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The advantages and drawbacks of Polish migration post Poland's accession to the EU – diversity, social trust and learning curve

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THE ADVANTAGES AND DRAWBACKS OF POLISH MIGRATION POST POLAND'S ACCESSION TO THE EU – DIVERSITY, SOCIAL TRUST AND LEARNING CURVE

Abstract

The interests of the Polish state underline the perspective assumed in this paper, which concerns migration to the United Kingdom and changes in the identity of Polish migrants. The idea of self and voluntary de-nationalization is at the centre of the discussion. Assimilation and integration are central to the interests of the host nation and permanent successful transition. As such, these have already been widely examined by multiple researchers. The authors take a new look at these processes from the "liquid identity" angle, with the loss of "Polishness" and assumption of a new national identity as the main focus of the analysis. A hybrid, transnational identity is born, followed by a more extreme, full de-nationalization (internal loss of nationality) and in consequence, re-nationalization within the hosting nation. The authors argue that an in-depth enquiry into the causes and scale of this phenomenon is of paramount importance for the future of Poland.

Keywords

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Introduction

The authors of this paper aim to analyze positive and negative aspects of the migration from Poland to EU countries, using the example of the UK. They will examine the economic and social factors pertaining to this recent phenomenon. Learning from positive patterns adopted in the UK in terms of citizen participation, social trust, work ethics, entrepreneurship and embracing diversity may encourage a positive social change in Poland. It may be questioned whether a high level of social distance towards 'the others' whilst abroad may push Poles to return home or whether, if the distance is small, it helps them to fully integrate. The authors' belief is that returning migrants, back home, may bring knowledge and best practices observed abroad and push their government towards a change. Therefore, an analysis of the social distance of Polish emigrants between 'strangers' and 'others' will enrich this debate. The dangers of the so-called 'brain drain' and self-denationalization for the Polish economy will be analysed, as well as several issues related to social security and welfare. The authors will pose a number of fundamental questions related to citizenship and identity. Are Polish migrants attracted to EU countries with high levels of social capital and trust because of their low levels in Poland? Do they become an integral part of foreign societies through the processes of assimilation and integration or maybe live on the outside, never to become fully accepted members of the new community? And how do these factors affect their strategies regarding bringing their children up? Questions about loyalty and redefinition of one's national identity arise. Which ties are stronger – the ties with the host country or those with the country of origin? This paper is an introduction to a future research on redefinition of migrants' identity and the possibility of conscious and premeditated self-denationalization. The authors plan to carry out research in the United Kingdom in the near future.

Identity, assimilation and de-nationalization

The concept of cultural identity has been present in social sciences for a long time (Hall, Du Gay 1996, Bourdieu 1980). In the Polish context, denationalization was often associated with opposition to the actions undertaken by foreign invaders who forcefully denied access to the Polish language and culture among Poles and with resistance to attempts to eradicate Polish cultural identity. Therefore, denationalization is often perceived as an external influence aimed at undermining

"Polishness." It has negative connotations and is considered to be an oppression system established by "the others" to deny Polish identity through restrictions and prosecution. Recently, the subject of denationalization has been addressed again but both the source and circumstances of this phenomenon are different. This is due to the mass-migration of young Poles that was facilitated by the country's accession to the EU in 2004. It is estimated that by 2012, 2.13 million Poles from this new wave resided in Western Europe and that the trend was on the rise when compared to the previous years (70 thousand more than in 2011 and 130 thousand more than in 2010). So why should we talk about the denationalization of Poles? This phenomenon is a side effect of cultural exchange, leading to interpenetration, assimilation and, possibly, even its more radical form – denationalization. The way these processes work can be best described as migrating groups' attempts to become similar to the indigenous population in terms of culture and national character, not allowing themselves any public display of being different and obliterating their previous identity. Assimilation is often a result of social pressure on the part of the dominating group, but may also serve as a door opener for being accepted and achieving a better social and professional position. In some countries assimilation may be enforced by the state, requiring minorities to speak the dominant language, practice the dominant religion and stop any activities that would distinguish them from the rest of the population. Assimilation can be observed in diverse multiethnic societies where "the members of one ethnic group converge to a bigger and politically stronger group". The assimilation process can vary in intensity, its most radical forms being denationalization and auto-denationalization. Changes in personality and an immigrant's perception of the new reality, so relevant to the assimilation process, come about "slowly, beyond consciousness, when the immigrant's personality is still perceptive to be moulded and when the structural conditions allow the person subject to the assimilation process to participate in the primary social groups of the society that the person is assimilating to... These four conditions (a slow speed of change, unconsciousness of the process, liquid personality or identity, and close contacts at the micro level of the society) constitute the conditio sine qua non of successful assimilation and, at the same time, significantly differ from any other type of human interactions".

However, the authors' personal observations and insights from other participants (immigrants) of the socio-economic life in Great Britain indicate that there exists extreme and radical representations of conscious and voluntary assimilation among representatives of the

new Polish migration that are not initiated by any external pressure, but come mainly from inside. It seems to be manifestation of an internal rebellion and renouncement of their own homeland, which can be described as self-denationalization.

The most common behaviours characteristic of this phenomenon include: not regarding Poland as the country of origin, breaking or limiting the bonds with relatives and friends left behind in the country of origin, being overly critical of Poland and everything that relates to Poland and being Polish, not cultivating Polish national and cultural traditions, uncritical association with the native population (*I am British because I have lived here for four years now, it's my home*) and underlying the emotional connection with Britain (e.g. *"our Andy Murray will beat your Jerzy in two sets", "Poland is an alien country for me now, I feel British", "No, I will never return to Poland, I do not even remember where I used to live there", "In Poland everything is 'f**ked up' history, economy, everything, it's much better to be British"*).

The existing studies of immigrants in Britain focus mainly on the aspects of integration, adaptation to the host community and the new way of life (Stenning, Slowik 2011). The mobility of Polish migrants is widely discussed in the available literature, with special emphasis on the reasons underlining decisions to emigrate to Western Europe and Britain in particular (See: White 2010: 11–32). This research area has been explored by multiple sociologists, social politicians, pedagogues, psychologists and economists from Poland and abroad, making it possible to draw a detailed picture of modern migration and its subjects. This overview has an interdisciplinary character, bringing together the issue's social, economic and human aspects, together with the experience of hosting countries. One of the starting points of the discussion is the idea that the predominating model of integration has many faults and is not efficient, especially when applied to Muslim communities (Łodziński, Grzymała-Kazłowska 2008: 11–39). In this context, migration from EU states is becoming more attractive for host nations sharing similar values, social norms and life aspirations. This, in turn, makes Poles welcomed citizens, who willingly assume new transnational identities whilst disposing of their previous ones. Looking at the vast numbers of Polish migrants to the UK, one may wonder if Poles become British or if a completely new mixed-identity emerges as a result (Bell 2012). According to Giddens (2001), the world relies on two antagonistic concepts – globalization and fragmentation – that require individuals to construct their own identity in a conscious manner, which is why the choice of identities is considered a rational and not subliminal process. People make specific choices about their identity. The notions

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of society and state are becoming ever more anachronistic, leading to the blurring of the existing boundaries and assuming re-defined meanings (Urry 2009). Assimilation is no longer in the centre of political necessity in multicultural pluralistic nations accepting different ideologies and alternative lifestyles. Seeking new cement that would bind a society into one organism is becoming growingly important. "In contemporary, complex societies that undergo continuous dynamic changes, the problem is not only the matching and linking of immigrant groups to what is considered as socio-cultural holistic system, but also the fusion and unification of fluid mosaics of ethnically and culturally diverse individuals and groups. The question arises about the links between individuals and the society as well as the mechanisms behind such social bonds." (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2013: 3). In consequence, the Polish identity may be changed or modified to become a fully British identity or a hybrid-like entity bringing together cultural elements of both words.

When analysing the demographic composition of emigrants from Poland, where 70% represent adults below the age of 40 and almost a quarter of million were minors, one may easily identify the threats to a stable demographic situation in Poland. People who did not have an address in Poland are not included in this statistical data, as they did not participate in the survey. According to the Polish Office for National Statistics (GUS), the greatest migration wave occurred in 2007, when 2.27 million Poles emigrated to the UK. According to data from the British Office for National Statistics, there was over half a million of Poles residing in the UK in 2011 (Report ONS, 2011), while children born to Polish mothers in the UK constitute the largest number of births among mothers of non-British origin (Report ONS, 2012). In 2013, births by Polish mothers amounted to 3% of all the births in the UK and were the largest group of births given by immigrants (*Births in England and Wales by Parents' Country of Birth*, 2013). According to information provided by TVP, 6% of all Polish children is now born in the UK (TVP Info, 2014a).

From the perspective of social policy, social pedagogy and sociology, the situation of Polish children born outside of Poland should not only be the subject of concern on the part of politicians, but also of great interest to scholars. The number of Polish citizens assuming British citizenship is on the rise and it happens most often through naturalization after 5 years of residence in the UK (See: Gazeta Wyborcza, 2012). To acquire a British passport, one must pass an exam in English, the so-called Citizenship Test, which requires certain commitment as one has to pay for it and dedicate some time and effort. One must also demonstrate that they have been residing in the UK for sufficiently long time and present two positive references from respected

British citizens. When all these conditions are fulfilled, one must swear an alliance to the Queen during a special citizenship ceremony, which is somewhat similar to the marriage ceremony. It would be, therefore, reasonable to assume that one must be dedicated to the idea of assuming the British citizenship, bearing in mind that it is not necessary to have a British passport to successfully function as part of the society and enjoy all privileges available to the country's other residents.

Zygmunt Bauman (2001) believed that liquid identity or the identity crisis only happen in certain contexts. The migration context appears to be relevant here. Scientists presume that whilst personal identity is constantly constructed in an ongoing process within the prevailing discourses and depends on consumer choices that are not always free, national identity, on the contrary, is more or less constant and unaffected by circumstances (Bauman 2000). Aldona Jawłowska (2001) is of opinion that both weak and scattered personalities coexist within the strong ones that are based on durable elements of social structure such as identification with one's nation (a strong national identity). In a situation of long-term exile, such a strong identity may undergo transformation, deformation or redefinition. The question then arises: has Poles' strong national identity been weakened as a result of the accession to the EU?

It is commonly accepted that the following four acculturation strategies may apply to immigrants in a hosting country: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (Grzymała-Moszczyńska 2010). If one can assimilate in a short period of time, it may be due to their predisposition for self-denationalisation. It is very tempting to use the loyalty test towards the country one has the emotional bond with. Such a test is commonly known as the cricket test or the Tebbit test after the name of Norman Tebbit, a British politician who came up with the idea of using sport tournaments as indicators of one's true national alliances. Sport enthusiasts of foreign origin are asked about which team they support, the British team or the team of the country of origin, when these happen to play together. The provided answer is an indicator of either full assimilation, and so self-denationalisation, or otherwise (Carvel 2004).

Denationalization of children and women

Many researchers argue that the main drive to emigrate is based on the premise of finding a well-paid employment. A report for the Institute for the Study of Labour in Bonn (IZA) (Drinkwater, Eade,

Garapich 2006) shows that in spite of a relatively high level of education, Poles most commonly assume positions that do not require qualifications, are low-paid and not considered as prestigious. It may be that the low social status of Poles on the British labour market motivates them to maintain strong family bonds and friendships in Poland, in case their economic and social situation in Britain gets worse. However, the average level of earnings in the UK is high when set against wages available in Poland. This may become the key argument when taking the decision to stay and assimilate with local population. Bell (2012) discusses individual life trajectories as influencing the integration and identity of migrants. He shows three cases of migrants who built their relations with the host nation and the host state on a "here and now" basis, without any well-thought-out, long-term plan. He presents migrants living out of their suitcase and living "double lives" residing in two countries, dividing work and family time, through time into that spent in and another country. The second example explored by Bell shows how plans of having a baby provoke a deeper reflection on identity and determine the development of different assimilation strategies. The third example introduces the idea of migrants worrying about the future. The perspective of being a single carer for ageing parents may have an impact on a decision whether to return to Poland or settle in the UK. This opens a whole new spectrum of issues to be considered. What will happen to young migrants' parents? Will traditional models of caring for the elderly within a family unit collapse when confronted with the long-term effects of migration? Will it add strain onto the state-operated care for elderly or will migrants force their parents to move in with them in the host country? The second scenario looks highly unlikely, despite its positive potential, as the access to social security, pension and health protection may be limited for pensioners from Poland whilst abroad.

In contrary to native women, Polish ones are 10 percent more likely to use informal networks to seek employment than men (Sumption 2009: 17). An older age, being female or having lower skills increases the likelihood of seeking employment with the help of social networks (Sumption 2009: 18). According to Sumption (2009), using the existing Polish social networks during job search in the UK often limits the opportunities of the seeker to the low-paid sector. In this case, reliance on social networks may indicate poor integration into the host community. Although Polish social networks may help obtain paid employment more quickly upon arrival, it has a negative impact on professional career path and creates an obstacle in moving on to a higher position or a better-paid job. Another gender-related issue

has been revealed by Pustulka who wonders what the model of "a good mother" in the minds of the transnational mothers from Poland. She also writes about mothers who, through emigration, become separated from their children and become or "unbecome" mothers in migration-related periods of time. If they are separated from their children on a regular basis, it is unlikely that they will remain in the UK unless they manage to convince their children to join them. A different moment in the process of acculturation and integration has been captured in Barbara Czarnecka's research on the signs of cultural shock among Polish migrating women in the UK. This followed Oberg's four-phase classification (1960): honeymoon, cultural shock, excitement and adjustment. These phases not only can be considered as an introductory stage of the assimilation process, but they may also have a significant impact on further decisions concerning potential assimilation or self-denationalization. Czarnecka looked at two internet forum groups dedicated to Polish women in the UK (Forum Polki w Anglii and Matka Polka w UK). Their names and profiles indicate participants' strong bonds with their country of origin, as well as the willingness to maintain social contacts with fellow Polish migrants and the insistence on the use of the Polish language. It is, therefore, likely that these people would not fall into the self-denationalization category.

Of great importance while discussing the issues of assimilation and self-denationalization are children, either born or raised abroad. Their life trajectories may possibly go in one of two most frequent directions. Some will become British and stay in the UK. Others, on the other hand, will return to Poland after several years to promote the Polish language, history, geography and culture, maintaining of family and social bonds with Poland and following current political and social affairs being another priority for them (Rościszewska-Woźniak 2012). What is more, research on the role of mothers in shaping the national identity of children born in exile suggests that mothers feel a sense of mismatch or discrepancy due to the difference in social and gender roles traditionally associated with mothers in the country of origin and that of residence (Pustułka 2012). From the feminist point of view, the roles available to women in exile are greater outside of Poland and may potentially have an emancipating effect on women's life opportunities. However, this situation brings in a number of psychological consequences, such as the feeling of inadequacy and the sense of being torn between conflicting gender ideologies. This makes female identity more fragile, open to fluidity and more receptive to new opportunities, yet laden with guilt. Children raised by parents

who do not have a coherent and strongly defined identity may be more prone to assume the identity of their peer group. This may lead, without them being conscious of it, to self-elimination from their genetically-defined group of origin and expose them to self-denationalization and assumption of the dominant national identity. If we agree to belong to a certain nation, we have to fulfil certain obligations in terms of conserving its cultural, historical and semantic heritage and be concerned with diverse elements creating bonds with one's own nationality. This entails, among others, being proud of one's culture, history and religion, as well as being familiar with the country's high culture, mass culture, political and economic agenda and current social affairs. One is also expected to express love towards the country, support its traditions, and demonstrate patriotism and emotional bond with other members of the nation. When thinking about self-denationalization, the full naturalization of a Pole requires breaking of any emotional bonds with Poland. This will have long-term and irreversible consequences for the future of the nation and the future of new generations of lost roots. The Polish nation is, according political scientists, a political community that tends to unite homogeneous groups who share the same traditions, norms and beliefs, possibly also language and historical roots, dependent economically and socially on each other. It focuses on maintenance and preservation of cultural and political unity when confronted with other nations. The core of a nation lies in its language, customs, religion and science. Nation, therefore, may be defined as a communality of culture. The administrative and institutional belonging to a given country and nation is not sufficient an element to define the national identity of an individual. Smith (1991) claims that national identity depends on the unity of law and political culture together with unifying historical memory, myths, symbols and aspirations. Great importance is given to the community of birth, the native culture, language and custom. Polish people who purposely break their bonds with the country of origin and avoid participation in cultural events, activities of associations and clubs, church communities or interpersonal relations with fellow Poles, expose Poland to the great danger of shortage of citizens. The obligation not to use the Polish language was a method of denationalization of Poles by the invading countries during the partitions of Poland in the 18th century (Morawski 2009) and yet, in the 21st century we come across a rational decision by parents who reside in UK to teach or not to teach their native tongue to their children (Sumption 2008). The post-war wave of emigration to the UK gives reliable examples of children who lose their national identity by the sec-

ond or third generation and often lose the ability to use the language of their parents or grandparents (Mazierska, Regan 2010). As we observe the fourth wave of mass emigration (first during the partitions, the second after WW II, the third during Stalinism), a positive affirmative action to maintain "Polishness" among immigrants and their children seems a necessity in view of Poland' low birth rates and the rapidly ageing population. Measuring the level of self-denationalization of Poles abroad should be the first step to take. Then its causes should be deeply analysed. It is also necessary to construct a "national identity decomposition" that will allow to define and measure factors contributing to the fluid character of a national identity. A 'fluid national identity' would mean that a person is more likely to undergo decomposition of his or her national identity. Identity is inseparable from self-identification (Gotman 2008). The auto-definition of social actors, their self-image and moral judgments as a measure of identity (Bokszański 2006) should be considered while investigating who the Polish migrants according to their own opinions and definitions.

Social capital implications (Putnam 2007)

Czapinski and Panek (2007), wrote that Polish society lacks components crucial for a prosperous nation, such as social capital, shared norms, trust and reciprocity. Are these components suddenly absorbed when forming part of a new nation? Do they make the bond with the host nation attractive through participation, mutual trust and citizenship? Through this lens, Michal Garapich (2012) looks at Polish migration as a complex phenomenon dependent not solely on nationality and cultural communality, but more than anything else on social class. A significant gap can be observed showing differences in norms and limited trust at different levels of Polish social strata stemming from mutual stereotypes and myths. Social networks play a crucial role in migration. They have a significant influence on the choice to migrate and on the destination. Are these networks class-specific? Are they exclusive or inclusive depending on one's social background? Is being Polish a sufficient factor to desire to join the Polish social networks and be accepted as part of them? Perhaps not. The intersectional positioning of an individual is more predominant than being Polish itself. Garapich talks about the low level of social trust between Poles abroad. He shows how the "myth" of class-based hostility works in practice and influences Poles' decisions to keep a social distance from their own ethnic group. This goes hand in hand with the study of so-

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cial distance of Poles and other nationalities in Britain carried out by Bera and Korczynski (2012). They discovered that among representatives of different faiths and nationalities, the Polish people in the UK were most embracing of the British as friends and acquaintances. Moreover, Poles in the UK were significantly more tolerant and accepting of diversity and contact with 'other' ethnic groups when compared to people remaining in Poland. Their open attitude towards 'strangers' and 'others' indicated more flexibility in the adjustment to UK standards. Bera and Korczynski found that the positive climate of social exchange combined with the positive attitudes of the British towards Catholics and towards the legendary work ethics of Poles, enabled a decrease in the social distance between Polish migrants and the host nation, enabling easier integration. This shows two things: people who migrate from Poland demonstrate certain open-mindedness and a lower social distance towards "the others," so they already have certain internal predispositions to migrate and assimilate and, secondly, the lack of significant barriers in the host country allows for better assimilation and creates a desire to stay.

Poles in the UK form the largest non-UK-born group of Britain's population (Sumption 2009: 6). This situation, which is due to a range of different initiating factors when compared to the emigration waves after the WW II and during the Communism era, is still not fully explored and is a relatively new and evolving phenomenon (Ryan, Webster 2008). Burell (2009), considered it necessary to continue the scientific exploration into why an increasing number of Poles have long-term plans to stay and decide to relocate the rest of their families or to start a new family in the UK. Looking at the social capital of Poland, one may come to somewhat alarming conclusions. Highly qualified Poles seek employment abroad taking their energy and great intellectual capital away from the country that has funded their excellent education. Their international experience could be a great contribution to the overall social capital of Poland, if only they were keen to invest in the Polish economy, promote Poland, Polish people and products abroad and maintain strong bonds with the homeland through active political participation and maintenance of social bonds. They could be the best ambassadors of the country and its people, support their country through opting to pay their taxes there and act as patrons for the less affluent and newly migrating. In the optimum scenario they would eventually return to Poland with the resources, knowledge and experience gained abroad to implement the best practices within their homeland. This will not be achieved without proper policies and significant effort to maintain the bond and encourage at

least the maintenance of dual citizenship. Greater support for Polish language schools operating abroad would also be helpful in the process. Cutting down on bureaucracy and working towards a citizen-friendly state apparatus would make a considerable difference for some. Efforts to match the British level of family support and child allowance would also encourage young Poles to have more children and have them in Poland as well. Some form of contingency to stop the best Polish students from leaving immediately after their degree sounds like a fair solution considering long-term, high costs that the state bears for every higher education student. While looking at this list of suggested changes within Poland, one may be deeply worried when taking into account the economic and lifestyle gaps that still exists between Poland and other EU countries. However, one should be reassured that there are solutions readily available to prevent the future crisis. There should be no hesitation; the government has to work fast. Of great priority for the country should by any research increasing the awareness of the reasons behind not only migration itself, but especially behind the fluid national identity, as well as shedding light on the related dangers. According to the data provided by Bera and Korczynski (2012), the longer the period of a stay away from the country of origin, the higher the degree of assimilation with the host nation. The length of the stay reduces emigrants' reliance on their Polish social networks (Sumption 2009:18). One may also speculate that a higher social capital, a thicker network of social connections with the British and a better job situation could be an integrating factor, helping individuals to fit in within the local context. Madeleine Sumption (2009) has also discovered that developing networks within the indigenous community, rather that with other Poles, helps to obtain a better social status. Equipping Polish people with excellent qualifications combined with advanced knowledge of English is a recipe for successful assimilation in English-speaking countries. Moreover, Boski (2010) suggests that economic migrants form their cultural identity mostly based on materialistic and hedonistic values rather than on patriotic ones. Of course the national identity and how it may potentially suffer, depends greatly on a number of demographic factors, as well as on the economic and social situation. Therefore, one may expect that age, gender, profession, location, family situation and other intersectional variables would diversify Polish migrants in terms of their place on the scale of assimilation. Considering findings by Torunczyk-Ruiz (2010), one may observe extreme, radical and rapid processes of assimilation among young Poles, particularly the single, career-focused ones, who reject Poland as a homeland, openly display

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anti-Polish sentiments and demonstrate a negative emotional attitude towards Poland. They often use aggressive language to underline their internal rebellion and denial of their national roots and heritage. It is a fascinating area to explore. Why are they doing this? The role of politicians and their attitudes towards migration are crucial, as is the necessity to gain higher social trust levels among the public in Poland (Wesołowski, Słomczyński and Dubrow 2010). Perhaps learning the patterns of citizenship and social trust elsewhere will improve public participation and social responsibility in Poland, making it an attractive destination to return to.

Conclusions

Looking at the interests of the Polish state, at the large numbers of citizens migrating to the UK and at the increase in the child birth rates among them, it becomes a social and political priority to examine their life choices (TVP Info, 2014b). Attention should be given to the bonds with the country of origin and building bridging social capital abroad. Their successful integration with the host nation may be proportional to the rational choice of self-elimination from the nation of origin. The questions about denationalisation as an existing phenomenon and whether it is an unavoidable process, should be a starting point for a deeper reflexion on the future shape of Polishness and of Poland. The benefits of migration for Polish state and its people can only be experienced if the social bonds with Poland are maintained and the intention of citizens remains to return and lobby for positive change, with the financial capital and the experience to do so. Denationalisation comes with unavoidable re-composition of one's identity and often re-nationalisation into the host nation, making the research in this field critical for the Polish state.

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Streszczenie

Wybraną perspektywą poznawczą jest interes polskiego państwa, w obliczu emigracji do Wielkiej Brytanii i zmian tożsamości imigrantów z Polski. Koncepcja dobrowolnego samo-wynaradawiania jest centralnym punktem dyskusji. Asymilacja i integracja leżące w interesie kraju przyjmującego były już szeroko badane i dyskutowane przez wielu naukowców. Autorzy niniejszego artykułu spoglądają na procesy migracyjne z nowej perspektywy, płynnej tożsamości, utraty 'polskości' i przyjęcia nowej tożsamości narodowej. Ich zdaniem, można zaobserwować zjawisko ekstremalnej utraty tożsamości narodowej i pełne dobrowolne samo-wynarodowienie, zakończone przyjęciem nowej tożsamości narodowej, poprzedzone nabyciem tożsamości hybrydowej i transnarodowej, świadczącej o płynności tożsamości emigrantów. Autorzy uważają, że wnikliwa analiza przyczyn i skali tego zjawiska jest niezmiernie istotna dla przyszłości polskiego państwa.

Słowa kluczowe

Emigracja, tożsamość narodowa, płynna tożsamość, samo-wynarodawianie, integracja