' households are in worse economic situation, thus women seem to undertake more imposed migrations (Kępińska 2004).

The chosen types of spatial mobility that produce at the same time upward social mobility are obviously the expatriates – professionals and specialists for whom spatial mobility is the intrinsic part of the career path (Kaczmarczyk Okólski 2005).

4.3. Localisation of jobs within each country, spatial distribution of various kinds of jobs

Poland is a country with large interregional differences. For instance, the unemployment rate varies from the lowest 13,4% in Małopolskie Voivodship and 13,5% in Mazowieckie Voivodship to the highest rate in Warmińsko-Mazurskie Voivodship (26,6%) (GUS April 2006).

The rural-urban economic differences are growing. The peripheral regions have poor transport infrastructure (e.g. lack of good connections with central regions) which, apart from national industry collapse after 1989 is one of the factors that make it easier to migrate than to commute or shuttle. During the nineties the tendency to undertake internal mobility has lessen (Kryńska 2001).

The positive factor is the cooperation agreements between regions in different countries and European structural funds, which support improvement of infrastructure and enable local investments (Kaczmarek 2004).

Big cities are economic centres, with the job market changing more and more from an industrial one (in the past, big cities were also the industrial centres) to the service sectors. Thus there are less and less jobs in the big cities for the low skilled, unemployed people from other parts of Poland. Together with the high cost of living in big cities, it blocks the rural – urban job mobility. 40% of the Polish companies are located in big cities – Warsaw (hosts itself 10% of companies), Cracow, Wrocław, Łódź, Poznań, Gdańsk (Parysek 2004).

5. Social integration, social capital

5.1. Social capital and mobility types

We will show social capital aspects of mobility in regard to three types of mobility (as these only are discussed in Polish literature): seasonal work, migration and incomplete migration, marginally referring to foreign delegates. The most complete data have been collected and analyzed concerning the incomplete migration.

There is a general thesis that legal mobility is undertaken making use of the formal channels, while – to the contrary, illegal mobility takes advantage of the informal ties (Górny Stola 2001). This is definitely the case of “expatriates” (foreign delegates), who are recruited mainly in big the cities (e.g. in Warsaw); the important source of migration information are in this case, apart from the social networks, institutions and corporations that create the demand and initiate recruitment (Koryś 2001). In the case of the other forms of mobility, the crucial role of the social capital is stressed. Social capital is understood in the Polish literature as an access to social migration network (Górny Stola 2001), that is absolutely key to the migration process (Koryś 2001, Kaczmarczyk, Łukowski 2004, Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001, Górny, Stola 2001, Łukowski 2001). Surprisingly, also the allocation of regular “seasonal works,” though conditioned by bilateral government agreements, turns out to be dependent on various informal ties (Kaczmarczyk, Łukowski 2004a). It is worth stressing that overall in Poland the majority of people believe informal ties are key to get any job, whether abroad or at place.

The types of mobility that seem rather independent from the social capital, apart from foreign delegations, are types of migration connected with commercial activity: the 1.(b) type of cross-border commerce and commercial migrations (Górny, Stola 2001).

5.2. Composition of networks

In the case of these forms of migration that are strongly informal-tie-dependent, mobile individuals have a denser and stronger social network than immobile ones. This is the case of migration and incomplete migration (Górny, Stola 2001, Koryś 2001, Łukowski 2001), seasonal work (Kaczmarczyk, Łukowski 2004). In the case of formally initiated migrations - foreign delegations the social migrant networks turn out to be weaker (Górny, Stola 2001).

There is a hierarchy of the power (potential) of social relations in networks: they go from the strongest close-kin ties, through friendship and neighbour ties to the weakest and

most abstract ties based on shared nationality (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001b). The case of Polish migration to Belgium analysed in Grzymała-Kazłowska 2001a and 2001b shows the dynamics of social migrant networks: at the beginning of the migration process, the number of Poles involved was limited, and shared nationality was a sufficient reason to cooperate. As soon as the job market have saturated with Polish workers, only close-kin ties provide a reason to cooperate, and the role of individual cultural capital grows.

5.3. Social support, social networks and social capital

The social support in the case of Polish forms of mobility is analysed mainly as a support provided by family members in rearing children when one or both parents are temporarily absent due to economic migration or seasonal work. Most often these are grandparents, especially grandmothers, who take care of the left-behind children (Hirszfeld, Kaczmarczyk 1999, Korczyńska 2002). This way of coping is supported by the traditional notion of an extended family where not only parents but also other relatives take part in children's upbringing.

5.4. Spatial distribution of personal networks

There are differences between types of mobility in regard to the way social networks are distributed. Individuals undertaking migration rely more on social networks in the receiving country, people undertaking circular, "incomplete migration" use their social networks available in the sending country, in their local communities. As we observe a general shift from migrations towards incomplete migration after the 1989, we may assume that the significance of the local ties is on growth (Górny, Stola 2001).

Another aspect of the spatial dimension of mobility is the difference between the centre and peripheries. The peripheries, lacking economic and cultural capital, make up for by developing stronger networks (social capital); thus the social networks are relatively more important in the peripheries than in the centre. Relying more heavily on social networks leads to a higher unification of destination countries in the peripheries, whereas in the centre we notice more diversity (Koryś 2001). On the individual level, the lack of cultural capital is made up for by developing social networks. However, it seems social networks gets less reliable with the growing number of migrants. As shown by Grzymała-Kazłowska (2001), Polish migration networks to Belgium turns out to be deceiving, given the non-cooperative tendencies among migrants.

6. Quality of Life

6.1. Subjective well-being, health related issues and spatial mobility

The link between spatial mobility and quality of life seems ambivalent in Polish context. On the one hand, the economic benefits that are produced during job related mobility are invested in house infrastructure which improves material “quality of life.” On the other hand, stress connected with the separation from the family and with the burden of coping with problems in receiving society may lower the psychological “quality of life.” However there are no in-depth studies probing into this problem. While the mobility as a feature appearing ever more frequently on the labour markets was often discussed in the sociological papers in last years, Polish psychological studies did not deal with this issue. It is even more astonishing taken the fact that the work and organisational psychology was developing very quickly during the last years, also in Poland.

Our review of the Polish (published between 1995 and 2005) as well as foreign psychological literature available in Poland shows that the subject of mobility is, in principle, absent. What we could find were only few remarks and isolated contributions to akin issues.

A qualitative case-study “Job-Life Programmes and the Company Effectiveness” conducted by the Institute of Labour and Social Studies (Berłowski 2003) shows divergence between declarations and actions regarding the attitude of organisations toward family. On the declarative level three of four managers would have a person with family on a managerial position rather than a flexible single. A “family man” is usually regarded as emotionally mature, more loyal and committed to work. However, the policy of promoting and hiring in companies contradicts these statements. In reality, there is a clear preference for people who are disposable, without family obligations (Berłowski 2000b).

One should bear in mind however that company policy and organisational culture can make a world of difference as far as family is concerned. Therefore, we should differentiate between two kinds of companies – firms which rely on young, dynamical and fluctuating team (task-oriented organisations – which typically force overtime and rely on job-oriented workers without family) and others which emphasise attachment of workers to the organisation and offer them and their relatives family-friendly solutions such as child-care assistance or family meals which are to unburden the employees (family-oriented organisations – Berłowski 2000b).

Generally, managers in Poland are starting to appreciate building good relations with workers. Engaging family in the company's undertakings became an element of the marketing strategies (in order to picture organisation as family-friendly). It could be profitable, because family programmes could attach employees to the organisation and result in higher identification with the company objectives. Yet, the effectiveness of family-friendly programmes hasn't been proven. On the other hand such programmes can have "spoiling" impact and strengthen the demanding attitudes among the crew. Furthermore, programmes of this kind are not always welcomed by the employees.

Labourers wish the family to be a separate environment, a "calm harbour" after a hard day at work. Melting down these two orders may be felt as a kind of encirclement. It is good, to have something apart from job to live for. Additionally, numerous groups of employees prefer entertainment benefits (e.g. granting a subsidy for sport clubs) over family meals at work or family picnics, for instance (Berłowski 2000).

The discussion about involving family into motivating programmes is well recapitulated by Balcerzak-Paradowska (2003) who stresses that policies aimed at balancing work and family life are unrealistic in the face of the current situation on the labour market. Employer will not engage in a pricey programme, if the employee overburden with familial obligations can be easily replaced. We are not that far yet – claims Balcerzak-Paradowska (2003).

In magazines for managers ("Personnel and Management") we haven't found any remarks on this issue, apart from one comment, that from the organisational point of view mobility of the family-free employees is cheaper, because the relocation package is in this case less comprehensive (Berłowski 2000b).

The psychological analyses of families affected by mobility are hard to find in the Polish literature. Mobility is not only poorly defined, but it seems to be an uninteresting subject for psychologists as well. The few contributions we could find deal with very special cases of mobility. We will present only two studies. One of them relates to the long-term absence of one parent due to occupational obligations and the other one refers to a very special case of sailors, who are not only separated from their family but are living in a very special conditions of isolation.

6.2. The impact of long-term work related absence of one parent on the family life

The first paper, by Kukołowicz (2001), sums up the overview of studies on the impact of long-term work related absence of one parent on the family life. Though we are dealing here with incomplete families – claims Kukołowicz (2001: 65), the stability of the everyday life rhythm is not disturbed. The periods between occasional attendances of both parents, are rather stable and settled. However, the consequences of such living arrangements are predominantly negative. The long-term absence of one parent leads to loosening of ties and disengagement. The absent parent does not understand the family situation anymore (especially when teenaged children are growing up), the other one feels overburden with additional obligations. As a result, the spouse-tie get weakened, the spouses are getting more autonomous and self-dependent, which cools the emotional climate of the family. The children are missing the absent parent and are getting more attached to the present one, with whom they share day-to-day experiences.

The absence of one parent is reflected in the disturbed identification with the own gender. Moreover, predominantly economical reasons for mobility lead children to the conclusion that money is what the life is all about. All that may be dangerous for the family – in the short and in the long-term perspective.

6.3. Coping with stress and loneliness under the sea isolation conditions

Another study on the impact of occupational mobility on the family life was conducted by Plopa (1996a, b) and depicts a very special situation. Plopa describes sailors' coping with loneliness (defined as a subjective feeling of emotional and social isolation, dissatisfaction with actual living conditions). The loneliness may appear as a result of living in permanent stressful conditions, what usually leads to restrained relations with social and physical environment, yields the lack of desired intimacy and may cause depression, anxiety, longing, detachment, helplessness, lack of self-control, boredom and even aggression (Plopa 1996a: 163). Experiencing loneliness is a result of lacking in support from family members and friends.

The effectiveness of coping with loneliness and stress depends on personal and social resources. The former covers such features as interpersonal competence and ego-strength; the latter means most of all social support and contentment with family life.

Plopa (1996 a, b) conducted a series of psychological tests on a group of sailors who revealed symptoms of loneliness. He noticed that some sailors coped with the stressful situation better than others. The group which was satisfactorily coping with the stressful isolation condition (the cruise lasted over half a year) was characterised by features such as: self-sufficiency, independence, proper self-estimation, moderate tolerance, adventurousness, freedom of prejudice, self-efficacy, reliance on intellectual and cognitive abilities, self-confidence, sense of humour, spontaneity, a broad range of interests and social contacts as well as social ability; they also cherished work and effort as values per se (Plopa 1996a: 167). People, who were showing better adjustment to the situation didn't get easily affected by momentary impulses, avoided conflicts, were loyal and self-possessed, showed only a weak tendency to present themselves in a positive light (Plopa 1996a: 171). This group didn't get down easily and tended to look for support when suffering. Sailors who were coping well also had faith in own resources and felt confident about their ability to deal with problems. As a result, they were able to cope with problems more effectively.

This proves that personality features do matter in the respect of coping with loneliness and stress. But also familial variables matter when coping is concerned. The importance of family is enclosed within the concept of social support that helps to struggle with different kinds of stressful events. Moreover, the study reveals that the higher acceptance upon values or actual goals (e.g. occupational activities) among family members, the higher subjectively perceived support and the smaller proneness to stressful events (Plopa 1996b: 90). Thus, effectiveness of coping with problems depends on the quality of the familial system, which in turn is down to the stability, frequency and regularity of the contact, intensity of the relation, reciprocal openness and common activities of all family members. The high quality of the familial relation (i.e. satisfaction, happiness) is a way to protect a person against stress (Plopa 1996b: 90).

Family is then an important reservoir of such resources as feeling of belonging, safety, esteem, love, support that are crucial to cope with everyday life, but it also needs to be "supplied" with regular contact, openness, common affairs which keep family members together.

It shouldn't surprise then, that sailor put the detachment from the closest family on the first place in the ranking of most stressful factors during the cruise. The second place was taken by the lack of regular contact with family, unsatisfied sexual need and the restriction of

the living space. Further classified were: boredom, disturbed diurnal rhythm, living conditions on the ship, noise, crew vulgarity, and unstable atmospheric conditions (Plopa 1996b: 91).

Again, Plopa (1996b) divided the group of tested sailors into those, who coped well and those, who suffered from loneliness. Those who were doing better treated love as a basic value in life, which made their life and the work on the sea meaningful. Their marriage was declared to be grounded on intimacy, openness on partner's needs, sympathy, trust and honesty (Plopa 1996b: 94). Greater immunity to stress was showed by those sailors, who reported to have satisfactory communication in the family, who respected opinions, preferences and interests of other family members as well as their individuality. Also rearing attitudes (directed to read off the children needs instead of "forcing" own views, dominating or keeping on distance) was correlated with satisfactory coping with stress (Plopa 1996b: 98).

The studies by Plopa show then that it is not solely about having family but about its organization, quality and attitudes toward it as well as values. The main problems that families affected by mobility face are connected with stress, alienation and loneliness.