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NAMED

The Education Demands of Working Migrants in the European Union

Study report

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Foreword

This study is part of the Erasmus Plus Strategic Partnership NAMED – Narratives of Working Migration as Tools for the Assessment of Education Demands. The goal of this project is to analyze the educational demands of working migrants through narrative interviews and, based on this analysis, to develop a course curriculum tailored to fit these demands. Behind our project stands our belief, that education can provide a valuable contribution to empowerment and social inclusion. In this study, we analyzed the different demands working migrants have, both with regards to contents and to forms of education. Additionally, we identified those factors that influence educational demands and working migrants' ability to satisfy them. The research team working on this study was comprised of researchers from the project members Foundation for European Studies (FEPS) in Poland, Katholische Erwachsenenbildung im Lande Niedersachsen e. V. (KEB) in Germany and Asociatia Institutio Pro Educationem Transilvaniensis in Romania. For this study, the researchers involved have conducted 41 biographic-narrative interviews with working migrants across four EU countries. We have then used a constructivist Grounded Theory Methodology to analyze these interviews and identify the educational demands of working migrants and their interrelation with the factors shaping working migration. This study is structured as follows: After giving a short overview over the current situation of working migrants in the EU, the methodology part describes the methods used in conducting research for this study. Following this, the country studies undertaken as part of this study will be presented. In these country studies, the educational demands of working migrants as assessed in the individual countries, and the factors influencing them, will be presented. The final part of the study presents a theoretical integration of these educational demands, the factors influencing them, and their interrelation. While the issue of working migration and the precarious status of many working migrants has already been pressing when we started this project in September 2018, the coronavirus pandemic has exacerbated the problems working migrants face. It has also shown the effect, that poor working and living conditions can have on food security and health security worldwide. We hope, that in response to the current crises, national as well as international actors will work towards making global working migration fair and ensure, that working migrants are treated with dignity. We are confident, that working in concert with other measures, such as counselling, advocacy, expanding controls and strengthening working migrants legal positions, our field, education, has a lot to offer in this regard. This study is aimed at providing researchers, practitioners and policymakers with necessary information to contribute to this goal.

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The NAMED research team, May 2020

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1. The situation of working migrants in the EU

Working migrants in the European Union often face precarious circumstances. The Covid-19 pandemic of 2020 has both accelerated and brought to light these circumstances. For working migrants in the European Union, the pandemic meant being laid off abroad with no money – or even legal opportunity – to return to their country of origin¹. For others it meant travelling to Western Europe under unsanitary conditions, to work there, again, under often unsanitary conditions, and thus risking getting infected with the virus. When one Romanian working migrant infected with the Coronavirus died during his working migration in Germany, it turned out, that four of his co-workers were also infected². This news, and the decision to allow flying in 30.000 working migrants to Germany during the lockdown has sparked debates about their situation. Their working conditions, especially the fact that, already beginning in their country of origins airports, working migrants flying to Germany could not practice social distancing, has raised the question, whether they are “disposable migrant workers”³. In May 2020, it became known, that mass infections had taken place in various slaughterhouses. This prompted the German Minister for Work and Social Affairs to submit a set of measures to ameliorate the working conditions in the country’s food processing industry. The set measures includes an expansion of workplace controls, funding counselling institutions for working migrants, as well as mostly banning the use of contracts for work and labor in this industry, which is aimed at stopping the system of “organized irresponsibility” (as the minister, Hubertus Heil, called it). The cabinet adopted the set of measures later in May 2020. The decision by the cabinet reflects not only the growing importance of working migration, given, that crisis situations like the coronavirus-pandemic, as well as the changing climate threaten food security and increase the demand for labor. However, already before the coronavirus pandemic, working migrants were an important factor in the global economy.

In 2017, the number of migrant workers globally was estimated at 164 million people⁴. As compared with an estimated 150 million migrant workers in 2013, this indicates an increase by nine percent⁵. In Northern, Southern and Western Europe, 39.2 million workers were migrant workers, a proportion of 17.8 percent of all workers⁶. Within the EU, working migrants main sending countries, or countries of origin, are Romania, Poland, Italy, Portugal and Bulgaria⁷. While migration from Poland dropped by 6% between 2017 and 2018,

¹ Guardian 2020a

² Guardian 2020b

³ Bejan 2020

⁴ See ILO 2018: 5

⁵ See ILO 2018: 5

⁶ See ILO 2018: 15

⁷ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 48

coinciding with a strong GDP growth⁸, Romania observed an opposite migration trend. As an EU report finds: "In 2018, 140,000 more active Romanians were living in other EU Member States compared to the previous year, an increase of 7% to 2 million."⁹ The main countries of destination for working migrants in the EU were Germany and the UK, followed by Spain, Italy and France. While Germany saw an increase of 9% of intra-EU movers between 2017 and 2018 and was the country of destination for 2.3 million active EU-movers in 2018¹⁰, the UK is noticing a decrease of 5% in active movers¹¹. This might be a consequence of the Brexit referendum, as researchers note¹².

In 2018, the largest sectors in which intra-EU movers worked were manufacturing, the wholesale and retail trade, construction, accommodation and food service, and human health and social work¹³. In the same year, intra-EU movers were overrepresented in elementary occupations, in jobs demanding the lowest skill-level (20% as compared to 8% for nationals in the country of destination)¹⁴. While working migrants job trainings might enable them to work in higher-skilled professions in their counties of origin, they often still earn a higher wage working in a lower skilled job abroad, due to the wage differential between country of origin and country of destination. In addition, skills and degrees from their countries of origin, enabling them to work in higher skilled jobs, might not be acknowledged, or lacking language proficiency might hinder them from carrying out such occupations. The rate of female movers employed in elementary occupation was even higher than their male counterparts: "In 2018, 11 pps more female EU-28 movers were employed in elementary occupations than males, and 15 pps more female EU-28 movers were employed as service workers, and shop and sales workers"¹⁵.

The overrepresentation of working migrants in elementary occupations and the low-wage sector is also reflected in the poverty rates of migrants:

"Despite overall improvement in labour market conditions in the recent years, the proportion of immigrant workers living below the poverty threshold has increased in many EU countries, and generally at a stronger pace than for natives. In 2017, in the European Union, around 18% of immigrant workers aged 18 to 64 years old were poor compared to 8% of their native counterparts (Figure 2.10). The difference between the native-born and immigrants has increased from about six percentage points to almost ten percentage points in the last ten years. The increase in the poverty rate of

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 47

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 49

¹³ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 63-64

¹⁴ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 66

¹⁵ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 67

immigrant workers has been particularly strong in Spain and Italy, where about 30% of foreign-born workers were poor in 2017-18. Poverty rates of immigrant workers in Denmark, Germany and the Netherlands also increased at a fast pace in the last ten years, although did not reach the same levels as in Southern Europe.”¹⁶

Working migrants contribute to the economic growth in their countries of destination by their participation in the labor market and through boosting consumption. They also help their families abroad through remittances. Additionally, through their migration, they reduce unemployment numbers in their countries of origin. For many countries of destination, working migration is becoming essential. The care sector in many aging societies in Western Europe for example will be dependent on migrant workers for the foreseeable future. The Western European agricultural sector, too, is heavily dependent on working migrants and suffers greatly if seasonal workers from abroad are not available during harvest. This became apparent in March 2020, when the lockdown measures imposed during the coronavirus pandemic threatened the harvest of agricultural products like asparagus and strawberries. In theory, working migration should benefit everyone: the countries of destination, for which working migrants are an indispensable part of the workforce, the working migrants themselves who can better their economic situation and gain experience abroad, their families, who receive remittances, and their countries of origin, which also profit from the remittances sent by working migrants. And indeed, many working migrants consider their working migration to be a positive event, pointing not only to higher earnings, but also to skills they made abroad and the attractiveness of their country of destination.

However, working migration does not only bring advantages. While claims about the negative effects of working migration – that working migrants would “steal” native workers jobs have been found to be largely unsubstantiated¹⁷, other problems emerge in the context of working migration. For one, working migration leads to a brain drain in the working migrants countries of origin. The migration of skilled workers, medical professionals and academics puts pressure on the economies and societies of their countries of origin. The same, in some cases, holds true for unskilled labor. Another problem is the separation of families. For one, the working migration of parents can harm the children left behind, giving rise to the phenomenon of “social orphans”, describing kids growing up without parents. Social orphanage can have a severe negative impact on mental and physical health of the children of working migrants¹⁸. In Romania, this phenomenon is so widespread, that a

¹⁶ OECD 2019

¹⁷ See Constant 2014

¹⁸ See Botezat/Pfeiffer 2020

distinct term was coined to describe it: “Euro-orphans”. In Poland, too, the phenomenon of Euro-orphans is an issue¹⁹.

Finally, working migrants themselves face a host of problems in their countries of destination. General challenges migrants face, such as acquiring language proficiency, orienting oneself in a new environment and encountering xenophobia are exacerbated by their status as working migrants. In many instances, working migrants experience bad working and housing conditions and are exploited through employers who use the possibilities, which EU-wide and specific national legal frameworks offer for undercutting labor protections. In the food industry, in logistics, care work and other sectors, working migrants are facing wage theft, fraudulent contracts, (threats of) physical violence and all around precarious working conditions. Their legal status and lack of inclusion into the host society help sub-contractors and agencies control and exploit them, while working conditions, specifically overworking, hinder any attempt to integrate into the host society and seek amelioration of their circumstances. One crucial factor aiding the exploitation of working migrants is their lack of language proficiency²⁰. Even in jobs, in which working migrants are not subjected to the exploitative practices listed above, lacking language proficiency can become a problem for working migrants. The language barrier confines working migrants to low-skilled jobs. For those without knowledge in the country of destinations language, working abroad can turn into a vicious circle: lacking language proficiency can confine them to low-paying jobs, said jobs, often in ethnically structured workplaces, hinder them from acquiring the necessary language skills, which, in turn, confines them to low paying jobs. Another circumstance highlights the importance of educational attainment for working migrants. EU migrants have a 2.3 times higher likelihood than nationals to work in a job with a high automation potential (with third country migrants having an even higher likelihood)²¹. This means, that working migrants are way more likely to work in jobs that might not exist in a few years. The likelihood to work in such a job decreases with higher levels of educational attainment. Having completed secondary education or even tertiary education significantly decreases the likelihood of working a job with high automation potential²².

The findings of studies concerned with the exploitation of working migrants, as well as with their job security point to education as a means of amelioration. While education is not a panacea for the problems, which working migrants face, it is a necessary component of strategies confronting these problems.

¹⁹ See Kawecki et al. 2015

²⁰ FRA 2019: 72-73

²¹ Fuchs et. al. 2019: 18

²² Fuchs et. al. 2019: 18-19

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2. Methodology

2.1. Central Research Question

The central research question of our study is “What are the educational demands of working migrants?”. During our research, we realized, that the answer to this question would not only encompass identifying different subject matters that would have a positive effect on the migration experience of working migrants. To answer the question thoroughly, we also needed to identify the forms of learning which working migrants can and cannot use. In addition, we realized, that we would have to scrutinize the factors that shape the migration situation of working migrants and influence their potential to seek out educational formats in the first place.

When we talk about *working migrants* in this study, we take the definition of “migrant worker” as used by the International Labour Organization in their *ILO Global Estimates on International Migrant Workers* as a basis:

“The term ‘migrant worker’, [...], refers to international migrant individuals of working age and older who are either employed or unemployed in their current country of residence.”¹

We consider the definition given by the ILO to be well suited to describe our target group, given, that it covers individuals based on their relation to employment status. However, we explicitly understand our term “working migrants” to include one sub-group, which is merely implied by the definition of the ILO. Specifically, we mean those individuals, who migrated into a host country for another reason than work, but whose migration and whose migration experience is largely shaped by working abroad. For example, among working migrants, there are those who migrated because they regard corruption in their country of origin as too widespread to lead a normal life. While they plan to take up work abroad and migrate within the framework of the free movement of workers within the EU, their initial motivation to migrate is not primarily work. The motivation of such individuals is focused on reaching a larger goal, which includes work. This distinction matters, because the reason for migration, as well as the pressures associated with it, influence working migrants’ educational demands, as well as their chances to seek education.

Educational Demands in this study are defined as those subjects, forms of learning and preconditions of access to education, which are essential for a persons’ social inclusion. Individual social inclusion is here understood as an individuals’ ability of self-realization within a society.

2.2. General Methodological Remarks

The primary quality criterion of all research is that the method used to investigate the research question is appropriate to answer it. At the beginning of this research project stood the question: What are the educational demands of working migrants? This question encompasses, among other factors, educational contents (e.g. the skills working migrants

¹ ILO 2018, ix

need abroad), the forms in which education can be successfully organized (e.g. evening courses, crash courses, weekend seminars etc.) and mediating factors specific to working migrants as a population. To answer this question, research methods, which allowed for an in-dept investigation and for considering individual circumstances as well as environmental factors needed to be employed. In order to gain information on both, the individual and social factors influencing educational demands, we chose biographic-narrative interviewing as a primary method to collect and generate data. In biographic research, individual history is understood to be formed in a dialectic of collective and individual social processes². Analyzing individual biographies thus enabled us to identify both the influence of individual circumstances and of supra-individual, structure-based patterns in the formation of education demands. As Gabriele Rosenthal puts it:

*"However, interpretive approaches involve a dialectic conception of 'individual and general' in which the general can be found in the individual. Each individual case is constituted within a social reality, and can reveal something about the relationship between the individual and the general. It emerges from the general, and is part of the general. Thus, each individual case can tell us something about the general. If we do not conceive of the general in numerical terms, then inferring the general from the individual will not depend on the frequency of occurrence of a phenomenon, but on our reconstruction of the constitutive moments of the individual phenomenon in isolation from the situation-specific, i. e. case-specific, features."*³

In addition to the generation of rich data, the open format of biographic-narrative interviews aided in lowering our interview partners inhibitions towards speaking. In our project, we have been researching with a population which is often distrustful due to experiences of exploitation and crime, as well as a generally hostile environment. This required building trust and creating conditions under which the interview partner can speak openly. We found that narrative biographic interviews were best suited for creating such conditions, as they enabled the interview partner to co-construct a narration, instead of merely responding to pre-determined questions. This format helped in avoiding an "interrogation atmosphere".

The data collection, as well as the data analysis in our study were conducted employing a constructivist Grounded Theory Methodology. Grounded Theory Methodologies follow an abductive research logic and employ a circular (as opposed to a linear) research process, in which data collection and data analysis are driving each other. After initial data is gathered on the basis of purposeful sampling, its' analysis through coding and memoing guides the further collection of data. The Grounded Theory Methodology aims at creating a middle range theory explaining a specific phenomenon, grounded in the data. This sets grounded theory apart from deductive methods of qualitative research, such as Qualitative Content Analysis, in which empirical data is analyzed relying on an existing theoretical framework. We elaborate on Grounded Theory further below.

² see, e.g. Rosenthal 2016: 12

³ Rosenthal 2018: 65-66

Deductive methods are appropriate for research designs which aim at testing hypothesis and answering research questions on the basis on prior research. For a research question addressing a phenomenon, which has not yet been comprehensively researched, such methods are not suitable. It is however not only the incompatibility with our research question, which lead us to decide against a deductive approach, but also, by extension, the incompatibility with our method of data collection. While deductive methods like Qualitative Content Analysis might be well suited to analyze semi-structured interviews, applying pre-determined categories to open, narrative interviews would be a methodological mismatch. Such an approach would contradict the idea of an open interview, in which the interview partner through their narration shapes and prioritizes the content. It would squeeze the unstructured data into a precast model and thus greatly narrow the potential for openness and discovery in the research.

While deductive research methods could be categorically ruled out for this reason, choosing a Grounded Theory Methodology among other inductive approaches demands further explanation. Other possible inductive methods to analyze narrative interviews include biographical analyses, for example the autobiographic narrative analysis developed by Fritz Schütze, or the biographical case reconstruction as developed by Gabriele Rosenthal. Another viable method would have been employing a reflexive thematic analysis as developed by Braun and Clarke. We decided against a biographical analysis, because our main research question primarily aimed at specific aspects of the biography, and not the identification of trajectories, or the reconstruction of cases.

We decided against Thematic Analysis as a method for this study – or, rather, against limiting the methods of this study to a Thematic Analysis. While a Reflexive Thematic Analysis as developed by Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke⁴ might have helped us to identify educational contents or mediating factors, we felt that a Grounded Theory approach would be better suited for our goal to integrate our findings and develop a theory of educational demands of working migrants. A Grounded Theory Methodology with its abductive research logic seemed well suited to engage with the data and construct a theory of educational demands of working migrants, superseding categorizing different demands and contributing factors.

2.3. Possible criticisms regarding our choice of methods

Rosenthal argues, that employing a Grounded Theory Methodology risks breaking apart the *gestalt* of a text too soon, fails to reconstruct its sequential *gestalt* and oversees the importance, which the whole of a text has for the interpretation of its parts⁵. It is true, that the process of open coding does break apart the analyzed text. Strategies like line-by-line coding are, as a matter of fact, employed precisely to do that. The idea behind coding line by line, and not, say, sentence by sentence, is to allow a new perspective on the text by dissolving its structure. This does however not pose a problem for our research. Reflections on the context of individual accounts and thematic connections were a common feature in the memos which we wrote as part of our research. And the results of our coding rounds

⁴ see see Braun&Clarke: 2006, 2019

⁵ see Rosenthal 2018: 204

where themselves analyzed and described in the light of the *gestalt* of the text, the interview transcript, and the context of its creation. In our research we thus employed the same dialectical conception of the whole and its parts that is present in Rosenthals approach to interpretative research.

Another criticism that could be made concerns our choice of data collection. During biographic-narrative interviews, the interview partners narrate their experiences. This narration is not a precise representation of an objective reality, but a subjective construction. Critics could argue, that the data we use in our study thus is not objective. Such a criticism is as correct as it is banal, for no data is an objective representation of reality. Narrations, just as quantifications of phenomena are always abstractions. And while abstractions necessarily omit aspects of phenomena, they are necessary to engage with them in the first place. One often criticized aspect of the biographic-narrative interview method is the homology-thesis inherent to Fritz Schütze's approach. This thesis purports, that narration as a form of representation is closely connected to the level of experience, because the rules of construction of the narration are based in the same cognitive schemata that structure experience and action⁶. While the argument surrounding the homology thesis can be seen as misguided⁷ it could be the basis for another potential objection to the biographic-narrative interview method. Even if one accepts the homology between experience and narration, it would still be possible for an interview partner to lie. While this cannot be ruled out, the likelihood of telling lies which then remain undetected during analysis is inhibited by the circumstances of the spontaneous narration. In a spontaneous narration, narrators face what Fritz Schütze calls the three "Zugzwänge des Stegreiferzählens": The compulsion to construct a coherent gestalt ("Gestaltschließungszwang"), the compulsion to detail the narration ("Detaillierungszwang") and the compulsion to condense the narration ("Kondensierungszwang"). Through these compulsions, interview partners might divulge more than they had initially planned⁸. In such a context, lies and the withholding of information demand an additional effort on the part of the interview partner and can be spotted as thematic inconsistencies in the text.

2.4. Approach to data collection: Biographical research

As a sociological method, biographical research has discussed the topic of migration from its very beginning. Indeed, one of the classic works in the field of migration research, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*⁹, in addition to the contribution regarding its content, "is considered as the beginning of biographical research in sociology"¹⁰. In this seminal text, letters of polish peasants were analyzed to gain more information about their social organization and experience. *The Polish Peasant in Europa and America* is one of the foundational texts of the Chicago School of Sociology. This school did not only bring forth eminent thinkers like George Herbert Mead and his student Herbert Blumer. Through Blumers work, it is also the birthplace of the theory of Social Interactionism.

⁶ see Dausien 1996: 112

⁷ see Dausien 1996:112-113, footnote 45

⁸ See Rosenthal 2005: 141

⁹ Thomas&Znaniecki 1958

¹⁰ Rosenthal 2018: 156

Symbolic Interactionism and its core principles did not only influence the development of Grounded Theory, but also of the methodology of narrative-biographic interviewing.

Already in Thomas and Znaniecki's work, one central assumption of biographical research is hinted at. In the works methodological note, the authors point out: "If social theory is to become the basis of social technique and to solve these problems really, it is evident that it must include both kinds of data involved in them – namely the objective cultural elements of social life and the subjective characteristics of the members of the social group – and that the two kinds of data must be taken as correlated"¹¹. Herein already lies an early formulation of a core concept in biographical research: "At the centre of the theoretical concept of 'biographicity' is the synthesis of structure and individuality"¹². Sociologists Ursula Apitzsch and Irina Siouti point out, that since the 1990's at the latest, it is generally accepted in the field of biographical research, that biography is a social construct¹³. Biography as a social construction "constitutes both social reality and the subjects' worlds of knowledge and experience, and [...] is constantly affirmed and transformed within the dialectical relationship between life history knowledge and experiences and patterns presented by society" (Fischer-Rosenthal and Rosenthal 1997:138)"¹⁴. In her 2018 book *Interpretative Social Research*, sociologist Gabriele Rosenthal, whom Apitzsch and Siouti quoted, states the importance of this dialectical relationship for interpretative social research as a whole: "interpretive approaches involve a dialectic conception of 'individual and general' in which the general can be found in the individual. Each individual case is constituted within a social reality and can reveal something about the relationship between the individual and the general. It emerges from the general, and is part of the general. Thus, each individual case can tell us something about the general."¹⁵

2.5. Method of Data Collection: Narrative Interviews

In this study, narrative-biographical interviews were used as the prime method to collect data. The narrative-biographical interview format is characterized by a high degree of openness. The interview begins with an initial question, which serves as a stimulus for the narration. This first question shall encourage the interview partner to tell about their life. For our interviews, we chose the phrasing "Please tell me the story of your life, from your earliest memories until the present day". The following narration is not to be interrupted, except for questions of acoustic comprehension. After the initial narration was ended, we asked the interview partners in greater detail about parts of their narration and asked for aspects they did not initially tell about. In the last part of the interview, we asked closed questions regarding our interview partners experiences. We adapted these questions to fit the interview situation, so that we did not ask a pre-designed list of questions but inquired about specific issues where necessary. We ended the interviews by asking our interview partners, whether they had any questions for us, giving them the opportunity to learn more about our research and our interview technique. Offering the interview partners to answer

¹¹ Thomas&Znaniecki 1958: 20

¹² Apitzsch&Siouti 2007: 5

¹³ Apitzsch&Siouty 2007:5

¹⁴ Apitzsch&Siouti 2007: 5

¹⁵ Rosenthal 2018: 65

their questions was included in the interview process in the interest of transparency and as a requirement of research ethics. It had the positive side effect that in some cases conversations developed, in which interview partners provided us with further information. Before starting the interviews, we provided the interview partners with information regarding our research project and asked them for giving us their consent to the interview through a consent form stating their rights to their data. We transcribed the interviews verbatim and analyzed them in this state. For presenting quotes in the study, we translated parts of the transcribed interview material into English. We tried to stay as close to the original transcript as possible. We de-identified our interview partners by assigning them code names comprised of the abbreviation "IP" for interview partner and a number indicating, which interview they have taken part in in our respective country studies.

2.6. Grounded Theory

In our study, we rely on a Grounded Theory Methodology to analyze the interviews we lead with working migrants. This methodology has its roots in the Chicago School of Sociology. Grounded Theory has its roots in medical sociology and is still used widely in nursing science, medical sociology and psychology, to research patient behavior or individual attitudes to sickness. Grounded Theory has, however, far encompassed the field it was developed in and has become one of the most widely used qualitative methodologies to date. It encompasses both a range of methods and their implementation. Developed as a methodology for qualitative research, Grounded Theory aims at constructing a theory which is grounded in data. As a research methodology, it follows an inductive research logic, quasi moving up a ladder of abstraction from the data to the theory. This approach differentiates Grounded Theory from deductive approaches, which test theory guided, pre-formulated hypotheses against the data. As a research process, Grounded Theory Methodologies follow a circular logic. Through analysis of the data, preliminary hypotheses are constructed, which are then tested against the data in order to solidify or negate them. While employing a Grounded Theory means moving from the specific data to an abstract middle range theory, the process of building this theory involves comparing findings on the same level of abstraction, or even moving down on the ladder of abstraction, for example when testing a preliminary category against new data. This circular approach is called abduction and is used in a Grounded Theory Methodology to aid inductive conceptualization¹⁶

Since its inception with the seminal works "Awareness of Dying" (1965) and especially "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" (1967) by sociologists Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser, several distinct Grounded Theory methodologies have been developed. Glaser and Strauss themselves developed different schools of Grounded Theory in the decades after writing "Discovery". Grounded Theory approaches differ with regards to their underlying epistemologies, and, subsequently, with regards to the methods used to construct a theory from the data. One main fault line is the distinction between (post-)positivist and constructivist Grounded Theory Methodologies. Adherents to the former assume, that the theory is already ingrained in the data, while the latter emphasize a greater role of the researcher (and the study participants) in constructing the theory. While (post-)positivist

¹⁶ Birks&Mills 2015: 177

grounded theorists assume, that themes and theoretical concepts emerge from the data when the right methods are applied to their analysis, constructivist grounded theorists assume, that these concepts are constructed through their analysis. The epistemological position of a grounded theorist has implications for their research process. This might include a different approach to data collection, a different degree of engagement with literature on the topic, and a different method of coding. For our study, we have oriented our research mostly towards the constructivist Grounded Theory approach developed by Kathy Charmaz in her book "Constructing Grounded Theory" (2006).

Some grounded theorists advocate entering the field of study with little or no prior literature review to not bias themselves. The arguments behind this strategy, advocated for in early Grounded Theory texts and especially by Barney Glaser, are described by educational researcher Robert Thornberg:

*"They contend that delaying the literature review aids the researcher to generate a theory that fits with and is well-grounded in the empirical world. The main reasons behind their dictum are: (a) to keep the researcher as free and open as possible to discover, and (b) to avoid contamination, e.g. forcing data into pre-existing concepts which distort or do not fit with data or have no relevance to the substantive area. [...] Furthermore, Glaser (1998) argues that the answer concerning which literature is relevant is unknown prior to the study and remains so until the end of the analysis. Only then do we have enough knowledge about our own study to make an adequate literature search and weave it into the GT."*¹⁷

A strict interpretation of this blank slate approach is the subject of a controversy between researchers applying Grounded Theory Methodologies. The counter-position is for example taken by Urquhart and Fernández, who point out:

*"The origin of this misconception can be attributed to a misinterpretation of one of the basic tenets of grounded theory: the researcher must set aside the extant theory. Yet, this tenet does not imply GTM researchers must ignore the existing literature and become a tabula rasa. The idea of the researcher as a blank slate has at its base a superficial reading of the literature. Glaser and Strauss (1967 p.33) warned researchers against the extant literature dictating "prior to the research, 'relevancies' in concepts and hypothesis." However, construing this warning as a dictum requiring a blank mind is either a misrepresentation or a misinterpretation. The very crux of GTM is the rigorous generation of theory using systematic procedures, analytical skills and theoretical sensitivity, which emanate from knowledge of the extant literature. We must also emphasise that all the key texts of GTM stress the need to engage the resultant theory with the literature;"*¹⁸

An even more pointed position is taken by Janice M. Morse, a grounded theorist who in an editorial for the journal *Qualitative Health Research* questions what she calls "Biasphobia" and instead points out:

¹⁷ Thornberg 2012: 244

¹⁸ Urquhart&Fernández 2013: 4

*"Bias is essential and must be used if qualitative inquiry is to be done well. In fact, biasphobia—or fear of bias—severely impedes the quality of qualitative inquiry. Strategies that researchers are using to avoid bias, paradoxically, are making qualitative inquiry much more difficult by diluting, contaminating, and concealing the phenomena the researchers are trying to explore, describe, delineate, and reveal."*¹⁹

Countering the arguments for a blank slate approach, Thornberg points to the problems of entering a research field without prior literature review²⁰, such as the dangers of limiting ones' field of research, incentivizing simply concealing prior knowledge or ignoring valuable research. In addition, it might be necessary to prepare a prior literature review as part of a proposal for funding of the research. The most important point which Thornberg advances is, that not engaging in a prior literature review implies a loss of knowledge. It would also underestimate the ability of the researcher to engage with their field in a reflexive manner.

In order to avoid both "a naive empiricism as well as theoretical forcing"²¹, Thornberg proposes his own approach to Grounded Theory, that of an *Informed Grounded Theory*. He explains:

*"What I call informed grounded theory refers to a product of a research process as well as to the research process itself, in which both the process and the product have been thoroughly grounded in data by GT methods while being informed by existing research literature and theoretical frameworks. [...] In contrast to the classic GT tradition, but in accordance with the constructivist GT tradition, an informed grounded theorist sees the advantage of using pre-existing theories and research findings in the substantive field in a sensitive, creative and flexible way instead of seeing them as obstacles and threats."*²²

In order to use existing literature to their advantage and at the same time avoiding the pitfalls of a theoretic predetermination, Thornberg introduces a range of strategies aiming at fostering the reflexivity of researchers.

For our study, we have decided to employ an *Informed Grounded Theory* approach as advocated by Thornberg: We entered the research field after gaining an overview through a first review of the literature. This helped us with the purposeful sampling for our study. When analyzing the interview material, we discovered themes and phenomena, which we described in detail in memos. We also compared the interview material for different or similar manifestations of themes and phenomena and discussed them in our research group. In addition, we searched for scientific literature concerning our findings in the material and used the literature we found as further source for comparisons and information. When engaging with literature on our findings, we noted, where it concurred with and where it departed from our results and searched for reasons underlying similar or different assessments. This approach to the literature review for our study can be seen as coherent with the categorization of Thornberg & Dunne (2019), who describe three phases

¹⁹ Morse 2003: 891

²⁰ See Thornberg 2012: 244-245

²¹ Thornberg 2012: 249

²² Thornberg 2012: 249

of the literature review for a constructivist grounded theory study: The *initial literature review*, the primary aim of which is to "become broadly familiar with the geography of a subject and locate oneself within this research terrain by understanding existing empirical findings, rather than simply seeking out and clinging to theoretical frameworks used in such studies."²³ The *ongoing literature review*, which "is heavily informed by the raw data (e.g., qualitative interview data) which the researcher gathers. During this phase the researcher may seek to identify empirical studies which relate to findings (e.g., themes, ideas, hypotheses) emerging from the iterative process between data collection and analysis."²⁴ Lastly, there is the *final literature review*, which is conducted when "the researcher seeks to contextualize the constructed grounded theory in relation to established theoretical ideas and identify theoretical reference points against which to compare and contrast the data."²⁵ By approaching the literature review in this way in our study, we ensured, that the literature we consulted aided our understanding of the empirical data, without exerting undue influence over our interpretation.

A Grounded Theory Methodology encompasses different procedures and methods. Among those are purposeful sampling, initial coding, memoing, constant comparison, theoretical sampling, focused coding, diagramming and theoretical coding.

2.7. Sampling

In our study, we used the sampling strategies prescribed by Grounded Theory Methodology, first following an approach of purposeful sampling and later of theoretical sampling. Both sampling approaches follow the quality criteria for qualitative research. Unlike in quantitative studies, sampling in qualitative research does not aim for representativity. As Morse and Clarke put it:

*"In quantitative research, the sampling strategy goal is to represent the population. In qualitative inquiry, the goal of sampling is to represent the phenomenon of interest, that is, the topic of whatever you are studying, primarily through interviewing and, to a lesser extent, by observation or the use of other documents. In quantitative research, sampling is based on principles of randomization, so that everyone in this population has an equal chance of being selected for the study. In qualitative inquiry, sampling enables access to new dimensions of the topic that arise during reflexive inquiry. These two different research goals (the population or the topic) give us two different methodological perspectives and provide us with two different approaches to sampling."*²⁶

Within a Grounded Theory Methodology, purposeful sampling describes the practice of sampling for data that seems best suited to provide information in order to answer the research question. In our project, purposeful sampling meant focusing on working migrants as interview partners, because it is their experiences, which we wanted to learn about. As an integral part of the research process, sampling in grounded theory guides the collection of

²³ Thornberg&Dunne 2019: 211-212

²⁴ Thornberg&Dunne 2019: 212

²⁵ Thornberg&Dunne 2019: 212

²⁶ Morse&Clarke 2019: 147

data and the construction of theory. The sampling process is described as “the most complex and important component of the study.”²⁷ It is for this reason, that we prepared our sampling extensively. Throughout the study, data was collected and generated employing a theoretical sampling of the data. Theoretical sampling is understood in this study as

„the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges“²⁸.

The aim of such theoretical sampling is not to increase the sample size. It is employed in order to further the development of an emerging theory. As Kathy Charmaz puts it:

„We use theoretical sampling to develop our emerging categories and to make them more definitive and useful. Thus, the aim of this sampling is to refine ideas, not to increase the size of the original sample.“²⁹

The selection of interview partners for this study was, as mentioned, guided by the potential contribution of the interviews to the creation of a theory of education demands of working migrants. This potential was not assessed through applying a theoretical framework and then checking, whether interview partners would satisfy the categories of this framework. The initial sampling decisions, however, were guided by a strategy of purposeful sampling. And, while in traditional Grounded Theory it is suggested that the researcher, when entering the field, should “literally ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area of study”³⁰ and enter quasi as a blank slate, we engaged with literature on the topic of our study, working migration. In addition, we led interviews with counselors and community organizers in order to learn more about the everyday life and challenges that working migrants face. Thus, our purposeful sampling was informed by background information that some adherents to classic grounded theory would not have gathered for their purposeful sampling. We decided for this approach for two reasons: First, we wanted to avoid entering the field with unexpressed prejudices and preconceptions. For, as Thornberg puts it: “Empirical observation could never be totally free from theoretical influence because seeing is already a ‘theory-laden’ undertaking.”³¹ The question therefore is not, whether the researchers view is influenced by theoretical preconceptions, but whether the researcher is conscious about such influences. Gaining a better understanding of the life world of working migrants through existing research and background-interviews enabled us to engage in our fieldwork and analysis with greater openness. Second, gathering prior information on our research topic helped our sampling process. We were able to select strong cases with regards to obstacles and educational demands based on our theoretically guided assumptions. The aim of our approach was thus to neither enter the field so theory laden as to smother inductive findings, nor so purely empiricist that it concealed the underlying notions we might have when entering the field. In avoiding these pitfalls, our approach

²⁷ Morse&Clarke 2019: 148

²⁸ Glaser/Strauss 1967: 45

²⁹ Charmaz 2000: 519

³⁰ Glaser/Strauss 1967: 37

³¹ Thornberg 2012: 246

enabled us to sample for interview partners which had the greatest potential for co-creating rich, meaningful data with respect to our research topic.

As the study progressed, and the first interviews were conducted and coded, the sampling was guided by considerations of which interviews could answer open questions (not yet answered through the analysis of the interviews already conducted and coded). These questions were discussed by the research team and the findings both within and between the individual interviews were compared. In addition, we sampled for cases that provided a stark contrast, so as to shine a light on specific experiences. This, too, was done in accordance with the sampling strategy for a grounded theory:

*"In order to develop the concepts as they emerge, the focus of sampling changes from the population or group, to deliberately selecting those participants with specific characteristics to including a contrast group to verify or extend the theory."*³²

In the German country study, for example, a doctor and an academic who went abroad on a years-long research stay were interviewed, in order to better understand the contrasts and similarities between their migration experience and the migration experience of migrants working in the industrial and agricultural sectors.

In our study, both the sampling of further interview partners, as well as the questions asked after the initial narration were directed by the aim of creating a data saturated theory.

2.8. Coding

"Consistent with the logic of grounded theory, coding is an emergent process. Unexpected ideas emerge. They can keep emerging." (Charmaz 2006: 59)

Coding is a heuristic to move up the ladder of abstraction in the construction of a grounded theory. It is an analytical practice to order and categorize the data. By applying a code to a segment of data, a researcher indicates, that this segment indicates a specific concept. We started initial coding right after the first interviews were transcribed. During the process of initial coding, segments of the interview text were categorized through short summaries ("codes"). This coding was done line-by-line. Moving through the text line-by-line (and not, say, sentence by sentence or paragraph by paragraph) allowed us to break up the text and focus more intensely on the meaning of each line. In the initial coding, we, for the most part, followed the approach advocated by Barney Glaser and Kathy Charmaz, of using codes in the gerund form to denote and preserve actions: The idea of coding data as actions is employed to curb "our tendencies to make conceptual leaps and to adopt extant theories *before* we have done the necessary analytic work"³³. However, we did not exclusively code with gerunds and used other codes, where actions were not at the center of the respective lines content. When coding the interview material, we asked analytic questions of the text, such as "What is happening? What is this data a study of? What theoretical category does this datum indicate? What does the data suggest? Pronounce?" In asking these questions, we stayed close to the questions suggested by Kathy Charmaz, who suggests asking the

³² Morse&Clarke 2019: 149

³³ Charmaz 2006: 48

following questions of the data, adapting some from Glaser and Strauss and adding her own:

- 'What is this data a study of?' (Glaser, 1978: 57; Glaser&Strauss, 1967)
- What does this data suggest? Pronounce?
- From whose point of view?
- What theoretical category does this specific datum indicate? (Glaser, 1978)³⁴

We coded the material by breaking it down line by line and transferring the individual interviews into tables. We decided against the use of Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), as using such software could tempt researchers to simply apply pre-written codes and thus make conceptual leaps and prematurely categorize the material so as to fit the predefined codes. Instead, we used a simple spreadsheet-software and used the different columns for different questions we asked of the data. In addition to the columns for the questions mentioned, we also left a column for alternative codes and "In-Vivo" codes. In-Vivo codes are used to code for specific terms or phrases used by interview partners.

After initially coding our first interviews and establishing analytic directions through line-by-line coding³⁵, we started the process of focused coding. Focused coding is used

*"to synthesize and explain larger segments of data. Focused coding means using the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amounts of data. One goal is to determine the adequacy of those codes. Focused coding requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorize your data incisively and completely."*³⁶

Furthermore, focused coding serves the purpose to "move across interviews and observations and compare people's experiences, actions, and interpretations."³⁷ During the process we compared relevant incidents in the interviews and between the individual interviews. We also exchanged our preliminary coding within the research team. In the process of focused coding, we also revisited data we analyzed earlier considering new findings. Employing this circular movement through the data, we refined our categorizations. Kathy Charmaz describes this process as follows:

*"But moving to focused coding is not entirely a linear process. Some respondents or events will make explicit what was implicit in earlier statements or events. An 'Aha! Now I understand,' experience may prompt you to study your earlier data afresh. Then you may return to earlier respondents and explore topics that had been glossed over, or that may have been too implicit to discern initially or unstated."*³⁸

Noteworthy statements prompted us not only to compare them to other parts of the interview or other interviews, but also to create short memos about their content and

³⁴ Charmaz 2006: 47

³⁵ Charmaz 2006: 57

³⁶ Charmaz 2006: 57-58

³⁷ Charmaz 2006: 59

³⁸ Charmaz 2006: 58

phrasing, as well as other instances in the interview material or the notes from the background talks where the themes or topics in question were thematized.

The third stage of coding, theoretical coding, was undertaken in our study after substantive focused coding and memoing had been conducted. Theoretical coding is defined by Kathy Charmaz as “a sophisticated level of coding that follows the codes you have selected during focused coding.[...] In short, theoretical codes specify possible relationships between categories you have developed in your focused coding.”³⁹ Theoretical codes help the researcher to facilitate an analytic narrative. They “are integrative; they lend form to the focused codes you have collected. These codes may help you tell an analytic story that has coherence. Hence, these codes not only conceptualize how your substantive codes are related, but also move your analytic story in a theoretical direction.”⁴⁰.

One way of doing theoretical coding is orienting oneself around coding families, for example the eighteen coding families Barney Glaser (1978) introduced. Among them, the widely used “Six Cs: Causes, Contexts, Contingencies, Consequences, Covariances, and Conditions”⁴¹, a collection of analytical categories. In our study, we developed theoretical codes by exploring in memos, how the significant focused codes are related to the educational demands of working migrants. The theoretical codes we found were:

- Educational Content
- Educational Form
- Intermediary Factor
- Context

While ‘Educational Content’ indicated, that a focused code is the content of an educational demand (for example language proficiency), the code ‘Educational Form’ indicated that a focused code is indicative of a specific educational form that meets the educational demands of working migrants. The code ‘Intermediary Factors’ was used in order to demarcate the factors on the micro- and meso- level of a working migrant’s life, which influence their experience and subsequently their educational demands. Finally, the code ‘Context’ was used to mark codes describing macro-level, structural factors that have an influence on the life and educational demands of working migrants. In order to illustrate the relationship between these theoretical codes, the heuristic of diagramming was used. In a diagram, the relation between the theoretical codes was graphically represented. This representation served as the basis for developing the analytic narrative.

2.9. Memoing

Immediately after we started with the collection of data through our interviews, we also started writing memos. Memos are notes concerning the research process. They can cover analytical insights, noteworthy verbalizations by interview partners, spontaneous thoughts and observations, similarities between cases or codes. More so than codes, memos are the

³⁹ Charmaz 2006: 63

⁴⁰ Charmaz 2006: 63

⁴¹ Glaser 1978: 74

crucial facilitator of theory building in grounded theory. Kathy Charmaz describes the function of memos as follows:

*"In short, memo-writing provides a space to become actively engaged in your materials, to develop your ideas and to fine-tune your subsequent data-gathering. Through writing memos, you construct analytic notes to explicate and fill out categories. [...] Memos give you a space and place for making comparisons between data and data, data and codes, codes of data and other codes, codes and category, and category and concept and for articulating conjectures about these comparisons."*⁴²

Johnny Saldaña further illustrates the importance of memos for the analytical process:

*"Codes written in the margins of your hard-copy data or associated with data and listed in a CAQDAS file are nothing more than labels until they are analyzed. Your private and personal written musings before, during, and about the entire enterprise is a question-raising, puzzle-piecing, connection-making, strategy-building, problem-solving, answer-generating, rising-above-the-data heuristic."*⁴³

To give some examples for memos in our study: We wrote memos on statements made by interview partner, which were indicative of a larger pattern we observed throughout the material, or which were outliers, for example unique views or ways of dealing with pressures. We wrote memos on the particular ways in which our interview partners were phrasing things and on narrations which seemed to describe phenomena well observed in the fields of psychology or sociology. One interview partner in Germany, for example, described their feelings during their first few months of staying abroad and the narration seemed to fit quite accurately the description of a "culture shock" as described by Canadian anthropologist Kalervo Oberg⁴⁴. Some of the memos were written immediately after the interviews, in order to note our impressions of the interviews' circumstances and processes. We also wrote down our impressions of our interview partners behaviour and conduct during the interview. And we wrote down ideas, connections, intuitions we spontaneously had during or after the interviews and scrutinized in the memos the possible reason for these spontaneous notions, mentioning potential sources and necessary directions of further research.

We also wrote memos on the codes we developed, using the memos as spaces to compare the statements of different interview partners regarding an issue or the similar (or different) biographic trajectories. Furthermore, we used memos to reflect on the relationship of different codes and categories. We compared the memos we made with regards to different interview partners and codes, and we compared our memos among the research team, comparing the findings in our individual country studies via the exchange of overview memos and analytical memos we wrote. We discussed these memos and our findings during regular online meetings.

Through constant memoing and constant comparison, we furthered the analytical process and moved up the theoretical ladder of abstraction.

⁴² Charmaz 2006: 72-73

⁴³ Saldaña 2013: 41

⁴⁴ See Oberg 2006

2.10. Theoretical saturation

One important part of every research project is the decision to end data gathering and data analysis. In a research project employing quantitative methods, for example a survey on electoral preferences, the data collection might stop when a data sample is representative of a larger population. The data analysis will stop when the questions set out at the beginning of the research project like e.g. political party preferences expressed in percentages, have been calculated. This is due to the linear research process and its clear demarcation between data gathering and data analysis. For qualitative research, the question of an inquiry's scope is not as easy to answer, given that qualitative methods aim at the depth of a phenomenon, while quantitative research scrutinizes its comparative width.

Especially methodologies like the Grounded Theory Methodology, which follow a circular research logic, and in which data gathering and data analysis are blended, have no such clear scope. As a criterion to stop further data collection and analysis, grounded theorists thus use the concept of theoretical saturation. Kathy Charmaz defines theoretical saturation as follows:

*"Categories are 'saturated' when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of your core theoretical categories."*⁴⁵

This criterion is not an easy or unproblematic one, as the question, if no new insights or properties could not be found by analyzing more data is hard to answer. The answer depends on multiple factors, such as on the scope of the research question, the quantity and quality of the data and the thoroughness of the analysis. Charmaz mentions an early critique of the concept of theoretical saturation by Ian Dey, who instead advocates aiming for *theoretical sufficiency*. Newer critiques of the concept of theoretical saturation in qualitative research, such as Low (2019) argue, that the concept of theoretical saturation, maybe phrased poorly, is really a question of conceptual rigor⁴⁶.

In our research, we reviewed the categories we developed with regards to their explanatory power in order to determine, whether they were sufficiently researched.

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3. Country report Germany

3.1. Working migration in Germany

According to the IOM's World Migration Report 2020, Germany is a top destination for migrants worldwide¹, second only to the United States of America. Discussions about migration during the last years mainly focused on Germany as a host country for asylum seekers and refugees. Given, that in 2018, "Germany continued to host the largest population of refugees and asylum seekers in Europe and the fifth largest in the world"², this focus is hardly surprising. It led, however, to other forms of migration being broadly overlooked in the country's migration discourse.

The impact and importance of working migration, for example, played a rather secondary role in Germany's migration discussion. Working migration as a central issue only came to the fore due to the impact of Covid-19 on the 2020 spring harvest, the death of a Romanian working migrant in Germany and the mass infection among working migrants in the country's meat processing industry. In stark contrast to the rather sparse attention, which working migration received in the public discussion in Germany, stands the actual volume of working migration and the importance of working migrants for the German economy. Germany is the main country of destination for Intra-EU mobile workers, recoding inflows of 318,000 EU movers in 2017 alone³ and, together with the UK, Germany received the majority of recent EU movers⁴. Currently, "Around half of all EU movers reside in either Germany or the UK."⁵ In 2017, Germany was the country with "by far the largest net mobility of EU-28 movers"⁶, receiving 154,000 more movers than left in the same year. In the last years, intra-EU movers mainly came from Romania, Poland and Bulgaria, according to the German Ministry of the Interior's Annual Migration report⁷.

In 2016 and 2017, Germany was also the fifth highest remittance sending country in the world, demonstrating the large impact of working migration in the country⁸. In 2017 alone, remittances totalling 22.09 billion US-dollars were sent from Germany⁹. This is due to the high labour market participation of EU working migrants, whose rate in the last years was consistently higher than the rate of German labor market participation.

According to research from the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), GDP growth between the years 2011 and 2016 would have been on average 0.2 percent lower each year without EU migration¹⁰. A study conducted by the Citigroup together with researchers from the University of Oxford expresses the economic contribution of working migrants in the estimate of absolute numbers. The study finds: "Our estimates suggest migration has had a

¹ IOM 2019: 25

² IOM 2019: 90

³ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 38

⁴ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 32

⁵ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 12

⁶ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 34

⁷ BMI 2018: 41

⁸ IOM 2019: 36

⁹ IOM 2019: 37

¹⁰ Clemens&Hart 2018: 441, 448

substantial impact on recent aggregate economic growth. In Germany and the U.K., for example, if immigration had been frozen in 1990, real GDP in 2014 would have been around €155 billion and £175 billion lower respectively.”¹¹ Beside the positive impact working migration has on the economy, a positive effect on the job market is assessed by economists¹². Aside from working migrants from other EU countries, Germany is increasingly becoming a country of destination for third state citizens, especially from the Western Balkan countries, i.e. Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia. A legal basis for working migration from the Western Balkan states has been created through the “Westbalkanregelung” (Western Balkan Regulation) in 2016. The regulation allows working migrants from the West Balkan states to work in Germany in all fields except temporary work. While it is unclear, whether the regulation will be prolonged past its initially planned end-date on December 31. 2020, an evaluation conducted by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs suggests rather positive outcomes, especially with regards to labor market integration¹³. Prolonging the Western Balkan Regulation would be one way to deal with the increasing demand for non-EU working migrants, that some researchers are predicting. Due to the demographic change in the German labor force, a 2019 study finds, that until 2060, the labor immigration of 260,000 people each year would be needed to satisfy the labor market¹⁴. Due to decreasing immigration from other EU countries, Germany might have a net migration demand for workers from third states of up to 146,000 people each year¹⁵. Besides low and medium-skilled workers, Germany is trying to attract high-skilled working migrants. Another current trend in working migration is the increase in both the numbers and the rate of short-term movers, who stay for less than 12 months¹⁶.

The sectors, in which working migrants constitute a relatively large part of the workforce are, to name a few examples, meat processing (39.6 %), food production (37.1%), constructional concrete- and steelwork (34.4 %) or agriculture (29.3), according to an analysis by German newspaper Die Welt¹⁷ (data for the year 2017). Generally, working migrants are more likely to be employed in temporary work¹⁸ and, depending on their country of origin, earn less than Germans or other migrants¹⁹. This might be due to a multitude of factors, such as field of work, discrimination, qualification or comparability of degrees²⁰. One process, which facilitated the disadvantages working migrants face, is the increase of atypical working migration. Atypical working migration is temporary, subject to specific restrictions and encompasses, for example, posted workers, seasonal workers and self-employed workers²¹. The increase in atypical working migration, according to an

¹¹ Goldin et. al. 2018: 5

¹² An overall long-term positive effect of migration for the job market in the country of destination is established in empirical studies, for example Constant (2014).

¹³ BMAS 2020

¹⁴ See Fuchs et. al 2019: 8

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Fries-Tersch et. al. 2020: 13

¹⁷ Welt 2018

¹⁸ See Haller, P. & Jahn, E. J. 2014

¹⁹ See Lehmer, F. & Ludsteck, J. 2013

²⁰ Lehmer, F. & Ludsteck, J. 2013: 2

²¹ Wagner, B.&Hassel, A. 2017: 412

analysis by Wagner and Hassel is attributable to a praxis of a selective restriction of access to the German labor market. This subsequently created a market for atypical employment for working migrants, which swiftly grew. Additionally, employers were able to pursue regulation arbitrage, choosing regulations which were more advantageous to them and allowed them access to cheaper labor²². The usage of such atypical forms of employment, of disguised employment and of contract for works labor, often organized through subcontractors, perpetuated a low-wage sector in which working migrants are employed, often under exploitative and/or unsafe working conditions. Working migrants affected by such practices might turn to counselling and advocacy institutions, like the counselling services for adult migrants offered by welfare associations and aid groups. Such services are offered in Germany for example by the German Red Cross, the catholic institutions Caritas and Raphaeliswerk, the Diakonie, a protestant social welfare association, the AWO, a workers welfare group, institutions of the catholic Kolping werk and many others. In addition, counselling and advocacy groups have been established, which specifically address the problems of working migrants. Involved here are smaller associations like "Würde und Gerechtigkeit" (dignity and justice), as well as the institution "faire Mobilität" (fair mobility), organized by the DGB (the German Trade Union Federation). Strengthening this advocacy institution was one of the measures planned by the German federal minister for Labour and Social Affairs in May 2020 to respond to dangerous working conditions in Germans meat processing industry, which relies heavily on working migrants²³. Numbers from counselling and advocacy institutions in Lower Saxony, where most of the interviews for this study were conducted, reflect this larger problem. In their report for 2018, the Beratungsstelle für mobile Beschäftigte in Niedersachsen, a counselling institution close to the DGB, named workers in the meat processing industry as largest single group among their clients²⁴. Overall, the four offices of the Beratungsstelle counselled 1,760 working migrants in 2018 alone²⁵. These numbers show, that counselling and advocacy are in great demand for working migrants. However, lack of access to counselling is just one of many intersecting vulnerabilities working migrants face in Germany. To ameliorate their situation and empower them to participate in their country of destinations society, a comprehensive strategy, including education, is needed. Otherwise, especially those migrants working in the low-income sector and in atypical working arrangements will remain vulnerable to exploitation and dangerous working environments.

3.2. People interviewed in the country study

For the German case, 19 working migrants were interviewed. The interviews were recorded, transcribed in full and anonymized. Immediately after the interviews, notes and memos were written, to capture noteworthy events or statements. After comparing the transcripts with the recordings, the recordings of the interviews were deleted. Additionally, expert interviews were led with 11 people involved in counselling working migrants. During these interviews, notes were taken. However, the interviews were not recorded and were not

²² Wagner, B.&Hassel, A. 2017: 418

²³ See BMAS 2020

²⁴ Beratungsstellen 2019: 4

²⁵ Beratungsstellen 2019: 3

systematically analyzed. They were included as background information. The field of interview partners was quite diverse. Among those interviewed were working migrants in the food processing industry, cleaners, migrants working in construction, mechanics, electricians and lorry drivers. Additionally, interviews were led with an academic, a homemaker, a groom, a care worker, a doctor and a welder. Most interview partners were from other EU countries, the exception being two Hungarian Serbs, one Bosnian, one Russian and one Syrian. Among those interviewed were twelve men and seven women. With two exceptions, all interview partners planned for medium or long-term stays in their country of destination. The exceptions were a German academic who returned from a research exchange abroad and a welder planning to return from the UK to Poland in the foreseeable future.

Most interview partners had prior migration experiences, either from migrations to the current country of destination, or to other countries.

The interview partners were recruited through gatekeepers, such as NGOs who are engaged in counselling working migrants, community organizers, and language teachers. Some were contacted by other interview partners and through acquaintances. We have decided to pursue such different approaches, because entering the field exclusively through institutional gatekeepers can impact the sample. Had we confined ourselves to only rely on counsellors in order to facilitate contact with working migrants, this might have narrowed the sample in two ways. Firstly, it would have excluded those working migrants, who do not need counselling. Secondly, it would have excluded those working migrants who are worst off when it comes to working conditions, and who do not have the resources to utilize counselling and therefore do not seek it. Such effects were avoided by contriving other points of entry to the field and find interview partners. Employing a range of sampling strategies (asking counsellors, language teachers and community organizers as well as working migrants themselves to facilitate contacts) led to a more diverse sample and a broader range of experiences.

As far as possible, we followed a strategy of purposeful and later of theoretical sampling. We did not aim for a representative sample, as representativity is a quality criterion for quantitative research, not for qualitative research. The aim of our sampling was instead to talk to working migrants whose narrations on their life story and experiences would help us to develop a theory of their educational demands. With our sampling and our analysis, we worked towards a state of theoretical saturation, meaning a state where no new themes or aspects could be discovered by adding more data. Insofar, as theoretical saturation is possible, we are confident that we have approximated such a state in this study. However, sampling strategies in theory are always constrained by the requirements and constraints of reality. Despite efforts to do so, working migrants in some professions could not be included in the sample. While including a care worker, this country report does not feature interviews with home care nurses. While there is a significant number of migrants working in 24-hour care services, these working migrants are hard to reach. The implication of their specific working and living conditions for their educational demands have thus been investigated through relying on secondary literature. In addition, despite efforts to talk to German working migrants abroad, only one such interview could be realized. This interview was led

with an academic who has taken part in an international academic exchange. Other experiences of German working migrants could not be gathered through interviews. Here, too, information was supplemented through background talks and through literature review. It needs to be stated however, that the inability to gather data from such groups might have inhibited a full theoretical saturation.

Special circumstances of the interview process

Most interviews were conducted during personal meetings. In preparation of the interviews, interview partners were asked where they wanted to meet. Four interviews were led in municipal buildings, another three in the homes of working migrants. Two interviews were led in the offices of the KEB in Lower Saxony. Four interviews were led in Cafés. Three interviews were led via telephone or via video call.

Most interviews were led with working migrants who had acquired a higher level of language proficiency in German. However, in four interviews, counsellors acted as intermediaries through consecutive interpreting. In one such case, an interpreter was cut in via phone. One interview was led in English. During one interview, questions were asked in English at the request of the interview partner, who answered mostly in German, while sometimes supplementing words or sentences in English. In one interview, led with two interview partners, one of the interview partners translated some of the questions.

3.3. Central findings from the material

3.3.1. Educational Demands (content)

The educational demands reported or implied in the interviews were identified through analyzing the narrations of our interview partners. Some educational demands were expressed in all interviews, while others were more specifically related to the individual migration experience of the interview partners. These educational demands are included here, too, because their importance exceeds the specific circumstances in which it became evident. They are educational demands for working migrants in general.

Language Proficiency

One educational demand that came up in every interview was proficiency in the country of destinations language. An analysis of the expressed as well as the implicit thematisations of language proficiency shows that this is a crucial educational demand for working migrants. Most interview partners expressed in clear terms, that knowing the language of the country of destination is a necessity for striving abroad.

Some explicitly point out the connection of language proficiency and professional success. Among them are those who worked in jobs where communication is central, such as care work, medicine, and academia. The interview partner in interview 10, a Syrian doctor who came to Germany in order to specialize, explains that language proficiency is a fundamental requirement for his job. Those working in communication-intensive jobs however were not the only ones mentioning the importance of language proficiency. One interview partner in interview 3 names language proficiency as an absolute priority in succeeding abroad and relates, as an example, a statement by his boss who would only hire workers with a

minimum level of language proficiency. The interview partner in interview 4 also mentions being asked by his boss about his language proficiency. He points out, that proficiency in the country of destinations language is an absolute necessity for working migrants. Having learned German in school, the interview partner had some language proficiency in German. When asked by his first employer, whether he would speak German, he answered "yes, a little, but I came to work, not to speak, you know?". In hindsight, he points out, that this was a naïve attitude. He also relates that speaking one language at work would contribute to a pleasant working atmosphere. The interview partner in interview 7 points to his lack of language proficiency as one reason for the failure of his first working migration to Germany. Subsequently, he was visiting a language course at the time of the interview.

Lack of language proficiency could, as a number of interview partners point out, block working migrants from gaining higher paying positions and confine them to working in an oftentimes exploitative ethnic-economical niche of temp agency work. One interview partner pointed specifically to her lack of language proficiency as the reason for her working as a cleaner and not in her field of studies, as an economist. Another interview partner was asked to assess the most important skills for working migrants in a later part of the interview. He responded:

"Yeah, for me it doesn't matter in which industry people work. In any case, they have to learn German first, because without German to find a good or normal job here in Germany, that is very difficult. Without language, I think this is very difficult and then they have to work for [members of the interview partners ethnic community] or for [compatriots of the interview partner] and then that is not so good because, these people know us too well"

Working migrants hired by such agencies might not have a social network abroad, and only little contact to the society of the country of destination, except through their employers. They are in a precarious situation and have very limited possibilities of seeking help. Exploitation of working migrants is of course neither confined to temp firms from their home-countries, nor exclusively dependent on their language skills. German temp firms also engage in wage theft and other exploitative, sometimes illegal practices. Working migrants with a higher degree of language proficiency might also be forced into exploitative contracts by structural pressures such as having to have employment in order to stay in their country of destination (COD), poverty, or financial needs of the family abroad. The interview partner in interview 2, for example, related an instance which demonstrates the limits of language proficiency as a tool to safeguard against exploitative working conditions. When her husband told her, that his boss was mistreating him, she responded that she plans to confront his boss and defend her husband as soon as she has completed her German course. Her husband replied that a confrontational course will not help and that one has to plead with the boss for better working conditions, rather than being confrontational. In the following part of the interview, the interview partner expressed, that there is a clear distinction between the means and rights of Germans and of foreigners. Knowing the language of the country of destination is by itself not a sufficient safeguard against exploitation. However, it is easier for agencies to prey on working migrants, if they don't

know what the documents, which they are signing, are saying²⁶. In this way, helping working migrants to gain language proficiency might help to reduce the danger of them being exploited. While language proficiency is not an absolute safeguard against exploitative working conditions, higher proficiency increases the chances to find a job outside the exploitative milieu of temp agencies and increases the agency of working migrants at their workplace.

The workplace is not the only space in which language proficiency is an important skill for working migrants. Several interview partners have told about their difficulties with municipal authorities due to their lack of language proficiency. The interview partner in interview 9 reports of an appointment, in which he has asked the clerk if they could talk in English. The clerk, despite being able to speak English, denied this request. During appointments with municipal authorities, interview partners with lacking language proficiency were depending on the help of others. One interview partner in interview 6 reports an instance, in which a municipal administration employee helped her navigate the language barrier. The other interview partner in this interview mentions, that she enlisted the help from her former landlady when interacting with the job center or the health insurance provider. The aforementioned interview partner in interview 9 received help from other migrants who accompanied him. Generally, a lack of language proficiency leaves migrants dependent on other actors, for example counsellors or acquaintances. The successful completion of routine tasks then hinges on who one knows, what they know, and if they have time to help. This can exacerbate all kinds of material problems.

However, not being able to speak the country of destinations language also takes a psychological toll. One interview partner relates an anecdote concerning his ongoing flat hunt. The day before the interview, he was contacted by a realtor about a flat, who, upon realizing that he didn't understand her, said, that she would send him the information via mail. He describes his own anxiousness during the call, and remembers asking, if everything was alright or if some information was missing. From this the interview partner generalizes his fears. When he checks his phone and sees missed calls by unknown numbers, he is worried. Similarly, he is worried by receiving mail, only knowing what it says after using an imperfect translation app and constantly afraid that he might have made some mistake. In the case of this interview partner, the lack of language proficiency seems to amplify an already existing insecurity. It also contributed to his initial loneliness and isolation in his first years in Germany.

For parents migrating together with their children, language proficiency is especially important. The interview partner in interview 1 specifically names the connection between parental language proficiency and child educational development in working migrant families. Regarding her own child, she points out:

"Additionally, I would like to say regarding my son, that I think he learned the language so quickly, that it was very, very easy for him [owing to the fact, D.H.] that I was able to speak the language so well, and that he had someone at home to ask [...] 'What does that mean?' or 'How do I say that?' or 'what am I doing here' or 'what did he say?' or

²⁶ For an exemplary case see, e. g. CSW 2019: 14-15

something like that. I believe... the success of the young children also lies very much in the family, no? If, for example, [...] because I know the language so well, I have always come with, with people to translate [...] and, well, to support and [...] well, when the child comes home, does the homework or ... he has no one to ask, or no one he can ask questions [like, D.H.]: 'What does that mean? What is it?' "

When parents lack proficiency in the country of destinations language, families of migrant workers are sometimes tempted to defer translation tasks to their kids, who oftentimes learn the language of the destination country in school. The informal translation and mediation activities of children for their parents are called "language brokering". While some articles discuss the benefits of language brokering, such as positive impacts on the personality developments of the language broker, others point to the downsides of language brokering practices. Language brokering can be harmful, because it burdens the children and parentifies²⁷ them, creating enormous psychological pressure. In addition, the children of working migrants who do not speak the COD-language might have problems of their own in language attainment.

Three cases deviate from the otherwise shared assessment of the importance of language proficiency: The IPs in Interviews 11, 12 and 13. The four people interviewed in these Interviews have all reported, that they can understand German well enough to get along at work, and that over time they understand what others are telling them. It is, according to the interview partners, only the speaking proficiency with which they have problems. However, the social situation of these IPs seems to paint a different picture: While it might be true that they get along in their working environment, their social contacts seem confined to other people from their own ethnic group. For legal questions and for tasks like answering letters from the landlord, in short, for everyday occurrences, the IPs are dependent on help from a translator. Their lack in language proficiency is a major obstacle towards integration and keeps the IPs vulnerable to exploitative working conditions and jobs, as well as to fraud, scams and other criminal activities. The lack of language proficiency in these cases can be explained by a range of factors. The interview partners migrated to Germany later in their lives, with most of them moving in their thirties. With increasing age, learning new languages might be perceived as harder and might thus be foregone in favour of only learning by ear. In addition, two of the interview partners had a clear time schedule for their migration and were already looking forward to returning to their country of origin. Their emotional attachment lay with their families at home. The interview partners both reported talking to their families daily and seemed to prefer this to seeking out contact to the country of destinations society. Their working migration is of a functional nature. In this context, formally learning the country of destinations language might seem especially pointless. Minimal contact with the country of destinations society is, however, not merely a preference of working migrants. The long workdays as well as a hostile environment in the country of destination act as barriers to social integration of working migrants. The lack of contact with the society of the destination country is a common phenomenon for the IPs in Interviews 11-13. Exceeding these specific cases, it can be an almost structural feature of

²⁷ Parentification, in this context, can be defined as "adolescents' adoption of adult family roles by providing instrumental or emotional support" (Titzmann 2012: 880).

working migration. Gaining language proficiency is no guarantee for avoiding such isolation, but it can be a helpful skill.

Labour Laws

One central educational demand explicitly stated or implied in the narration of many interview partners was knowledge about the country of destinations labour laws and Occupational Safety and Health provisions.

One interview partner blames his lacking language proficiency and knowledge of German labour law for the failure of his first migration to Germany. Additionally, not knowing about labour laws has had negative effects during his current working migration. When he was let go a few months prior to the interview, he did not know about the possibility of a dismissal protection suit and thus missed the period for filing a suit. Expressing his frustration about his circumstances, another interview partner explains in detail, how a lack of knowledge regarding Germanys labour laws impacts him:

"And [we] don't get a language course, or, such a thing, uh, a meeting place where the laws are explained to people, for example what the labor laws are, because we have no idea. We just have to believe in what employers are doing to us. Because no one tells me how many hours I can do or what my..., uhm, if I go to the lawyer and want to talk to him, then I have to pay this lawyer too, yes? Because I work. Nobody gives me that for free. I would like to know how labour laws work, how it works in Germany. I know my Polish laws, labour laws. But I have no idea about the Germans' [labour laws, D.H.]. So, no one comes to me, no one asks me if I have any questions, nobody tells me how many hours I can work per day. When I have to take a break and so on and so on. Nobody says that. Nobody helps with this and a lot of people need to know. So, I am blind here in Germany in terms of laws, labour laws, how that is legally stated, there I am blind. I don't have a way to talk to people who have a real idea, who can tell me that and show me, yes? Like, 'Your working day has to work like this. Your employer needs to be careful about that and that,' and employers know that, and therefore, yes, we have to do what they want, not what is legally stated. Because, I don't know if that's in the law, whether I'm allowed to work so many hours a month or not. How can I know? Nobody tells me the laws, German labour laws. With whom can... The German people know this, but I don't know [...] So, I have to keep my gob shut because I have no other option. Because no one helps me. And so it goes for all foreigners. We do not know the labour laws here in Germany. So...I don't know how it works. This is a huge issue. Uh, lots of problems. Because, usually, in Poland, I say, 'Hey, boss, sorry, you have to pay me overtime, or I'll take, yes, a few days off'. And here I work so many hours, but overtime no one pays me because I'm salaried. And that's it. How many hours I work, I am myself...that's my problem"

Apart from these and other explicit statements, labour laws were also indicated as an educational demand in the narrations of most interview partners. This educational demand arises from the work experiences which the interview partners made abroad. An overwhelming majority of interview partners were either themselves to some degree

affected by unfair or illegal workplace practices or knew other migrants who were. Among the reported practices were wage theft (mostly by only paying parts of the actual work time), theft, bullying at the workplace, denying toilet breaks, misinforming employees about their employment status and disregarding employees resting times. One trick used by temp agencies operating in the countries of origin of working migrants is using misleading advertising regarding the wage. In such advertising, the gross salary is advertised in such a way as to make applicants think it is the net salary. Other tactics reported include not registering working migrants with health insurers, tricking working migrants into freelancing contracts without informing them about the ramifications such contracts bring and employing working migrants illegally. One interview partner reported, how such misinformation looks like in practice, naming a former employer as an example:

"...when I came here to Germany, this man asked me, uh, I was asked, 'how...how much per hour?' And he said 'Uhm, eight Euros if we...hire you to work in our company. Or you can have eleven, uh, eleven Euros per hour, if, if you are a contractor'. And then I said 'I...I take the eight Euros'. That's why I had insurance and all that. [...] But these people who work, these people who work as contractors, and, um, later have problems with...with insurance and all that because they have none. Yes, that's something that happens and these people [employers, D.H.] don't tell you that. Later he [the interview partners former employer, D.H.] says 'Oh yes, of course you need to have this [insurance]'. But nobody told these people [the contractors, D.H.]. He [the contractor] has his money and thinks 'everything is in order'. [...] When he [the contractor, D.H.] is sick, what then? He has no, he has no [insurance], this card, or, I don't know. And this, this is a really big problem."

The interview partners also reported different strategies which were used by exploitative employers in order to withhold payments for work done by working migrants.

One interview partner, a truck driver, explained, that his employer does not take the actual work hours into account, but is fixated on the interview partner completing certain routes daily. Longer hours due to traffic congestions are not calculated as overtime. The interview partner, as do his migrant colleagues, works for a sub-contractor to a supermarket chain. His German co-workers are directly employed with this chain and get more favourable routes. Towards the weekend, when traffic is dense on the highways, working migrants would get routes which would take them twelve hours to complete, while their German co-workers would get shorter routes that could be done in no time. This has led to a saying among migrants in his workplace: "The German colleagues need to have their weekend; we need to work". While Germans working for the company directly can refuse tours, their migrant co-workers have no such option. This discrimination alongside mode of employment, and consequently, alongside nationality, contributes to a hostile work environment in the company. The German co-workers, as the interview partner reported, are hazing their migrant colleagues. He related one instance, of "correcting" speech. When a working migrant greeted his colleagues with an informal "morning" – instead of the expected "good morning" – the German colleagues swiftly corrected him, despite having greeted each other with the shortened "morning" only moments prior.

Another interview partner related, that his former boss would manipulate the time sheets to re-distribute overtime and hide the fact, that the interview partner sometimes worked up to fourteen hours. In addition, this employer sometimes did not pay the overtime, a tactic also reported by another interview partner, whose husband had to work unpaid overtime.

Again another interview partner told of a former employer dismissing her to the end of the month and defrauding her of two thirds of her vacation days. Other interview partners related stories of being fired during sick leave and not receiving sick leave payment despite assurances to the contrary, or simply being defrauded of whole months of wages. The latter occurrence is widespread among exploitative employers of working migrants.

Another way to exploit working migrants is the linking of employment contract and lease, which enables exploitative employers to withhold parts of the wage with reference to rent payments or utilities. The double role of boss and landlord also enables exploitative employers to control a larger part of working migrants' lives thus making them even more dependent.

The reported practices are also consistent with the findings of other research concerning the problems working migrants face. The interview study *Protecting Migrant Workers from Exploitation in the EU: Workers' Perspectives*, which was conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), notes, that

"almost all interviewees reported having issues with pay, including:

- *underpayment, including cutting pay or withholding parts of the pay and paying less than the minimum wage (where present);*
- *not paying wages at all;*
- *not paying wages on time;*
- *deducting food, accommodation or work-related expenses or social contributions from salary;*
- *not paying during sick or annual leave, when granted."*²⁸

The high level of trust, which working migrants have in German institutions, and the reputation of Germany as a country in which the rule of law governs, can leave them unprepared for exploitation and illegal practices in the country of destination. This is observable in the interview material. Several interview partners specifically pointed to Germanys social and political system as a reason for choosing Germany as a country of destination. One interview partner pointed to the German welfare state not only as a good itself, but also to welfare measures like job center courses as indicators for Germany being a well-organized society. By contrast, he names the politics in his country of origin as one reason for his working migrations. Another interview partner jokingly suggests bringing German politicians to Romania and only letting them go back once they brought order into his home countrys' political system. Yet another interview partner expressed surprise at the fact, that the employer who defrauded him was a German and not another migrant. A high level of trust in EU countries among working migrants is also noticed in other studies

²⁸ FRA 2019: 42

researching labour exploitation. The study *Protecting Migrant Workers from Exploitation in the EU: Workers' Perspectives* finds:

*"Several research participants (in the Netherlands, for example) indicated that they had no idea that exploitation even existed in the EU country; others stated that, when they migrated, they imagined that Europe guaranteed better work conditions and respect for human rights."*²⁹

This positive perception of EU-countries can have negative consequences for working migrants if it is abused by exploitative employers.

Even if labour laws are not broken, working migrants can still suffer from not knowing the country of destinations labour laws. In some cases, working migrants were unaware of the different laws concerning sick pay and dismissal protection. Working migrants from countries with comprehensive dismissal protection sometimes would be surprised by the relatively low level of dismissal protection in Germany and by the possibility of being let go while on sick leave. Subsequently, they were caught unawares by their termination during sick leave and by the legality of the termination.

In the FRA-study mentioned, "[l]ack of knowledge of legal provisions and workers' rights is the third most important risk factor causing or contributing to labour exploitation according to workers"³⁰. The findings of this study, as well as the FRA study thus show, that education in the country of destinations labour laws can greatly benefit working migrants and prevent them from falling prey to exploitative employers. To be comprehensive, such an education has to include aspects of tenancy laws, to ensure, that working migrants are not defrauded through made up rent costs deducted from their paychecks. The importance of knowing tenancy laws is however not confined to working migrants whose employment contracts are linked to their lease contracts. Some working migrants are confined to illegal and exploitative renting situations without their employer's involvement. For them, too, knowing relevant aspects of tenancy law could help to ameliorate their situation.

Among those interviewed were people who knew very well, that their (former) bosses had violated labour laws yet felt unable to do anything about it. In such cases, either the material pressures to maintain the employment (family abroad, needing to be employed to stay in Germany, economic or societal problems in the country of origin) where to high, or the IPs saw their chances to actually win a battle with their employer as too low, or both. Some, like the IP in interview 9 saw being exploited as part of an educational process, a rite of passage. This becomes clear when looking at the IPs statement that "Germany is a school". In interview 9, the IP seemed to rationalize and contextualize his experience of being exploited and isolated during his first job in Germany. The IP in interview 8, on the other hand, seemed to have emotionally resigned. He did not see any chance to afford legal fees and lamented the lack of institutions providing free legal counsel to working migrants. Information about counselling institutions would be a valuable educational content for working migrants in situations similar to those of the interview partner. For the IP in interview 8, such an information could help to break his resignation, as he points out, that a

²⁹ FRA 2019: 71

³⁰ FRA 2019: 70

part of why he and his migrant colleagues are exploited is precisely, that they do not know the labour laws in Germany. The IP believes, that this is one central factor. However, external forces like material pressures and their internalization in the form described for the IP in interview 9, as well as the role of attitudes and character can hinder working migrants from claiming their rights. In such a situation, knowing about labour laws could be of little help. Yet, labour laws and social policy are still an important educational demand and can even help to change the attitudes that working migrants hold. To draw from another example in interview 9: The IP reports often being anxious when receiving mail or phone calls, as he is immediately worried it might something bad. With a better language proficiency, his worries and his anxiety might be reduced, as he could better understand the contents of letters and calls and would feel overall safer in an environment which he could better understand. A similar effect can be assumed for better knowing one's rights in the workplace: this knowledge alone might change one's attitude, and self-esteem and sense of self-worth. Any educational strategy that aims at bettering the lives of working migrants must take into account informing them on their rights in the workplace. This means reaching out to and working hand in glove with institutions specialized in counselling working migrants.

Social Policy

Another essential demand, somewhat connected to the knowledge of labour laws, is knowledge regarding the CODs social policy. Education on the CODs healthcare system, child benefits, unemployment benefits and programs as well as tax system can help working migrants to navigate problems which might arise in the COD. A better understanding of tax policy for example can help to avoid jobs which are falsely advertised in the country of origin (COO) by claiming the wage before tax equals the actual wage. Such false advertising practices are described by the IP in interview 9, as well as by the IP in interview 8:

„...many people came here to Germany, to work for one-two months, because the newspaper said: 'You'll earn one thousand eight hundred euros a month', as I mentioned. But no one says which tax bracket. Or a thousand five hundred euros. Then comes the wage, you get a thousand two hundred, and then people are wide-eyed. No one told them that. And they are wide-eyed: where is the rest? Did the boss steal? Maybe, because, they do that too. [The bosses, D.H.] Write up less hours. But, no one has explained which tax bracket.”

Tax issues are brought up by both IPs, as well as the IP in interview 2, who, despite having a basic knowledge of the German tax code, is still unsure about her husbands' future tax bracket. Knowledge of tax brackets can be beneficial for working migrants, giving them planning reliability. Another helpful information concerns tax filings. The interview partner in interview 8 points out, that he is lucky to have acquaintances who help him do his taxes. Other working migrants are not as lucky, he explains. They would have to pay for people filing their taxes. This additionally burdens people who are in an already tense financial situation. Another aspect of social policy-related educational contents are child benefits. These are brought up by the IPs in interview 2 and interview 8. The IP in interview 8 reports, that the documents to apply for child benefits are so complicated, that many working migrants need to pay people to fill them out for them, resulting in costs around one hundred

euro for the assistance. Treating child benefits as an educational demand and training how to apply correctly could enable working migrants to deal with their paperwork by themselves, empowering them, saving money and potentially relieving pressure from counsellors.

The IP in interview 2 reports of her struggles with the Familienkasse, the state institution responsible for the administration of child benefits. The Familienkasse wrongly argued, that she had not lived in Germany in 2018 and thus would not be eligible for child benefits. As has been reported to me by an expert in the field, the department within the Familienkasse responsible for Romanian migrants is rather small, both in relation to the department dealing with, e.g., Swiss migrants, and with the caseload they have to work through. In this institutional setting, it is all the more important for Romanian working migrants to know their rights, claims and the process.

A lack of knowledge about unemployment benefits and support from the job center are named by the IP in interview 7 as educational demands. A better understanding of the country of destinations unemployment policy might help working migrants to utilize benefits and support from the country of destinations job center. Better understanding the workings of unemployment insurance and insurance more broadly can also help working migrants to control if everything is in order during their employment, for example, if they are indeed insured and registered. Knowledge about their rights and duties can further help working migrants through reducing stress when dealing with the job center, insurers and other institutions.

Educational System of COD

Especially for working migrants who plan a long-term stay in their country of destination, it is valuable to know the educational system and the structures and processes of further education and job trainings. Specializing and acquiring new skills in the country of destination can help working migrants in achieving a higher level of job security. Given, that the jobs which demand the least skills have the highest automation potential, further education in the country of destination might be a promising strategy to secure employment. Given that educational systems differ greatly throughout EU-countries, especially, when job trainings are concerned, working migrants with educational aspirations could be greatly aided by learning about the educational system.

Several interview partners underwent or planned to undergo further training in the country of destination. One interview partner told about an epiphany she had during her work in the country of destination. After dropping out of her university studies in her country of origin and subsequently moving to Germany, she worked different jobs. One of these jobs ended in a lawsuit against her exploitative former employer. At the time of the interview, the interview partner was unemployed, starting her next job a month later. The interview partner created a long-term plan for her professional future during her unemployment and decided to undergo job training to work in the rescue services. This entailed visiting a German course in preparation and gathering information on the modalities of the job training for rescue workers.

The story of another interview partner shows the positive effect further education can have on the professional success of working migrants. After not finding work in his field, gastronomy, the interview partner found a job building cabins. Hearing, that the company he works for is searching for welders, he was then undergoing training to become a welder. He later specialized in order to be able to work on oil rigs. The interview partner pointed out that he saw investing in himself as one factor for his professional success.

Learning more about the educational system of the country of destination might also help working migrants to find strategies for utilizing prior education. One interview partner in interview 6 visited a German course in order to find a job where she can employ her university degree in economics, which she earned in her country of origin. At the time of the interview, the interview partner was working as a cleaner, being in a situation of education-occupation mismatch. The interview partner created a long-term plan for her professional career, planning first to start working as a nurse and later to find work suitable to her university degree. To inform herself about nursing, the interview partner met with the friend of a colleague, a nurse, who told her about the job training. Most working migrants might not have access to the informal networks that helped the interview partner gather information on the job training. Therefore, a general overview over education and job training can be beneficial to working migrants. The phenomenon of educational-occupational mismatch concerns many working migrants whose degrees from their country of origin are not recognized in the country of destination. Due to a variety of factors, working migrants might accept such a mismatch. The problem of the educational-occupational mismatch can not primarily be solved by informing about the country of destinations educational system, as it is an issue concerning recognition. What informing about the educational system can accomplish, however, is helping working migrants to develop strategies for overcoming this mismatch. Knowing the requirements for entry into a job for skilled workers and having a better grasp of the recognition process for degrees earned in the country of origin can help. Such knowledge might motivate working migrants who would, owing to material pressure, otherwise have put up with education-occupation mismatch. At the very least, working migrants who know about the requirements for skilled jobs and the educational opportunities and structures have better chances of dealing with this mismatch. One interview partner for example told about his wife's long-term career plan in the country of destination. His wife, a teacher by training, can not work in her profession in Germany, due to her degree not being recognized and due to her lacking language proficiency. Her plan of action at the time of the interview was to work as a nurse (a profession for which she had also been trained), and later to go on to become an educational assistant, thus applying the pedagogic skills she acquired prior. Finding ways to utilize prior skills in the country of destination requires an understanding of its educational system. Informing about the country of destinations educational system can help to at least reduce the education-occupation mismatch.

Understanding the country of destinations educational system is especially important for parents who migrate with their children. Applying the child for a Kindergarten place, understanding the grading system in school and the duties of children and parents are important educational contents. Knowing about one's rights and the child's rights is especially important, if working migrants face a hostile environment at their children's

school or Kindergarten. One interview partner, for example, tells about a Kindergarten director threatening to expel her children, after she raised concerns about traffic security on the way to school. During the interview, she remembered the exchange:

"She said, 'you, you if you don't, uh,' [sighs]. I do not know how to say it in German. [sighs] 'If you don't like it for your daughter in Kindergarten, I don't care, then you're gone'. Yes, she said, 'look for another Kindergarten.' And I said, 'no, why should I leave? Why should my children leave? Why go to another Kindergarten? Normally if I have a problem, I should ask, right?'."

Knowledge about the conditions for acquiring and keeping a kindergarten place could help migrant parents to assess threats like the one related by the interview partner. Knowledge about the country of destinations educational system is thus not only beneficial for working migrant's professional development abroad, but also for fostering their family's inclusion and for dealing with hostile actors.

Health

Knowledge regarding health policy in the COD is relevant in connection to questions of dismissal protection and labour laws. Understanding the country of destinations health system better could help working migrants control early on whether they are properly registered for health insurance. One interview partner details problems he had resulting from his former employer not registering him with the health insurance company:

"He didn't sign me up. Because, he can do that, too, no? Uh, and can, but, the employer has to do that, no? I myself cannot go there because I, I wanted to have visa for, for work, if the employer does that, then that normally works, no? I can work for three months, then I can't for three months. Or six months. He also tricked me, no? I got, uh, a letter from the [health insurance company], whether I want to pay for voluntary [insurance], yes? [Health insurance company] or not. And, uh, all my important papers that I have, I send to [counsellor], no? they read that too. And then they help me as much as possible, no? And, uh, the problem was that I signed the document [provided by the employer, D.H.], no? And so I sent them this by e-mail and then they fill it out and send it back. And then they send it to the [health insurance company]. Uh, then...the employer has also filled it out and sent it by fax, stating, that I want that [voluntary insurance, D.H.], but I said specifically that I don't want that, no? I want my old [insurance]...and, he did this with intent, so that he would not have to pay, eh? And then I got four letters. I haven't had anything for three months because the employer has thrown it all away, uh. No? And now I have to pay my [health insurance company] a thousand euros. [Sighs] And since uh, since uh October, November, I wasn't, uh, insured. At that time, uh, I was looking for a new job, yes? In [city]. And, uh, I fell down and now I have a problem with the [employer's liability insurance association], no? 'Were you, uh, insured or were you uninsured?' Because, usually when I am insured, then the [health insurance company] has to pay, no? If not, then probably the [employer's liability insurance association]. All this, so, I don't know [laughs quietly, possibly apologetically?]."

Another interview partner reported that her husband was fired during sick leave, and neither the employer, nor the health insurance company paid sick pay. The repeated mention of health insurance throughout the data set shows, that information about the health system in general and health insurance in particular is vital for working migrants dealing with hostile employers and with insurance companies.

Even if working migrants' employers properly register them with a health insurance company and do not try to defraud them, they can be overwhelmed with health insurance issues. Problems could occur, for example, if they quit their jobs. One interview partner, telling about her first major challenges in Germany, mentions the problems arising in the aftermath of her quitting her former job:

"... should I also deregister from the [health insurance company]? I didn't know that I had to do this, if I'm out of work, [that] I have to get in touch with the [health insurance company], so I got a big fine, too, [laughs] because, as I said, I didn't know how it all worked and that was my first pressure, a lot of pressure and that still lasts [laughs], that pressure. But slowly you learn [smiles]."

Information about the country of destinations health care system is important beyond the scope of work-related matters. IPs in interviews 1 and 2 both had to care for chronically ill children and had to manage communication with doctors and medical institutions. For many parents, as one expert told me, different medical systems and approaches can be trying and confusing. Some Romanian parents, as the expert pointed out, would bring their kids into the ER when they had a fever, because they are not as accustomed to the family doctor system. Also, these parents would react astonished when confronted with different forms of treatment. Here, basic knowledge of different medical systems might help to prevent confusion and the impression of hostility by medical staff.

Orientation

Orienting in a new country is a challenge all working migrants face. Getting to know one's surroundings and finding out how society works can be especially challenging, given the structure of the job market for working migrants. The interview partner mentioned above, for example, starts her narration about her first challenges in Germany by describing problems orienting herself in Germany as follows:

"...You know, you know no people, you don't know the city. Simply[/not even] the city. You don't know the city. Uh, you don't know, uh, how the system works. Uh, and then I should get in..., I should get in touch with, uh, the Citizens Registration Office and that was my first big pressure because ... I asked myself 'how am I supposed to do this if I don't understand the words, I have to go to the office somewhere and talk to people, but how?' And then, um, the owner of this restaurant [the interview partners boss, D.H.] came with me and filed the registration for me, because I also lived with other employees in his apartment and he signed me up, there and with the health insurance, and, as I said, I only worked a lot, worked, worked, for the first six months. Like, six days...six days a week, ten hours a day. I worked a lot and then I didn't have time to get to know a city or something like that and I was at work, at home, at work, at home all the time and then the first pressure after quitting was when I said 'I'm not coming to your kitchen anymore, I'm

quitting". Then the problem was: What now? Because, you know nothing. I was with our people all the time, that is, from Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, and, as I said, that was my first, really my first pressure: what now? [laughs]"

Besides the legal and material aspects of having to orient oneself in a new country, the migration experience can take an emotional toll. Loneliness, alienation, and homesickness were reported by a number of interview partners. For those in exploitative jobs, this problem intensified, due to their long working hours and general working and living conditions. One interview partner described his experience as follows:

"...Um, I said, um, th-that is not for me, um, I will go...back to Croatia. I cannot sit in this basement and, um, I have feeling, I have feeling in this basement, and, and, um, when this man calls me 'now..go to', you know? I, I have feeling, I was shovel. When you need me, you can take me, and, do this [gestures use of a shovel], and [then], back in..., you know, into the basement [laughs]."

After the interview stopped, the interview partner told me, that he visited social events, in order to be around people and escape his narrow basement flat. Besides the people he met there, work colleagues and other Balkanites were his main social contacts before his wife moved to Germany. His acquaintances were not only helping him to overcome his loneliness, they provided him with resources and information. In his narration, as well as in the narration of other interview partners, this positive effect of social and ethnical networks for working migrants becomes apparent. However, the impact of these networks is ambiguous. While they provide working migrants with some help in orienting themselves, they can also be spaces of exploitation in an ethnicized economy. Therefore, working migrants need to know how to cope with challenges independently of such informal networks. That way, they can utilize the advantages of these networks without being confined to or exploited in them. Even under good conditions, living in another country is challenging. Despite his living and working conditions having improved, the interview partner quoted above is still homesick and misses Croatia.

While nearly all of those interviewed expressed missing their family or their friends, one interview partner stands out in her detailed narration of her first migration experiences. She described first being excited by Germany, but falling into a deep sadness after a month, upon finding out about how much her family misses her. In addition, she, too was missing her family, with whom she was close. The interview partner described crying a lot and the situation slowly improving when she made new friends in Germany. The process which she described resembles the phases of a culture shock.

The stories of the interview partners indicate, that learning how to orient oneself in the country of destination, both with regards to everyday tasks and with regards to emotional coping, is a valuable content for working migrants. As educational demand, this encompasses information about how to avoid isolation, how and where to find help and how to cope with feelings of homesickness and loneliness. Such information cannot prevent the emotional and psychological toll of working migration, but it can prepare working migrants for it and present them with strategies to counteract it.

3.3.2. Educational Demands (form of course/access)

Interview partners did not only share information related to educational contents; they also spoke about ways of learning. Through sharing their migration experiences and their educational experiences, they also provided information about how the educational contents can be successfully conveyed. By telling about the obstacles and challenges they faced abroad, the interview partners also provided information about which educational formats might not succeed. Some interview partners asked the interviewer about the study and used this opportunity to share their experiences. Others related information about their educational experience and its confines during the interview.

Time

Time is a scarce resource for working migrants. This has implications for the form of conveying educational contents to them as a target audience. Those, who work under exploitative conditions have the least time on their hands, given that they are forced to work unpaid overtime. One interview partner told about his day in detail:

"After I am at work for twelve hours, I come home, and then only twelve hours remain of my twenty-four. Then, say, making food, one hour. Talking a little bit to the family, doing a bit of chores, cleaning and so on, then that's two hours. Then ten hours remain. Sleeping for at least seven hours, yes? And then I have to get up, make food again for the next day at work, because I have to bring food for twelve hours because, it is not possible, uh, to buy something at the restaurant or something, like, almost never. I have, uh, uh, almost no private time for, for me alone when I work. So many hours, yes? Um, after twelve hours you have only twelve hours. A truck driver has to sleep."

The interview partner, who has visited a language course, specifically blamed his 12-hour workdays for his lacking success in the course. Due to his long workdays, he had to little time to prepare and learn, as he explained.

Another factor influencing working migrants time was family, both in the country of origin and in the country of destination. Time strongly influenced the consideration whether to seek out education as a precondition to visit educational courses. Discussing the educational formats at the end of the interview, one interview partner said:

"I don't really have time for anything like that. If I don't work, our construction site is waiting. Then.. we also have to go to Poland a few times a year. If there are days off and if we find time, then gladly."

The interview partner detailed, that other working migrants he knows would be in a similar situation and would have "no time for integration", or for an educational course. During the week, they would work, and on the weekends, they would visit their families in Poland.

Another interview partner raises the issue of time as an obstacle for education. She decidedly points out the problem of timing educational formats and problematizes the time-money-trade-off working migrants face when considering educational endeavors:

"And then, maybe there are many who don't have cars, no cars, or, erm, no driver's license or simply no time to go to the city, no? ... Yes, or the courses are in the evenings,

late, and then they want to..., they have no power to push this through and, yes, on weekends they want to relax. It's, yeah, it's a bit difficult, no? On one side or the other, it's getting difficult, no? Either with the time or with the money."

Two interview partners shared during the interviews, that they only had time for courses during phases of unemployment.

One group of working migrants, that is specifically hard to reach for educational formats are so called Live-in carers, who live with the family of the person they care for. By design of their contracts, some of these working migrants alternate between two hour shifts and two hours of free time, barely giving them enough time to leave the house, let alone visit counsellors, or a course, one expert informed me. Generally, the live-in care market is largely situated in a legal grey zone, with only few controls and almost no workplace inspections. This makes live-in carers vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Among working migrants, live-in carers are one group that would need counselling and education about their rights the most but are simultaneously hardest to reach.

In order to provide education for working migrants and fulfill their educational demands, education providers must find timeframes for their courses which respond to working migrants' schedules. Most likely, courses on weekends would be promising. The time constraints have further implications, exceeding mere scheduling issues. To meet working migrants' educational demands, the educational contents will have to be presented in a way that does not overburden working migrants during their scarce free time. This can mean employing blended learning and searching for low-threshold ways of knowledge transfer and learning. For example, through the inductive design of some of the classes, starting with questions and everyday problems of the visitors. Classroom material needs to be made widely and easily available, using the infrastructure working migrants already have at their disposal (e.g. smartphones). Also, a sharing of the course workload has to be considered. One possibility for this would be, that a transnational partnership of education providers offers a course together, allowing working migrants to hit the ground running. Families could be accommodated by coupling the course with childrens playgroups, in which attendants can drop off their children for the duration of the course. Generally, the educational format needs to incorporate aspects of social gatherings to keep attendants motivated under the conditions of scarce time resources.

Costs

As has been mentioned already, a time-money-trade-off exists for working migrants which might hinder them from seeking education. Given, that many working migrants support families in their countries of origin through remittances, they have less disposable income available than other groups. One interview partner pointed this out specifically, describing the money necessary for paying a course fee as "the money which my children need, which my family needs". The situation of people in exploitative employment situation is even more dire. Given these circumstances, any educational format that is designed to address the educational needs of working migrants must aim for a course fee that is as low as possible. This might be a difficult balancing act when weighed against the cost for education providers, but it is a prerequisite for responding to working migrants needs

Spatial Access

Having access to courses is not only a question of time and money, but also one of location. Depending on their place of residence, working migrants might have problems accessing educational formats, if the institution providing the format is too far away. Especially migrants working in rural areas, for example in the meat processing industry or in agriculture, could face problems finding a course in their vicinity. One interview partner from a rural area suggested, that visiting educational courses some for working migrants is contingent on having a car. Another interview partner described his travels to the education provider, explaining, how the way to the educational institution, while in itself not very long, took extra time:

"[...] four times a week I had to go to the school from [place of residence] to [location of school]. Because at that time I lived in [place of residence], and from [location of school] to [place of residence], uh, from [place of residence] to [location of school] I went to school, uh, by bus, or by train. I didn't have a car, so, then [I went, D.H.] by train. Ok, that wasn't bad because that's just, uh, let's say ten minutes to drive and I was...but, that took me time, yes?"

The interview partner lived in comparatively close proximity to the school he visited. The problem of access, exacerbating the obstacles that time, finances and exhaustion can have, can become a larger issue for those living in remote areas. It can also become an obstacle for those working in care-in jobs with irregular time schedules. The demand for accessing education has to be met in order to successfully convey educational contents to working migrants. For this, a widespread offer of educational formats, reaching rural areas as well as cities can be a helpful strategy. Additionally, blended learning formats and online access to courses could lower the threshold that physical distance erected.

Learning resources

To enhance working migrants' access to classes and educational material, one starting point can be employing the resources working migrants already have at their disposal. Most interview partners stated that they would regularly use their cell phones or laptops to contact their families in their countries of origin. Messenger services and video calls were however not the only applications mentioned by working migrants in relation to their electronic devices. One interview partner reported using a translation program on his cell phone to translate documents and search for words. He also used the program during the interview when he had problems expressing himself. As the interview partner noted, using such devices is an imperfect solution, because the translations they offer are at times unreliable and incomplete. That such programs are employed as workarounds, however, indicates the special importance of smart phones for working migrants. The widespread use of mobile devices makes them a valuable medium for providing learning resources, or even using them as tools for remote participation in educational courses.

3.3.3. Intermediary factors

Family

Family was coded in the material as “Family Background” for instances relating to background or as “role of family/family as a factor” for the direct influence of family. Family can be a strong factor in shaping a working migrants migration experience and educational demands. In the material, nearly all interview partners described family being the most important thing in their lives, either explicitly or implicitly. The family background of a person early on plays an important role with regards to educational history, career choices and resources. To give two examples from the material: one interview partner reported a family member intervening when their school performance dropped. Another interview partner explained, that they had to drop out of school due to the family’s financial situation. During the working migration, too, family is a decisive factor. The very pattern of migration (short term, circular, permanently), is influenced by family status and relations. Family in the country of destination can be a reason to choose this country and can be a valuable source of support abroad. One interview partner reported, that they decided to work in Germany, after they visited their relatives in Germany to spend the Christmas holidays there. During their time in Germany, their family, specifically their aunt, was very supportive and offered them a place to stay when they were laid off. Their family members also helped them to train their language skills. Another interview partner told, that their mother joined them abroad to care for their children, allowing them and their spouse to both pursue careers. The same interview partner related, that they cut an earlier working migration short in order to care for an ill relative in their country of origin.

A family joining a working migrant during their migration demands care work and a higher level of expenses for sustenance. At the same time, a permanent migration with the whole family stops loneliness and enables parents (ideally) to share care work for kids. Also, in a two-earner household, higher costs of living can be made up for through higher earnings. For working migrants who move alone, either as “pioneers”³¹, or to return to their family back in their country of origin, their family is a factor, too. It often is the reason for the migration, when providing for the family is not possible on the country of origins wages. Migrating alone involves its own challenges for working migrants. Living apart from ones’ family is emotionally and psychologically draining. When working migrants move alone, they need to make time to contact the family, often aided by technological devices, and need to take care of household chores alone. For working migrants with families in their countries of origin, the costs of living in the country of destination are accompanied by sending home remittances. Just like migrating with the family, this puts working migrants under high financial pressure, contributing to a weaker position when it comes to claim their rights in the workplace and forcing them to prioritize earning. As one interview partner describes:

“Because this company has to pay per hour and my company pays monthly because we are allowed to drive long tours. Twelve hours, thirteen hours, the company does not

³¹ Pioneering is used here as a term for the common phenomenon of one spouse migrating earlier and making arrangements in preparation for the later arrival of their family members.

want to pay for this. That is the difference. If I want to change the company, then I'm not allowed to do that because first I have to leave and [according to the contract, D.H.] have half a year ban [for working in the logistics sector, D.H.] and then I can, uh, make my application for this company that pays per hour. But, during the lockout, in these six months, I don't know if I'm getting work. So that's too dangerous for me, to be without money for half a year, yes? I have family, I have bills to pay. And I would switch to the other company, but I don't know how that works out. That is why I cannot. Ok, I get my unemployment benefit, but that's not enough for me because, I have to pay rent, uh, in Poland, where my family lives, and here I also pay rent, so I, I rent for two houses. If I stay without money now, my family has no money to live with the children in Poland and I don't have money here either. Because I am, yes, I also have to pay rent. That's living with two houses ... so to speak. So, I can't do that, yeah, quite simply, I have to stay here [in this company]."

The financial pressure of having to fend for oneself and for the family abroad, with the other partner being solely responsible for childcare, increases vulnerability to exploitation and overworking and debilitates the working migrants' agency. The prioritization of earning and the financial pressure of having to send remittances can have a negative impact on educational attainment in the country of destination in three ways: 1. Working migrants might have no money for earning an education. 2. Working migrants might not have time and/or energy for an educational format. 3. Working migrants might not see the benefits of further education, given their strong prioritization of earning.

Families migrating together also face challenges regarding education. While children ideally acquire language proficiency through school, the parents are dependent on prior education, adult education courses, and informal language learning. Children's language attainment and general educational attainment can be challenging. The question of how to foster bilingualism is a contested issue among educators and linguists. The problem of supporting children in school when one does not speak the language oneself is another factor. And if children do well in school, this can give rise to another problem, namely the phenomenon of brokerage, meaning, that children are, because of their higher level of language proficiency, urged into the role of the family translator and family manager. This is psychologically burdensome for children. Brokerage can also undermine parental language attainment. It is named in one study as one factor for the negative influence of children on their parents' language proficiency³². To avoid this, it would be necessary for both parents to gain language proficiency. Parents being able to speak the language of the country of destination is a great help for children trying to learn the language, as one interview partner explains.

A high level of language proficiency of one spouse can have significant positive influence on the other spouse, as studies find³³. Ideally, married working migrants can learn the country of destinations language with and from each other. Different levels of language proficiency between spouses can, however, also have problematic implications. In single income households with a traditional distribution of gender roles, a difference in language

³² Chiswick et. al. 2005

³³ Dustmann 1994, Chiswick et. al. 2005

proficiency can reify the role distribution and overburden women. Homemakers might also not have as much social contacts as migrants in the workforce. This has negative consequences for their language proficiency, as “learning on the job” is one factor positively influencing language proficiency³⁴. Reproductive work in a foreign country brings additional challenges. If children fall sick, parents deal with a health care system different from the one they know in their country of origin. Even for people already proficient in the language of the country of destination, this can be difficult. Similarly, a new school system is challenging. Lastly, the country of destinations welfare system might be different, making it difficult to claim child benefits.

Family as an intermediary factor has various implications for the educational demands of working migrants. Educational contents helping working migrants with families are not only language of the country of destination, but also an overview of welfare and educational systems of the country of destination. The country of destinations healthcare system as an educational content would be beneficiary to families migrating together, just as it is for working migrants moving alone. Families of working migrants require not only specific educational contents, but also specific forms of learning. Any educational format to reach families of working migrants must aim at reaching both parents, to avoid situations in which contact to the country of origins society is delegated to one spouse exclusively. This brings with it finding the right timeframe as well as arranging access. Arranging access could include course formats that enable participation for the whole family including the children, or that incorporate childcare options during the course. For working migrants, whose families still live in the country of origin, similar questions arise concerning the timeframe. Given, that working migrants often have long workdays and that significant parts of their free time are spent doing reproductive work and contacting their families abroad, finding the right timing for an educational format to address their educational demands is challenging.

Not only does family have an impact on the migration experience and educational demand of a working migrant, simultaneously, the working migration of a family member has implications for the family, their life in the country of origin and their educational demands. This becomes most obvious in the phenomenon of so called “Euro orphans”, children left behind in Romania, because their parents migrated to work. As so referred to as “social orphans”, these children and adolescents might only have contact to their parents via video call and life with relatives or in institutions. The migration of the parents has a negative impact on their educational and general development.

Work

Our definition of working migrants includes those, who moved under the provisions of free movement for EU citizens, or using work visas for third country members, while moving in pursuit of other ultimate goals. Such goals could for instance include living in a corruption-free political system, receiving better healthcare for a family member or staying together with one’s partner. Most interview partners, however, made the move to their country of destination in pursuit of work. Work is not only the predominant reason for many working

³⁴ Dustmann 1994, Chiswick et. al 2005

migrants to move, it is also a central part of their life during migration. Work impacts the migration experience, living conditions, health, family relations, and educational demands of working migrants. In this country study, parts of the narrations related to work were categorized under “work experience”, “working conditions”, “work environment”, “job history” and “workplace”.

The work experience of the interview partners varied greatly not only between the individual interviewees, but also between their employments. As reason for their migration and important part of their daily lives, work experiences featured prominently in the interview partners narrations. Finding work abroad was for many connected to informal networks and acquaintances abroad. Their first jobs in the country of destination thus often consisted of work for or with compatriots living abroad.

The working conditions between the interview partners varied greatly, as did their work satisfaction. Among the interview partners, there were those who were, either in the past or currently, in an exploitative employment situation. There were few interview partners who had exclusively positive work experiences and who had a generally high level of job satisfaction. Reports of different forms of wage theft were common in the interview material. Some interview partners told about severe forms of exploitation. One interview partner, for example, considered moving back to his country of origin, because he could not make a living despite working fulltime, and often working over hours. Working in his former job was also psychologically harmful. The interview partner described, as quoted above, feeling like a shovel. Another interview partner told of their work in a slaughterhouse in Germany:

"Uhm, I came to very bad place. Very, very bad place. Uhm, uh, that was big butchery, you know. There was like, problem in Germany. [Company and town name] Massive, uh, Fleischerei [butchery], or, you know, meat place. And I was working, I was working on pig heads. And, that was like working camp. And very brutal. Didn't like it. Just, uh, uh, there was agency in Poland, that said "gonna be good money, good place to stay". There was, like, five beds in one room, one toilet, you know, like working camp. And then, there was even, many years back, there was uh, uh, reportage in German television about, like, this, uh, meat place. And working condition and everything. And I was there, I knew in fact how bad it was, I'd never do...never liked it, because of that."

In another part of the interview, the interview partner describes the working atmosphere in the slaughterhouse, where foremen continuously shouted at workers to work faster.

Workplace abuses reported by another interview partner, talking about her husband, included scolding for taking toilet breaks or drinking water. Another employer of the interview partners husband did not pay the promised sick leave when the husband's arm was injured due to constant overburdening.

While such narrations described the more extreme forms of exploitation in the interview material, the working conditions they describe are not uncommon among working migrants.

Even when not in exploitative employment situations, most interview partners worked in physically or psychologically demanding jobs. These jobs ranged from welding and

mechatronic work to cleaning or working on construction sites. Some interview partners reported being employed in a position beneath their skill set, owing to a lack in language proficiency, degrees and skills not being recognized in the country of destination or not finding work in their field. One interview partner reported being able to use their working migration as an opportunity to gain new skills and learn on the job, showing the potential of working migration for education. Other interview partners told of informal learning opportunities on their jobs, such as learning German by ear through talking with their colleagues. These informal learning situations are also credited in other research as having a positive influence on language proficiency. For them to have this impact, however, a workplace would have to be ethnically diverse and would have to include German co-workers. It would also have to foster, or at least allow for talks between colleagues, be it during breaks, be it as part of the job, when instructions are given, or tasks are discussed in detail. One interview partner described his process of informal language learning at the workplace as follows:

"I learned that on the construction site. Where I worked, I always saw to it, that I communicate with the Germans. First in English, because, without German, you can't do it any other way. And then, uh, yeah, I learned a little bit because I always tried [speaking, D.H.] German. If I did not understand something, I asked, and then, I learned it that way."

Another precondition for such informal learning would be a positive relationship between the colleagues. This is not always the case, given the instances of discrimination reported in the material. In addition, working migrants are often employed in jobs with little or not contact to German colleagues. They are facing what can be called an ethnically structured workplace, working exclusively with other working migrants, or even exclusively with people from their country of origin. One reason for this is the activity of agencies in the respective countries of origin or the role of informal networks in facilitating jobs abroad. Such an ethnically structured workplace can have a negative effect on language attainment. As one interview partner points out with regards to her husband:

"My husband had a hard time because, um, he didn't know the language at all, but at first he only worked with Romanian people and, um, he didn't learn the language because, well, he didn't need it, you know? They also worked for Romanian employers and then, yes, because... it's people who come and work for a certain employer, or [more precisely, D.H.], a Romanian employer and then they don't need to learn the language, I'd say, because they always work with Romanian people and, yeah, then that's not so... they also have very little contact with the German language, I'd say, you know? Only when they go shopping, or something, but, well."

When asked about their language attainment, one interview partners response shows the contrast between an ethnically structured workplace and a more diverse workplace when it comes to acquiring language skills:

"No, I learned everything myself [laughs]. I have been here for two and a half years and for the first, first six months I worked for a man from the Balkans. [Speaking, D.H.] you could say our language, because I also didn't know a word, and, uh, there I have for six

months ... worked a lot for very, very little money, and, after the six months I simply said 'I can't do this anymore, I quit, I won't go to the kitchen anymore'. Because it was honestly too much and then I was at home for about two weeks, and then I threw myself into the fire. I worked right away at a German's restaurant. And I communicated with him with hands and feet and in three months I learned a lot, a lot. And then, a while later, you hear a new word every day, then [you ask, D.H.], 'oh, what does that mean?', and, slowly, you learn."

As an intermediary factor, work has different implications for the educational demands of migrants. Work can be an obstacle for formal or informal learning, when the job in question is exhausting, exploitative or ethnically structured, or when migrants are discriminated against. In extreme cases, it can even hinder educational processes altogether. Work can also be a place of informal learning when the nature of the work and a positive work atmosphere encourage such learning processes. To help working migrants deal with the challenges of the workplace abroad, different educational contents need to be conveyed. Language proficiency can help working migrants understand their contracts and increase their access to the country of destinations society in general and to advocacy and counselling institutions in particular. A knowledge of labour laws is important to identify exploitative working conditions early and know rights and procedures. A special focus on the country of destinations health care is important in connection to potential workplace injuries and provisions regarding sick leave and dismissal protection. Work as an intermediary factor also has influence on the form of educational formats tailored to suit the demands of working migrants. These formats need to be designed to accommodate students who have a limited timeframe for course attendance and homework and who oftentimes work overtime. This also impacts learning and teaching methods.

Migration

The migration experience of working migrants is an intermediary factor for their educational demands. To identify content related to migration in the material, the codes "migration experience", "reason for migration", "living conditions" and "migration history" were used. Migration experience is not only influencing working migrants educational demand, it is itself influenced by factors like the working migrants' educational history, for example by prior language attainment. Migration as an intermediary factor encompasses a range of sub-categories that influence working migrants' educational demands. The specific living conditions of working migrants and the importance of ethnical networks feed into this larger category. Likewise, hostility or support through the social environment, the spatial and temporal dimensions of the migration are relevant. Prior experiences and the motivation for the migration are important factors. And finally, working migration is, as are all social things, gendered. The gender of working migrants influences the experience of working migrants in manifest and latent ways.

The living conditions of working migrants are in some cases sub-standard. Especially in half-legal and exploitative employment relationships, employment and lease contracts are often directly or indirectly connected. The linking of lease and work contract gives exploitative employers an advantage by increasing their control over more aspects of their employees' lives. One interview partner related, that their former boss, whose friend was their landlord,

used this linkage in what seems like retaliation for the interview partner quitting their job and moving into a former colleague's fully furnished flat. The interview partners former boss agreed to safe keep the keys to the new flat and hand them over at the beginning of the new lease. When the interview partners former boss hands over the keys, he asks them to inspect their new flat, to the surprise of the interview partner, who already knows the place. The interview partner described the situation upon entering their new flat as follows:

"And, uhm, I think, 'thank God, now I...I have my flat', yes? And, I enter the flat. The flat was empty. All things what, what this...this man had, were taken by the boss [snips fingers to indicate 'just like that']. And, and, I have all my things in my car, cause I, I, I came with my car, uhm, from [country of origin]. I have two bags, and that, that is all. And, uhm, I was, I asked: 'where is everything from the flat?' [The former boss responded, D.H.] 'This man, uhm, still had debt to pay me back, so I took it all'. Yes. [Short, bitter laughter]. And, I was, sh..shock. In shock. And..what now, yes? What can I do now? I must sleep here, and, uhm, then I go to [store], buy this bed, .air bed, yes? And sleep for one month in an air bed. In this flat. With nothing in it."

The interview partner pointed out, that they would of course respect the former bosses right to settle outstanding debt, but that they did not understand, that they were not informed of the removal of the whole furniture in the flat. Following, the interview partner told, that their former boss showed surprise at them returning their key to their old flat, as if expecting them to move back in after finding their new flat empty. Pars pro toto, this story shows the enormous additional influence employers can gain over working migrants when they control their living situation. This becomes even more pressing, given that working migrants need an address to work and be registered at. The same interview partner described their old housing situation, a basement flat with low ceilings (less than two meters) as being "solely for the address".

Not only does linking employment and lease increase the power-imbalance between employers and working migrants further, it also provides employers with the possibility of holding back income (albeit illegally). Through subtracting rent from working migrant's paychecks or claiming that wages which were not paid were owed because of construction measures, hostile actors can exploit the lack of knowledge of working migrants concerning tenancy law in order to further decrease their wages. The potential of further exploitation through employment and lease contract linkage is however not the only problem working migrants face with regard to their housing. Working migrants in different industries are sometimes housed in unsanitary conditions. Some working migrants are homeless and are living in woods near their workplace or in makeshift-tents in city parks. Others turn homeless when they are not paid and do not know who to turn to. Especially in the case of illegal migrants, a network of landlords and sub-letters profit from renting out crowded, unsanitary rooms to working migrants and massively overcharging them. Even working migrants, who work in Germany legally are impacted by such practices. The living conditions of working migrants shape their migration experience. They also have a range of implications for working migrant's educational demands. With regards to educational contents, living conditions play a role, as working migrants need to be properly informed about tenancy law and labor laws so as not to fall prey to illegal couplings of lease and

employment contract. With regards to the form of educational events, working migrants living conditions also come into play: overcrowded housing does not make for a good learning atmosphere, and housing in areas without education infrastructure exacerbates access to educational opportunities.

Gender

In the material, gendered experiences of working migration mostly were reported in connection with family related narrations. In the interviews, where the distribution of tasks between spouses was discussed, different models of task distribution were described. Some interview partners arranged two-earner households, while others had one predominant earner, the husband. Again, others lived in transnational constellations, with the husband working in the country of destination and the rest of the family still living in the country of origin. In such arrangements, the wife was predominantly occupied with reproductive work. For (predominantly) single-earner couples in the country of destination, wives problems to enter the labor market were the reason for the arrangement, rather than a deliberate decision for a traditional family model. Reasons given for such problems were lacking language proficiency or problems at different workplaces. One interview partner reported initial problems entering the labor market despite her high level of language proficiency. As the material shows, migrating together as a family does not necessarily lead to a reproduction of traditional gender roles. Different levels of language proficiency, as well as unequal success on the labor market in the country of destination can, however, lead to the wife in a married couple being pushed into the role of homemaker, while the husband is the single source of financial income. When husbands migrate alone in order to work abroad, their wives staying behind in the country of origin, too, are stuck with the role of homemaker and sole caretaker for the couples children. Both these scenarios place a burden on women: Organizing reproductive work abroad, they have to organize a household and raise children in a foreign country and have to deal with matters relating to children's education, health care, benefits etc. Given the overworking of many working migrants, the respective husbands might have less time and energy to support childrearing than their counterparts from the country of destination. As a homemaker back in the country of origin, women by default are left alone with childrearing, barring the husband's holidays. In cases of one spouse migrating for work alone, or of pioneering, the working migrant, too, faces the burdens of organizing their household alone, given that the spouse (most often the wife), is staying with the family in the country of origin. Organizing a household alone and paying for two households means financial and time pressure, greatly impacting the working migrants living and migration experience. In these two ways, working migration can reify the traditional gender role model. Working migration as a reification of traditional gender roles of course also impacts male working migrants. Family dynamics are not the only locus of a gendered migration experience. Meeting one's own role expectation can add to the already high pressure put on working migrants of all genders by their material circumstances. The necessity to earn money abroad, combined with a traditional masculine self-image, can foster a "grit your teeth and get through it"-attitude, which ignores health

problems and injuries. Coupled with the praxis of exploitative employers to fire sick or injured working migrants, or to withhold sick leave, this can put them in harms way. One interview partner described his own presenteeism in spite of an injury and explained, that he did not want to let his co-workers down. While the prime motive for such harmful practices is material necessity or coercion, some forms of masculinity are known to exacerbate ignoring health problems through providing an ideological cover for “soldering on”. While female working migrants, just as their male counterparts, are working in the food processing industry or in the agricultural sector, they are to a higher degree present in sectors like care work or in cleaning. As such, they are to a higher degree vulnerable to the problems and abuses which work in these grey sectors can bring.

For members of the LGBTIQ+-community, working migration can be difficult, if stereotypes are prevalent in their countries of origin. Such persons might be more hesitant to seek contact to compatriots abroad for fear of discrimination. This can lead to isolation in the country of destination. One interview partner told, that they were hesitant to spend time with fellow compatriots abroad, despite their seeming openness. Specifically, the interview partner reported, that they were afraid to accidentally reveal themselves in conversations. The same interview partner reported feeling very lonely abroad, despite being in a relationship, and falling into a depression. This depression was likely caused by multiple factors and cannot be singularly traced back to the interview partner's lack of contact to compatriots in the country of destination. While feelings of loneliness and alienation might be unavoidable for most migrants, there is research that suggests a positive effect of contact to their ethnic communities. When migrants fear discrimination in their ethnic community, they might avoid contact and thus lose this resource. In order to counter loneliness and isolation, migrants from the LGBTIQ+-community need to be provided with information about who to turn to. Additionally, working migrants coming from a country of origin with a LGBTIQ+-hostile social, political or legal climate, should know their rights in the country of destination. Given, that hostility towards members of the LGBTIQ+-community is present worldwide, and working migrants are already potentially vulnerable due to their migrant status and their working conditions, it is necessary to inform about the legal framework and advocacy institutions. In this way, blackmail and other forms of exploitation of these intersecting vulnerabilities can be decreased.

Duration of migration and distance to the country of origin

Temporal and geographic factors also play a role in working migrants' experience and subsequently their ability to seek out education. The durations of stay and forms of migration for example are influencing working migrants' abilities and willingness to seek education in their countries of destination. Additionally, the migration experience in the country of destination itself is an educational experience, which means, that with a longer stay, migrants learn more about their living and working circumstances in the country of destination. Working migrants planning for a short stay might not see the utility of an educational format. This is especially relevant with migration forms like circular migration or shuttle migration. Working migrants who are frequently visiting their home countries, who merely travel for work in border-areas, or who have planned for a short stay, might not perceive language proficiency, e.g., as a necessity. The tendency of working migrants to

limit their interactions with the country of destinations society was observed by two interview partners³⁵, who discussed their observation in the context of the project. Independently from each other, the interview partners stated that working migrants staying only for the short term or visiting their families in the country of origin might not have time for or interest in education regarding their migration. This can become problematic, if the migration turns out to be longer than initially planned, or if problems arise with the employer. The implication of short migrations for educational contents would be, to emphasize essential information and inform on those contents that are important for working migrants staying for shorter periods of time/only for work. The implication for the educational format would be to create a shorter course.

The distance to the home country or region has a crucial impact as well. It influences the form of migration, and thus the migration experience of working migrants. Working migrants whose country of destination is far from their country of origin have less opportunities to visit home. Shuttle migration becomes less likely and contact with family and friends takes place mostly via phone. The importance of a support network abroad grows, as does the vulnerability to exploitation and abuse. Being further from the country of origin makes it harder to simply go back. This has affected working migrants under exploitative working conditions, who due to wage theft, in the end did not even have the resources to travel back home. Under such circumstances, some working migrants end up homeless in their country of destination. Therefore, it becomes ever more important for working migrants to know how to deal with obstacles abroad, the longer the distance between the country of destination and the country of origin is.

Networks

Networks, both formal and informal, greatly frame the migration experience of working migrants.

Some interview partners told of the influence of professional networks on their migration experience. One interview partner, a care worker who migrated to Germany prior to their current migration, did so during a training year for the job in their country of origin. The interview partner reported their mostly positive experiences, such as having a structured preparation course for living and working in Germany. Another interview partner, who worked as an academic abroad, reported a positive impact of the scholarly network he was a part of during his migration. Not only did a professional network help him abroad, his migration was enabled by an academic exchange organization in the first place. Asked about the conditions of a successful migration, another interview partner named professional networks and specifically agencies as helpful for orientation abroad:

"You have to have somebody that helps you out for a start. So, that's for sure. If you had a contractor of an agency from Poland, uh, whatever, send you down there. Somebody pick you up, an English per..person or Polish person, and show you what to do, and, you know, first steps. Uh, other than that, I don't really know, to say, what was the best. You, you could be the best, from my experience, you could be the best welder in the world, be good at god knows what. You come here, you don't know what's what, or what's where,

³⁵ See also the Romanian country study

you're gonna be here one moment and then you gonna disappear, 'cause you do not find yourself a better way out."

Such networks are, of course only helpful, as long as they are not exploitative and abusive. As described, some agencies lure working migrants into shady jobs or omit crucial information about wages, taxes or health insurance and then present working migrants with a fait accompli abroad.³⁶

Not all networks working migrants rely on are professional or generally formalized. Informal ethnical networks often play a crucial role throughout the migration process. Such networks might initially trigger the working migration when an acquaintance or relative informs a working migrant about a job opportunity. In the forms of family, groups of friends and colleagues, religious communities or simply meeting places, they might help working migrants to acclimate abroad and find their way in the country of destination. In some cases, ethnical networks have a negative effect. Subcontractors abroad often exploit working migrants from the same country of origin, utilizing their status as link between the country of destination's society and the working migrant, whose language they speak. The ambiguity of ethnical networks, the contrast of their positive and negative effects could not only be found between different interview partners. It is also present in the different experience of single interview partners. With this, such networks can be a deciding factor for the success of a working migration. Their existence and nature shapes working migration experiences. Ethnical networks affect educational demands in different ways: as information networks, they are sources for informal learning and support in dealing with everyday business. As social environment, they shape the way in which a working migrant does or does not acquire proficiency in the country of destinations language. When confronted with hostile actors within ethnical networks, educational demands regarding labor law, law of tenancy, right of residence, and criminal law might become more important. Supportive ethnical networks could boost the access to educational courses, if they are known by members of the network and newcomers are informed about them.

Support

Receiving support in the country of destination, either through family members, institutions or informal networks greatly improves the migration experience of working migrants. Many interview partners expressed their gratefulness for people or institutions who helped them abroad. Sources of support named were counsellors, employers, institutions in the country of destination, family members, and acquaintances. One interview partner describes support from friends as the "greatest luck".

Hostile environment/actors

Being on the move during a working migration means to engage with a new society in the country of destination. This can leave working migrants vulnerable to abuse and discrimination. During the interviews, most interview partners related stories about hostile actors or hostile environments which they faced during their migration. These hostile actors can be citizens of the country of destination who hold xenophobic or racist views and who

³⁶ for negative effects networks can have, see FRA 2019: 33-36

harass working migrants or discriminate against them. One such instance was reported by an interview partner, who shared a story about the director of the kindergarten their children visit. Said director was trying to intimidate them and threatened to withdraw their children from the kindergarten if the interview partner kept complaining. The same interview partner related more examples of hostile actors who harassed them and their children. Another interview partner related a story detailing their hostile work environment. They told about German colleagues "correcting" working migrant's phrasing after using the same phrasing themselves. Other forms of discrimination related are concerning the workplace. Employers, both from the country of destination and compatriots abroad, exploit the vulnerable status of working migrants, such as their residence status, which is connected to their employment. They also exploit lacking language proficiency, urging working migrants to sign papers they do not understand. And they exploit the grave financial pressure that working migrants are under. In addition, employers might discriminate against working migrants depending on their country of origin. One interview partner for example assumes, that Romanians face discrimination on the labor market due to prejudices and bad experiences made by employers. While people do not per se have problems with hiring Romanians, they argue, employers do not want them to climb in the respective companies. Another type of hostile actors are those landlords, who rent out sub-standard housing and who are connected to exploitative employers. Interacting with landlords in general can be challenging for working migrants, due to a lack of language proficiency or knowledge concerning laws of tenancy. Other hostile actors, which working migrants face, are members of the public authorities, who, as one interview partner described, do little to accommodate migrants and who, as another interview partner reported, sometimes make grave mistakes. In their case specifically, the family assistance office wrongly assumed, that they had moved back to Romania and cancelled all child benefits, resulting in the interview partner having to take strenuous steps to reclaim the child benefits. The hostile environment which working migrants face influences their educational demands and their access to education. The actions of hostile actors might exhaust working migrants or keep them in precarious positions which do not allow for seeking education. They might arouse distrust in the country of destinations society and contribute to working migrant's isolation. They can also, in some cases, spur working migrants to learn, in order to fight back against the hostile actors. The interview partner mentioned above, for example wanted to visit a language course not least because she wanted to confront her husband's abusive boss. Concerning specific educational contents, the threat of hostile actors would imply a range of important contents which need to be met in order to reduce it. Besides language proficiency, which is necessary to understand contracts and correspondence from authorities, knowledge about labour and employment law, social law and tenancy law constitute valuable information.

Prior migrations

Prior migrations can influence the educational demands of working migrants by providing educational experience and by making them more aware of the educational demands they have. For some interview partners, former migrations where periods of informal learning, both with regards to language attainment and with regards to gathering experience on living and working abroad (examples from the material). Negative experiences lead

interview partners to avoid countries completely for future migrations, or to proactively engage with language learning and acquaint themselves with legal frameworks of their country of destination, in order to be better prepared. As educational processes, prior migrations can either contribute, through informal learning processes, to decreasing working migrant's educational needs, or, to fostering a clearer understanding of one's educational needs.

Planning

Planning a working migration can greatly improve its success. Working migrants who have gathered information on their country of destination and prepared for their working migration, have a head start at managing abroad. In the interview material, the presence or absence of planning was first and foremost an indicator of structural pressures. Working migrants who moved for reasons of professional specialization, or in order to work abroad as skilled workers, had reported higher levels of planning and preparations involved in their working migration than migrants, whose move was motivated primarily by structural pressures. Those, who left their country of origin to escape political developments like corruption, or who were under economic pressure to do so, have a higher incentive to simply take any job abroad and see where they go from there. Agencies, who defraud working migrants by promising unrealistically high pay or personal networks of acquaintances, who heard about an urgent job offer abroad sometimes play a role in unplanned working migrations. This has various implications for working migrants' educational demands: while the demands might be similar, the location of educational courses to meet them might vary with the structural pressure to migrate and, conversely, with the amount of planning that has went into the working migration beforehand. Working migrants, who planned out their migration ahead, might consider a longer course in their country of origin. Working migrants, who have a shorter time to prepare, might be best suited by a compact course, or a transnational course. Working migrants who have to leave their country of origin urgently might rely on a course in the country of destination.

Self

Personality and attitude

One important intermediary factor shaping the life of working migrants generally and their migration experience specifically is their personality. Built through interaction with the social environment from an early age on, an individual's personality influences their decision making, their outlook on the world and their response to environmental demands. The question, whether people take proactive approaches to challenges and obstacles, for example, is influenced by their personality. So is their self-image and their assessment of their situation. The self-image of a working migrant can be a factor in how they react to hostility and exploitation. Depending on the individual personality and attitude, working in an exploitative job is, for example, seen as a necessary rite of passage, to be endured on the way to a better job, or as an unacceptable circumstance. Here, of course, material pressures also come into play. Leaving an exploitative job is something a working migrant must be able to afford, in order to have a choice.

With regards to education, a person's character can be an important factor influencing not only, whether education is sought out, but also, whether education is successful. A person with low levels of self-esteem might shy away from seeking further education, not trusting themselves to succeed. Concurrently, a person with an excessive level of self esteem might not seek out education due to being convinced that they do not need further education.

Much like personality (and influenced by it), attitude is a factor determining the migration experience of working migrants. An attitude of openness can be helpful for working migrants in seeking out contacts. Being rather cautious can help working migrants to avoid risks. It can also foster a behavior of limited engagement with the society of the country of origin, and the abandonment of plans to ameliorate ones status or employment situation. This can also have implications for seeking out education abroad. Some migrants might, as one interview partner put it, want to "play it safe" and not risk their investment in education not paying off. Others might seek out such risks because they have a greater level of trust in education paying off. One factor here is, how working migrants perceive the locus of control in their lives. If their perceived (and actual) locus of control is internal rather than external, working migrants have more agency. The response of one interview partner to the question, if he worries about the potential impact of Brexit on his career in the UK illustrates a strong internal locus of control:

"Oh, nono, possibilities are always. And, your life is...you rule your own life to some extent, yeah? You can make them possible. You have to look around. [...] And, uh, knowing, knowing facts, that nobody comes to you and give you work, or, you just round and search rows in the job...job center, whatever, and work in company. I am looking from different point of view. You have to make yourself opportunities. You have to look, uh, differently, slightly. Look, I can go today and find work in Poland or in Germany in the warehouse, I mean, in the big company, not a problem."

For the interview partner in question, creating ones' own opportunities included undergoing further job training abroad, even if it meant spending heavily on acquiring additional certificates. This indicates a flexibility and positive assessment of ones' potential, which is not per se generalizable.

Financial situation

The financial situation of working migrants can have a decisive impact on their ability and willingness to engage in educational formats and meet their educational needs. Given, that working migrants often work in low paying jobs and that many among them pay remittances, they are by default in a difficult financial situation. In such a situation, investing in education is unlikely. What is more, working migrants, according to one interview partner, face a trade-off between time and earning, that hinders educational attainment from two sides: either, working migrants have time, but then they have no money to afford education, or, they have the money, but then they don't have the time to visit a course. The necessity to earn money fast and the difficult financial situation can lead to a vicious circle, as another interview partner describes:

"...maybe an advanced training, or something like that, but all that requires money. Without a job, one can't do advanced training. [laughs] without advanced training, one can't earn well [laughs] and so it continues [laughs]..."

Education

Educational experience

The code educational experience was used in the material to code both for the experience working migrants have with regards to education and the way in which working migrants have experienced education. Educational experience and educational attainment influence future professional success and can have a positive impact on the range of job opportunities open to working migrants. Studies show for example, that the higher the educational attainment of a working migrant is, the less likely they are to end up in a job with high automatization likelihood. The educational attainment, and, connected to it, the educational experience can influence the decision to migrate for work and shape the migration experience. A job opening for a skilled labor position (e.g. for care workers) will only be available to people with the fitting professional training. An academic position abroad can only be filled by someone with the appropriate degree and credentials. One obstacle in utilizing prior educational experience is the lack of recognition for degrees acquired in the country of origin. Such a practice of educational mismatch can lead to working migrants being overqualified for the jobs they are working in abroad. If the economic pressure is high enough, the educational mismatch might be accepted by working migrants.³⁷

Additionally, openness to new educational experiences is among other things a function of prior educational experiences. The way education is experienced influences how eagerly education is sought out. One interview partner, for example, learned German for fun as a child, enjoying the educational experience. Their language proficiency, owing to this and to a prior migration to Germany, is very high.

Some working migrants see migration as a chance to gain language proficiency³⁸ and skills. This is especially true for higher skilled migrants. Others have transnational professional trainings, so that migration and educational experiences intertwine. The prior educational experience can influence the likelihood of a working migrant seeking formal education abroad. Negative experiences with formal education (e.g. dropping out of university, disliking school, etc.) could result in greater reluctance to do so. The same can be said for positive experiences with informal learning. If learning by ear, for example, is seen to be sufficient, a formal learning setting might be seen as unnecessary or disproportionately cumbersome.

³⁷ See Trevena 2013

³⁸ See Tevena 2013

Language proficiency

Language proficiency is not only itself an educational content, it is also a prerequisite to gaining a comprehensive knowledge of other relevant material. In addition, language proficiency is a valuable skill in managing everyday life. Conversely, a lack of language proficiency will likely have a negative impact on the migration experience of a working migrant in general and their educational success specifically. Proficiency in the country of origins language is, as some interview partners report, the precondition for getting a good job abroad. As such, it stands pars pro toto for higher educational attainment. Language proficiency is also helpful to address problems in the workplace or with other actors, such as landlords. More than that, lacking language proficiency can impact working migrants' whole attitude and psyche. As interview partner 9 reports, not understanding German leads to him being afraid of every letter he receives. This can create or further isolation.

Formal education

Formal education as a code was used in the material to highlight instances where interview partners talked about their experiences with varying forms of formal education. These could be school visits, language courses, vocational trainings, university studies or driving schools. As an intermediary factor, formal education can influence migration experience and educational demands of working migrants in manifold ways. Vocational training might determine the sector in which a migrant is working in their country of destination. If university degrees or training qualifications are acknowledged abroad, working migrants have the chance to work in better paying jobs suiting their qualifications. In the case of skilled workers, formal education is a prerequisite for the working migration in the first place. Consequently, some interview partners in our study reported undergoing professional further education during their working migration or planning to do so. Here, working migration becomes the catalyst to seek formal education in order to better respond to specific demands by the job market abroad. Depending on country of origin and country of destination respectively, formal education can also foster proficiency in the country of destinations language. Among the interview partners in this country study, the effects of prior formal language education varied, with some finding learning German in school helpful for their later migration and others reporting no effect, pointing to a lack of speaking practice or unprofessional teachers. Language courses in the country of destination are recognized as helpful by the interview partners in this study, however, issues such as the price of courses and the time to visit courses are brought up as obstacles explaining non-attendance or failure. Prior formal education can thus shape the attitude of working migrants towards educational formats, depending on their educational experiences. A course to meet their educational demands might be considered useless or unmanageable, depending on former experiences with formal education. In the material, however, even interview partners, who complained about the relatively small effect of earlier courses they attended, were planning to attend language courses or were currently attending such courses. There are other ways, in which prior formal education can influence the educational demands of working migrants: As frames of reference, prior educational experiences shape the expectations people have when visiting a course. This does not only apply to the success of the course itself, but also to the contents and workloads of an educational format.

Informal education

As mentioned above, working migration itself is, among other things, an educational process. Working migrants learn before and during their move. Often, they can rely on knowledge they acquired in school or other institutions of learning. Likewise, they draw from knowledge which they gathered through informal ways. One example for such learning processes is learning languages through media consumption. In the interview material, several interview partners mention the positive effect of media consumption on their language skills, with one interview partner going as far as saying “I have a language master from cartoons”. Another interview partner mentions, that watching English movies was a supplement to their English classes in school. Another interview partner tells of their advice to colleagues to consume media in the language of the country of destination to learn the language. Again another interview partner credits English movies and TV series for his language skills and mentions, that his wife has even learned a bit Turkish and Spanish through watching telenovelas in the respective languages. Another instance of informal education is language attainment at the workplace. Several interview partners reported of a language “learning by doing”-approach that involved actively seeking conversation with their German co-workers. While such an approach to language learning can be successful and applying language skills is the goal as well as an important part of learning, this approach has prerequisites. One precondition is a good relationship with the work colleagues. Another is the structure of the workplace itself. The workplace and the working conditions have to allow for talking to the colleagues. Some workplaces, e. g. in the meat processing industry, do not necessary involve longer contact with colleagues, and if so, the contact might consist of a supervisor shouting at or scolding workers, as mentioned separately by two interview partners. In order to “learn by ear”, the workplace must not be ethnically structured either. When a working migrant is working mostly or exclusively with members of his own ethnic community, language learning exchanges among colleagues do not take place. And finally, working migrants who want to learn by ear must have the openness and self esteem to seek encounters with members of the country of destinations society. They must “throw themselves into the fire”, as one interview partner put it. Working migrants who are less outgoing, or who are intimidated by the experience of living in another country might not dare to seek contact to colleagues from the country of destination. Even when the preconditions are met, learning by ear can bring its own problems if it is not accompanied by formal education. Reading and writing proficiency might be lacking in such cases. In addition, the vocabulary is strongly shaped by the workplace. Informal learning does not only take place with regards to language attainment. Some working migrants teach themselves part of tax or social policy in order to file their own taxes or inform themselves about life in the country of destination via internet fora as a preparation for their move the country of destination.

Time

Time is an intermediary factor for access to education and is itself a function of other intermediary factors like working conditions, family, duration of stay and distance to home country. With regards to educational demands, time as a resource can be in a trade-off relation with money, given, that working migrants spend time at work and sometimes are

forced to work unpaid overtime. This would have to be addressed in the construction of educational formats through scheduling courses at times which are manageable for working migrants.

3.3.4. Context

When speaking of context in this study, we describe all those factors, that are systemic and supra-individual in nature. The context is shaping the working migrants' experiences, but it is in itself not something that can be shaped or greatly influenced by the working migrants. A working migrant could vote for a party promising to reform or change a corrupt political system. The working migrant can however not change said system themselves. The systemic nature of factors which influence working migrants lives and experiences and their limited agency in changing said factors are the criteria for differentiating context factors from intermediary factors. The latter are more closely connected to the person of the individual working migrant, albeit sometimes equally hard to amend.

Pressure

In our study, we focused on working migrants. As a group of migrants, working migrants are different from refugees and asylum seekers. Their reason for migration is different, as is their situation in their country of origin. Refugees fleeing a war are generally under a higher pressure to succeed in both reaching and staying in their country of destination. For refugees, the so called "push factors" of migration create a higher migration pressure than they do for working migrants. The push factors are the reason that refugees risk potentially life-threatening journeys. While the migration pressures most working migrants are under are not as intense as those of refugees fleeing a warzone, these pressures can still be immense. Without job opportunities and with a lacking social security system, some working migrants face poverty in their country of origin. Material pressures increase further, if working migrants have families to fend for. Another pressure working migrants face is dysfunction in their country of origins social or political system, for example widespread corruption, unusually high rent or consumer goods prices or problems in the health care system. If working migrants or their children are dependent on healthcare which is not sufficiently provided in their country of origin, the pressure to stay in the country of destination is high. Likewise, if working migrants face potential discrimination or persecution at home, they are pressured to stay in the country of destination, or at least to avoid the country of origin. High pressure to stay in and work in the country of destination strongly influences the working migrants' agency: they might accept exploitative jobs or tolerate bad housing – even homelessness – in order to provide for themselves and/or their families. Higher migration pressures might also have a detrimental effect on migrants' abilities and willingness to seek out education. Under the constraint of high migration pressure, working migrants' priorities are earning and they are prepared to work in bad jobs in order to stay in the country of destination and being able to send home remittances. Conversely, working migrants under a lower level of migration pressure, or without migration pressure are in a better bargaining position. With the economic development in Poland, for example, some positions in the agricultural sector went unfilled in the last years, given that the work and working conditions are not seen as being worth the payment in countries from which harvest hands came in the past.

Educational System in the Country of Origin and the Country of Destination

As a contextual factor, the educational systems in the country of origin and in the country of destination influence both the skills a working migrant has when they move, and their chances for further education. Language courses in the country of origin can help finding one's way in the country of destination. A specific job training can be the reason to move to the country of destination in the first place. And the acknowledgement or miss-acknowledgement of degrees or job trainings passed in the country of origin can greatly impact the migration experience. Also, personal or family experience in different educational settings can influence working migrants experience and relation to the country of destination. Among the interview partners, four reported, that they had children still living in their countries of origin because changing school at a late stage would not be feasible for the children. For one working migrant, one child's problem in the country of destinations educational system was among the reasons for his wife to return to their country of origin with the children.

Another question related to the educational systems of country of origin and country of destination respectively is, if and how degrees and job trainings are acknowledged. This often decides, whether working migrants job positions are adequately matched to their education, or if a mismatch takes place.

Role of Legal Framework

The legal framework of the country of destination, the country of origin and the EU legal framework are decisive factors shaping a working migrants migration experience, their chance to find legal employment and their educational outlook. The legal framework in their country of origin with regards to labour laws might give rise to misconceptions concerning workers' rights in the country of destination. Working migrants, whose country of origin has strong labour protection laws are often surprised to learn, that these provisions are weaker in their country of destination. The country of destinations right of residence is a central factor for working migrants. For some interview partners, their country of origins accession to the EU enabled their long-term working migration in the first place. Others from third countries, describe how fulfilling the conditions of their visas framed their experience.

For members of other EU states, the respective rules can mean, that they are not allowed to be unemployed for more than six months, or that they only receive unemployment benefits after a certain period of residency. Right of residency being linked to employment can lead to EU working migrants accepting exploitative jobs in order to stay in the country of destination. It can also mean having to go without further education, for example without language courses, because work needs to be prioritized and intensive courses might take longer than six months. This is problematic particularly for nurses, who have to proof a B-Level proficiency after a certain period of time, but who often do not have time to learn the language of the country of destination and who subsequently have to leave the country of destination after this period of time. For third state members, this problem can become even more dire, being influenced heavily by their residence permit status and duration of

stay. In an article on the social security of temporary migrants in Finland, the authors remark, concerning migrants' knowledge about the Finnish social security system:

*"As persons on short stay visas between 90 and 180 days, it is conceivable that such circular migrant agricultural workers do not consider it important to inform themselves of such long-term social security benefits when their stay in Finland is short and opportunities to settle remain somewhat elusive. Accordingly, the conditions of temporariness that seasonal agricultural work entails does not encourage such workers to invest their time in learning the complex system which entails long-term rewards."*³⁹

In addition, the country of destination and EU frameworks concerning rights of residence can make it hard to legally work abroad. The lack of opportunities might pressure these working migrants into unsafe, exploitative and illegal employment, and lead to isolation, trafficking, having to live in sub-par housing and becoming a crime victim. The legal framework is not only a context variable determining a working migrants migration experience, aspects of the legal framework, e.g. different legal frameworks for labour law are themselves educational contents which working migrants need to learn in order to succeed in the country of destination.

Political system of the country of origin and the country of destination

The political system of the country of origin or the country of destination respectively also are factors influencing the duration of the migration of working migrants. Interview partners 1, 2, 7, 9, 11 and 16 either favorably mentioned the CODs political system or criticized their COOs political system. Specific issues addressed by the interview partners were the rule of law, corruption and social security. Some interview partners also blamed their countries politicians for the bad economic outlook in their respective COOs. One interview partner would have potentially suffered under a discriminatory law. The political system of the COO or the COD can influence the very decision to migrate and influence the view of/attachment to the COD. Autocratic and/or dysfunctional political systems in the countries of origin of working migrants can be push factors for a permanent migration. The political system of the country of destination can also be a pull factor, if it is seen as successful. This can also lead to a false sense of security for working migrants. Oftentimes working migrants hope, that the supposed German conformity to rules would lead to them being paid minimum wage and being treated fairly. They then often learned to their surprise, that this was not the case. In the narration of one interview partner, this surprise is expressed, when he tells, that he was especially surprised by his former bosses illegal practices, given that his former boss was German. The political system of the county of destination, the basic rights it grants and the shortcomings of its ability to protect working migrants thus has to be addressed by an educational course aiming at preparing working migrants for life in the country of destination. Integration courses aimed at refugees already feature such topical foci. Courses for working migrants, due to their time restriction, might have to find other forms of teaching about the political system due to time constraints.

³⁹ Helander & Holly 2016: 13

Migrant job market niche

In most CODs of working migrants, there is a specific migrant job market niche. Some working migrants find work in the COD through ethnical networks, such as friends or acquaintances who live abroad, or through agencies who offer jobs in the COD. The latter often are temp firms and sub-contractors to larger companies based in the respective CODs. They are, as numerous interview partners mention, known to cheat and exploit working migrants. While the existence of a migrant job market niche can help working migrants find work abroad, it can also (and often is) a space of sub-standard working conditions. Even where no exploitation takes place, workplaces that are by design ethnicized are isolating working migrants and are hindering their inclusion, as the interview partner in interview 1, among others, points out. The exploitative working conditions in the migrant job market niche can debilitate efforts to better ones' situation by keeping working migrants constantly struggling and exhausted. Illegal practices which in some cases include blackmailing are designed to isolate and control working migrants. This also means, that reaching working migrants under such circumstances is significantly harder. Avoiding the pitfalls of the migrant job market niche implies various educational contents, among them the CODs language, labour and tenancy laws and law of residency. The existence of a migrant job market niche also implies educational formats that respond to the exploitative nature of jobs in this niche by finding a timeframe that fits working migrants needs. Additionally, this means finding ways to reach out to working migrants which are in such exploitative working relationships. Finally, it implies the need to inform future working migrants early on about the perils of the migrant job market nice in order to prevent them from slipping into exploitative working conditions.

COD/COO social system and social policy

Weak social security systems in the country of origin are one reason for people to permanently migrate. People who have experienced corruption or other dysfunctions in their country of origins health and welfare system might decide to migrate permanently, even if their economic situation would allow for staying. A functioning social security system becomes even more relevant for people who require continued medical care either for themselves or for chronically ill family members. One interview partner told of their child's medical problems, which resulted in them having to seek surgery in another country. In addition, the interview partner and their spouse for years had to pay large amounts of money for the child's continued treatment in Romania, due to corruption in the medical sector. Despite earning well and having been in a stable employment situation, the couple decided to migrate to Germany in order to avoid this kind of corruption:

"...that [surgery for the interview partners child abroad] was, financially it was very, very difficult; we had the money, but it was, I'd say, a lot of money, that we had to pay monthly for [the childs] treatment and all sorts of things, and uh, yes, at home it is also, I'd say, difficult, because even if you have health insurance, because you work and so on, yes, the corruption is too big for you to live a normal life like here in Germany. Where you pay for your insurance and get benefits for it. We pay for insurance, and we also have to pay when we go to the doctor. Yes. [...] So, financially, we were doing ok at home, I'd say. But we decided, for our children to have perhaps a corruption-free life...

that is what we have decided to do, I'd say. And that's why we left everything behind, I'd say, and uh, yes, came to Germany, simple as that."

The health system specifically also becomes a decisive factor when it intersects with employment, for example, when questions of sick leave or health insurance arise. Therefore, health systems not only impact migration experience, but are also necessary educational contents for working migrants.

Not only the social system of the country of origin, the country of destinations social system, too, can influence the working migration greatly. In one interview partners narration, dealing with health insurers, the job center and the family assistance office is a recurring theme, greatly impacting their livelihood, wellbeing and their perception of their country of destination. For the interview partner, interacting with these institutions feeds into their perception of the country of destination as being rather hostile. Another interview partner has quite positive impressions of their country of destinations' social security system. In their narration, the existence of a welfare state is another sign of the rule of law in the country of destination. Their experience interacting with the job center is quite positive. The country of destinations social security system, for example its health care system, can become relevant for every working migrant. Therefore, information about the country of destinations social security system are a valuable educational content (see 1.4.1.). Knowledge about the social security system and the social policy of the country of destination, however, seems to some extent dependent on the duration of stay. People who plan to migrate permanently seem better informed on this issue, than those that plan for a short duration of stay, as Helander&Holly note in their study of working migrants in Finland.⁴⁰ The duration of stay is not the only variable influencing knowledge about the country of destinations social security system. Age, gender and the country of origins social security system also play a role, as the researchers found⁴¹. The finding, that some groups of working migrants see no or only little incentive to learn about the country of destinations social policy implies a necessity, to not only inform about this issue, but in addition to raise awareness of the importance of knowledge about ones rights for every working migrant. The short time-period, for which seasonal workers stay abroad could otherwise add another dimension of vulnerability. Helander&Holly, for example, report:

*"Indeed, several of our informants reported that the intermediaries through whom they acquired the positions had taken advantage of them. The monies they had paid out for their services and the high levels of taxation imposed upon them resulted in the unfortunate circumstance that they were unable to earn a sufficient amount to return home with any savings. As such these individuals were positioned as helpless actors slaving away to profit others."*⁴²

Working migrants who might not have the time or resources to fight abuse at the workplace might be especially vulnerable to exploitative practices.

⁴⁰ Helander & Holly 2016: 13

⁴¹ See Helander & Holly 2016

⁴² Helander & Holly 2016

Role of nationality

The nationality of working migrants is connected to the form of their residence permit and to the right of residency which applies to them. Nationality divides people into EU-citizens and third-state-citizens. Depending on this status, migrants have different permits to work, with some being allowed to work under the free movement rights of the EU, others having to rely on bilateral agreements or specific work permits. Others again are working in the respective COD illegally. One interview partner mentioned only being able to return to Germany through a family visa, because he is not an EU citizen. Conversely, EU working migrants might have problems migrants from third-states do not face, for example when seeking out further education. Nationality can also determine, which ethnic networks working migrants move in. There seems to be, for example, a larger balkanite network encompassing most people from Serbo-Croatian speaking nations. However, also between working migrants, ethnical cleavages can arise. While interview partners 11 and 12 report of a positive atmosphere at their working place, with people learning each others' language, other reports suggest, that the reality rather resembles an ethnic sorting, with people not seeking contact to members of other ethnicities and some hostilities being present. The factor of ones own nationality and the mistrust towards other nationalities stands in a circular relationship with working migrants migration experience. Some interview partners report getting along great with people from different nationalities and only having positive experiences. Others associate migrant bosses in the COD with shadiness, showing less trust towards them. One interview partner points out the shared nationality with one of his former bosses as a problem. He points out, that his Croatian compatriots living in Germany know the job situation and the problems of Croatians as leverage to keep them in exploitative jobs in the COD. They are, as he says, "using this psychology", specifically the fear of unemployment. Another interview partner has a similar worry. He says, that Hungarian employers in Germany would know Hungarian working migrants "too well", meaning, that they would thus be able to exploit the working migrants. Yet another interview partner reports not hanging out with other Russians, because they felt a certain uneasiness around them and not knowing what they could say around them. The phenomenon of migrants from authoritarian COOs being cautious about what they say abroad is wider spread and might affect many working migrants from such countries. It shapes the migration experience abroad and can create a state of isolation for working migrants from certain nationalities. Nationality does not only matter legally and in the relationship to other/ones own national group in the COD. It also matters in relation to members of the COD society. The very status as a migrant is conscious to working migrants and becomes reinforced by experiences of discrimination, or merely otherness/alienness. Four interview partners have reported direct discrimination by members of the COO societies. In addition, more subtle forms of discrimination based on migrant status, but also on nationality specifically are reported. The interview partner in interview 1 shares her assessment, that Romanians are "not among the Germans favourites" and that Germans might work better with other nationalities. Thus, nationality as a context variable influences working migration in different ways. For educational formats aiming at reaching working migrants, it would be advisable to address discrimination and take into account tensions based on nationality among participants.

Economic situation in COO / COD

In general, as well as in the interview material, the economic situation in the country of origin is one significant reason for people to become working migrants. One economic reason given for working abroad are low wages in the country of origin. As one interview partner put it: "there was a lot of work, but not a lot of money". Another factor are higher relative costs of living, for example the levels of rent prices, which make it harder to fend for families and kids. Other reasons for migrating to work include unemployment in the country of origin and a bad payment moral among clients. One interview partner summed up their reason for migration, pointing to diverse points named above:

"No, work wasn't so much the problem, but, uh, punctual pay. And I always had to ask, 'Where does my money come from?' And 'When will my money arrive?'. I was self-employed in Poland at the time. Invoice sent - no payment arrives. That happened a couple of times and then I was just broke for that moment. Yes, that was it. And then: food prices, diesel prices, gasoline prices are almost the same [as in Germany, D.H.]. Here in Germany, you get four times more money. That was our reason."

A difference in the economic performance of the country of origin and the country of destination of working migrants is the driving force of their working migration. As a background paper by the IMF summarizes:

"Economic incentives have long been the main driver of migration. Cross-country differences in incomes, wages, and economic opportunities driven by productivity and employment differentials and income inequality create incentives for migration flows. [...] As source countries develop and income gaps with recipient countries decline, economic incentives for migration can become less pronounced. The broader impact on migration, however, depends on the patterns of growth in source and recipient countries. If economic development does not promote employment growth, the potential to exacerbate push factors to emigrate is enhanced".⁴³

Migrating permanently because of wage differentials is a phenomenon well explained by the neoclassical economic theory of labour migration, which sees wage differentials between the country of origin and the country of destination as a driving force of working migration, as sociologist Douglas Massey points out⁴⁴. Another form of migration, temporal working migration in order to send home remittances, is better explained by the new economics of labour migration, according to Massey. This form of migration, too, can be found in the interview material. Some interview partners specifically named supporting their children and their education as reason for their working migration. One interview partner saves money to start a business and build a house in their country of origin. These interview partners also have a set plan to return to their country of origin.

The economic situation in the country of origin is one factor influencing the urgency to migrate and the duration of the migration. Through this, this contextual variable influences the migration experience, and, indirectly, working migrants' access and incentive to strife

⁴³ IMF 2015⁸

⁴⁴ See Massey 2009

for education. People migrating for a limited amount of time in order to send home remittances have limited contact to the country of destinations society and less incentives to integrate. People moving permanently have a stronger incentive to do so and more widely ramified contact to the country of destinations society and institutions.

Role of institutions

Transnational institutions and institutions in the COD have a grave impact on working migration. Working migrants might at some point have to deal with institutions like municipal authorities, health insurers, or job centers. If they are dependent on their employers, agents or acquaintances to do so, they open themselves up to the possibility of abuse. The interview partner in interview 4, for example, relates a story about a former fraudulent employer who did not register his migrant employees with a health insurance company, in consequence leaving them uninsured. Other employers, as interview partners in interviews 8 and 9 relate, try to convince working migrants to work as self-employed freelancers, thus shifting the burden of insurance onto the working migrants. Sometimes, institutions themselves are challenging working migrants. The IP in interview 2 relates a problem she encountered with the family benefits office, who wrongly assumed that she had moved back to Romania. Such encounters can lead to the feeling of being confronted with a hostile environment in the COD. The necessity to contact and work with institutions implies as educational demand knowledge about institutions in the COD, their functions, responsibilities and legal framework, as well as the social system in which they are embedded. It also implies as educational demand a degree of language proficiency. Interview partners in interviews 6 and 9 reported, that their lack of language proficiency made it hard for them to deal with municipal authorities. The encounters with representatives of institutions for them were stressful and intimidating, shaping their migration experience. Running somewhat counter to this experience was the positive experiences shared by the interview partners in interviews 7, 11 and 12, who specifically praised the institutions of their COD.

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4. Country report Poland

4.1. Overall Migration Situation in Poland

Poland has traditionally been considered as an emigration country. Over the last two hundred years, migration has been central to the social history of Poland, including territories lying outside today's borders. Garapich (2014) describes migration in Poland as a phenomenon 'surrounded by myths, symbols, cultural codes and stereotyped framings'.¹ On the one hand, political exiles of the nineteenth century, post-Second World War refugees from communism, Jewish intellectuals expelled in 1968 and the highly educated two-million 'Solidarity' emigration of the 1980's have created a tradition of elite exile that makes it easy to understand framings of the post-2004 EU accession wave of highly educated Poles to the United Kingdom and Ireland as a tragic brain drain. On the other hand, Babiński and Praszałowicz (2016) argue that 'migration has become inscribed in Polish tradition as a popular, rational and effective livelihood strategy'.² Poles have worked temporarily in Germany since the early nineteenth century.³ Christians and Jews from partitioned Poland constituted approximately 3.5 million of the wave of European labour migrants to North America fifty years before the First World War; a further two million economic migrants left Poland between the world wars. The communist regime, more ineffectual and somewhat more liberal than in its neighboring countries of the Soviet bloc, allowed migration from Poland to continue, giving permission for Poles with US connections to go to the United States and, from the 1970's, allowing the 'tourists' traveling to western Europe to engage in illegal trade and temporary work on a remarkable scale.⁴

In the 1990's, migration of highly skilled people and migration for settlement generally reduced. However, circular and temporary labour migration to continental European countries predominated.⁵ Okólski (2001) coined the term 'incomplete migration' for migrants who earned a living abroad but 'lived' in Poland, where their families remained and to which they frequently returned. Incomplete migrants typically were men with vocational

¹ Garapich, M., 'Wpływ poakcesyjnych migracji na polską diasporę — zarys problematyki' in Lesińska M., Okólski M., Slany K. and Solga B. (Eds.), *Dekada członkostwa Polski w UE: Społeczne skutki emigracji Polaków po 2004 roku* (Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2014), p. 284.

² Babiński, G. and Praszałowicz, D., 'Diaspora polska' In Górny A., Kaczmarzyk P. and Lesińska M. (Eds.), *Transformacje: Przewodnik po zmianach społeczno-ekonomicznych* (Warszawa, 2016), p. 98.

³ Nowosielski, N., 'Polacy w Niemczech: Stan i perspektywy badań' in *Przegląd Zachodni* Vol. 3:3-28 (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 2012), p.4.

⁴ Grabowska, I., Kaczmarzyk, P., Slany, K. and White, A., *The Impact of Migration on Poland: EU Mobility and Social Change* (London: UCL Press, 2018), p. 17.

⁵ Kaczmarzyk, P., *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków w dobie przemian* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2005), p. 17.

education from peripheral regions in eastern Poland or Silesia.⁶ Post-accession migration from Poland, similar to mobility from other 'new' EU member states, presents an interesting case in the European context. As most recent Polish migrants take paid work abroad, which is commonly described as labour migration, this feature makes Poland somewhat different from most West European countries, where there is a great variety of types of outflow, but particularly migration related to education or family reunification.⁷ The top five countries in which the largest numbers of migrants originating from Poland resided, as of year 2013, were Germany, UK, USA, Canada and Italy.⁸

However, in the last few decades Poland has transformed from a typical emigration state into an emigration-immigration country. Górny and Kaczmarczyk (2018) point out in their study that the scale of the inflow of foreigners to the country in recent decades places Poland among those states of growing attractiveness to migrants. From a country from which more than 2 million people emigrated in the years 2007–2013, Poland is becoming a New Immigrant Destination or NID.⁹ In the following three years (2013–2016) the number of seasonal workers from foreign countries increased by more than 300 per cent and, according to estimates, exceeded 1 million people. This reflects the fact that the number of third country nationals residing permanently in Poland has grown, but Poland receives mainly temporary workers.¹⁰ As of year 2013, the top five countries from which the largest numbers of migrants to Poland originate were Ukraine, Belarus, Germany, Lithuania, Russian Federation.¹¹ When it comes to working migrants from the EU countries, the exact inflow rate is hard to identify due to the so-called 'liquid migration'¹², a concept applied to migrants from the new EU member states to describe their transient and flexible mobility within the EU. As for their occupational fields, a number of scholars¹³ observe that migrants

⁶ Okólski, M., 'Incomplete Migration: A New Form of Mobility in Central and Eastern Europe. The Case of Polish and Ukrainian Migrants' in Wallace, C. and Stola D. (Eds.), *Patterns of Migration in Central Europe*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 106.

⁷ Grabowska, Kaczmarczyk, Slany, White, p. 90.

⁸ United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision* (United Nations Database, 2013)
<<https://esa.un.org/miggrm/profiles/indicators/files/Poland.pdf>> [accessed 2 April 2020], p. 2.

⁹ Górny, A. and Kaczmarczyk P., 'A Known but Uncertain Path: The Role of Foreign Labour in Polish Agriculture' in *Journal of Rural Studies* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2018), p. 179.

¹⁰ Duszczek, M. and Góra, M., 'Active Inclusion of Immigrants in Poland' in *IZA Discussion Papers*, No. 6427 (Bonn: IZA Institute of Labor Economics, 2012), p. 13.

¹¹ United Nations, p. 2.

¹² Górny, A. and Kindler, M., 'The Temporary Nature of Ukrainian Migration: Definitions, Determinants and Consequences' in Fedyuk O. and Kindler M. (Eds.), *Ukrainian Migration to the European Union: Lessons from Migration Studies* (Springer, 2016), p. 95.

¹³ Grzymała-Kazłowska, A. and Okólski, M., 'Influx and Integration of Migrants in Poland in the Early XXI Century' in *Prace Migracyjne*, Nr. 50 (Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw, 2003), p. 16; Fihel, A., Kaczmarczyk, P., Mackiewicz-Łyziak, J., Okólski, M., 'Labour Mobility Within the EU in the Context of Enlargement and the Functioning of the Transitional Arrangements' in *WIFO Studies*, VC/2007/0293 (University of Warsaw, 2007), p. 34.

from the EU along with the nationals of other so-called well-developed countries (e.g. the US and Canada) are usually employed by medium-sized or large companies in manufacturing industry, real estate, education and construction industry. However, the major inflow of immigrants to Poland is limited in principle to just a few groups of nationalities, clearly dominated by the countries of the former USSR (Ukraine, Belarus) and selected Asian countries (Vietnam, China).¹⁴

Overall, the current migration processes in Poland deserve particular attention for at least two reasons, as noted by Duszczyk and Matuszczyk (2018). First, owing to the dynamics of an immigration not encountered before and the domination of a single nationality group among the foreigners, namely Ukrainians. Secondly, owing to the sustained emigration of Poles to other EU member-states, with the number of those staying for more than 12 months increasing by 113,000 in 2016 compared to 2015.¹⁵ According to Central Statistical Office's estimates¹⁶, as of the end of 2016, the number of Poles staying in the EU amounted to 2,096,000. This means that Poland records a growth — at the same time — in both the inflow of immigrants to the country and the emigration of Polish natives. Such a phenomenon has been extremely rare in the history of migration.

Based on the statistical data and research¹⁷, we can observe that the largest number of immigrants take up employment in Masovian Voivodeship [Województwo mazowieckie] (most likely in metropolitan Warsaw), followed by Lower Silesian, Greater Poland, Lesser Poland and Silesian Voivodeships [Dolnośląskie, Wielkopolskie, Małopolskie, Śląskie Województwo] (most likely in the following big Polish cities: Wrocław, Poznań, Cracow and Upper Silesian towns). These most developed regions have the strongest economic activity, best-developed transportation system, social infrastructure as well as most modern economy structure. The regions surround fast developing urban agglomerations. At the same time the regions have stable demand for labour as well as the lowest unemployment rate.¹⁸ The sudden influx of more foreigners often creates a strong impression. For example, there was a near fivefold increase in the number of foreigners registered as living in Wrocław (the fourth biggest city in Poland¹⁹) between 2002 and 2012, and by spring 2017 the city

¹⁴ Tyrowicz, p. 32.

¹⁵ Duszczyk, M. and Matuszczyk, K., 'The Employment of Foreigners in Poland and the Labour Market Situation' in *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research, 2018), p. 54.

¹⁶ Central Statistical Office of Poland, *Informacja o rozmiarach i kierunkach czasowej emigracji z Polski w latach 2004–2016* (Warsaw: Central Statistical Office of Poland, 2017b), p. 2.

¹⁷ The Office for Foreigners
<<https://migracje.gov.pl/en/statistics/scope/poland/type/statuses/view/map/year/2020/>> [accessed 4 April 2020]; Duszczyk, Góra, p. 10.

¹⁸ Duszczyk, Góra, p. 11.

¹⁹ Statistical Office in Wrocław, *Liczba ludności Wrocławia. Stan na 31 VI 2019*
<<https://wroclaw.stat.gov.pl/zakladka2/>> [access 10 April 2020]

council estimated that one in ten residents of the city was Ukrainian.²⁰ According to Eurostat²¹, more than 680,000 foreigners received legal residency in Poland in 2017 alone.

In the last years, immigrants have started to play an important role in the Polish labour market, which creates an additional challenge for the institutional structure. At the same time the institutional framework for receiving immigrants, especially integration policy, has not been fully developed yet. It is addressed only to refugees and is provided mostly by NGOs that run various integration programmes (most often focused on providing language courses).²² In the ongoing public debate on economic migration to Poland, emotional statements, or those without any factual evidence, often prevail.²³ As of the year 2014, Global Attitudes Survey conducted by the Pew Research Center²⁴, the public opinion is divided in Poland between those who want fewer immigrants admitted to their countries and those who say current levels should stay about the same. The Poles stating that 'immigrants are a burden because they take jobs and social benefits'²⁵ constitute nearly half of the population, i.e. 52%. According to the Gallup World Poll²⁶, the general migrant acceptance in Poland in 2015 accounted for 37.8%, compared to the neighboring Czechia with 42.7% and Germany with 79.7% of migrant acceptance.

On the other hand, Ager and Strang (2008) argue that the real potential direct impacts of immigration are of a rather positive character and can include among others: a net contribution to government revenues in the receiving country (if migrant labour is predominantly legal) and even some GDP growth, as well as a supply of labour for jobs that are unappealing to natives. However, they point out that it also entails a need for integration support services to facilitate 'migrants' active engagement' in society.²⁷

²⁰ Bielewska, A., 'Imigracja wewnętrzna i międzynarodowa a globalność Wrocławia' in *Studia Ekonomiczne: Zeszyty Naukowe*, Nr 223 (Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny w Katowicach, 2015), p. 158; Wrotniak-Chałada, M., 'Wrocław: 10 proc. mieszkańców miasta to obywatele Ukrainy' in *Bankier*, 8 June 2017 <https://www.bankier.pl/wiadomosc/Wroclaw-10-proc-mieszkanow-miasta-to-obywatele-Ukrainy-7524488.html> [accessed 3 April 2020].

²¹ Eurostat, *Residence Permits for Non-EU Citizens* (25 October 2018) <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/9333446/3-25102018-AP-EN.pdf/3fa5fa53-e076-4a5f-8bb5-a8075f639167> [accessed 3 April 2020].

²² Duszczek, Góra, p. 1.

²³ Tyrowicz, J., 'The Influence of Economic Migration on the Polish Economy' in *mBank - CASE Seminar Proceedings*, No. 149 (Warsaw: Center for Social and Economic Research, 2017), p. 9; OSCE, ODIHR. *New Study Reveals Scale of Underreporting of Hate Incidents in Poland* (13 May 2019) <https://hatecrime.osce.org/infocus/new-study-reveals-scale-underreporting-hate-incidents-poland> [accessed 5 April 2020].

²⁴ Wike, R., 'In Europe, Sentiment Against Immigrants, Minorities Runs High' in *Pew Research Center*, May 2014 <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/05/14/in-europe-sentiment-against-immigrants-minorities-runs-high/> [accessed 6 April 2020].

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Migration Data Portal https://migrationdataportal.org/?i=co_diversity_yr&t=2015&cm49=616 [accessed 3 April 2020].

²⁷ Ager, A. and Strang, A., 'Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework' in *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 21 (2) (Oxford Academic, 2008), p. 172.

In order to speak rationally about Poland as a destination country for immigrants, it is necessary to fully understand the conditions — and in particular the weaknesses — of the Polish labor market. It is also worth becoming aware of the scale of the processes being discussed. Tyrowicz (2017) suggests that 'the intensification of immigrant inflows to Poland is caused not so much by demographic problems as by weaknesses in the functioning of the labor market'.²⁸ Without experience in these weaknesses, immigrants have appeared in Poland in numbers that have become noticeable, drawing a broad response from politicians and the media. But thus far it has not caused changes in the way the market functions. Without such change, she argues, it will be difficult to expect Poland to become a destination country for immigrants over the long term.²⁹ Tyrowicz points to at least three characteristics that describe the migration trends in Poland: the limited group of nationalities forming the inflow of immigrants to Poland; the temporary or circulatory character of migration to Poland; and the somewhat undocumented nature of immigration to Poland.

First of all, the inflow of immigrants to Poland — particularly if we concentrate on citizens of non-EU countries — is limited in principle to just a few groups of nationalities, clearly dominated by the countries of the former USSR (Ukraine, Belarus) and selected Asian countries (Vietnam, China).³⁰ The available statistical data show that in 2002–2011 there was 3.5-fold growth in the number of immigrants from Ukraine registered as permanently resident in Poland. This process continued in the following years, and gained speed after the outbreak of armed conflict in eastern Ukraine. The number of Ukrainian citizens who received permanent residence permits in 2014 was two times higher than in 2010, and in 2015 more than four times higher. Very high growth was also noted in the number of people seeking international protection: from fewer than 50 people to more than 2,300. Finally, in 2010–2015 a more than 500% increase was noted in the number of students from Ukraine registered in the Polish higher education system. As a result, the data of the Office for Foreigners indicate that at the end of 2016 about 266,000 people had valid residence permits in Poland (about half of which were documents for temporary stay), and more than 103,000 of them were held by Ukrainians. This made four times the number held by the second-place group (Germans) and 10 times that of other non-EU countries (Belarus, Vietnam, China).³¹

Secondly, in relation to immigration to Poland, people most often point to its temporary or in fact circulatory nature, which could equally be referred to as 'incomplete migration'³² (Okólski), in particular in the case of immigrants from the former USSR. Curiously, Górny and Kaczmarczyk (2018) observe that although the arrivals of Ukrainians to Poland have an almost three-decade history, until recently, incoming flows have not translated into the formation of a large migrant community. Migration patterns of Ukrainian migrants are strongly determined by Polish legal

²⁸ Tyrowicz, p. 10.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Tyrowicz, p. 32.

³¹ Tyrowicz, p. 34.

³² Okólski, p. 106.

regulations, which have facilitated entry to Poland, but are quite restrictive regarding settlement.³³ A vast majority of Ukrainians stay in Poland on visas, which requires circulation between Poland and Ukraine. Importantly, Ukrainian labour migrants are not 'free movers', as visa regulations allow them to stay in Poland only for a fixed time (usually for up to 6 months), and they often experience uncertainty linked to an unstable legal and work status. As Górny and Kindler argue, these characteristics distinguish their mobility pattern from 'liquid migration'³⁴, a concept applied to migrants from the new EU member states.

Thirdly, another characteristic of immigration to Poland is to a certain degree its undocumented nature, which nevertheless is different from phenomena observed in many other countries. As will be discussed later, the legal regulations make it relatively easy to enter the country, and even to acquire a document providing work authorization (particularly in the simplified system). But the area of semi-legality remains undefined: work without a valid contract, for a different employer than is indicated in the documentation or not in compliance with the rules established by those documents.³⁵

While immigration to Poland is a relatively new phenomenon, it has not yet been internalized by the public. Moreover, public institutions including social security, the labour market and social assistance are poorly prepared to operate in the new situation in which Poland itself as well as Poland as a member state of the European Union is increasingly attractive to foreign nationals.³⁶ Other problematic areas that have not yet been sufficiently addressed also include a skill mismatch between the labor supply and labor demand, as well as the match between the existing educational programs and the actual needs of the employees. Although on these questions much has been said, so far not much research has been conducted. Paradoxically, more is known about the skills of workers (and future workers), due to Poland's participation in the international research programs PISA (which tests the skills of students) and PIAAC (research on the competence of adults), coordinated by the OECD.³⁷ So far, little research has been done into the needs of the employees.

Economical, Social and Political Status Quo of Migrants in Poland

Lower Silesian Voivodeship [Województwo Dolnośląskie] is an important administrative, cultural, and university centre attracting significant investments which contains thirty

³³ Górny, Kaczmarczyk, p. 179.

³⁴ Górny, A. and Kindler, M., 'The Temporary Nature of Ukrainian Migration: Definitions, Determinants and Consequences' in Feduk O. and Kindler M. (Eds.), *Ukrainian Migration to the European Union: Lessons from Migration Studies* (Springer, 2016), p. 95.

³⁵ Tyrowicz, p. 33.

³⁶ Duszczyk, Góra, p. 3.

³⁷ Tyrowicz, p. 29.

counties [powiats] and inhabited by 2,902,365 people (as of year 2017).³⁸ The region have one common region labour office and according to the Polish institutional system constitute a basic unit of the single local labour market.³⁹ The institution responsible for legalization of labor migrants is the Office for Foreigners in the Voivodeship office. According to the regulations⁴⁰, one factor of being legalized in Poland is to acquire a temporary residence permit, which is granted for three years' period and entitles a foreigner to move beyond Poland's territory in Schengen zone for up to ninety days within six months.⁴¹

Citizens of six states — Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia and Moldova — also constitute an important group of exceptions and benefit from an easier access to the Polish labour market. Throughout the period of six months within subsequent twelve months they may work without the need of obtaining a work permit, provided that they have a written statement of an employer registered at the competent district labour office and a written contract. When the employer wants to hire a foreigner for a longer period of time, they need to have a work permit or a temporary stay permit for the purpose of work in profession requiring high qualifications. If a foreigner worked for a given employer in connection with a registered statement, the employer may apply for a work permit (on the same post) in simplified mode (without the need to obtain information from the Staroste about the possibility to satisfy the HR needs based on local labour market).⁴²

Although declaration envisages employment for a temporary period, the practice demonstrates that the experience of these labor migrants goes beyond the temporary period. In fact, it results in the so-called 'permanent temporariness',⁴³ as stated by Lesińska (2015). 'Permanent temporariness' raises the questions of further legalization as well as the necessity of integration in Poland. Recent observations of extreme delays in the performance of foreigners' office expose labor migrants to such vulnerabilities as irregular stay/employment, labor abuse as well as 'immobile' conditions of their stay in Poland.⁴⁴ This group also includes so-called 'overstayers', i.e. foreign nationals who overstay in Poland

³⁸ Statistical Office in Wrocław, *Ludność. Stan i struktura w przekroju terytorialnym. Stan w dniu 30.06.2017 r.* <https://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/ludnosc/ludnosc-stand-i-struktura-w-przekroju-terytorialnym-stand-w-dniu-30-06-2017-r-6,22.html> [accessed 14 April 2020]

³⁹ Bieniecki, M. and Pawlak, M. 'Simplification of Employment of Foreign Workers in Poland and the Case of Wrocław' in *Labour Market Inclusion of the Less Skilled Migrants in the European Union* (International Organization for Migration, 2011), p. 67.

⁴⁰ The Office for Foreigners' Affairs <https://udsc.gov.pl/en/cudzoziemcy/obywatele-panstw-trzecich/karta-pobytu/informacje-o-dokumentach> [accessed 5 April 2020].

⁴¹ Jafarova, K., *Brief Report based on the analysis of two interviews conducted on the topic of 'Legalization and Integration Challenges of Georgian labor migrants in Poland'* (University of Wrocław, 2020), p. 2.

⁴² The Office for Foreigners' Affairs.

⁴³ Lesińska, M., *Immigration of Ukrainians and Russians into Poland; Inflow, Integration and Policy Impacts* (European University Institute, 2015), p. 13.

⁴⁴ Jafarova, K. *Poland's Migration Policy for Third-Country Nationals; Exploring Legalization Challenges and Integration Mechanisms Within the Framework of a Declaration to Entrust a Job to a Foreigner* (University of Wrocław, 2020), p. 19.

unlawfully after the deadline of their legal stay expires. In their case integration measures are most frequently related to legalization of stay. During their undocumented stay in Poland, apart from support from NGOs, they cannot count on any assistance in the process of integration with Polish society.⁴⁵ This is partly due to the lack of efficient policy level initiatives taken by the Polish government aiming to facilitate integration process of foreigners in Poland, which might add additional level of challenges, experienced by foreigners.⁴⁶

As a result, many migrants resort to the use of the services of intermediaries to help them legalize their stay when already in Poland. The country is experiencing a rapid growth in intermediary agencies with 6,081 agencies in 2015, 7,386 in 2016 and 8,646 agencies by 20 October 2017. 1.2 million people (both Poles and foreigners) found jobs through agencies in 2015, with 799,727 of these being temporary employment.⁴⁷ However, very often the irregular practices of intermediaries take place, such as issuing contracts for foreign job candidates only in Polish with no translation provided, limited training in workplace health and safety, recruitment for fake jobs and the sale of permits for visas.⁴⁸ Migrants have a limited number of social actors that can defend their interests, and low awareness of their rights, hence they in general rely on informal institutions such as their network of acquaintances. Many violations of labour rights and malpractices by intermediaries in Poland are not acted on by the authorities.⁴⁹ Keryk (2017) in her study observes the main violations of labour rights of the migrant workers at the workplace, such as work without a work contract, extensive working hours, non-payment of wages for the final months of employment, unpaid trial periods, deduction of housing and other costs from salary.⁵⁰ Therefore, there is clearly a need to increase migrant workers' awareness of their rights by means of information campaigns organized by the state, public institutions, trade unions and civic organizations. So far, trade unions, especially Ukrainian ones, do not exist on the migrants' radar in terms of organizations that can provide support and protection. According to Keryk, such awareness campaigns would also require cooperation between Polish authorities and the authorities of the countries from which the working migrants originate from.⁵¹ The failure to do so can result in very negative outcomes. Vanaspong (2012) describes the experience of the Thai migrant workers in Poland as distressing: 'workers were not well prepared and oriented about the country of their destination, including information on socio-economic conditions, the weather, way of life and living

⁴⁵ Duszczuk, Góra, p. 6.

⁴⁶ Jafarova, *Brief Report*, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Keryk, M., *Working in Poland: Violations of the Labour Rights of Ukrainian Migrants in the Construction and Services Sectors* (Foundation 'Our Choice', 2017), p. 4.

⁴⁸ Keryk, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Keryk, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Keryk, p. 5.

⁵¹ Keryk, p. 40.

conditions, which was extremely different from their origin. Culture shock and unrealistic expectations typically led to stress and depression'.⁵²

A number of scholars⁵³ note that Ukrainian migrants rarely engage in social activity in Poland and do not see the need for institutionalization of the group mainly due to the temporary nature of their migration. Studies have analyzed how Ukrainians adapt to the legal and institutional migratory framework in Poland. For example, Stefańska and Szulecka (2013) analyzed how progression in their administrative status, which is regulated strictly by the law on entry, stay and work in Poland, of two distinct groups (Ukrainians and Vietnamese) influences the economic adaptation of migrants. Their analysis shows that many Ukrainians did not take advantage of their rights and worked in the secondary sector below their qualification levels. As Bieniecki and Pawlak (2011) underline, overqualification is widespread (for example a nurse certified working as a domestic caregiver; or a teacher taking up seasonal work in agriculture).⁵⁴ This could be caused, however, by the lack of cultural capital (e.g. imperfect knowledge of Polish) or by potentially discriminatory attitudes in the primary sectors.⁵⁵ Although the migrants' economic status did not always improve along with the improvement in their residence status, Ukrainians aimed at prolonging the validity of documents authorizing them to stay in Poland. This gave them a sense of security, even if they worked in the informal economy.⁵⁶

We should assume that command of language and access to the labour market are two key elements for avoidance of social tension and for effective integration of foreigners into Polish society. Indeed, many scholars on the migrants' integration experiences in Poland have treated Polish language proficiency as a proxy for cultural integration.⁵⁷ However, some existing research on the integration mechanisms of labor migrants in Poland also demonstrates that even though that knowledge of Polish seems to be central to the overall integration process of labor migrants, the migrants' experiences indicate that knowing language and feeling integrated does not necessarily imply they feel comfortable among

⁵² Vanaspong, C., *A Case Study of Thai Migrant Workers in Poland* (Manila: International Labour Organization, 2012), p. 16.

⁵³ Biernath, M., 'Cross-Border Migrant Organizations in Poland' in Pries, L. and Sezgin Z. (Eds.), *Cross Border Migrant Organizations in Comparative Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 100; Grzymała-Kazłowska, A., Stefańska, R. and Szulecka, M., 'Różnice i podobieństwa w integracji migrantów o różnym statusie prawnym' in Grzymała-Kazłowska A. (Ed.), *Między wielością a jednością. Integracja odmiennych grup i kategorii migrantów w Polsce* (Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research Faculty of Economic Sciences, 2008), p. 88.

⁵⁴ Bieniecki, Pawlak, p. 65.

⁵⁵ Stefańska, R. and Szulecka, M., 'Bezpieczny status prawny jako determinanta awansu ekonomiczno-zawodowego odmiennych grup imigrantów w Polsce' in *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, Vol. 2(1) (Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research, 2013), p. 96.

⁵⁶ Brunarska, Z., Kindler, M., Szulecka M. and Toruńczyk-Ruiz S., 'Ukrainian Migration to Poland: A 'Local' Mobility?' in Feduk, O. and Kindler, M. (Eds.), *Ukrainian Migration to the European Union: Lessons from Migration Studies* (Springer, 2016), p. 125.

⁵⁷ Duszczuk, Góra, p. 31; Brunarska, Toruńczyk-Ruiz, p. 8.

the locals or they are able to make more friends with them. This stems from certain cultural differences that they appear not to be able to overcome. As Jafarova (2020) suggests, it would be crucial for the further elaboration to explore the legalization challenges and its impact in labor participation of relatively low-skilled migrant workers in order to observe the coping challenges and the emergence of vulnerabilities in line with the issue.⁵⁸

Ukrainians, Belarusians and Russians on short-term contracts and in the temporary migrant category, and they are therefore assumed to have limited integration needs, especially in view of linguistic and other kinds of cultural similarity to Poles. However, despite cultural advantages, they are often not as well-integrated as might be expected.⁵⁹ Cherti and McNeil coined the term 'daily integration' as one of the approaches to the integration of migrants. It is understood as a (co)action in the areas of vital importance for people, such as work, education or free time. Through these activities, migrants seek to raise the level and quality of their lives in the destination country.⁶⁰ Understanding what makes migrants intend to stay in the destination country for longer is crucial both from an academic and policy perspective, providing knowledge about the factors that may transform temporary migration into settlement.⁶¹

Educational Programs for Migrants in Lower Silesia

The issue of integration has not been topical in the political agenda of Poland for a long time. Poland has mostly been a net emigrant country, prior to experiencing a steady economic growth that resulted in a rising flow of migrants in the country. With the increasing number of migrants, Poland had to face the question of integration. Within the last years, the Polish government adopted a document covering the issue of immigrant integration titled 'Polityka migracyjna Polski – stan obecny i postulowane działania' ['Migration Policy of Poland – Current State of Play and Further Actions']. The document was elaborated by the inter-ministerial Committee for Migration in July 2011 and then adopted by the Polish government in July 2012. In December 2014, the action plan to this document was developed by the Committee specifying the ways to implement the recommendations contained in the document, costs, sources of financing, responsible institutions and deadlines for implementation. These two documents were supplemented by the 'Polska polityka integracji cudzoziemców – założenia i wytyczne'⁶² ['Polish Immigrants Integration Policy – Assumptions and Guidelines']. However, the Ministry of Internal Affairs eventually eliminated these documents in 2017. The official reasons for this decision included the elevation of the refugee and migration crisis, as well as an increase in

⁵⁸ Jafarova, *Brief Report*, p. 10.

⁵⁹ Grabowska, Kaczmarczyk, Slany, White, p. 221.

⁶⁰ Cherti, M. and McNeil, C., *Rethinking Integration* (London: Institute for Public Policy Research, 2012).

⁶¹ Brunarska, Toruńczyk-Ruiz, p. 1.

⁶² Stefańska, R., 'Integration Policy and Activities in Poland' in *Interact Research Report*, No. 7, (San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2015), p. 8.

immigrants from Ukraine due to the military conflict with Russia. Therefore, according to the Preliminary Research Report of the Foundation Bureau of Social Initiative (2017), this decision seems to be mainly political.⁶³

The government has made no integration efforts since then. In fact, with the new elected government the issues around immigration fall under question. The Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS) [Law and Justice Party] party, which was elected in 2015, promotes the ideology that clearly demonstrates their anti-immigration strategies.⁶⁴ Notwithstanding the need for labor force, it is to some extent evident that with the current government's position on the issue of immigration, the question of the necessity of adequate integration mechanisms is likely to remain unsolved on the agenda.⁶⁵

Thus far, the country's integration efforts were predominantly limited to the activities carried out by non-profit organizations solely upon available EU funds.⁶⁶ Ukrainian migrants, for instance, when looking for support outside their circle and intermediaries, mainly use the services of civic organizations. They, like other Polish organizations, are highly dependent on financing from grants. Support to migrants was until 2014 mainly financed by the European Integration Fund, and from 2015 by the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF). These funds were distributed both directly from Brussels and through the Polish Ministry of Interior and Administration. With parliamentary elections in 2015 and the coming to power of the right wing party 'Law and Justice', however, the situation has changed. The present government has temporarily withheld the distribution of the AMIF funds, which means the majority of civic organizations supporting labour migrants and refugees are running out of funds for their activity. In June 2017 the government announced that the funds, which were dedicated to projects run by organizations, will be distributed to regional governors [wojewodas]. The latter can invite civic organizations to realize the integration tasks, but they are not obliged to do so. Of 16 regions, only 7 have announced a tender for a partner organization to run integration projects. As an example, in 2017 the Lower Silesian governor received around 28.5 million PLN from the AMIF funds for the realization of 'the goal to contribute to the effective management of migration flows and to the implementation, strengthening and development of a common policy on asylum, subsidiary protection and temporary protection and a common immigration policy in full respect of the rights and principles enshrined in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the

⁶³ Foundation Bureau of Social Initiative, *Preliminary Research Report: Integration of Immigrants in Poland*, (Integration by Social Digital Learning, 2017) <https://www.isdlearning.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/ISDL_PRELIMINARY-REPORT_POLAND.pdf> [accessed 12 April 2020], p. 3.

⁶⁴ Kucharska, M., 'Despite the anti-immigrant rhetoric, Poland receives more migrant workers than anywhere else in the world' in *Equal Times*, 11 October 2019 <<https://www.equaltimes.org/despite-the-anti-immigrant?lang=en#.XpRPwtMzYoQ>> [accessed 12 April 2020].

⁶⁵ Jafarova, *Poland's Migration Policy*, p. 11.

⁶⁶ Stefańska, p. 8.

European Union’.⁶⁷ However, most of the funds have been used eventually for ‘improving the standard and increasing the service capacity for foreigners at the Lower Silesian Voivodeship Office in Wrocław’ by renovating and expanding the customer service points at the Lower Silesian Voivodeship Office.⁶⁸ The only integration-driven initiative, which received 3.5 million PLN, is entitled ‘Integration, adaptation, acceptance. Support for third-country nationals living in Lower Silesia’ co-partnered with the Wrocław-based NGO ‘Fundacja Ukraina’ [‘Ukraine Foundation’].⁶⁹ That means that only a few organizations in Poland have resources to provide support to migrants, while the rest remains without resources for their existence and continuation of support for foreigners. As a result, there is a curtailment of legal and integration support for foreigners, and of monitoring of human rights protection and support provision in cases of violations, a lack of stability in the integration activities run by organizations and local authorities, and the dissolution of the qualified teams which had been supporting migrants, and which included lawyers, psychologists, interpreters, cultural mediators, and other support staff.⁷⁰

In states that do not self-identify as immigration countries, it is often local authorities who take the lead, as it is clearly the case for Poland. This includes joint action by cities, with the Union of Polish Metropolises issuing a statement in 2017 that ‘united we can work on producing an appropriate culture for accepting migrants, make our cities more open and integrative, and enhance development, innovation and competition’.⁷¹ The bigger Polish cities tend to have liberal local governments and usually have their own identity and marketing-based reasons for noticing and promoting their ethnic diversity. This is the background against which they have actually become more diverse. Integration projects are often run by Polish NGOs with EU funding, and have tended to be concentrated particularly in Warsaw and Lublin, and more recently Gdansk – the cities that have shown the greatest commitment to refugee integration.⁷² Some job centres try to support refugees (e.g. in Białystok), although they are not really equipped to do this.⁷³ Anti-racist and pro-refugee organizations have also become more active and attracted more public support in recent

⁶⁷ Poland's Open Data Portal, *Fundusz Azylu, Migracji i Integracji (FAMI)*

<https://dane.gov.pl/dataset/890,fundusz-azylu-migracji-i-integracji-fami> [accessed 15 April 2020]

⁶⁸ Dolnośląski Urząd Wojewódzki <https://duw.pl/pl/biuro-prasowe/aktualnosci/13389,Nowoczesne-centrum-obslugi-klientow-paszportowych-i-cudzoziemcow-w-Dolnoslaskim-.html> [accessed 15 April 2020]

⁶⁹ Dolnośląski Urząd Wojewódzki <https://duw.pl/pl/urzad/projekty-realizowane-pr/unia-europejska-fundusz/14621,Integracja-adaptacja-akceptacja-Wsparcie-obywateli-panstw-trzecich-zamieszkalych.html> [accessed 15 April 2020]

⁷⁰ Keryk, p.32.

⁷¹ Chołodowski, M., ‘Prezydenci polskich miast chcą współpracować przeciw wykluczeniu cudzoziemców’ in *Gazeta Wyborcza Białystok*, 30 June 2017 <https://bialystok.wyborcza.pl/bialystok/7,35241,22032123,migracje-prezydenci-chca-wspolpracowac-przeciw-wykluczeniu.html> [accessed 5 April 2020].

⁷² Klaver, J., Piłat, A., Potkańska, D. and Sitko, A., *Local Responses to the Refugee Crisis: Reception and Integration* (Warsaw: Instytut Spraw Publicznych, 2016), p. 33; Stefańska, p. 9.

⁷³ Grabowska, Kaczmarczyk, Slany, White, p. 220.

years. On the occasion of the Day of Solidarity with Refugees in 2016, for example, demonstrations were organized by Bread and Salt in 25 locations across Poland⁷⁴, and the appeal to participate was signed by hundreds of institutions and organizations.

In Wrocław in 2016, Marek, an activist and academic, confirmed that 'people working with refugees today were all abroad at some stage'.⁷⁵ One of the prominent examples of the programme directed at migrants living in the Lower Silesian region initiated by the local self-government is the Wrocław-based project 'Wielokulturowy Wrocław' [Multicultural Wrocław]. It is a city project implemented by the Wrocław Center for Social Development (WCSD), a unit of the Municipal Office of Wrocław, striving to achieve 'a vision of the community of various residents of our city who live in mutual respect'.⁷⁶ Some of their main initiatives include the information and activity points for migrants called 'WroMigrant' and the platform of workshops and trainings on various aspects of life in Wrocław for working migrants called 'ABC Wrocław'. In the information points 'WroMigrant' the migrants are advised on the legalization process of work and stay, the procedure of obtaining the PESEL (Polish identification) number, finding accommodation and registering their stay in Wrocław. It is also possible to receive the consultation on healthcare, education system and the offer of Polish language courses in the city. Additionally, the 'WroMigrant' points provide the information about workshops and trainings, where one can acquire practical skills needed in everyday situations in Poland. Another project run by the WCSD is 'ABC Wrocław', a platform of workshops and trainings on various aspects of life in Wrocław offered to employees of international companies having their headquarters in Wrocław. The aim of the workshops is to facilitate integration with the inhabitants of Wrocław and to raise the knowledge of foreigners in the area of local principles of social coexistence, Polish culture, tradition, law and security. The offer is directed to companies cooperating with the Wrocław Social Development Center and the Agency for the Development of the Wrocław Agglomeration (ARAW) within the framework of the so-called Security Platform.

The biggest NGO working with migrants in Lower Silesia is 'Fundacja Ukraina' ['Ukraine Foundation']. The foundation works 'with people and for people in the unforced multicultural climate of Wrocław Cultural events'⁷⁷, providing information support and educational and social activities since 2013. The Foundation offers, among other projects, the information point for foreigners (InfoCUKR) on giving consultations regarding the legalization of stay and work, ways of seeking work/housing, health care and insurance, integration with the local community, daily life in Poland, adaptation in a new place. Another example of the project run by the foundation is named 'reSTART'. It is the result of

⁷⁴ Klaver, Piłat, Potkańska and Sitko, p. 33.

⁷⁵ Grabowska, Kaczmarczyk, Slany, White, p. 222.

⁷⁶ Wielokulturowy Wrocław (Multicultural Wrocław), Municipality of the City of Wrocław <<https://www.wielokultury.wroclaw.pl/en/homepage/>> [accessed 4 April 2020].

⁷⁷ Fundacja Ukraina (Ukraine Foundation) <<https://fundacjaукраина.eu/?lang=en>> [accessed 3 April 2020].

establishing cross-sectoral cooperation between non-governmental organizations, local government authorities and business for the intercultural integration of migrants from third countries with the host society. The project offers stationary integration courses 'Poland - my place', Polish language courses, job fairs for migrants, interactive integration meetings, mobile administrative and legal consulting points in Lower Silesia.

Among other Lower Silesian organizations that are actively involving the migrants in their projects and activities are the Stowarzyszenie Różnorodności Społecznej 'UP-DATE' [Association of Social Diversity 'UP-DATE'], Fundacja 'Diversja' (Foundation 'Diversja'), Stowarzyszenie Edukacji Krytycznej (Association of Critical Education) and Stowarzyszenie 'Nomada' ('Nomada' Association). 'Multicultural Wrocław — locally and globally' is a series of various educational classes run by the Association of Social Diversity 'UP-DATE' which includes multicultural school for local leaders, a series of workshops of intercultural competences in the field of counteracting stereotypes, prejudices, discrimination and hate speech, and the movie discussion club 'Faces of Diversity'.⁷⁸ The main organizer of Human Library in Poland (since 2007) is the Foundation 'Diversja' based in Wrocław. Human Library⁷⁹ is an educational method that uses the language of the library to allow respectful conversations that can positively influence people's attitudes and behavior towards those people in the community who are at risk of exclusion and marginalization due to their origin, skin color, beliefs, sexual orientation, profession, religion.⁸⁰ The International Mosaic Club run by the Association for Critical Education aims at providing informal Polish language meetings to foreigners combined with a number of integration support activities (e.g. gardening and cooking classes).⁸¹ 'Nomada' is a human rights organization with the focus on immigrants, foreigners and ethnic or religious minorities. The organization provides assistance to migrants during their visits to the Provincial Office, Municipal Office or Civil Registry Office. Depending on the case, 'Nomada' experts also support migrants during court hearings, at the Police or at the Border Guard. The organization also provides legal advice to persons who are in detention, who have acquired an obligation to return to their country of origin, as well as those seeking international protection in Poland.

4.2. People interviewed in the country study

Twelve people took part in the Polish part of the survey. Two of them are Poles who have migrated abroad several times to Ireland and the United Kingdom for work purposes (respectively). The remaining ten people live and work in Poland and come from: China (1 person), Ukraine (5 persons), Turkey (1 person), USA (1 person), Russian Federation (1 person) and Great Britain (1 person). Among the interview partners there were four men and

⁷⁸ Stowarzyszenie Różnorodności Społecznej 'UP-DATE' <<https://up-date.org.pl/>> [accessed 3 April 2020].

⁷⁹ Żywa Biblioteka <<http://zywabiblioteka.pl/>> [accessed 3 April 2020].

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Stowarzyszenie Edukacji Krytycznej <<http://edukacjakrytyczna.pl/english/>> [accessed 3 April 2020].

eight women, aged 25 to 65 years. For four people, employment in another country is temporary, for the remaining eight - permanent and regular. Interview partners have worked or are currently working in different industries: two people are involved in cleaning private homes, offices and medical clinics, two people have worked in the catering industry, one in construction, two people are working as English teachers in private language schools and are involved in the proofreading of English texts, one person is self-employed as an intercultural trainer, the rest are employees of large companies in the IT, international trade and public relations sectors. Only three people in this group have no higher education. This study involved people not only from different countries, but also with different social positions, types of work and different life experiences.

Even in this relatively small sample, it is reflected that Poland is visited by people doing the simplest, physical work, as well as by white-collar and skilled workers. However, it should be noted that in the case of the two people teaching English, this is possible because they are "native speakers" and not because of their previous pedagogical education. In other words, social advancement has been achieved here mainly due to migration and Anglo-Saxon origin, rather than through prior specialization. This does not mean, however, that the phenomenon of attracting specialists to Poland does not occur. More and more often, from the countries of Eastern Europe, but also from India, China and the Far East, white-collar and skilled workers migrate to Poland. Additionally, there are those who, after obtaining higher education in Poland, stay here to work in white collar jobs, as exemplified by people interviewed from Ukraine, China or Russia.

However, one cannot fail to notice both in the study and in reality the over-representation of working migrants from Ukraine. The political and economic situation in Ukraine, the war with pro-Russian separatists and Russia, the weakness of social welfare, low wages and other factors drive Ukrainians to emigrate. Poland geographic proximity, as well as the simultaneous cultural and linguistic proximity of Poles and Ukrainians (especially those from Western Ukraine who speak Ukrainian), common historical roots and an open visa policy contribute to the fact, that Ukrainians currently constitute over 50% of migrants in Poland. However, as already mentioned, there is no absence of migrants from different parts of the world. In recent years Poland has become one of the most attractive countries for labour migrants in the whole EU. In 2019 the largest number of workers from all countries of the community came to Poland for work purposes.

Considering the above, the group of participants was linguistically, culturally and economically diverse, with an overrepresentation of Ukrainians and workers from Eastern Europe - which to some extent reflects and corresponds to the reality and data concerning migrants in Poland.

Contacts with interview partners were established after the recommendation of the gatekeeper involved. It should be noted that the biggest challenge was to obtain permission to conduct interviews. In all cases the people with whom the interviews were conducted were recruited by a gatekeeper, who for the IPs is a trustworthy person and who has some relations with them. This approach was necessary, as few would agree to tell their story (even anonymously) and take the time to spend with a stranger, especially as migrants, who may feel "strange" and insecure already being away from home. In accordance with the research methodology chosen for this study, all interviews were conducted as narrative-biographical interviews focused on the experience of labour migration and the needs resulting from living and working abroad. All interviews lasted on average 60 minutes.

In most cases, we contacted interview partners via telephone, after obtaining their numbers with their consent. I contacted some IPs via the messenger service of a social network, also after a prior recommendation by a gatekeeper. It was most difficult to reach people employed in the construction sector and seasonal workers (e.g. those working in agriculture or catering). Attempts to establish contact were unsuccessful due to the nature of work and lifestyle of this professional group. They did not find the opportunity to make an appointment in their free time (usually only on Sundays) for an interview. Most of the conversations took place in cafés, in convenient places and times for the IPs, usually after work. Three conversations took place in IPs houses. Half of the conversations took place in English, four in Polish, two in Polish with numerous interjections in Ukrainian. The study focuses on the residents of one region of Poland - Lower Silesia.

4.3. Central findings from the material

4.3.1 Educational Demands (content)

Education is generally considered to play a key role in the process of adaptation of migrants to a new environment, a new culture, and also supports the establishment of social relationships. As mentioned above, the vast majority of the interview partners completed their formal education at university level, most of them took part in various forms of non-formal education, for example sports, music, theatre and language courses.

It is also worth noting that the formal education systems from early childhood to higher education differ, and often substantially. Therefore, the educational background of people from Ukraine, the United States, China or the EU is different and thus their educational needs may be expressed differently. This also applies to cultural or religious experiences. This can affect educational needs, especially those that help people to participate consciously and actively in society in their new home. Deep cultural and systemic differences, e.g. between Poland and China, may give rise to different educational needs than the cultural and social convergence which in many aspects exist between Poles and Ukrainians or EU residents. Similar attention should be paid to non-formal education. Most

of the IPs did not come across informal learning during their educational process (or they experienced non-systemic activities they did not identify as non-formal education). This may make it difficult to identify educational needs and forms of education that would respond to these needs.

As people working and living in a country other than their country of origin, they directly or most often indirectly point out the following educational needs in their stories.

Language

One of the most important issues raised by the IPs is the matter of knowledge of the Polish language. The Polish language, due to its grammatical complexity, and especially its inflexibility, is considered difficult to master. Ignorance of the Polish language hinders functioning in Poland, but not enough to force the necessity to learn. In everyday life it is a useful skill, but not essential. Lack of knowledge of the Polish language causes difficulties in everyday life, e.g. while shopping, moving around the city or dealing with official matters. Of course, it excludes from many areas of life, but the IPs live "in their bubbles". They are surrounded by people of the same origin or people of migrant origin. Only a small part of the respondents make friends with people of Polish nationality, who communicate in social situations mainly in Polish in the presence of the respondents. Interestingly, other experiences have been gained by the Poles who, in the country of emigration, freely established relationships with Irish or British people, as well as with other migrants. This was due to the good or medium level proficiency in English, at a level enabling communication.

Of course, the affinity of Polish and Slavic languages makes it much easier for people speaking these languages to learn Polish, at least at a communicative level:

„First, I tried to translate and write in Russian, for example, no? Because Ukraine is bilingual, I am from a more Russian-speaking region. I also speak Ukrainian, but as if the first language of communication was Russian, no? So I tried, but I didn't keep up with it, did I? So I started writing in Polish. I think that moments like this throw into the deep end really give a lot.” (IP2, Ukrainian nationality, female)

Ukrainians are able to "learn" Polish in speech and in a way that allows them to communicate only through work and contact with Poles, even without participating in any form of language education. For many of them, such a level will be sufficient - the language is no longer a barrier for them, and some of them will soon learn Polish at a level similar to, or even not different from, native speakers of Polish. At the same time, this does not mean that it is an easy process:

„I just learned from practice, from people. And it was hard, come on. I didn't know which stop to get in, which one to get out. God, how hard it was. You had to learn by

yourself and ask people. (...) The Polish and Ukrainian languages are very similar to each other, if you want to learn, you will learn.” (IP5, Ukrainian nationality, female)

„I thought it would be a huge challenge, that I don't know the language and so on, but I managed, I don't know, in two or three months' time I was already there... uh... that language, that I understood everything they say and I read books there.” (IP4, Ukrainian nationality, female)

„For me, it's absolutely must have to learn the language. I'm not living in the country without speaking the language. I have to go for a class. I was watching polish cartoon when I was a kid. When I was a kid, I had a Polish television. So I was like hearing the language. And actually it has 60 percent similarities to Ukrainian. So 60 percent absolutely clear for me I need to study only those 40, which is kind of complicated. Yes, I have the impact of Ukrainian language and mostly my trouble is that Russians, Ukrainian and Polish, they have like one letter difference in the word. And sometimes I'm like. I need to say something in Polish and I have three options in my head and I don't know which one is Polish.” (IP12, Ukrainian nationality, female)

It is also worth noting that due to the complexity of Polish and the fact that relatively few foreigners know Polish, Poles generally like, appreciate and help in any attempt to speak their language by foreigners. This can encourage people to speak and learn Polish:

„Then I already started speaking Polish and I just remember that I liked that they encouraged me to speak Polish, they also said that: 'You're cool, cool, great, don't be afraid' and so on, so... uh... I quickly managed to break through this, this barrier, or... uh... or something, because, uh... uh... they were very positive that I'm saying something, even if I was wrong, this, this, this, this, this is what Poles probably like to be said to them [laughing], no, this, [breathing], so they preferred to...uh... better with mistakes in Polish than in English, for example.” (IP4)

The needs related to the level of knowledge of a given foreign language will depend on the type of work performed, willingness and commitment to social life or plans for the future (e.g. the decision to stay permanently in the country of migration). Partaking in social life can be a strong motivator to learn the language of the country of destination, as one interview partners narration shows:

„I went to Polish lessons with a lady who wasn't making any money, right? After school. I don't know, she was a Polish teacher somewhere. So after some time, I was more able to speak and understand, I started to get a better understanding of the situation itself, of the things that were appearing here. Yes, I went to these studies without knowing how to write in Polish yet. I already talked like that, I understood, but the studies, you know, it's not a bazaar, right? You need a little more there, no? Well, it was like throwing yourself in the deep end.” (IP2)

The opposite will be true for people from outside the circles of Slavic languages, especially from outside Europe, where there is no common denominator, which for European languages would be, for example, Latin and Greek:

„I definitely experienced a setback because I found it difficult to communicate with people because I couldn't understand when they spoke. [...] "So it created a situation where I can speak better than I could understand rather than the other way around. But but I [...] kind of freaked out about that because, like, I should be better at this. I went to school and everything like that. But once I stopped caring about that, I stopped caring about that for a while, I noticed that I was getting better. So it's evened out quite a bit." (IP9, American nationality, male)

„However, if there was some sort of official or semi-official place where I said, okay, if you want to learn polish up to this level, if you want to deal with things in an official manner, for example, dealing with anything to do with health, dealing with anything to do with the officials, perhaps just a basic intro into Polish, it would be nice because at the moment it exists, but you have to pay for it." (IP10, British nationality, male):

In the case of Poles who migrate for work, it is crucial for them to know the language of the country to which they are migrating. In the case of IPs who took part in this study, this language was English - one person worked in Ireland, the other in the UK. The prevalence of English in today's world and its compulsory study at Polish schools mean that basic proficiency of English is present in most cases, however, not always so:

„and that's when the first contact with such a reality began. I was very scared because I didn't speak English well at the time, but at that time it was such golden years of Ireland, so it was no problem to find any job,..." (...)

„The work was also intense and hard, because I did not know the language. This language was something traumatic when you enter a foreign country and do not know the language. And it was hard. Because you were stressed out by all this. Well, sometimes he did the same thing twice or three times, because he didn't know if he was doing well. But the Irish were very patient and could sometimes explain what to do like as a cow on a ditch. Well, that's how it looked." (IP1, Polish nationality, male)

Sometimes the assumed language skills are only verified abroad and in the new workplace. It often happens that one's own idea of the level of language proficiency turns out to be false, when a foreign language has to be used at work, in an office, when dealing with formalities connected with legalization of stay, in a bank or other stressful situations. Apart from stress, accent and English dialects can play a role:

"It's as if my English wasn't bad, but it seems to me that it's always difficult to get English from any non-English speaking country in a collision with English in an English

speaking country. But the first school of life were these flowers. The whole plant was run by a family from Pakistan, who had already lived there from the second generation, I suspect. But because of this, on account of the accent, it was very often quite difficult for us to understand. I suspect them, and I suspect them, and I suspect us.” (...)

„For a long time, as if since that last stay in England, I haven't had much contact, I mean, with English, in fact none, with British English. And for me those first two weeks in Oxford, when people spoke to me, I had the impression that they were speaking in some totally foreign language. Especially since I met people not only from Oxford, there are also a lot of people from the North of England in Oxford, which is already a cosmos when it comes to accent, so I was most afraid of this conversation.” (IP3, Polish nationality, female)

In the case of difficulties which do not result from a lack of knowledge of a foreign language (e.g. at communicative level) but from stress, unfamiliarity (lack of listening) with a given accent, etc., the behaviour of the person(s) being talked to plays a huge role. The patience of native speakers and the attention they pay to what and how they communicate makes it very easy for foreigners. This does not mean, however, that they do not feel the need to learn the language better. Many interview partners shared experiences relating to the impact of working migrants social environment in their language learning and their learning experience in everyday context:

„I mean, I was afraid, I didn't have, well, well, I was afraid during this conversation that I just wouldn't understand what they were saying to me and I would look like an idiot, just. But I went to that conversation and it was so loose in there: 'Hi! Hi! Hi.' And I said right at the beginning: 'Sorry, I may not understand, because if it's not a question of English for me, it's an accent, so if what, I'll ask you to repeat it.' But as if the crew had tried and really tried to speak quite calmly, slowly and clearly. And I went to work there.” (...)

„Because, as if the language was the key to everything again. If there's information available in a language you know, then, well, if you can read with understanding, that's a lot. And in England it is like that, but very often you have to learn to look for it and yet start this search in English.” (IP 3)

„I don't know if I hear this word. OK. I know the meaning. But before hearing, I was like, no clue.” (...)

„And I was grateful to my Polish colleagues who were speaking to each other in Polish, and it was like, you know, listening, because this everyday conversation is totally different than the one you actually study, this term slangs. Some sayings, the quotation from movies is different.” (IP12)

„...but I am happy that I didn't really need a translation because policemen didn't maybe use that difficult Polish words to speak up that fast. So I was understanding what he was saying I was able to answer. So this one and half a year of Polish studies gives some results.” (IP11, Russian nationality, male)

„because it's I find it hard to understand Polish people when they're speaking normally. And I'm always saying: Please repeat it a little slower. And I don't want to make them repeat the same thing 50 times.” (IP8, Turkish nationality, female)

However, it is important to remember that learning the language of the country of residence is not just a choice, but very often is the only solution for pressing problems. There are many situations in which working migrants try to function in a foreign country without knowing the language, but in the long run this proves almost impossible and deprives them of the opportunities for better work, social activities or receiving the necessary medical and legal assistance. Finally, which is a truism, a person who does not know the language of the majority can be more easily discriminated against and exploited. As it is vital to working migrants inclusion in the country of destinations society, language learning for migrants should be supported by local/national authorities/programmes/NGOs etc. The experiences interview partners related with regards to the effects of the language barrier demonstrate, how many aspects of migrants lives are impacted by their language proficiency:

“So if it was possibly subsidized or not so expensive, which I know, I know it's not an easy thing to organize. I would certainly have taken advantage of that because at the moment it's very much up to the individual. You're going to live in Poland. It's up to you to learn Polish. That's something which is which I think could be very helpful to many people. Because even if I'm trying to speak Polish. Even though. Yes. I'm not speaking Polish, but I have to immensely concentrate on what they are saying to me and what I should say to them. So in many cases, it's worse when people are speaking Polish. When there's a group of my wife's friends, for example, not many of them speak English. Those that do, I don't dislike them.” (IP10)

“... generally, of course, not knowing Polish was a problem at the beginning, but a very big problem in young doctors hospitals. And I'm a nightmare because sometimes really it is hard to find the English speaking that there or I don't know, I never tried. But if I need to find a police officer, I have no idea how to communicate with them either.” (IP8)

“...because, sometimes when they (work colleague) speak in Polish, I'm not able to participate. And now I work in a small company and it's much better. Also because they are trying to speak English all the time.” (IP7, Chinese nationality, female).

IPs are well aware of the above, already after their arrival in Poland, most of the respondents started learning Polish at courses or language school. However, they gave up

learning after about a year on average, without seeing any significant progress. People of Ukrainian origin in most cases studied Polish on their own. They also learned English in Ireland and Great Britain. Some even learned Polish before coming to work or study, but some Ukrainians believe that the language similarities are enough to acquire Polish at a basic level. It is worth noting that for some people coming to Poland, knowledge of English, not Polish, as a working language is crucial and in this respect they also show a need for education and improvement. Having an English workplace certainly weakens learning motivation and makes learning Polish more difficult. People who have to work in a Polish-speaking workplace or work with people who communicate in Polish, on the one hand, have to learn the language, on the other hand, it happens by ear, because language is their working tool.

To sum it up, it should be recognised that regardless of the type of work they do, their education, their permanent stay abroad, their activity in social life, etc. learning the language of the country to which they emigrated is a need for all IPs. Without knowledge of the language, work, everyday life and formalities, social and cultural life are very difficult, often incomplete and frustrating. There will be different needs in terms of language learning and the form in which this process is to take place. Certainly, such a process must take into account the expectations of migrants, the mode of work, financial possibilities, etc., in short, it must be adapted to the learners.

Formalities/legalization of staying

As a member of the EU, Poland shares a supranational framework governing legal aspects of working migration. Poland's border to the east is also the EU and Schengen area border. Migrants from EU countries due to the EU internal market and freedom of movement within the territory do not have to worry about issues related to legalization of stay to the same degree as third state citizens. This does not mean, however, that they do not encounter formal and administrative difficulties related to staying and working in Poland. A completely different case, presents itself for people from outside the EU. The sharp increase in the number of migrants in recent years has caused the Polish migrant service system to prove unprepared and inefficient. This leads to working migrants making negative experiences with the institutions administrating these rules:

*"Fuc**** Voivodship Office, number one. First and foremost, for all the reasons why fuc* the Voivodeship Office, they do not make it easy for foreigners. There is a law, I think that was passed in 2013, that actually made it harder for foreigners to get some sort of residency permit. The process is too long and the office is too fickle about what they'll accept for the paperwork. It's a long, drawn out process, I know now that it takes about over a year to get a residency permit for somebody. I tried applying for it once and*

I didn't get it. But it was it was a typical back and forth where I was trying to, you know, they reject my application. Then I tried to give them what they asked for.” (IP 9)

Poland in the first decade of the 21st century was still not very attractive for economic migrants. The situation changed dramatically, especially after 2014, the constant growth of working migrants and the growing number of foreigners wanting to live permanently in Poland have become the norm. In 2019, Poland received the largest number of migrants in the whole EU, which is a stark change compared to a few years back, not to mention the post-communist reality of the 1990s, when the number of migrants was marginal.

The lack of systematic preparation of Poland for receiving and administrating such a large number of migrants results in problems with legalization of the stay and sometimes long waiting periods for all formalities to be completed. In the vast majority of cases, the processing is done in Polish (there are officials providing service to migrants in other languages, but these services are confined to English or Russian). The lacking infrastructure for accomodating migrants results in a lack of communication in offices and adequate, reliable information in migrants' languages. The legalization process and its length have a grave impact on working migrants lives abroad:

“Well, but now it's even worse, because I thought I was going to work in one place, I won't change my job, I'll get it faster... uh... this card, but it's been a year since September, and I haven't gotten any writing, no information yet.” (...)

“I'd really like them (family members) to come, to work normally... uh... so that they're not afraid of the police, the border guards.” (IP 6, Ukrainian nationality female)

Without knowing the Polish language and procedures, it's actually impossible to take care of all the formalities. This means having to hire a translator, ask for help from a Polish-speaking person or hire an agency to help with the legalization process. Many migrants do not have this possibility due to financial reasons. The cost of hiring an agency is about 4000 PLN (900 Euro), which is impossible to pay for seasonal workers or those working in a shuttle system. Various interview partners related their experiences with such agencies:

„And so they will call in special agents. They have such a service that they help you with the documents, they assist you with the going to the Office. They have been holding your hand and I was like: 'maybe I should also do it'. And we're going to do it. Yes. I'm so grateful I did it. It's expensive. You can buy a car. Seriously. 4000. Only for the registration. But I received my card in few months. And then I saw my colleagues who are waiting for like one year and year and a half. And I was like, the best decision. Doesn't matter how much does it cost. But really, I was able to travel.” (IP12)

„Well, I'd hire some advisory, like. People could do things for me. I gave them money and they went with me to [institutions office]. Because it's easier and faster. Just to

apply it to find a place and find a visit time. So I applied in January. Then again went to Russia to get a new visa so I can leave, leave Poland. To travel and everything. So now I still have a visa. And my card is almost prepared. I hope to get it July and maybe August. If I were lucky enough.” (IP11)

The immigration administration creates the need to either hire an agency or face legal limbo for a long period of time. This creates discrimination on the basis of financial and social status. Only qualified employees can usually afford to hire an agency. However, even the help of an agency is not a guarantee that the whole process will be completed quickly. Working migrants have to face other institutions, too, which further complicates the difficult way of legalizing the stay at the beginning. Additionally, the marketing of legalization further complicates the process:

„You know, these agencies trying to charge money for help with them. People go into the Provincial Office, taking tickets online and then selling them. And it's like it's like, what is this, Ukraine? It's I thought we were in the EU. This shouldn't be allowed to happen. And I think a better structure for foreigners needs to exist here. I think that's...that's...that's our goal number one.” (IP9)

Legalisation is the most stressful factor for foreigners. In the case of non-EU nationals, the process of legalisation of residence and the "state of suspension", which can be prolonged by up to one or two years, causes great difficulties in movement, or completely excludes this possibility. This, of course, has a significant impact on the well-being of migrants, their mental condition, wellbeing, and often also their wallets. It is incomprehensible to most respondents that the legalization process takes so long and seems to be very complicated. This is one of the main topics of conversation in migrant communities, everyone knows various stories about the difficulties in legalizing the stay of a person from abroad. It is a bit easier for people who have Polish partners/friends to admit that all official matters are dealt with by them:

„And actually the also the big problem for me was legalization, so the documents, and I was really grateful for my friends who told me like. I don't know, everything is in Polish. And my documents are in Polish...” (IP12)

On the other hand, Polish respondents pointed to the ease of legalising their stay in the UK and Ireland. They stressed that officials are sympathetic to migrant workers and try to find a solution, including on communication and language issues.

Several people pointed out that an education and information campaign is needed to support migrants with the legalization process. However, one of the IPs directly said that this is not enough and the only solution would be to take legal action against the authorities.

Cultural education

The needs of the broadly defined culture and access to it are very individual in nature, as opposed to, for example, language or formal issues, which equally affect everyone. Although this is a truism, different people have different cultural needs and these do not depend on the place or country in which they live and work. Those who have participated in the cultural life in their homelands will likely also look for a similar cultural life in the place to which they emigrated. Similarly, a passive attitude towards culture, lack of activity in the country of origin, will mean a passive attitude during migration. People striving for contact with culture in its broadest sense will almost always find it, depending on themselves and their determination. One IP's narration specifically reflects the importance of a proactive approach to culture and cultural education:

„There was no library, it was a very small town. And the neighbour had a harlequin in her house, right? Such books about love, no? And those were the first books I read in Polish. And there were moments when they were either funny: 'Oh, mother, I don't know something again,' right? 'I don't know what a reindeer is,' right? And the child has to translate. There were also interesting things, for example, when I asked this teenager if she knows who Lenin is, no? Because, you know, I had, you know, I grew up in a humanistic country, brainwashed by the system, all this... And her: 'Yeah, I know.' Okay, well, then I keep asking, 'Well, then who?' - 'He's a writer. He wrote books for children.' I say, 'Well, he wrote a couple of them, which changed the world a bit,' right?“ (IP2)

In addition to individual needs and preferences, the cultural landscape and its character are crucial. The majority of IPs who took part in the survey and work in Poland lived in a large city, which has a rich and diverse cultural scene, so, in theory, satisfying the cultural needs in this area is not a problem. However, it should be remembered, that the majority of events are in Polish, and there are few minority events in other languages (which are predominantly in English and Ukrainian). Therefore, the lack of language skills will make it much more difficult to take advantage of the cultural offer and may be a decisive factor for exclusion from cultural activities.

On the other hand, paradoxically, English-speaking migrants in Poland very often satisfy their cultural needs through events in English. Thus, they may not find additional motivation to learn Polish, since such an important sphere of cultural needs is to some extent satisfied by the internationalism of English and the availability of culture in this language:

„No, I don't feel like I'm lacking something in this perspective. Maybe, maybe some more shops with English books. I don't really need a Russian books, but English yes“ (IP11)

„Things like the Polish film for beginners, you know, get people interested in Polish music, in Polish films and stuff like that. Make it accessible in English. Sure. You know, whatever language is spoken. It would be, it would be nice. So some cultural events.“ (IP9)

In other words, people who do not speak English with strong cultural needs may be more motivated to learn Polish. It should be noted that migrants are usually interested in the diversity of the country they came to in search of work. Unfortunately, Polish literature, film and traditions are very limited for people who do not know Polish. Or at least that is the feeling of the IPs. Again, people from Ukraine will be privileged because of the similarities between Polish and Ukrainian:

„I tried to go to a movie like Polish movies, like twice for months at least to watch, but watching for me is not the problem. I understand like 80%, even more.” (IP12)

A very interesting theme is the area of traditions characteristic for Poland, especially those related to religious holidays. Migrants show considerable interest in Polish customs, but at the same time they realize that without Polish friends or family, the chance to participate in the traditional Polish Christmas Eve is very limited. There is a lack of initiatives that facilitate contact between migrants and Poles and enable migrants to learn about Polish traditions.

Finally, it should be remembered that working migrants very often do not have time for any participation in culture. Many of the IPs try to make the most of their stay abroad and often work long hours each day, sometimes for six or seven days a week. This means that they do not have time to participate in cultural activities. During the breaks from work they mainly rest and take care of the most urgent things. The life of those who have started families abroad or settled permanently and work the standard +/- 40 hours a week is often slightly different. More free time translates into potential participation in the cultural life:

„So, of course, we were going out, there were also parties like that, some kind of cinema. To the theatre, I don't really know if I was.” (IP3)

Intercultural learning

Globalisation has unified many social behaviours, but this does not mean that there are no differences between individual communities and countries even within the same cultural sphere. Hence, the constant crossing of borders is associated with a change of environment and the necessity to orient oneself in a new place. For many migrants, going in search of a job is the first time they travel abroad at all, they have no experience in travelling and living in foreign countries, so especially at the beginning, being a migrant is an overwhelming experience and causes stress, especially when knowledge about the country of destination is heavily impacted by stereotypes and prejudices:

„Well, I don't know, we Ukrainians, we're so taught that we still think they can lie to us.” (IP5)

The habits, the way of behaviour, the culture of bondage and the functioning of the new society to which migrants are sent are often incomprehensible to them, even in such simple aspects as different ways of preparing the same dishes, celebrating the same holidays or shopping:

„For the first time I tried to cook it, just like employers do... mm... and, uh... what I cooked for the first time, I remember golabki, but they were so small that you were surprised, (refers to All Saints' Day) Lights, flowers, heather... Uh... chrysanthemums... uh... Yes, I saw... uh... cool, cool, really cool. They're trying, they're trying on Western Ukraine, well, it's not working out that way yet, we're still working too.” (IP6)

„And I remember, I remember grocery shopping being challenging because it's easy to get lost in grocery stores here. Like things aren't well-marked in most grocery stores. And I get lost in grocery stores anyway when they are. So it doesn't really matter.” (IP9)

An interesting example is given by an Ukrainian woman (IP2) who, after starting her office work in one of the accounting companies, was not sure of her behaviour in the workplace, not knowing which behaviour is accepted and which is not. It should be remembered that the new environment, in the new country and the new working conditions disrupt the repetitiveness and predictability, the routing that people are often used to through being brought up, learning, working and living in one and the same place in their home country. Change tears people out of the zone of comfort, routine and safety. This loss during the intercultural transition, coupled with lacking knowledge about the country of destination, can reinforce the feeling of isolation. However, change can mean new opportunities, a change in lifestyle and status, which is what most working migrants strive for:

„Look, you have your lifestyle. Already arranged for years. And then you have to change it. And it takes time to reconsider. OK. I need to shop. Not at night. OK. Somehow differently, then I found an apartment which is close to my office. And I don't need to use public transportation. And like now I bought the bike, so I'm cycling. And like 10 minutes, so I used to spend like two hours per day to commute. Now I have like in total 20 minutes. So I get two extra hours so I can go to the gym and I receive the multisport card. So it's free of charge. Whoo hoo! Let's do it.” (IP12)

Another woman of Ukrainian origin describes the everyday differences between COD and COO with regards to public transport:

„I immediately liked the fact that there is some kind of application, how to get there, no, because in Ukraine, for example, there is no such thing and I was delighted that there are timetables, not that if I come to a stop, then.... uh... I know what time this tram, bus and so on will arrive there, where it will arrive, because there's nothing like that in Ukraine to this day and for example you're waiting for a...marshmallow, I don't know, ko...you know, don't you? that you're just waiting, it will arrive, it won't come, it won't come, and that's it, [laughs]. You stand and wait, sometimes 5 minutes, sometimes an hour, no, so...uh... in that respect, I was pleasantly surprised.” (IP4)

Most of the IPs stressed that their knowledge about Poland before their arrival was low or nonexistent. An exception are those interview partners of Ukrainian origin, especially those

from Western Ukraine, who had prior contact with Polish culture through television and Polish programmes broadcast there.

On the other hand, intercultural knowledge cannot be learnt in most cases, it is knowledge and skills that are acquired en passant, during work, contacts with people, doing everyday activities such as shopping, moving around, spending free time, etc.

It is worth noting that due to the Second World War and the new order after its end, Poland became one of the most homogenous countries in the world. This started to change only in recent years due to a mass influx of migrants from all over the world. However, many people who migrated in search of work in Western European countries met not only with German, French or British otherness, but also with other cultures and people from different countries who, being migrants themselves, form diasporas in new places of residence. In such international migrant communities it is very often easier for working migrants to find themselves, as all their peers are from somewhere, and all focus on work and have similar goals:

„It was also such an interesting experience that you could get to know different people, not only the natives, i.e. the Irish, but also Slovaks, Czechs, people of different faiths, Hinduism for example. Or we had a Lord who was from Mauritius. It was such an interesting experience that even though everyone came from somewhere, from strange countries, everyone focused on this work and here it was, there were no conflicts, right?“ (IP₁)

Finding oneself in a new environment and understanding a different culture and way of life depends on one's individual attitude and willingness to integrate and learn about the new place, as one interview partner points out:

„I just wanted to integrate, I wanted to learn the language, to understand the country, the breath of tradition, so I took the breath from the very beginning to go to parties somewhere where Poles were, and so on... and... yy I was just trying to go as much as possible and at college I was just trying to approach people, to talk and so on, so I decided, well, it was a conscious decision.“ (IP₄)

Intercultural competences in the workplace are a very important skill discussed in the material. Often the work culture, the adopted norms of behaviour, are different from those that the interlocutors had to deal with before. This applies to the behaviour of co-workers, as, for example, is described by a Pole, working for several years in Ireland. At his workplace in Ireland, jokes or comments of a xenophobic or racist nature were unthinkable, a contrast to his experience with Polish workplaces. The same aspect is also pointed out by a Pole, working in the UK, who, after returning to Poland, experienced a shock when in a large company in an open space, she heard racist comments from her co-workers, about which the rest of them laughed.

On the other side, are the universal cultural codes that apply in the corporate environment, large companies to which skilled workers coming from abroad are already most often prepared and accustomed. At the same time, adapting to local realities takes a lot of time, building a network of contacts to facilitate movement in the existing reality is a long-term process.

Meeting educational demands in the area of intercultural education, learning intercultural competences should take place as soon as possible after arrival in COD. It would be worthwhile for working migrants to have the opportunity to learn about local customs, cultural codes, traditions and rules of the workplace. At the same time it is this knowledge that is most often gained through experience. However equipping migrants with a basic package of knowledge about COD culture will strengthen their sense of security, confidence, ability to adapt to new situations.

Vocational training (teaching skills, professional skills).

One of the most pressing problems of people going to work abroad for work reasons is that they are often confined to taking low-paid jobs that do not require particular competence and qualifications. Migrants go to countries with a comparatively better economic and labour market situation, regardless of whether they know the COD or whether they can work in their profession. Although they are skilled workers in their COO (Country of Origin), and very often have completed higher education, their diplomas, certificates and professional experience are not recognized by employers in the COD. Working in the profession migrants are trained for will also usually be prevented by a lack of language skills. Often the process of recognition of a diploma or professional qualifications is so time-consuming and expensive, and in the short term unprofitable, that employees give it up or do not take it at all. The same problem presents itself with regard to language courses:

„...and there aren't enough nurses, and I went there after one job, went there and... uh... Well, I know Polish nurses don't earn much either, but the first ones... uh... this lady... uh... said I have to finish my Polish course.” (IP6)

As described by one of the interview partners, a Ukrainian woman with over twenty years of experience in the nursing profession, it is more profitable for her to clean houses and offices than to pass courses in Poland, including language classes. Although she misses the nursing profession very much and would very much like to be able to work in her field of training. On the other hand, it is possible and often uncomplicated to obtain the required certificate or licence to practice the profession, if one knows the COD, as was the case with a Polish woman, working in the UK (IP3), who easily obtained the required licences for the profession of bartender.

People forced to leave in search of work usually do not have time to learn the language, they have to decide to leave quickly. Labour migration rarely fits into a person's long-term plan

for life, it is rather forced by the surrounding reality, so there is no time to learn the language or acquire the relevant knowledge.

This does not mean that this pattern applies to everyone. For those who are determined to improve their professional situation, the lack of COD language skills is not an obstacle to study or attend vocational courses. As a Ukrainian woman with advanced education in economics admits, the decision to take up postgraduate studies in Polish at a Polish university was difficult and stressful and required a lot of effort. The success of the undertaking owes its own determination and commitment:

„I also saw the post-graduate studies in financial accounting, they were paid for and I asked my mother-in-law to lend me money for it. So yes, I went here to study at the University of Economics, it wasn't called the University yet, but the Academy. And it was a nice moment, because the Internet was just somewhere, I don't know if it was or wasn't. Anyway, you came and I had a nostrified diploma and I had a recognised university and so on.” (IP2)

A special group among the interview partners are the English teachers, who are also native speakers. Formally, they are not required to have any pedagogical competence, but only linguistic knowledge. In the course of the profession, however, it turns out that didactic, pedagogical and mentoring support is needed. In other words, in order to teach a foreign language it is not enough to know the language itself, but specific skills and competences are also required. One of the IPs, coming from the United States, a university graduate with a view to going abroad, obtained a certificate entitling him to teach English as a foreign language. Nevertheless, often in his work as a teacher, he lacks support and understanding of educational processes, which often leads to misunderstandings between student and teacher or teacher and employer. Another respondent, coming from the United Kingdom, who does not have any higher education or any formal pedagogical education and is a teacher of English in Poland learned everything by himself, by a trial and error method and self-evaluation. It noteworthy that when working as a native speaking teacher, he feels as if he is spreading a glass ceiling over himself - not knowing Polish, he cannot work in any other profession, on the other hand, being a native speaking teacher does not require learning Polish, continuing a vicious cycle. Both interlocutors also do translation and proofreading work and have no contact with Polish people in their professional life. In the long run, this can lead to living in increasing isolation and separation from the CODs society. One interview partner describes this problem as follows:

„The first year working here, I have to say, it was more or less about adjusting to living in Poland then adjusting to the job because the training I had taken part in, even though I hadn't paid much attention to it, I had learnt something which wasn't relevant for the job I was doing. [...] So when it comes to working here, I like it and I don't, because of

my lack of qualifications. Because I don't really have any experience in any other kind of industries that are better than what I came from in the UK. Not much else I can do here. So I'm kind of stuck as an English teacher.” (IP10)

To prevent the aforementioned vicious cycles, courses regarding the improvement of qualifications, gaining certificates and permissions, or the implementation of further education courses should be available in languages other than Polish, or closely related to learning Polish/the COD language. Furthermore, it is worth considering the idea of educating about how to obtain recognition of diplomas and professional qualifications in the COD and how to make this knowledge available to migrants in a clear and understandable way and support them on their way to obtain the above.

Legal Knowledge/Labour Law/Taxes

One of the most basic educational needs, which was raised by some of the IPs, is to acquire knowledge of the regulations and functioning of local law: labour, tax, civil and criminal law. This educational need is created by the abuses of migrant workers through their employers. This abuse is possible because of the precarious situation of working migrants abroad, who sometimes have little agency in fighting it:

„There are different situations. People also don't realize that paid work can, uh, can also be very unpleasant because someone doesn't respect our rights. But even the fact that people don't want to fight for their rights somehow is sometimes very unpleasant, that people can make such a situation for themselves. Because they know their rights, they do not demand that they do not know about the fact that the basis is safety at work and that you really deserve some protection, right?” (IP1)

While some knowingly tolerate this abuse, others could be helped by being informed about their workers rights and the health and safety regulations required. What is more, without even basic knowledge of the law, it is very difficult to deal with key administrative and formal issues such as: legalization of residence, finding a job without having to rely on intermediaries, setting up a company, paying taxes, providing health care, renting or buying a flat. And even a very good knowledge of the COD does not mean that it is easy to deal with formalities or move around in areas related to law and regulations. As one interview partner explains:

„It was such a moment too, I remember reading the VAT Act, no? A paragraph there to understand what I have to book somewhere and so on and I just don't understand, no? Because, because it's so complicated and I call my boss and say that: 'Sir, because I read it and I don't understand. It's probably because I don't know Polish very well'. And he says: 'From where? You know, I know Polish well, and I don't understand it either.'[...] I then had several different situations when we really had ZUS checks and it turned out that the explanations we had been given before were unreliable. But then we took their

word for it, we did not take the confirmation paper and we had a lot of problems because of that.” (IP2)

Migrants' unfamiliarity with the law gives rise to abuse by employers or landlords and can drive them to illegal work and lack of other social and welfare safeguards. This in turn leads to uncertainty, frustration or unwillingness of migrants to live permanently in the country where they work. One IP's narration illustrates, to how large an extent legal provisions shape working migrants' lives:

„And this is the law. For me, it's absolutely natural. Because come on, your maternity obligation is social stuff. It's not like you should be kicked out from business because [of it]. Do you dare to have the baby? Yes. It's equal priorities. And here it was like for me, it was absolutely shocking that you never know, will you come back or not? And for me, it was like, why, for God's sake, I will invest in my job, like, educational process, if once I have a baby, there is no chance to come back?” (IP12)

Education in labour law, local law, social and health insurance is essential for the inclusion of work migrants in Poland. The biggest challenge, however, is its form and the issue of availability of knowledge for all concerned, taking into account language, cultural and educational differences.

Personal development/Self-awareness.

For many migrants, personal development is being pushed into the background when they have to work, earn money and deal with problems and everyday life in their new country. Thus, very often the need for self-development is unconscious or not seen as important. On the other hand, for part of the IPs, going to a new country and taking up a new job was a meeting of the need for new experiences and challenges. Therefore, the very process of preparing to leave and live in a new place and the period of adaptation was the realization of this need:

„[...]you prepare yourself for such a trip. You know, emotionally and, you know, mentally, I was focused on adventures, like, it's Europe. It's something new [in] life. It's a nice company. I will have new friends. I was like rather into that. It's a good opportunity to to develop. And I have never regretted it.” (IP12)

One of the IPs has talked about the fact that for people who go abroad in search of work, self-confidence is one of the most important traits, and strengthening self-esteem is extremely important for the process of adaptation in the new workplace and working environment. For part of the IP, personal development and working on oneself, also in terms of mental health, are extremely important. Whether it is a conscious process or a process resulting from the need for a moment and expression of emotions:

„If I look at it now, it is a leap of self-confidence, well, it wasn't a leap, it was so painstakingly worked out. This is also one of the things I see in people who are going through a migration process that if we don't have the right support, in the environment, or professional as well, no? It seems to me that such a feeling of self-confidence, self-esteem, falls somewhere, because these, these, these difficulties are so much, that you don't always see it as just a process of transition, you just see it as your own irreversibility, for example, no? Or the hostility of the environment. Or the whole scale between that, right? So yes, that's where I studied.” (IP2)

Education on this issue may seem like a secondary need, but it is essential for migrants' mental health, well-being, better adaptation and self-development. In the area where the study was conducted, courses focussing on self-development are available in Polish, so they exclude people who do not know this language.

4.3.2. Educational Demands (form of course)

From the interviews conducted with the IPs, one general conclusion can be drawn: different people have very different needs regarding learning contents and the learning process. Some interview partners spoke directly about their learning needs and their self-development, while others did not mention their needs in this area at all and did not specify when, how and where they would like to learn. There is no doubt that the right forms of education for migrants should depend primarily on: the **time** available to those who work (given that they often work more than 8 hours a day and more than 40 hours a week), access to and ability to use **remote learning**, knowledge of the COD's **language**; the **age** of migrants and their **place of residence** - usually people living closer to the centre of the city will have a better chance of benefiting from courses, lessons, workshops etc., which are less available on the periphery.

Time

Time plays a key role in the learning opportunities of migrants. They usually work a lot, sometimes several hours of overtime a day, even on weekends. One of the IPs, a woman of Ukrainian origin, who on average has a day off twice a month (usually Sunday), has no time and no desire for anything else but to rest at home, with a newspaper and in front of the TV. Working from Monday to Saturday, sometimes on Sundays, mainly concerns people working physically, being in the COD temporarily and very often seasonally. They are fully focused on improving their and their family's financial situation in a short period of time, so they do not plan for any professional development, promotion at work or retraining, which involves the acquisition of new skills, qualifications or education.

"Well, the shower and so that nobody talks to me, doesn't talk to me, it's just this kind of work, we actually work 12-14 hours on our feet, sometimes it's like employers offer to make coffee, but sometimes there's so much work at home that... uh... you see, not

enough, not enough time, it's some sandwich eaten on the run, some coffee... Uh... you'll drink and actually 10, 12, 14 hours, we'll go home and it'll just get us tired.” (IP6)

The absolute priority for them is a job, thanks to which they can earn money and satisfy their and their families' basic needs. Most menial work is low paid, which means that migrants have to work more, so that they have no time for anything other than work, including the self-development which would enable them to change their economic position. They are stuck in a loop that is very hard to get out of, given their limited time resources due to work. In addition, working migrants who do not move to the COD permanently from time to time want and need to return to their families in their home countries. During this period they do not earn money, which forces them to intensify their earning and work harder after coming back to the COD.

Employees of large corporations and international companies, on the other hand, have time mainly in the evenings and at weekends. This is an opportunity for them to socialize, practice, pursue their hobbies and relax. In short, their week is also filled with various activities and it is hard for them to find time to learn. This would require them to give up their rest, hobbies or social contacts to some extent. This is cumbersome and very often starting any educational process will depend on individual character traits of a person, such as determination, willingness to sacrifice, willingness to change, perseverance or time management skills.

“So I get two extra hours so I can go to the gym and I receive the multisport card. So it's free of charge. Whoo hoo! Let's do it.” (IP12)

It is much easier if education is a job requirement, e.g. when promotion, change of position or higher earnings require courses, studies or training. In such cases, those migrants working in large corporations, multinational companies or even in the liberal professions are willing to take up educational challenges.

Language

As with free time, the lack of which can be a major obstacle to any form of education, it is also with the degree of knowledge of the CODs language (of course, this does not apply to the language learning itself, in this case its knowledge/absence thereof does not matter). For those who are proficient in Polish to a very good or good degree, de facto there are no limitations as to the forms of education and methods of learning. However, for the vast majority of the interview partners, the educational offer in Polish is not available due to poor or lacking language proficiency. It is worth noting, that some of the respondents have a much better knowledge of Polish passively than actively, therefore when designing educational activities, this aspect should be taken into account. Thus, for example the e-learning form, based on the written word or short video recordings, seems to be more inclusive and accessible for much more people. This does not change the fact, that some of

the persons surveyed, on a daily basis and in interpersonal contacts, speak languages other than Polish (mainly English). Therefore it is worthwhile for the educational format to include the possibility of learning in a foreign language other than Polish. Most people might in such a case prefer English, but in the case of very large minorities, such as Ukrainians in Poland, it would be worth considering forms of education based on the COOs language.

A separate issue is the teaching of the COD language. Without its knowledge, it is impossible to function fully in a given society - to participate in cultural life, take advantage of a much wider job offer, deal with all administrative and formal issues or develop an active social life. Hence, learning the CODs language is crucial. While there is a variety language courses for foreigners offered in each country, they do not always match the opportunities of migrants and do not take all the factors mentioned into account. They are also oriented towards holistic language learning, whereas for some working migrants, the most appropriate courses would be practical language learning, focused on in the communicative dimension.

Place

An important factor influencing the realization of educational needs of working migrants is also the place where educational activities are conducted. The respondents from Poland live in a large city and most of them live on its outskirts, with only some working and living in the centre. Many of the IP's (especially home cleaners and home helpers) work in different locations, often far away from each other, and spend a lot of time moving around. By contrast, most of the activities that would be attractive for the interview partners from an educational point of view take place in central locations in the city, thus they are difficult for the respondents to reach after work. This becomes especially problematic taking into account the growing mobility problems, increasing traffic jams and the lengthening of travel time from A to B. There is a lack of initiatives located in the peripheral parts of the city and focussed on migrants. Strengthening such initiatives which would allow for the increase of participation of foreigners not only in educational, but also in social or cultural events.

Due to technological developments, forms of education do not necessarily require direct contact and can be fully virtual. Thus, the importance of the place where they are organised will decrease. However, online forms require access to at least basic equipment. Due to the widespread use of smartphones, this entry barrier might not be as high. The user-oriented design of apps could further decrease the threshold to employing such tools for learning. Responding to this demand, attention is currently paid to make homepages, applications, online courses and other online educational resources more accessible. With this development, it seems that the technological barrier hindering many people from e-learning just a few years ago has today decreased. On the other hand, migrants who work in front of a computer every day and are proficient in using IT tools will find education in the

form of online courses, trainings or coaching sessions and webinars much easier and more intuitive than manual workers, who mainly use the phone as a contact tool.

Age and cultural background

Forms of education should also take into account the age and cultural background of migrants. The language of communication and methods of working with people who are just entering adulthood and those approaching retirement age should be different and address age-related demands. Similarly, different cultural and educational systems in working migrants countries of origin need to be taken into account. Such systems vary widely between COOs like China, India, Ukraine, Russia or the UK. One of the main problems of forms of education for migrants is precisely the mismatch of these forms with particular groups and the educational courses rigidity. Such unifying and simplified approaches may have the consequence, that few people will find courses designed in such ways attractive and really useful.

The educational process should be planned so that it is based on the **push and pull factors**, which shape working migrants educational demands. On the one hand, there are factors that push education, such as the need for self-development, the desire to change jobs, the desire to participate fully in society and the need to learn the language, promotion at work or social advancement, etc. On the other hand, labour migrants should be attracted to education (pull) by: the attractiveness of the process, the right time and place, the right methods, the right level of activity required of the participants, clearly identified skills that can be acquired and a clear system of verification.

4.3.3. Intermediary factors

Family

The family is crucial to the life path taken by labor migrants. And for at least two reasons. Firstly, the **family's poor economic situation** affects its members decision to migrate, so they can then support remaining family members or even entire families. In the case of our IPs, I dealt mostly with people who have not moved permanently with their families, but who work to **support** them, regularly sending money to the COO. Secondly, it is most often the **migration experience of family members** that determines the decision to leave, the direction of migration and the industry in which working migrants take up employment in during their migration. This can significantly affect educational needs such as: assistance in communication, finding a job or dealing with official matters. Family members who currently are or were labor migrants in the past have "paved the way" for other family members, and often also for friends or neighbours from the same village. In the above example, the experience of working migration in the family will be transferred onto other people, creating a domino effect.

"Coming back to my family, it's also interesting that everyone in my family has scattered around this Europe. My siblings left for Ireland, my mother also left, she was also in emigration. And that's a very long time. Because she left, she flew to the States when I was 13. My father went there too, sometimes to Ireland. There was a time when, for example, everyone left, I stayed when I was still in high school. (...)

"It was the only way to support a family. Because my father, even though he was a farmer, couldn't support our family, so they all ran away very quickly, from Poland. Because there was such a conviction that it is not worth working in Poland, that it is hard, that you can't achieve anything and it is better to leave." (IP1)

When addressing working migrants, however, educators might as well have to deal with the opposite situation - a lack of experience with working migration within the family can translate into **criticism** of the idea of leaving, resulting in discouragement to adaptation to a new place and pressing for a return, thus increasing the likelihood of a temporary stay.

It is important, whether the labour migrant **has their own family** or whether the working migrant is moving as **a single person**. In the case of the former, the sense of responsibility for others will often force them to act prioritize work. However, they will do this not so much for themselves, in order to better their economic situation, but rather in order to provide for their families. The economic dimension of the migration will then become all the more important for them and the readiness to make sacrifices such as working overtime will increase. Singles also very often help the family that has stayed in the COO, especially their parents, but they are less burdened with the obligation to earn money (with less people to provide for, the financial pressure decreases) and can concentrate much more on self-development and realization of their own goals. It is easier for them to formulate educational needs and participate in various forms of education. Single migrants often treat working migration as an opportunity for change, development and success, while those with families usually migrate with a sense of necessity and responsibility for their children and spouses.

Economic situation

It should be noted at this point, that the family budget and finances are only in some cases dependent on the interview partners earnings, are often relatively independent of them and are rather related to the **economic situation** in a given country or region (see more on this subject under point 1.4.3.4 of this country study). For those who do not see the possibility of living in their COO, succeeding in the COD is all the more pressing. Among the respondents there was one person who was in a dire economic situation before going to COD, being homeless in their COO. For this person, the working migration was a **chance for a better life** under decent conditions. The economic situation determines not only the labour migration, but also the educational needs and opportunities to participate in various forms of education. **Lack of financial resources** will make it difficult or even impossible to meet

educational needs. On the other hand, people who earn well can afford much more, also in terms of education.

Social and family background

The family in which people grow up and are raised has large influence on their position and social status at the start of their adult life. Labour migration can be both a path to social and economic **advancement** and a source of **degradation** and lowering of social prestige. Among IPs there are, on the one hand, people who have worked physically in their home country, but thanks to their departure they could become white-collar workers, such as English language teachers. Among the interview partners, there are also those, who have been working in the COO in professions requiring special qualifications, such as nurses, who nowadays clean professionally. Labour migration is an opportunity to change one's social position for the better, however, it must be considered, that save for some exceptions, social advancement in COD is extremely complicated and requires great determination, perseverance and willingness to learn (e.g. perfect knowledge of COD language). Exceptions to this as were present in the interview material are: native speakers becoming teachers or employees of corporations who, although they change the country in which they work, do not change their position, way and language of work.

Nationality and ethnicity

In addition to family background, working migrants belong to a particular nation or ethnic group, which frames their migration experience. Belonging to the same ethnicity in the **same language family** as the COD will make working migration there more attractive. As far as Poland is concerned, the best example of this is the migration of Ukrainians. The vast majority of them chose Poland, not because of the geographic neighbourhood, but because of the countries **linguistic and cultural affinity**. In the countries of Western Europe, their earnings would certainly be much higher, but they remain in Poland, not migrating further to the West. Before opening the labour market in Germany to Ukrainians, many people in Poland were convinced that when this happened, most of the paid workers would choose to migrate to Poland's western neighbours. However, this did not happen, which is due to the easy adaptation of the Ukrainians in Poland. The same is true for Poles moving abroad for work - unlike in the 1980's and 1990's, they most often choose **English-speaking countries** or countries where English is treated as a quasi-second language. Although there are no language links between Polish and English, the prevalence of the latter and the need for everyone in Polish schools to learn it has resulted in a huge increase in the proficiency in this language, at least when it comes to everyday use.

Other factors

Labour migrants also carry **individual experiences** with them, which will influence their educational needs. These will include all the stages of **formal education** they have

completed in the COO and it is through those experiences that they were shaped and brought up, both inside and outside of school. Additionally, all the experiences that affect their skills, familiarity, thinking and perception of the world matter in their migration situation.

"I haven't had some kind of huge clash with life abroad and work abroad. Whether it was in Italy on Erasmus, or it was at work, because I do not feel helpless in such situations. If I don't know something, I'll ask somebody and even if I don't know the language, then... I mean, I also have this kind of opinion about myself, which I also think helps me somehow, that if I don't know something, it's always an option to find out." (IP3)

In short, both formal education and **general experiences**, both before and during adulthood influence working migration. The majority of labour migrants before coming to the COD have already worked and led a life in the COO, which has shaped them very strongly and thus affects their educational needs; as does the work they do in the COD, especially if they want to develop and treat migration as an opportunity for personal development, and are not only migrating to improve their financial situation.

4.3.4. Context

Labor migration, if it is not caused by a decision to self-develop, to want to travel, live and work in another country, is usually very much conditioned by the situation in the COO. Obviously, **the economic, political and social situation** influences individual decisions to leave. Economic crises, war, severe social conflicts and destabilization will affect the quality of life, as will increased unemployment or progressive poverty. In other words, the reality in the COO often forces thousands of people to go abroad in search of work and a better life.

An excellent example of this is the situation in Ukraine that has forced millions of people to emigrate. On the one hand, **the war** with the separatists (and Russia) over the eastern territories of Ukraine and the loss of Crimea 2014, and on the other hand, the weak economic situation, which is still a result of the post-Soviet character of the state. Indeed, since the collapse of the USSR and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state, it has not been possible to introduce a well-functioning economic model. This has caused a huge wave of migration in recent years. The vast majority of Ukrainian migrants came to Poland as working migrants. In Poland, unlike in Ukraine, there is no armed conflict, and the economic situation in the last decade was (before the Covid-19 pandemic) so good that unemployment in many cities reached 2-3%. Thus, there was a shortage of labor force, and **the labour market** was very absorbent.

The combination of a politically fragile, economically weak situation in Ukraine and a strong situation in Poland, combined with a **cultural and linguistic similarity** resulted in an influx of workers from Ukraine into Poland. Until 15-30 years ago, Poland was in the place of Ukraine, the weak economic situation forced people to go to work in wealthy countries such as Germany, the

Netherlands or Great Britain. The mentioned cultural and linguistic similarity or national and ethnic affiliation between the COO and the COD is obviously also very important. It is easier for a German to go to work in Austria or Switzerland than in Poland or France, if he does not speak Polish or French. The same pattern can be observed in Poland with regard to Ukrainians, but also Belarusians or Russians. The exception, in which the cultural and linguistic context does not play a role, or is much less important, will be the employees of corporations, often global and supranational, international companies, which use English as the language of work. Similarly, professionals or native speakers, working in their native language are not included in this trend. In these cases, the context factors related to **origin** will be much weaker in the process of choosing a country of destination and thus with regards to educational needs of such working migrants.

The situation in both COO and COD is often decisive in taking decisions on labour migration, as it directly affects the economic situation of individuals and entire families. Moreover, it is not only political or economic issues that translate into the decision on migration and the choice of a specific COD. For example, **the education system** can also be such a factor. If in compulsory schooling, the learning of a given language is obligatory and carried out on a large scale, then in a short period of time its proficiency (even if basic) becomes a skill for most inhabitants. As a consequence, this may lead to a mass selection of CODs with the language and culture that labour migrants have learnt during their education at the COO. Such a phenomenon would occur in relation to Poles migrating to the United Kingdom in the first decade of the new millennium. Mandatory teaching of English in schools was one of the main factors in the choice of the Islands as a place to work and live. On the other hand, Poles are an example of a nation for which migration is a natural state and strongly established in national tradition. Of the over 55 million Poles living and working in the world, only just over 38 million live in Poland, the rest (17 million, or almost 31%) is scattered around the globe. In Poland, everyone either has **experienced migration** themselves or has someone in the family or among friends who emigrated for work. Such a **tradition** is certainly deeply rooted and can foster and encourage decisions. In countries where there is no such tradition and history, departure can be seen as a significant risk and may be associated with greater stress and distrust towards departure.

Undoubtedly, the issues of **legalisation of residence and legal work** are also important. In large political structures such as the EU, movement and work for EU citizens are not a problem, while for people from outside the EU, wishing to work in one of the member states, both the COO, the COD and EU relations, as well as an efficient administrative system in the COD will be crucial. Such legal conditions, but also an efficient system of handling migrants who want to deal with all the necessary formal issues from legalisation of stay to health care, may determine the choice of COD by migrants. Countries where there are no difficulties in dealing with these formalities and administrative matters will be much more attractive for job seekers. This is certainly not a key criterion. Many IPs have pointed out that dealing with formal issues is the biggest problem in Poland and if they expect some support, it is in this respect. Despite this, it had no impact (before the pandemic) on the fact that Poland has recently received the most labour migrants in the whole EU.

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5. Country report Romania

5.1. Status of Romania with regards to migration

Introduction

For Pro Educatione, the issue of working migration is not new. There have already been several programs (round table discussions, debates, case study analysis) by Association Pro Educatione during 2017 within which the network member organizations, adult education providers, assessed the possibilities to serve labor migrants of our region who chose to work abroad. As we perceived: labor migrants moving from Romania, including from our region, abroad to work might need help in (1) their preparation for the work abroad, (2) during their integration into the external labor market, or (3) when they plan their return and seek support. (Adult) Learning is required in all these stages. The cases we discussed in the network reveal that Romanian labor migrants who choose working migration often lack language skills – a problem that impedes them in administrative issues, for example. While working abroad, they experience loneliness and/or other psychological burdens. While they plan to move back home, they (re-)experience instability and the lack of handrails in their homeland labor market environment.

After our discussions, the Pro Educatione network concluded: we don't want to foster the phenomena of labor migration; however, we are not able to stop it either. Consequently, when adults turn to us with their informational or learning needs, we as adult education providers provide them with support through educational or informational contents according to our facilities. Since we want all these contents to reach their audience, we seek for the ways to act more professionally and principled in the service of labor migrants.

Literature review

Our literature review is based on articles and reports discussing the phenomenon of labor migration with a more general, countrywide scope. Additionally, we processed articles and reports discussing the labor migration characteristics of our region (Szeklerland a region made up of Harghita, Covasna and Mureş counties where there are about 650.000 Hungarian speaking inhabitants from the total population of 1 million. It is physically located in the central part of the country, and socially/from a developmental point of view is considered a semi-peripheral region - with rural areas, scarce industry, small towns, etc.).

There is considerable research on external labor migration in Romania. The phenomenon of labor migration and its research intensified in the 1990's, after the fall of communism. Today, Romania is known as the second largest labor force emitting country (after Poland) in the EU, as is shown in Eurostat Data statistics (Herm, 2008 p.3). Estimates are around 3 million people (or 15% of its current population) who are working abroad (Stan and Erne, 2014).

Stan and Erne (2014) argue that in case of Romania "labor migration was not driven by development differentials between the west and the east as such, but rather by the particular type of development the latter adopted after the fall of communist regimes and by the way post-socialist countries were integrated in transnational circuits of production and exchange." (p.21)

On a national level, the research on external labor migration reported mainly about the move of Romanians to Italy, Germany and Israel during the 1990s (Vlase, 2011). Meanwhile the Hungarian minority's migration directed rather towards Hungary in these years (Bodó, 2009). One very important aspect of labor migration was, that at these times most Romanians worked abroad illegally (which was a risk factor, a difficulty or even in some cases a barrier for labor migrants to succeed in the COD), while later (due to the labor force regulations in most destination countries) labor migration became legalized. This rather encouraged, stimulated and made labor migration easier.

According to the literature the labor market deficiencies (the collapse of large industries, transforming sectors of economy, together with slow and small-scale social changes) were the main factors that forced or stimulated the local labor force to choose labor migration. An additional factor for the Szeklerland - besides the abovementioned elements - was the rurality. The rural areas are more significant emitters of migrant labor force; the difficulties of rural livelihood are more likely pushing factors towards external labor migration (Biró, 2006). (Rural areas, however, act as rescues as well: engagement into small scale agricultural activities in rural regions is a kind of "balancing protocol" of livelihood, and so a temporal rescue for families, in their efforts to succeed on the labor market.)

The literature defines sections of external labor migration, in which the patterns of labor migration become different. Researchers observed that during the 1990's in the mentality of labor migrants there existed a differentiation between the two worlds (external and domestic), with significant endeavor to keep the boundaries between the two worlds clear and explicit, and the labor migration practice served this differentiation (Bodó, 1996). In socio-demographic terms, there were mainly middle-aged men who chose to work abroad. Research conducted during the 2000's increasingly report of the blurring of boundaries between external world and domestic, with labor migrants being more likely able to align to external working and living conditions more easily and successfully. Furthermore, research reported of labor migrants even choosing to live on two feet, meaning that the moves of exit and entry from a country to another (in terms of labor migration) is becoming natural for them (Bodó, 2009) The literature describes this phenomenon as transnational migration at this point. After the country joins to the European Union, the patterns of external labor migration, the migratory practices and the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants change, while the number of destination countries increase. (Bodó, 2011) Romanians choose to migrate for longer times, but the majority still mentions that they have plans to

return to the country. To sum up the development in labor migration patterns: the migratory practice have changed during the years from a "temporary exit" (Biró, 1996) style migration to circular migration (Sandu, 2000). However, today's practice is once again changing.

Additionally, there is an exception from the abovementioned practices: the issue of seasonal work. Those who apply for seasonal work that is organized in or for groups, develop another migratory practice (Blága, 2014). During seasonal work, these migrants remain drawn back from the external world and environment, focus more on saving money, plan to move back home as soon as possible, and their work and migration is being helped and realized due to strong networking.

Based on the collected and reviewed literature we can sum up that: the topics, questions, focuses and methods of the research on the migratory practice has been broadened and enriched during the last three decades. We have found applied research discussing the exploitation of Romanian labor force, inequitable and unfair employment conditions (Guga, 2016). While others report on labor migration becoming more and more diverse and colourful. For example, the number of women who choose to work abroad is increasing, while new social groups appear in migration (Horváth, 2007, Angel – Horváth, 2009). Sandu (2000) confirms that circulatory migration becomes a life strategy for more and more Romanian labor migrants, transnational migration and living on two feet in the two worlds seems also to be manageable for more and more people (Anghel 2008, Sandu, 2005).

It is observable in our region as well that the local/regional society arrived in a new era of migration, which refers not only to the increasing number of labor migrants, or the social restructuring of labor migration, but the diversification and increase of heterogeneity in social interpretations and practices related to labor migration, that were previously handled as unified and integrated interpretations. (Bodó 2009, Bálint 2017)

Another issue that is closely connected to migration is the negative impact that migration has on the family left behind, and especially on children left behind.

The children left behind are an at-risk-group in Romania. First data on children left behind was published in 2006, when around 60.000 children had at least one of their parents working abroad. In 2008 the number was around 92.000, while in 2012 this number was around 84.000 (Botezat – Pfeiffer, 2014, p.2). The data is considered to be grossly underestimated (Toth et al. 2008), while according to other studies like the one conducted by UNICEF report nearly 400.000 Romanian children with one or both parents working abroad. (Anghel et al. 2016).

An approach discussed by de Haas (2010) and brought in the local context of labor migration is the upcoming paradigm of migration and development. The debate on migration and development is not a new one, but in our region, the research focus and thematic

orientations in this respect are quite new (despite the fact, that research on migration goes back two or three decades). Bodó started discussing the development approach in an article written in 2016. The micro level approach she applies focuses on family households, on the development realized in and around the households. She concludes that in Szeklerland a very little economic input is used by labor migrant to build up a viable business (to have a larger local economic and social impact). Risk aversion is a rather typical behavior that can be observed. Tacit knowledge gatherings and tacit investments can happen more easily. It is more common that the knowledge and experience gathered during labor migration will not meet an “adversion surface” in the domestic environment, which could help with local rooting. Developments remain rather on a household level. Households often choose to invest in further learning: adult learning or in the (long term) schooling of the child. Bodó mentions the change in values as another type/kind of development.

There was a focus put in literature review on the phenomenon of back migration and its research in Romanian contexts. The topic of back migration (or at least the question of how labor migrants relate to returning back home) is present in most of the research. In the first phases (1990's) of Romanians' migration, labor migrants were more likely to plan their return as soon as possible/within a reasonable time frame. Recent research shows a more flexible handling of these questions: external stays are longer, not as fixed, rather kept flexible. Sandu in an interview given in 2019 reported about labor migrants' contemplating emigration. In transnational migration, turning back to the homeland environment is not considered as linear, it is prepared rather gradually in time, according to personal or family livelihood needs of labor migrants.

Another tendency of migration development in Romania concerns labor migrants' countries of destination:

There was a 10% increase in Romanians settling in an OECD country in 2015 compared to 2014, who represent just over 6% of total OECD inflows. For the most part, this upturn was restricted to just two countries, Germany and the United Kingdom, which hosted two-thirds of the Romanians migrating to OECD countries in 2015. (Migration outlook 2017)

As we observed, the literature lacks research on the follow-up of back migration, the homeland reintegration of labor migrants into the labor market. There is a case study Vlase (2011) conducted in a Romanian village, in which researchers checked the knowledge transfers, the economical and social transfers and translations that labor migrant could do, or that could happen due to labor migration. Gender differences were visible in this case, men and women started their work abroad with different chances, and these differences remained in their return as well. In the case of labor migration to Italy, women stayed abroad on average for eight years, men on average for ten years. They had secondary education; men were more likely to be trained in a profession. Aged between 18-60 years

(with an average age of 39 years), their reintegration was helped by their external labor market experiences. Men succeeded better in starting their own business in the construction industry, agriculture or commerce. Women tended to be involved in housekeeping, health and elderly care within their homes. They did not get the chances that men had. Returning home meant returning to their previous status in case of women, while returning home meant new occupational possibilities for men. Returning women tended to have an innovating role in their fight to change social structures and traditional roles when they started to educate their children about their external experiences.

Romania is also becoming a receiving country for labor migration. This is not a new phenomenon, but it is receiving more scrutiny. Romania is becoming a destination country for non-EU labor migrants. In 2019 the limit regarding the number of non-EU labor migrants was increased to 20.000 persons (it was 15.000 persons limit in 2018, 8500 persons limit in 2017) - equivalent to the number of non-EU migrants being already present in the country. These migrant groups can be found in larger industries that employ a large workforce (for example construction or the processing and manufacturing industries). The rural regions like Szeklerland do not really meet these groups face-to-face, there is no social contact locally with labor migrants coming to the country. One case from February 2020 shines a light on a more widespread attitude towards labor migrants: when two people from Sri Lanka arrived to a local village bakery, the local society's reaction was quite negative. Especially in rural regions, people seem unfamiliar and potentially hostile to working immigration.

Our research is searching for educational demands of labor migrants. While we have not found research discussing explicitly this topic, we can draw from practical experience in this field through our organization. Pro Educatione is a network of adult education providers. Both in our network and in our larger environment, there are adult education providers who address trainings for people intending to go and work abroad. We try to enlist some of these organizations and trainings and their practices, to give an overview.

- ✓ The AJOFM is an authority responsible for the registration of unemployed people (at the national level). Its subordinated bodies in each county are involved in adult education (further education, retraining, etc. of the unemployed) as well. The Harghita county AJOFM is actively involved in different types of adult education and training programs. They apply for national and international funds, and run training programs through which some of the unemployed get certificates in given professions. In some projects opportunities are offered to work abroad (organized, intermediated forms of working abroad).
- ✓ There are businesses (for example in cleaning sector, or in transport, constructions, agriculture) who run recruitments and organize professional trainings in their field (in an explicit field or profession), and who mediate trained people to given jobs abroad.

- ✓ The Caritas Alba Iulia – an NGO in the social field – trains and intermediates people in social care and agriculture (see: The Csiki kert model).
- ✓ Association Fidelitas is an NGO in adult education who also started recently the mediation for those who move abroad in some professions (where there are trainings made in advance of starting a job).
- ✓ The Spektrum Education Centre is a language teaching center with several adult education projects. Some of the Centre's activities help, support, facilitate the adult learners' intention to start working abroad or start some form of labor migration.
- ✓ There are organizations implied in EVS projects (in our region as well), who facilitate youth in taking part in voluntary activities abroad (and through that these youth learn about labor market issues as well).
- ✓ The Harghita County Council finds it important to attract labor migrants to move back home, thus they have built up a homepage for this purpose, where labor migrants turning back home can apply for professional/vocational counselling, or view and search jobs ads.

This list/enumeration is not exhaustive, these actions are rather point-like and do not connect into common, systemic interpretations or actions. They are very different with regards aims, target groups, comprehensiveness, etc. They do, however, represent different education-based approaches and give an overview over the current social environment and practices institutions in the Szeklerland are involved in with regards to labor migration. We have not found services specifically involved in counseling for labor migrants. However, there would be a need for this. Some of the Pro Educatione network member organizations (the SOS helpline service, the Caritas social care, the spiritual counsellors) reported about labor migrants turning towards them. Their requests varied from requests for help in language issues when they were dealing with official procedures, looking for someone to talk with the psychological burdens of being abroad (loneliness, homesickness, etc.), help in turning back to the country of origin and searching the opportunities, etc.

5.2. Overview of people interviewed

The main research subject of the NAMED (Narratives of Working Migration as Tools for the Assessment of Education Demands) project is mapping the educational demand of the labor migrants. For this purpose, we choose to use a qualitative method, the narrative interview, and decided to analyze the interviews with the methods of grounded theory as described in the theoretical introduction.

The narrative interviews gave us the chance to collect data and analyze the core question of our study in its context, in whole stories told by the Interview Partners (IP). We gained a detailed view on their life stories, life situation, motivation, family background and several

other aspects which contributed to a better understanding of our research topic: namely the educational demand of the labor migrants taking part in our research.

For recruiting the IPs participating in the research, we used the snowball sampling method, started selecting IPs through the personal networks of the Pro Educatione Association's staff and fellow-workers. Conducting the interviews, processing and analyzing data was done according to the basics of the grounded theory approach. Organizing and leading interviews was done one after the other, but with reflections on the data gathered after each interview, and updating the approach of the topic or the method of the interviewing. So, step by step, the number of participants taking part in the project increased, thus increased the number of IPs and a diversity of professional occupations and life situations was reflected in the study.

When selecting IPs, we sought for diversity in our sample, so as to be able to contrast different cases. To achieve this, we tried to have interview partners from different working areas and jobs, with different educational backgrounds. During the year 2019 and at the beginning of 2020 we have conducted narrative interviews with 13 persons. There were 7 women and 6 men who let us enter their life story, and learn about their labor migration experience (which they had in some of the Central or West European countries, an experience representing important, decisive moments in their lives). The participants were between the age of 21 and 50, and half of them were in their 30s. The majority of the IPs are persons who had an active migration routine at the moment of the interview but we chose to include in the research also persons who are „inactive” (who had a migration experience but decided not to go back, and to live at home, to make their living in their homeland). At the moment of the interview these „inactive” persons had not returned for longer than one year.

Even though we as researchers in the project have in our personal network several migrants and we imagined to recruit participants easily in the research, we had to face some challenges. We had to acknowledge that with several active migrants it was more difficult to establish the date and the hour of the interviews, because they returned home just for a short period of time, for the main holidays, or between the work seasons (cyclically). The time spent in the country of origin (COO) is already loaded with different appointments, tasks to solve, family festivities or religious/official holidays (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost). The immediate days after arriving and before leaving the country are mostly spent with the family and with preparation. In these circumstances it happened that we had to cancel the interview because it did not fit into their program. In such cases, it was easier to make appointments with IPs living in the COO but having vital memories about their experience. Besides using the personal network for approaching the participants, we have involved IPs also through stakeholders (like agencies and associations who are in direct contact with labor migrants, sending them to different works, or organizing their training). Four of the IPs were contacted through this kind of mediation. The interviews in these four cases took

place at the office of the agency or the association. All the participants are members of the Hungarian minority, most of them come from Harghita county, and two persons from Covasna county.

Based on research and our experiences we can say that labor migrants from Harghita county (and the Szeklerland region more broadly) chose to work (mainly as unskilled labor) in the following jobs: truck driver, home care assistant, agricultural worker, babysitter and housekeeper, worker in constructions, tourism, and hotel trade.

The typical destination countries for Hungarian labor migrants from Romania are mostly German (Germany, Austria, Swiss) and Anglo-Saxon (UK) speaking countries. As has been mentioned, during the search process for the IPs, we regarded as a priority to have diversity in the fields of activity, in order to get varied experiences and more layered data regarding the educational demands of labor migrants, and to have the possibility for comparison.

The narrative interview, the qualitative research tool is one of the most suitable methods for our research topic. Having a small sample in our research we cannot make general conclusions, but regarding the core question of the research, identifying educational demands, we gained relevant results, which are responding to the main topic of the project and provides constructive elements to build and develop a curriculum.

Regarding the location of the interviews: as we mentioned already, a few IPs were contacted through an agency and the interview took place in the offices of this agency. In other cases, to create a positive interview atmosphere, we conducted interviews at the homes of the IPs or at places which are quiet and familiar for the IPs, but this was possible just in a few cases. In other cases, we negotiated interview places with the IPs, searching for places that seemed friendly and appropriate for the recording. We consider it important to mention that the interviews were on average one and a half hours long. All the administrative, preparation and closing discussion were above this, all together were about two hours long, but with the possibility of being longer if the interview needed more time.

The invitation of the labor migrants to take part in the research, and giving them the general information about the research, was made by phone calls, personally or by the procurement of a third party. By the time of the personal meeting, the IP was well informed about the details of the project, and had signed the consent form about the voluntary and anonymous participation. The flow of the interview started with the narration part, which has been generated with a very wide question: "Please tell me your life story, from the very beginning till the present day." The answer provided in response to this question was the main narrative. On the basis of the general introduction before the interview and the starting question by the majority of the IPs we received a very compact and general answer. In some cases, the main narrative was so short or even missing that we had to continue with the second part of the interview, during which we identified the connections within the life story

and asked questions to encourage further narrations. The helping questions were organized in five topical categories: 1. Childhood, family background, 2. Formal education, training, 3. Working experience in the homeland and abroad, 4. Social relations, 5. Educational demand. At the same time there was space also for spontaneous questions and clarifications, which came up during the interviews, which served the better understanding of the IPs' situations.

From the aspect of the flow of the interview we have had both fluent and jerky, often interrupted interviews. We noticed, that the more talkative IPs who expressed themselves more easily and fluently, were predominantly persons having completed higher levels of education.

The participants had different educational levels, ranging from an eighth grade school to a post university education (masters degree). The average of the IPs have participated in formal education until the twelfth grade, with or without graduation (baccalaureate diploma). We had five IPs with higher education degrees: college, university, or masters degree.

Labor migrants stay abroad periodically, for seasonal works in the country of destination (COD), or they have a circulatory job, where they spent a few weeks in the COD and than a shorter periods of time in the COO (truck drivers: 20 days abroad and one week at home, homecare assistants: three months abroad and one or three months at home, in agriculture a few, around six weeks or more abroad and one month at home). Between the IPs we had few people who spent longer continuous periods living in the COD like the IP₁₃, who left first alone and worked in a bakery in Austria, and then was followed by her family. The IP₁₂ was in a similar situation, following her partner to the UK, or the IP₉, who spent several years in Switzerland as a babysitter and housekeeper. The IP₂ also is noteworthy. She first left the COO to follow her partner, but after a short stay in the UK decided to change her plans and then found her living in Cyprus, however, now she is staying permanently in Italy.

Special circumstances of the interview process

As a special circumstance we should mention the cases where other persons beside the interviewer and interviewee were sitting in during the interview, like family members or a contact person between the IP and the interviewer. In some cases we saw risks that the answers might be influenced by the presence of the other persons (since sometimes the IP was asking -for a confirmation of what they said - to the third person), and we felt that this presence might generate a different directions for the discussion. In these cases we made a quick decision: if the reaction of the third person helped to reveal information about the content that we needed, we let the discussion flow. If the third persons' reaction didn't seem to be useful, we directed the discussion back the initial topic at hand.

5.3. Central results/findings

During this research project we aim to identify working migrants educational demands, therefore the interviews realized as part of this study are carried out and interpreted mainly from this perspective.

Focusing on the main subject of the research, we were searching for abilities, skills and knowledge with which the IPs can get along better as migrant workers, and possessing which would have prevented, or will prevent them in the future, from situations like being dependent from or treated unfairly by the employer, and/or unwillingly working in difficult or inhumane conditions. In some interviews, the IPs directly stated the lack of educational contents or their demands for being more educated, in other cases education needs or demands can only be deducted from the context. We can see from the interviews that the IPs have gained numerous pieces of experience during their work abroad, and with this knowledge they more confidently turned back to the already tried and tested domains they got used to or they search for better opportunities. Many times during the dialogues the IPs drew conclusions that having this life experience is precious, that they can get along better when it comes to working abroad.

In the stories about their lives shared in the interviews, IPs consider their migration and job experience abroad as a learning process, as „life lessons“. In these stories we can observe that working abroad is a significant lifelong experience for all of the IPs. In these descriptions they indirectly draw conclusions about learning demands and the lack of possibilities for learning. Our main objective was to discover and collect a list of the learning demands and different educational needs that were presented and stated by the IPs directly in the interviews.

3.1 Educational demands and learning gaps (Educational demand, content and form)

The detailed description regarding the applied method and how the data were processed can be found in the methodological introduction. The so called grounded theory methodology is characterized by the fact that the researchers keep their distance from previous concepts, previously read or formulated hypotheses and in connection with the study's subject the researchers allow themselves to formulate their own theory starting – as far as possible – from a tabula rasa and drawing their own conclusions based on the collected data that relates to each other.

In many cases it was difficult to keep a distance from our previous concepts; however, there were some interviews in which the flow of the dialogue had to be maintained by questions that could lead the IPs to give conventional answers to a certain extent. Apart from these methodological dilemmas, during the analysis of the collected data we concluded, that the common patterns are related to each other.

In the following parts, the paper will discuss in more detail all those educational demands that were identified based on the interviews. We treated these identified issues as part of a broader dimension, because a lot of skills and knowledge were considered to be difficult, if possible at all, to acquire through the tools and methods used in the traditional formal education.

3.1.1. Language proficiency

„The language. The language of the country. Nothing else.” Is the answer of one of the IPs regarding the question what they should have learned before starting working abroad.

All the IPs who have taken part in our research emphasized how essential it is to acquire the official language of the country where they worked; moreover they prioritized this competence during the interview by repeating it several times.

Those, who already have spoken the languages of their Country of Destination (COD), emphasized to how great an extent this fact contributed to their integration or helped them in their jobs (IP₂, IP₁₃). Several IPs have reported that due to their language proficiency, their employer offered them a position or a task as group leaders.

„My boss called me up continuously – because I spoke the language at a level to be able to communicate on phone – and asked us to undertake a given job. It happened that I got a call in the evening that there will be a job for next morning, and will we take it? And this was hard, but [...] was good in the same time, that [...] he wanted us, he wanted our work, and trusted us.” (IP₄, women in her 20s, working mainly as social worker in homecare, but in the quoted situation she was working at a cleaning service in Germany)

On the other hand, those IPs, whose language competences are or were limited, were dependent on other people, who helped them in translation and in this way they became more vulnerable.

„Well, of course the German language. When I arrived in Switzerland, I already had some basic knowledge in German, but I only started to learn the language afterwards. It would have been much easier for me.” (IP₁, woman in her 30s, social worker, homecare)

Several IPs have mentioned that they had studied foreign languages in school, but they were not able to put this knowledge in practice, although abroad, under pressure it was easier for them to acquire the necessary level of the language which was essential for their work faster. The level of the foreign language proficiency can also be influenced by the different types of jobs which the guest workers do: there are significant differences in the levels of the language acquisition among the involved migrant workers based on their jobs.

According to the interviews, we can conclude that language proficiency as a competence plays an essential role before every other type of knowledge and with many other factors it influences how the IPs can manage their lives in certain fields, like the work itself, the legislative environment of being employed, the assertion of their own interests and their individual enforcement of their rights, their social connections, their self-expression and how effectively they can work.

In the following, we discuss in more detail the IPs' language proficiency based on the type of work they accomplished abroad and the quality of their social connections linked to these activities. Although all the IPs emphasized the importance of the language proficiency, in practice its relevance varies with different jobs and different types of workplaces and its importance depends on how necessary language is for them in order to be able to accomplish their jobs.

The language competencies vary between the two ends: there were IPs who did not speak the language of the COD, and there were one or two persons speaking the language well. The rest fall between these two ends. People going to work abroad in agriculture had very scarce chance to meet language challenges. When intermediaries organize the work, language does not seem –at first sight- to be necessary at all.

I. Minimal foreign language skills, labor migrants work with their national peers, there are no interactions with the people of COD (so there is no direct motivation or pressure to learn the language)

In case of agriculture, on big farms it is a standard practice to hire workers from the same country or region employers hired from before (previous years or seasons). The employment agencies apply this method because in this way they can optimize the management of the recruitment process. As we can see in the cases of IP3 and IP6, the employees work together with their fellow citizens, who are part of the same ethnic group and that is the reason why they only have to speak Hungarian. Those migrant workers who don't speak any foreign language, don't really have a chance to learn it abroad, since they rarely come in to contact with locals or others who are speaking the language.

"Well, as for the language, the situation was that [...] after all, you can't learn German there in Austria, unless you have a job at that kind of work station. 'Cause for example most work stations only have Hungarian workers, so for the work [...] only we were there." (IP6, truck driver around 40)

It happens that the work itself does not require language skills (in agriculture for ex.), but there might be critical or unexpected situations where knowing the language would be helpful: in case of a work accident, in case of incorrect salary and payments, wage accounting, etc. In the case of IP3, during the work she had a severe heart disease, which was not identified, and she continued to work weeks without a medical consultation. In the

case of IP8, another problematic situation occurred that demanded language proficiency. The IP, who is a young man in his 30s, worked mostly in agriculture sector in Germany, but tried other jobs also like package sorting at the postal service. He faced the following situation: he was ready to go home to the COO at the end of the season, and he was waiting for the representative of the intermediary agency, who was not available, to come and make the payment of his wage.

"We arranged a van. It was already dark, but she wasn't anywhere. She didn't pick up the phone, we called her, but there was no answer. Then I called this guy, [name]. At that time I already spoke some bits and pieces in German and I asked the guy what to do, but everything was closed and nothing was working etc. And then he told us to go to his office and he would pay our money. Well, I don't know if she got the papers about our working hours or how it was [...], but after all we got our money. And then we could come home." (IP8, man in his 30s, worked both in agriculture and by a post office)

The behaviour of the agent seemed to have followed a pattern:

"But when it was time for payday, she always left and a lot of people were searching for her. But she couldn't play tricks on us, because I'm not sure if she found out or not that I could speak German or something else. After all, she couldn't fool us, like she did it in parallel with seasonal workers like us. She caused so much damage to those workers, that they had to report her to the police, because they didn't get their wages. These kinds of things also happened there [...]." (IP8, man in his 30s, worked both in agriculture and by a post office)

The IP described in more detail the problems the language barrier can cause for enforcing ones rights:

"The boss always prepares a very complicated calculation in German, he prints it out and shows to you the paper containing how many hours you worked in a month, how high the costs are and these kinds of things. At the bottom of the paper there's a number and you have to sign it. That's all, they don't explain why they charge you or how it works." (IP8, man in his 30s, worked both in agriculture and by a post office)

II. Basic language skills are present: this helps the IP to succeed in work, and might be an incentive for further language learning (for ex. the case of truck-driver IPs).

"Well [...], I can speak enough of the language so that what is needed for the job, it's not a problem for me. So during these years I've learnt a little bit of [...] English, German, French; now I already have some knowledge from all these languages, so that [...]" (IP5, man in his 50s, driver)

We found IPs advancing in their language learning aspirations, and others totally lacking such ambitions.

As IP6 said that both of the cases are represented in his workplace. He had a colleague, who started working at the same company as he did and that colleague was listening to German radio stations and language courses in his free time, even in his working time, when he was driving. He was using the language with the locals or alone, if there wasn't anybody to talk to and with practice he was able to acquire a good level of German, while his fellow-workers remained with the same, basic knowledge that they have had before.

"Well, as for the German language, there's a difference between the language in Germany and the one spoken in Switzerland. (a friend) was helping me for one month, but then suddenly the boss relocated him to the horses. I was left alone and I had to learn by myself. It was hard to answer the questions, but I was able to understand everything." (IP7, young man working in agriculture)

III. Good language speaking skills, that is necessary for work, because there is connection with COD people/environment (this is a strong motivation to learn the language or to continue developing language skills).

Six IPs worked in jobs (home care, babysitting, tourism, housekeeping) where knowing the language was necessary from the beginning. They mention that they succeeded in improving their language skills during and due to the work.

These six were „female jobs“, all these six employees were women. Among them we can find people who didn't speak foreign language so well when they started working abroad, but in the course of work they were learning it while they were using and practicing it. More of them have reported that they had learnt a lot of things during their work and to which extent acquiring the foreign language improved their work conditions:

"Since the German knowledge was also necessary for this job, they [superiors] thought of me and they asked me to think it over until I come home, but I said yes immediately, because it was clear for me that this offer is close to the thing I would like to do. (...) To be honest, when I arrived in [COD], I had some basic knowledge in German, but only afterwards I started to really learn the language. It was much easier in this way." (IP1, woman in her 30s, working as project manager and participant of a recruitment project in homecare)

"And I just wanted to go back and learn the language better so that I could communicate better, because then it would be easier. As you know, when we spend time with an elderly person; we have breakfast and lunch together, we can communicate and in this way we can get closer to and get to know each other. " (IP4, woman in her 20s, working in homecare)

Those workers who searched for work more independently and didn't have a contract with any employment agencies, e.g. IP2 and IP13, already had a good level of foreign language skills and this helped them a lot.

In the first two cases we can observe an increased isolation. Most of the interviewed migrant workers aim to save as much money as they can in the shortest time possible and then they want to go home and invest that saved capital there. If a foreign language is necessary for the work they do abroad, they consider it as an instrument they can achieve their goals with. If the work requires speaking a foreign language, the migrant workers acquire that level which is necessary. There is also a third group, in which some of them consider the language proficiency and the learning itself as a skill acquired spontaneously and based on their inner motivation.

IV. Further aspects of knowing/not knowing the language:

Some IPs found the lack of language being an extra stress factor in their labor migration (IP1, IP4, IP9):

"Well, at the beginning the colleagues are afraid that they won't understand or will misunderstand what the other person wants to say. So these struggles are typical in the cases of almost 90% of the colleagues who go to work to Switzerland. [...] So there's another thing that sometimes causes a lot of trouble and stress to the colleagues. I also stress about the German language, pretty much." (IP1)

"The first period was, well [...] I had a great experience that I could be there, but it was hard for me that I am didn't really speak the language and many times I had to use dictionary. On the other hand, it gave me confidence that ,I am able to do this' and I was trying really hard. " (IP4)

A few IPs mentioned that their intentions to learn the language meant a kind of acknowledgement/recognition and better acceptance on behalf of the COD environment (they felt the environment to be more supportive when their plan to learn or improve the language was clearly expressed).

"Because they have a different attitude towards you, if you speak their language, compared with that if you don't. Here, in Cyprus I feel lucky, because everybody speaks English, here you can cope with English, you don't have to... On the other hand, when you start speaking their language, you can see the excitement in their eyes." (IP2, women in her 30s, working as yoga trainer)

Language skills were seen by a few IPs as tools for independence, free choice and self-expression.

"So [...] the thing itself that [...] that I was able to integrate myself and I was able to do my job so great that not somebody else fired me, but I was the one who quitted my job."

For me it was a great experience that I tried so hard speaking the language and adapting myself to the circumstances." (IP₄)

The lack of language as barrier in finding better jobs or forming better work conditions:

The IP₃ is a person who doesn't speak the German language. Her daughter is also working in Germany, where the daughter learns the language and encourages her mother to learn as well, because this way they could find a better job for the mother:

"I would work, I would work as a healthcare assistant. To be honest, I like assisting patients, but speaking a foreign language is necessary, and I can't speak any." (IP₃, women in her 40s, working in agriculture)

She didn't have the opportunity to learn foreign languages in school, because she only finished the elementary school, and afterwards started working immediately. As she said, she wants a better job, but it's not possible because of the language barrier and she doesn't even know where to start learning a foreign language. She has a desire for a better workplace but not too much motivation for learning new things; also don't really know how to start learning. Here the IP admits that she would go to work in homecare, but has no language skills.

"Well, in order for me to attend a course in a language school, where should I go, here? (laughing) Where should I go? [...] Because if there would be any possibility here, I would attend to learn the language, that way it would be different. It's not the same, I can see it too. Because time passes and it matters where you work and what you do." (IP₃)

The language proficiency in migration is a very important knowledge beside the vocational skills. IP₅ explains his motivation for learning and using the language of the COD.

"Since none of them speaks the language of the other and that little bits and pieces of knowledge one may have is not enough at all; it can cause some problems. And that's, that's why you should use the language and try to manage your connections, so that [...], so that you should start taking things easy, if not, it can be very complicated and you can cause trouble for yourself." (IP₅)

"And the language [...], the language should always be used and improved, so that [...], when you are alone there without any help, you should solve anything by yourself [...]. Well, of course you have some support from the company that hires you, it's way more easier now, but it hasn't been like this before. [...] And anyway, to a certain extent, you can only count on yourself, you have to accept these things. [...]" (IP₅)

V. Best practices used by working migrants for learning languages

Learning by doing

Some IPs mention effective methods and practical experiences in learning the language. These are real life and practice based. The IP working as project coordinator by an agency that is sending colleagues for homecare in Switzerland, is reporting about a practice they use to make as preparatory activity, acquiring language skills in practical context, with situation games.

"Well, for example you have to call the ambulance. This is a basic thing, but we can't really prepare the applicants for this situation. For those, who already speak the language of the country they work in or who already had some experience abroad and at least worked with people, it's not a big deal to call the ambulance. On the other hand, who doesn't have this experience and knowledge – of course before the relocation we have a two-hour meeting, when we act out different situations in German, like 'I am the patient and I have high blood pressure, I don't feel well, please call the ambulance'." (IP1)

Language learning in the COD environment can be a step-by-step activity. IP13, who started to work abroad first alone, and after a time she brought her family to the COD as well, reported about her husband's step by step learning of the German language. The husband didn't really had previous language skills, but learned during the work. He improved more when he was getting along with the colleagues, clients and had regular interaction with people.

"The language use itself [...], a lot of people are afraid to use it like 'oh, I don't speak the language' [...], but this is not the problem. Also my husband's case can prove this: he also had a white-collar job and what was needed for him to get along in his work, he acquired that knowledge step by step, and he was able to manage things in the storeroom without any problem, even though he had to work with about 150 different things. He always knew which one is 'Kürbis', which one is this or that, he arranged all these things and he rarely made any mistake. And without [...], all these things without any previous knowledge: in the beginning when our boss asked him to take the green box, he took the 'grau' one [in German it means 'grey'], 'cause he confused it with English." (IP13, women in her 30s, unqualified worker in a bakery)

The COD environment might be supportive in the language learning intentions of labor migrants.

"Most of the families support you when you want to learn a foreign language and you can attend language courses, I've already heard it from other fellow workers." (IP9, women in her 30s, housekeeper and babysitter)

IP9 mentioned that she didn't have the chance to learn language in school, but she learned German fluently by the family she was working. During her work she had to talk with family members, but the talks with the little children of the family helped her very much in improving her German language skills. Another IP mentioned her client's family offering her free hours from work, in order to go and participate on a language course.

"And there are cases, when you are for example an assistant for someone you have to take care of 24/7, but one of the family members offers you that 'they will do your duties in that 2 hours and you can go to learn the language'. So these kinds of things are also possible there, [...] if [...] you are lucky, but most of the patients' families support you in this, if you want to learn. [...]" (IP4)

Some of the IPs find digital tools/new media tools useful in learning language, others do not really consider it useful.

"Or I also downloaded some language learning apps to my phone and I learn the language during playing [...]" (IP4)

Foreign language and the dialects: Possessing language knowledge, but facing the difficulties because of the dialect.

"You need to use the language, pretty much. And when [...] it, so (IP12's partner) could speak very well and knew a lot of words, even though he didn't have perfect pronunciation, but he is very [...], very talented at memorizing languages, he also speaks some French. But when he started working in England, he was shocked that he couldn't use that knowledge what he had." (IP12, women in her 30s, babysitter)

In conclusion: As previously discussed, foreign language skills are -in general- very important. Even an IP working seasonally in agriculture (a field where jobs do not really require language skills) put the question for herself: "how could I learn language?" So the need to know the language is there. Other IPs mention that they learn language by themselves, and they want to improve this ability. And we have found IPs (e.g. truck drivers) who emphasize the need for better knowledge of professional language and terminology of their field of work:

"I would have learned the professional language at the beginning if I would have known how useful and important it was. I so often thought about how good it would have been if there would have been language courses focusing on the professional language. We developed our general basic language skills during school years, our teacher was so good, and she could have thought the professional language so easily. When starting work abroad such knowledge would have been so useful, I could have been using the right words and terminology." (IP4)

Labor migrants who experienced the lack of language skills as a disadvantage (since they developed an ambition during the years of labor migration to look for better job opportunities and so have a deeper understanding and feeling of the situation), generally point out, that their advice to other labor migrants would be to learn the language of COD.

3.1.2. *Psycho-sociological aspect*

We found that „self-knowledge“ is highly challenged during working abroad (some people are forced to, other were led to reconsider their: self-confidence, self-appreciation, consciousness, their resources, motivational issues, self-fulfillment, inner strength, their thinking about human values).

„I can say that this work in Switzerland was like a self-knowledge course, that we don't really have to pay for, but is a live experience, producing so many benefits. I had such great insights due to this work that I could not have if I stayed home.“ (IP₁)

„If I would have a boss like I have now, who supports me not only in work but in spiritual respect as well, I was 19 at that time. If I would have got these positive confirmations in those times at the beginning, that would have mattered a lot. I'm sure that I would have developed more in professional field and would have learned the language quicker, easier with such a support.“ (IP₄)

Besides material gains, IPs were motivated by the chances of adventure, change, learning, experiencing the new, wanting to achieve this way a kind of self-fulfillment.

„We should not forget about the fact that this is a huge opportunity from the point of view of language learning and also from the point of view of gathering experiences.“ (IP₁)

Furthermore, IPs found that they were forced to take action with respect to: standing up for oneself, expressing opinion, proving their seriousness, developing communication skills and the ability to negotiate. In context of labor migration, discrimination or exploitation often takes place. (Our IPs mentioned the following instances: not getting the wage that was negotiated between the partners, no clearly discussed labor time – free time options, unpaid overtime, misinformation, bad living conditions, discrimination done by people from Hungary (these being the team leaders, or “small bosses”). The Romanian interviews revealed that social and even ethnical networks rather help out people, seem to be good starting points, and are not considered obstacles or exploiting.

The interviews revealed that people were pressed to learn about conflict management, stress management, crisis management, and emotional burdens' management due to labor migration, and considering the ways how to handle these. In relation to work, IPs mention the knowledge they gathered about how to handle complexity, multitasking, intense concentration etc.

Another aspect should be considered here: the social relations. The lack of the social relations in the COD is common in some interviews. This relates to the language deficiency, which contributes to the formation of „social bubbles“. These are multiple barriers. Labor migrants seem to not dispose of their time, rather employers dispose with the labor migrants' time. Thus, their time schedule is challenging: to find time, beside working, for learning or social relations.

3.1.3. Laws and rights

Learning about legal labor conditions and laws, frames, contracts, assurances, social policy, health policy, child benefits, taxes, human rights of working migrants was a domain that was not in all cases expressed as an educational need at the beginning, but became an important issue after an experience or a time period spent abroad. In this respect we can track the development of consciousness by some IPs: they searched for contact persons who could help, they searched the official ties to resolve their cases, they asked or listened to the experiences of their fellow-workers, they searched facebook groups/ethnic groups or other, where they could learn about other labor migrants' experiences and find ways or solutions, etc. Other IPs remained with the lack of knowledge regarding this laws and rights question, but somehow with a hopeful and positive attitude, learning of the others' stories and experiences, trusting the relations through which they got their jobs (with the relations representing strong ties in the theory of social capital), hoping the authorities being correct. Two people mentioned being surprised when seeing COD employers using the “back doors” instead of legal proceeding. However, this was not related to labor migrants' employment, rather to some operative issues.

“If I would know more about laws that could help a lot. But I don't really have the capacity to read and search and learn these. I recently had a success story, ...I could manage to find the officialties, the right bureaus, the connections and information my colleagues needed. There were two ladies who worked previously in my program; they were officially contracted in Switzerland as social workers in home care. And I could manage to get certification from Switzerland, so their external contracts to be taken into account when (after giving birth to their child) they got entitled to the benefits of child-care allowance. When I was there in Switzerland I went to Luzern, I requested information, went to official bureaus, learned the document formats that are necessary in such cases, and helped the ladies to fill in the paper form. So, when their requests were accepted and the decision came out, the monthly amount they got was 3400 RON instead of the minimal 1200 RON – which they would get without their Swiss contracts being taken into account. So, I think it worthy to do this process with all its barriers and everything, because it was a huge help for my colleagues. In fact, a huge financial security.” (IP1)

3.1.4. Labor market orientation

The interviews proved that labor migration is a phenomenon that helps people to gather knowledge and experience in their techniques and methods of job search, information search about jobs (what might be real information, what not). It developed the ways labour migrants gather information (about possible progress in a job, jobs conditions etc.), learn to observe fake job ads and real job ads (this becomes relevant for their COO and COD labor market orientation), IPs developed their ability to search and analyze. A few IPs mentioned their wish or ambition (that came to their mind only after a time spent abroad) to try everything in the profession where they were. To gather as much experience on that given field as possible. The cultural-social-professional difference experienced in the COD (compared to the COO) is a real shock for all IPs, but we saw some people “recovering” from this shock in a proactive manner: they learned the novelties in their jobs, they were interested in professional developments (methods, tools, modes of doing things, etc) which they never saw in COO jobs.

“I built up relationships with professionals from hospitals, when I was on visits to hospital we talked more and more, we met more times. And now we have a project about modern wound care with specialists from the hospital. And now they collected tools of modern wound care, such as bandages, strips, etc. and called me saying that they want to give those to us, as present, to have it in our work. There is always, not all the time conscious, but there is always an aim that during the three months when I am abroad to get the maximum out, there is a question or a field where I want to train myself, learn about. Because otherwise there are lots of things to do, and ordinary people don’t really know where and how to start it.” (IP₁)

„And I developed professionally a lot, and now I did a course here [home city in COO] of hospital auxiliary nurse, because I felt it could mean a little bit plus knowledge and chance. And I don’t really know in advance what kind of patient I will get, for example I can get one who lives with oxygen tank, because you know this is a special thing, and it’s better to know, and because of this I learned.” (IP₄)

These proactive people (proactive from the point of view of professional self development and education) often became leaders of small working groups, without having experience or knowledge on how to manage a working group (so there is a kind of educational demand for HR management issues these people have. They wish to know more about leadership, the role of “adult educator”, human behaviors and human relations).

3.1.5. Career? Business? How?

Since in the COD IPs did not work in jobs or professions they learned and did in the COO, it is difficult to put their experience into a “life and career” context. However, it turned out that working abroad is an experience that can stimulate or result in a kind of career-re-

planning, or a more focused professional orientation later, when they return to their COO. Half of the interviewed persons were turning back to their original job or profession without any extra planning, or without capitalizing in the COO the knowledge and experience gathered in the COD.

Examples of career re-planning or capitalizing in the COO the knowledge gathered in the COD: 1 IP (man, experienced in agriculture, mechanics especially, in the COD) expressed his wish to organize his agricultural activity in the COO according to the novelties he learned, specializing in advanced horse-drawn farming. Another young man, who worked in agriculture abroad, got motivated due to this work experience to take over his parents' business – that is related to agriculture and tourism in mountainous area. A husband and wife working in a bakery abroad when returning home invested their capital into the husband's carpentry business. – These are examples of working migrants benefiting from experience, however, these not yet necessarily success stories, because these IPs find it very difficult to succeed in the COO environment. So there are palpable educational demands also for a few IPs regarding how to build a business, how to manage the implementation of knowledge and experiences of labor migration into a success in the COO.

"So what I miss [...] for example, if I would have more time home [...] then I would develop my nursing knowledge, so I would do the 3 years long nursing school, because more doors would open for me with this education in hand. What I see abroad is that nurses if they have higher educations or training can get better jobs, for example in hospitals. I just heard about another opportunity, 500 jobs will be created because a new department will open by a hospital, and they will need people. From such a point of view it would be better to know more, to have more." (IP4)

3.1.6. Certification of knowledge

We have met IPs who mention their wish to finish their school/education (to complete the unfinished studies and receive a certificate - baccalaureate, graduation diploma, professional qualifications) back home in the COO. Besides, they formulate the question: how could they have certified, or get a recognition of, practical knowledge and experiences gathered during their working migration? (making it "visible" for future use at home). Two IPs express firmly that they do not want to learn, do not require formal learning, but want their experience and practical knowledge to be certified in some way.

3.1.7. Technology

The interviews revealed that IPs use smart phones in some aspects of life (keeping up relationships, language learning etc.), and learn continuously the use of new media tools. They are, however, expressing the lack of knowledge as well. In some professions (truck driving, agriculture), some IPs expressed their educational demands regarding the newest technological and IT developments of their field of work and explained that they want

professional knowledge updates. They autonomously (or in small working groups) try to keep up with technical developments, but they would prefer, if the employer would find ways to teach them about the technical developments.

In conclusion: We have seen that there were educational demands that were clearly expressed by IPs (explicit demands), and there were other possible educational demands that can be deduced from the interview material (implicit demands) - these being an interpretation of the researcher.

3.2 Educational Demands (form of education)

In certain jobs (elderly home care, babysitting, truck driving) there is already a formal preparation process, especially where labor migrants are employed by Romanian employers and are hired for the job abroad, within which there is a language course or another form of language education (beside the professional one).

In jobs, where it was already known from the beginning that knowing the language is a requirement (e.g. babysitter, home care, housekeeping), IPs participated in offline language courses already in the COO before going out to the COD. One person mentioned that she continued learning the language. She participated in short (1-3 months long) courses when she (circularly) returned back home. Thus she continued learning in the COO – learning in the COO seemed to be cheaper, and IPs were more familiar with the learning environment, opportunities, etc. in the COO. Meanwhile, when she was abroad she used the booklet and pencil method: she wrote down expressions that she heard, or wanted to know, and searched and learned them when she had free time (a social worker employed in elderly home care mentioned this method). Here is a proactive behavior and ambition to develop language skills.

Considering language learning it turned out that some of the IPs don't know how and where to start. One IP, a middle-aged woman who did not learn language in school (or forgot already what she learned there), and did not learn in an organized manner, did not know the methods of learning the language. She for example used to ask her daughter or son-in-law to translate words or expressions so as to have a minimal understanding. In such cases we have found in adults the lack of competencies to initiate and do learning autonomously.

There were four IPs mentioning that they use phone applications or simply just the internet (Google translate) to learn the minimal language they need to succeed. We have also seen cases where men working in teams together with fellow workers (truck driving), they helped each other out with the professional language of their field. So, in an informal way, they continued learning.

A common opinion of IPs is that language is better and quicker learned and developed during the work, in real life situations. All IPs mention the lack of time (because of long

working hours) for formal, structured, organized ways of learning the language. The “learning activities” (in fact the learning moments) they initiated themselves were short. These activities were inserted into a free time section they had during the workday. Women working in home care seemed to find five to ten free minutes during their working time, in which they could write down unknown words for example, or truck drivers listened to language conversations while driving. Some learned right after work, when labor migrants were cooking a meal or drinking a beer together. The learning activities, or moments, were directly focused on words and expressions necessary for their work, or for expressing their needs, etc.

We found that educational demands and the ways how these are satisfied during labor migration are dependent on the social and professional capital of a person. Overall, labor migrants have usually scarce social relations in the COD, however, some basics are there: (1) they keep up close relations that they use for sharing psychical burdens (acquaintances and family in the COO usually, but some in the COD as well), (2) they have their professional relations that are helpful in work and inclusive (in some cases) in finding ways for learning.

But there is no reference in the interviews about IPs thinking to use the education system of the COD in planning their future or success in the external labor market. The educational system of the COD is mentioned by two IPs only. But not as something they want to enter, rather when expressing wonderment about the system’s functioning. The reasons labor migrants tend to stay away from the education system of the COD might be multiple. Some IPs do not intend a long term stay in the COD. They mainly look for jobs other than those in which they have their qualifications (in rather low positions). They might not know the education system of the COD. Also, labor migrants lack the financial capital necessary for learning. Another reason might be their negative experiences in education system of the COO, or just an unfavorable social influence on thinking about learning. Learning in the education system of the COD might become a question after a longer time spent abroad in working migration, and only for those people who bring higher education experience from their COO. Working migration itself is seen, however, as an educational experience, an experiential learning; in that informal ways of learning seem to activate a lot.

Almost all IPs mentioned that they had someone from who they asked questions, details, experiences about the work abroad, learning through a kind of storytelling, or “living library” discussions. So investing in themselves, learning about the COD happened prior to labor migration.

There is a more general behavioral pattern we observed in the material: at the beginning of labor migration IPs tend to expect some things to be given or to be easily accessible. They expect to have good living conditions abroad, to be treated fairly etc. During preparation for their migration, they somehow neglect to plan for possible negative scenarios that may

happen, such as bad living conditions, exploitation, etc. When they start their labor migration, they tend to have an ambition to learn “en passant” and resolve easily whatever problem might present itself. If they experience problems abroad, however, their resources and knowledge turns out to be insufficient to cope. This is the point from where a (forced) learning process often starts. If bad experiences and conditions start to cumulate, labor migrants think about shortening their labor migration and moving back to the COO. The COO is – despite all its negative characteristics – a secure background to where they can retreat.

In the field of social care, an IP employed as social worker, who is also organizing the external work of other social workers in Switzerland mentioned working on the preparation of a booklet that is a collection of useful information and knowledge for social workers, in the domain of home care, which contains also tips from working migrants who are already experienced in the field.

Experiential knowledge, practice in a workplace, or simulations and apprenticeship are the forms that the fastest way meet the educational needs of IPs in to convey lacking knowledge.

3.3 Intermediary factors

3.3.1. The learning experience – memories, experiences about school-years, young age learning memories, and present thoughts about the role of learning

Five of the IPs (mainly women) mention that they were good learners in elementary school, which motivated them to continue their studies, up to completing higher education. The men interviewed do not discuss learning or diligence in school, but rather remember the group activities, banding with schoolmates, being curious, finding interests in experimenting and hobbies. Some IPs chose their professions or developed some key characteristics and behaviors in these early childhood practices. It is a common phenomenon of our region, that young people are planning for their learning career to be as short as possible (Biró, 2005). Five persons among the thirteen IPs mention that they had individual ambitions to learn and continue studying, and were strongly encouraged by their parents in this respect. There were IPs who mentioned that they had an interest in learning, however, they did not want to put the financial burdens of their education on their parents' shoulders. Where such an encouraging parental background is missing, young people plan short learning careers, apply for jobs as soon as possible (some even when they are still in school, e.g. in the last year of their professional education), and strive for financial independence.

The notion of the “worker parent” is common in the IPs' stories. The worker parent - works in industry, and besides has a small farming activity around the house, that serves as a small extra income, or at least a trigger for spending on food. These parents lack a dynamic labor

market path and have scarce chances for change (which only happens when it is forced by labor market changes). The worker parent in the IPs narrations works hard for the family's livelihood, undertakes big sacrifices, and moves very rarely towards labor migration, only if significant pressures appear. Most of the families unintentionally transmitted this model onto their children.

Two persons declare that they did not pick up any significant knowledge or attitude in school or from their learning environment. The rest of the IPs mention some effects, regarding individual, professional or community aspects, which influenced their lives in school.

Looking back to the schools-years: there are four IPs who mention not having a baccalaureate (secondary school graduation), which they consider in hindsight as a disadvantage. These IPs have faced labor market challenges where the degree could have been advantageous. Two people mention that they like learning continuously, and view work as a chance to learn new things. They do not become diffident when it comes to learning new things, but choose to learn instead of waiting for pressures to learn. They express clearly that they are not interested in "buying" diploma, but rather do the course or lessons - learning for them represent a value in itself.

Two people among the IPs mention, that they cannot consider their friends and relatives who graduated as role models or good examples because they, too, had a very hard time succeeding in the labor market. Even for their friends who graduated, it was difficult and took too much time to get acceptable and adequate jobs, as the interview partners explained. Two other interview partners mention that their family members (children or spouses) made the conscious decision to start studying, e.g. language and professional communication (in adulthood, not in school) when they saw how difficult it is to succeed in work abroad. Through this, they wanted to achieve more favorable labor conditions as compared with a family member's negative experience.

It seems that knowing the Romanian language and knowing the country, or at least knowing the national conditions of a professional field, is an advantage for the employee, an impulse to move more boldly, and open on the labor market. This is observable rather among men. Similarly, within the IPs, men are those who do professional preparation (formal or non-formal training) for the jobs they will do abroad.

3.3.2. Labor market orientation skills developed during/due to working abroad

The interviews revealed that in each case people can earn more in the country of destination (as compared to domestic earnings). No one was employed as a qualified labor force, but rather as unskilled laborers. This was cheaper for the employers, and some jobs - in agriculture e.g. - did not require any qualification). IPs mention favorable working conditions only in some cases (truck drivers, home care). In agriculture, for example, there were

particularly difficult working conditions, according to the IPs' remarks. Higher wages are powerful motivators for returning again and again to the COD. Saving money or higher chances of accomplishing predefined goals (within a set time frame and compared to domestic chances) are factors that keep people pursuing labor migrations. In the material we found that financial growth, saving money is achieved easier by our interview partners, if less attention is paid abroad to the aspects of life outside work (social life, entertainment, traveling etc.). Accordingly, most of the IPs met the social life of the COD to a small degree only - if they ever met it. IPs knowing the language better, being more outgoing and interested in the COD had a closer connection to the social life abroad. Additionally, those interview partners, whose job permitted the contact on wider spectrum - e.g. babysitters, housekeepers - got a chance to experience other aspects of life abroad.

Factors, which almost all IPs mention, are the rigorous schedule of work abroad (the strict division and proportion of rest and work), the immense workload and responsibility, the needs for very precise work, the planning in all fields of life, times and frames utilized to the maximum. In economic terms: maximizing the use of all resources for the higher benefits and profits. This is not so strictly managed under the domestic labor market conditions, people are not as familiar with this practice (or do not know the loopholes of it). This is in some opinions considered to be good: because it provides planning, means predictability, and protection, safety. Other interview partners see it as bad: they consider it to be exploitation, doing slave work.

Working abroad - and the IPs' dare to change, search and apply for other jobs on the external labor market - resulted in a knowledge in labor market orientation: interview partners informed themselves about what a job description meant, what salary options are behind a job ad, what the advancement opportunities in a field are, what characteristics or risks are needed to change. They received a deeper insight into labor market situations and meanwhile they developed a broader, external perspective. This knowledge is the result of several years' labor migration.

In all cases, the principle of learning by doing is a basic principle that has been realized. Since they went out from a labor-environment that was rather permissive and "loose" (Romanian), into a more restrictive, formalized one (in the country of destination) on an area where they did not have (much, if any) previous experience, and where the field was full of novelties and challenges - starting doing a work was the way they learned a lot. Besides, IPs reported about learning to manage complexity, and advanced in multitasking. The experiential learning represents a value that could not have been realized in domestic circumstances (in such depth and within these frames of time).

What we saw in the interviews, was, that the greatest sources of danger, leading to vulnerability are: the lack of foreign language skills, the lack of minimal knowledge about

foreign labor-related laws, rights and obligations, the lack of an adequate degree of self-interest and advocacy, and the lack of helping relationships. If these deficiencies accumulate, they constitute a base for labor market exploitation or discrimination. Not all IPs were affected by these elements, however, we saw cases where the potential of a danger was quite close or real - e.g. labor contracts were not proper, people were not paid according to agreements, etc.

Another observation from the interviews is related to the IPs' commitment to the jobs they were working in (in the country of destination). Despite the fact that IPs are not employed according to their qualifications in the country of destination, they might become familiar in their jobs, they might become accustomed in them after some time. They might observe the chances for learning and might progress over time. IPs who mention such perspectives evolving during their working migration seem to be more proactive employees in the domestic environment after their return. They formulate more exact future plans, more realistic imaginations and scenarios for their reintegration into the domestic labor market. Those who lack these proactive attitudes, and/or those who experience working abroad to be hard and unpleasant, those who return home with experiences of exploitation seem to have more difficulties in their reintegration to the labor market.

3.3.3. Lessons learned about personal traits and interpersonal relations during/due to working abroad

IPs mention different personal preconditions that seem to be necessary for labor migration to begin favorably (or useful in crisis situations): positivity, open-mindedness, determination, ability to stand for oneself, ability to learn, perseverance, strong will, resilience, resourcefulness (to cope with new situations) kindness, empathy, ability to handle stress, ability to understand the other persons' point of view or position, ability to cope with homesickness, psychical endurance, and the ability to manage conflicts.

In addition, IPs mention that it is very helpful if labor migrants have their own goals for the period of working abroad. As work and time sequences pass, the realization of goals will determine the return plan or maintain the circles of labor migration. Besides, having aims and goals with labor migration aided IPs in their mental strength and motivation.

It is common that labor migrants start thinking (in details or more deeply) about their labor rights and responsibilities only after a time and experience in working abroad. Becoming more and more conscious in this respect helps and leads them to take necessary steps, find information and answers and to find alternatives. This is a process that starts after the start of labor migration, and evolves/develops gradually step-by-step through more experience abroad.

Women mention that due to labor migration (and during their labor migration) they became more courageous, conscious in more respects, and became proactive in considering their jobs and labor market chances. Their self-esteem increased as well.

There are IPs who evaluate the experiences gathered during their labor migration overall positively, mentioning the positive changes in their attitude or philosophy of life. Others, a smaller number of IPs, consider working abroad “the necessary evil” of their life - this seems to be rather a self-protection or defense mechanism IPs feeling exploited with work more likely accentuate this perspective).

In destination countries IPs face ethnic, cultural and social differences, and discrimination along these categories (e.g. “you are dumb if you don’t speak the language”, “you are just a nurse, nothing more”, “Romanian gypsy” etc.).

Another experience that IPs mention is related to their connections and relationships. Most of them emphasize the restructuring of their relationships: the termination of several relationship in Romania (their capacity to maintain every previous relation becomes scarce, narrows down to connections only to family and close friends), while the emergence of a few new relationships is mentioned (with team leaders or superiors and fellow-workers in the external working environment). All these also depend on personal ambition and communication skills.

As we mentioned in the introduction one major challenge and risk of the working migrants and their families is keeping the „integrity” of the family, while the minor children left behind might be affected in their well-being and development. Such an effect is mentioned by the IP11, who speaks with regret and with emotional voice about his teenage son, who no longer seems to be interested in learning. The IP sees the connection between his working migration and his son’s lower school performance.

“I always say them – my daughter is still little, but to my son -, that he has to learn, in order to avoid the situation to being forced to “bump around”, and to can stay and succeed at home. (...) he is 13, now would be the moment when he should learn more intensively (...) its not good that he is seeing all this, that I’m abroad and huge amounts of money „come home”. (...) He is no longer taking the school and learning seriously. (...) This is my experience. Before all this he was between the best students in the class, but now, since I am working abroad, his performance decreased and now he is between the lasts in the class. (...) He sees that abroad I can earn more, and he thinks that ‘no problem, I will also go abroad’.” (IP11, man in his 40s, working in construction)

3.4 Context

One of the drives of labor migration is the challenge to find a workplace: Working migration can be pursued as a posted worker. Migrants might be sent by a local Romanian employer (as opposed to an agency), who offers an opportunity to work abroad in a similar professional field which the person has in the country. This labor force “borrowing” is not a new phenomenon, but a rare one in our region (we can rather find this in the capital or larger cities). This practice is common in the care sector or in the fields of transport and

constructions. A business registered in Romania concludes an employer contracts in Romania and borrows labor force (drivers, bricklayers) for companies in Germany or the UK. Thus, there are companies that beside offering jobs on the national labor market provide the opportunity to experience external jobs and working conditions. Based on IP's reports, we have seen scenarios where: the IP was given an opportunity to work abroad, and together with this opportunity they met the chance of additional financial earning; and we have talked to IPs who found out about the company and applied there with the goal of better earning chances. The mechanisms (ways and modes) of getting an external job are similar, but motives and drives behind them are different.

Another incentive for external labor migration is that low-skilled (or unskilled), sometimes even skilled jobs are not paying sufficiently and are not providing satisfying earnings in Romania. Consequently, employees can hardly secure a reasonable livelihood for their families. Families find it hard to save money, and find it even more difficult to school their children. Earnings (or the value of earnings) do not increase proportionally with the price increase of groceries, leisure costs for families, the fulfillment of social expectations, etc. In rural environments there is a strong pressure on middle-class and middle-aged population to "have something to show for", to realize a commonly acknowledged value in family. This means to show the ability to create something (for example: to build a house for the boy or boys of the family in order to leave a respectable heritage). We have seen in interviews that this is the main reason for some people when they chose to work abroad.

Another common starting point of working abroad is the "interpersonal relationship" factor: when one member of a partnership, a fiancée, spouse) or a good friend works abroad already. In such a case, a person who previously did not have career plans for working abroad plans the work abroad because of their partnership. In these cases, all IP's had jobs in Romania - jobs that proved to not be satisfactory enough from a professional or financial point of view, which constituted secondary reasons for going to work abroad. When they came back, some of the IPs returned to their former jobs. Others, those who previously didn't really have jobs or work experiences on Romanian labor market - because they did casual work, grey work, worked in agriculture or family farming, keep up circular working migration for several years, and this becomes determinant of their lives. These persons do not have concrete initial plans; their plans evolve only after several years of working abroad. While returning to Romania they found it more difficult to succeed in the labor market.

A general social pattern, which is based on the functioning of family models, also affects labor migration. One recurring expression of this social effect is when the younger generations see their parents' struggle managing the livelihood of the family. They see parents working hard in industry jobs while earning little and see parents additionally keeping up agricultural activities to save spending on food. Children thus decide to shorten their education or training and search for jobs abroad, aiming to start their labor migration

as soon as they can. For these persons, future career prospects are not better than their parents' prospects, if they are low skilled. Even with higher education degrees the first years in their careers are hard. Another social pattern with regards to the family model occurs, when one parent is experienced in working abroad, and passes on their gathered knowledge and experiences (both positive and negative) to their child. This way, parents help and encourage family members to pursue labor migration. We mentioned in the literature review how generations relate in labor migration. We see now that there is a new generation growing up in our region – and nationwide as well - in whose family model the work abroad has significant presence and affect, and this surely affects their thinking and behaviors on the labor market.

IPs' thoughts on the "finalization" of labor migration are justified mainly with the following responses:

- The aims and goals of labor migration have been realized and the final return and domestic reintegration is wished by the IP (searching for other challenges, new fields, another type of stability).
- Beside the IP's feelings and wishes (homesickness, dilemmas, not considering the work abroad to be satisfactory enough) pressures related to the family (distance, being absent from children's lives, expecting a child, etc.) are becoming more and more severe and lead to the decision of terminating a labor migration.
- For a few IPs "finalization" of working abroad is not about finishing it, but rather about finding a kind of stability in it, keeping up the living in two worlds, and planning to keep it up on long term.

We looked at the migratory practice through the lens of adult learning, information and experience gathering. We put a focus on the previous qualifications and labor market experiences of labor migrants, on the knowledge and experiences gathered during the work abroad, and on the knowledge resources migrants can transfer home as knowledge capital that serves their homeland reintegration to the labor market. In this perspective we aim to put adult educational offers in the service of labor migrants (regardless of the phase of migration they are in).

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6. An Integrated Theory of the Educational Demands of Working Migrants

Explaining the educational demands of working migrants, their causes, contents and forms, as well as the factors influencing them requires taking into account the specific situations working migrants are in. In this study, we scrutinized the circumstances of working migrants through their narrations, led by the assumption, that an individual's biography represents a juncture, in which the social and the personal are intertwined in a dialectic relationship. Through the analysis of our interview partners accounts, we identified not only different educational needs, but also different factors that influence those needs both in content and form. By looking at significant factors and grouping these factors, we were able to develop relatively distinct categories. The categories we developed were:

- Educational Demands: Or core category, and at the same time our starting point. In the light of our research question, it was clear, that educational demands were a phenomenon we were searching for. Looking for educational demand, we were already theoretically sensitized when entering our field, yet we remained open to discovery and the data. In engaging with the data it became for example clear to us, that educational demands as a category possessed two distinct yet interrelated sub-categories, namely Educational Contents and Educational Forms. While to first encompass the educational subjects and issues working migrants should know, the second involved the different forms of learning, which working migrants can and do make use of in their country of destination.
- Intermediary Factors: This category is comprised of factors on the micro- and meso-level, which impact working migrants lives and therefore have implications for their migration experience. An intermediary factor influences, which educational demands a working migrant has, as well as if and how they can fulfill this demand.
- Context Factors: This category encompasses factors on the macro level, the larger structural factors and processes which indirectly or directly impact the lives of working migrant and therefore have implications regarding their migration experience. Context factors thus influence working migrants' educational demands in the same way intermediary factors do.

These categories and the sub-categories they are comprised of can be relatively well differentiated. However, there are cases, where subcategories both indicated, for example, a context factor and the educational demand resulting from the context factor. The categories and sub-categories we chose to include are not exhaustive. We selected them and from a range of codes and categories we found in the material through the process of selective coding. We emphasized the following categories due to their explanatory power and due to the thematic relevance for our research question. Other aspects of the migration experience of working migrants, which had no direct or indirect implication for the educational demands for working migrants were very well present in the material but are not selected here.

6.1. Integrated Educational Demands (content)

Central educational contents that came up directly or indirectly in our study are similar between the country studies. This might in part be due to the research team being in constant exchange over the individual findings. It is mostly due, however, to the experiences related by the interview partners in the different countries.

One central educational content that was mentioned by interview partners was the country of destinations **language**. Given, that language is a key skill, this finding is not extraordinary. Being proficient in the country of destinations language helped interview partners to find (better) jobs, to interact with public authorities and to oppose fraudulent employers. It helped them supporting their children's learning processes and is a necessary precondition for their inclusion in the country of destinations society. Not being proficient in the country of destinations language was described not only as a source of stress and anxiety, but also leaves working migrants vulnerable to exploitation and limits their career chances¹. Consequently, most interview partners saw the utility of having language proficiency for different aspects of their stay. However, not all interview partners had time or motivation to learn the language in a formal setting. The question, whether working migrants had time to learn, was dependent on their working conditions, whether they migrated together with their family, their duration of stay and the form of their migration. Some reported of a learning-by-ear approach, using notebooks and learning through conversations². Others reported, that formal learning, like school classes or courses they took in their respective countries of origin yielded mixed results. While some could rely on the skills learned earlier, others found that the learning formats did not help them during their working migration and were limited in their practical relevance. This also has implications for the educational formats working migrants need to thrive abroad. Such formats must be practice oriented and aim at equipping learners with the necessary basics. They must also supply learners with the means to continue learning outside of course settings. For those, who do not have time to learn the country of destinations language due to their short duration of stay, ways of ensuring the fulfillment of their educational demands in absence of language as a tool would have to be found. Even then, the facilitation of other educational contents might be deficient.

Another educational demand that was ascertained in all country studies was knowledge of **rights and laws**. Different aspects of this educational demand are **labor laws, legalization and right of residence, law of tenancy, social policy** and **taxation**. Working migrants, especially those working in unskilled positions, are affected by intersecting vulnerabilities: Their migrant status as well as their employment under precarious conditions means, that they are facing a significant power imbalance when dealing with institutions in their country of destination. Exploitative employers can utilize undocumented working migrants' status to extort them. Even working migrants with a residence permit can be blackmailed through

¹ The language barrier as a limit to success has also been assessed in other studies, see for example Voivozeanu 2019: 9-10.

² See Isphording 2015

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the threat of eviction (if the employer is also their landlord), or simply through the threat of dismissal, giving that their residence permit might be tied to working and the presumably higher financial pressure they are under. Exploitative employers can also use the working migrants lacking knowledge of forms of labor contracts, health insurance provisions and other legal aspects to defraud them of wages. Additionally, these legal provisions can differ significantly between working migrants' countries of origin and their countries of destination. Labor laws are therefore an important educational content for working migrants. Through knowing their rights and through knowing how to enforce them, some protection is afforded to working migrants against abuse and exploitation at the workplace. Informing working migrants about their rights also includes informing them about ways to find help and institutions they can turn to. In order to fulfill this educational demand, educators need to work hand in glove early on with counselling and advocacy groups. Legalization and right of residency are important especially for third state members migrating to work in an EU-country. Applying for a residency permit can be costly and stressful. In cases, where the right of residency is tied to the employment, unclear circumstances can further the power imbalance between the working migrants and their employers, decreasing the working migrants' agency. As described in the polish case, a successful legislation might require hiring a costly agency. To support working migrants, education must take include the topic of rights of residency and provide practically relevant information for application processes. Given, that in some cases, employers also act as working migrants' landlords, **laws of tenancy** are an important aspect of labor laws. In addition, especially for working migrants who want to stay in their country of destination for a longer period, laws of tenancy become important when searching for flats or being engaged in arguments with their landlords. The country of destinations **social policy** and its legal framework are an important educational content for working migrants not only in relation to their workplace. Of course, knowing about tax codes, health insurance provisions and forms of employment is important in combatting exploitation. The utility of social policy however far supersedes this aspect. Knowing about the **health** care system of the country of destination is of general importance. For working migrants with families, knowledge of child benefits is valuable. The knowledge of the country of destinations tax codes constitutes valuable, too. Imparting such educational contents demands a practically oriented approach that enables working migrants to quickly apply the lessons they learned.

Educational demands regarding **education** and **job training** can be found in all country studies. Specifically, the demands concern **further job training** or **further education** in the country of destination. For some working migrants, moving to their country of destination is regarded as an educational opportunity. While some interview partners cite the informal acquisition of new skills, such as proficiency in the country of destinations language, others want to connect their stay to a formal education. There were those among the interview partners, who wanted to start a new job training abroad, continue studies and job trainings which they had begun in other countries and those who wanted to specialize in their respective fields. Such endeavors involve an understanding over processes and rules

regarding the **acknowledgement of job trainings and degrees**. By knowing, if and how degrees acquired in other countries can be acknowledged in the country of destination, working migrants can decrease the possibility of a skills mismatch and utilize their prior education in further education. It needs to be mentioned, however, that some working migrants accept a skills mismatch, either because they have to, due to structural or material pressures or lacking language proficiency, or because of wage differences between their country of origin and country of destination. Other reasons for accepting a skills mismatch are the temporality of a migration or pursuing non- or post-material goals³. For those, who aim at working in the field they trained in, or who want to seek further education building from existing degrees, the process of acknowledgment for prior degrees and skills is an important educational content. For families, understanding the country of destinations educational system is also important with regards to parenting. While the educational demands with regards to specific further education and training are highly different between individual working migrants, knowing about structures and processes of education in the country of destination constitutes a more general educational demand.

Orientation and the psycho-social impact of working migration constitute further shared educational demands. Migrating to another country, being far away from family and friends, moving through new, foreign surroundings and the feeling of being foreign can be causes of stress even in relatively ideal circumstances. If this is however accompanied by hard work, potential discrimination and loneliness, the emotional burdens put upon those migrating increase. Working in exploitative environments can cause further psychological harm and diminish persons feeling of self-worth, thereby aiding further exploitation. In all country studies, negative psychological impacts of working migration and the need for orientation in the country of destination became apparent. In interview partners narrations, the instances of isolation, homesickness, loneliness and stress were reported. While such experiences can hardly be avoided, their impact could be mitigated by knowing, which experiences to expect and by learning coping strategies. Some interview partners explicitly stated that they would like to know about conflict management, stress management and crisis management. Reducing loneliness and alleviating the effects of a potential culture shock also entails **cultural orientation** in the country of destination. For working migrants, it can be helpful to better understand their country of destinations society and customs. Understanding the country of destinations culture can decrease feelings of alienation and can help working migrants in seeking social contacts. These educational contents, if conveyed early on, could foster working migrants' acculturation in their country of destination and indirectly decrease the severity of psychological problems, as well as the likelihood of exploitation and workplace abuse. Part of conveying the educational contents should be to inform about psychosocial services as well as associations and societies working migrants might want to join abroad.

³ See Trevena 2013

The educational demands listed above were reported to us by our interview partners. While our study is not representative, and does not aim to be, we found the importance of these educational contents to be confirmed during our final literature review. The educational demands of working migrants, their content, form, and fulfillment might dependent on context and intermediary factors. However, comparing between our country studies and comparing our country studies to other research, we are confident that our findings are applicable to most working migrants in the EU.

6.2. Integrated Educational Demands (form)

The educational demands of working migrants are shaped by their action (the working migration), as well as by the larger context, in which this action takes part, and by the intermediary factors which impact working migrants life on the meso- and micro-level. Not only the intermediary factors and the context variables are influencing educational demands in their content and form, however. The educational contents themselves imply certain forms, in which educational contents have to be conveyed, in order to satisfy educational demands. Therefore, these forms constitute an aspect of the educational demands of working migrants.

One factor that shapes the form working migrants' educational demands is **time**. Time as an issue for seeking out education is found in all country studies and is influenced by intermediary factors, namely the duration of stay, family and work among others. When time is brought up with regards to educational demands in the material, it is often to point out, that the interview partners or working migrants more broadly do not have the time to pursue a further education, due to their workload or household chores. Additionally, interview partners point out, that they are often exhausted after work. Talking about time as a factor for education more generally, some interview partners point out, that the readiness to take part in educational formats for working migrants is dependent on their planned duration of stay. As a response to this, educators aiming at reaching working migrants should plan educational courses so as to fit working migrants time schedule and level of exhaustion. One solution for this could be weekend courses, accompanied by childcare for families. Another strategy could be employing blended learning, enabling working migrants to learn in their own time by providing learning material.

This would also fit with another factor present in all country studies: **informal and remote learning**.

Throughout the country studies, working migrants reported using informal learning strategies such as learning by ear, or using digital tools such as apps to cope with everyday problems and to learn. Such further learning tools could be integrated into a course model, so as to make for a more sustainable learning experience. Learning material would then have to be adapted to such tools. In addition, informal, **problem-oriented** learning strategies of working migrants can help to guide the way issues are presented in educational formats aiming at working migrants. In addition to the contents being practice based, the form of teaching should be open to questions and raising pressing concerns, answering those and moving from them, as examples, to larger issues. This requires a

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degree of openness and flexibility in teaching and additional effort, it seems, however, to be a promising way of meeting working migrants learning needs.

The **accessibility of education** is another requirement in order to convey educational contents successfully. Different aspects of accessibility have been raised as issues throughout our country studies. These aspects are **costs**, **spatial access** and **access to information** about education. While these issues might seem banal, they are also crucial for the successful fulfillment of working migrants' educational demands. High costs of education can constitute a serious obstacle, especially given the trade-off between time and money, which working migrants are in. Spatial access to education requires educational formats to be offered relatively close to the working migrants' homes. Transportation can be time- and cost-intensive, especially in rural areas. Finally, access to information about education is a necessary requirement for learners to engage in any form of education. In the highly isolated living situation that many working migrants are in their countries of destination, information about educational formats is harder to get across. Ways to react to this is to offer educational programs early on in the respective countries of origin, and to contact counselling institutions and others already in contact with working migrants in the country of destination, in order to inform them about courses or other educational formats.

The form of education working migrants require is also shaped by intermediary factors like **prior education** and professional networks. The question, which educational contents are demanded, and to which degree, for example depends on prior language skills in the country of destinations language. People who have already visited courses addressing some of the educational contents listed above might have different educational demands. This cannot be said for certain, as some interview partners for example stated, that the language classes and courses they visited in their country of origin were broadly insufficient. In other cases, where professional networks, for example in the care sector, organized training courses, a more comprehensive prior education took place. In order to respond to the different individual educational demands, educational formats could be modulated. This way, they could act as a substitute, where prior knowledge does not exist and as complementary education, where it does. This also touches the question of **the language** of educational formats. While the language of the country of destination is a vital educational content, not every working migrant might have a learning success that immediately allows for employing language proficiency in practical use. In order to convey other crucial educational contents, at least the learning materials used should be designed multilingually. Multilingual teaching could include queries in the migrants countries of origins language. In addition, lessons for language learning themselves should be close to working migrants' everyday problems and practice-oriented.

As has been pointed out in the Polish case, **age** and **cultural background** are intermediary factors which have implication for the form of educational formats aimed at fulfilling working migrants' educational demands. People in different age groups have varying degrees of motivation when it comes to seeking education. As argued by sociologists like

Stevens⁴ and economists like Dustmann⁵, migrants language acquisition decreases with their age of migration. While Stevens explains this through life-course trajectories, Dustmann points out, that the incentives to learn new languages might decrease with rising age. Both, however, find that the duration of the migration has a positive influence on language acquisition. Nevertheless, in order to communicate educational contents successfully, educational formats have to be sensitive to age differences among the course participants and will have to find ways to involve older participants. Similarly, an educational format addressing the needs of working migrants needs to be sensitive to the cultural imprint of working migrants from different countries of origin. This includes knowing about their respective educational and social systems to better explicate contrasts with the country of destination.

The factors named here are not the only factors influencing the form of educational demands. Other factors are the educational contents themselves. Learning a new language or dealing with the psycho-social impact of migrating imply their own forms of education. Considering these factors, the educational needs of working migrants might be addressed best by modularized educational formats, which are responsive to their individual demands.

6.3. Integrated Intermediary Factors

The educational demands of working migrants, both with regards to the educational contents and educational forms, are influenced by intermediary factors, which shape them, increase or decrease their urgency or act as obstacles in their fulfillment.

One common intermediary factor, which triggered working migration, and shaped the migration experience of our interview partners, was **family**. The migration experience of family members who were themselves working migrants is a forming experience for many current working migrants, especially in countries, where working emigration is widespread. The families' financial situation forced some of our interview partners to drop out of school and enter the labor market early. Generally, the economic situation of the family is a factor causing people to seek work abroad. Family can also factor into the decision which country of destination to choose: If family members or friends are already living abroad, working migrants might choose to move to their country of residence, because there is already a support network present. For working migrants moving alone to support their family in the country of origin, higher financial pressures influence their agency: given, that they have to afford living in the country of destination and sending remittances home, they might be in a situation, where they cannot as easily fight back against workplace exploitation. Having to save for remittances also influences their live in the country of destination. Besides long working hours, having to save makes it harder to engage in leisure activities, and thus makes it harder to get to know people in the country of destination. This is another factor feeding into the isolation of working migrants. In addition, only being able to communicate with one's family via video call or phone calls can exacerbate feelings of loneliness and

⁴ Stevens 1999: 574

⁵ Dustmann 1994: 144

homesickness. Migrating as a family can bring its own complications: Supporting a family in the country of destination is difficult on oftentimes low wages and can become a problem even in a two-earner household. Parenting abroad is also difficult, especially, when working migrants do not possess proficiency in the country of destinations language and do not know the intricacy of the country of destinations educational system. All this also has an impact on working migrants' educational demands. For one, the financial pressures and the additional time spent to do care work or stay in contact with the family can impede working migrants' access to education. Additionally, for families migrating together, the educational contents listed in this study become ever more important, especially the country of destinations language and social policy.

An important intermediary factor shaping working migrations educational demands is their **economic situation** and their **work** itself. Their working conditions shape working migrants daily live and their economic situation. Depending on the length of the workday, and the form of tasks, working migrants face different levels of exhaustion at the end of their workdays. Exploitative working conditions and criminal employers put working migrants in harm's way and contribute to their isolation in the country of destination. Such working conditions also have implications for working migrants' economic situation. If they are defrauded or underpaid, they are facing higher financial pressures. Depending on the economic pressures they are facing outside of work (the need to send remittances to the family, form and price level of rent, savings), working migrants have only limited agency in combatting such abuse. If working migrants are forced to work unpaid overtime, both the time and the energy they have are diminished. Exploitative working conditions impact working migrants' educational demands twofold: they make it harder to access education and they make even more necessary information about labor laws and workers' rights, as well as language proficiency. The work environment and the workplace are important aspects, too. If a work environment is amicable, and if colleagues are open and helpful towards working migrants, their workplaces can become places of informal education, for example when it comes to acquiring language proficiency. If subjected to a hostile work environment, or to an ethnically structured workplace, in which working migrants work exclusively or almost exclusively among members of their own ethnic group, such learning experiences will likely not take place. Positive examples for the workplace as a place of education can be found in the Romanian case, where all interview partners to some degree reported a "learning by doing" experience in their respective workplaces. With longer working migrations, spanning over several years, the interview partners gained experience not only regarding the tasks and the skills required, but also about administrative and legal aspects of their jobs.

Migration itself is creating conditions which act as intermediary factors. Working abroad changes working migrants' social relationships and confronts them with new challenges, reaching from psychologically coping with living in another country, to bridging or circumventing the language barriers to organizing life in the country of destination. The migration experience of working migrants is determined by a range of factors, such as

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nationality and cultural background, the presence of networks, support or hostility, work, the duration of their stay, their personality, their prior education and prior migrations, to name a few. The nationality and cultural background of working migrants can influence both where they migrate to, and how their migration proceeds in the country of destination. Working migrants moving to a country with a similar language, or a country whose language they have learned in school face less problems with a language barrier. In addition, working migrants often decide for a country of destination due to ethnical networks. Networks, whether professional, ethnical or kinship-based can be sources of information, emotional support, social or monetary capital for working migrants. This is dependent on the networks being free of hostile actors and the networks not furthering isolation. As sources of information, such networks then positively influence a working migrants' informal education. The live of working migrants abroad is also influenced by whether they predominately experience a supportive social environment, or whether they face a hostile environment, which can be comprised of hostile co-workers, exploitative employers, xenophobes, (municipal) government officials or predatory businesses trying to abuse their situation. This implies educational contents, which address ways to deal with hostility and sources of support. Working migrants' personalities impact, how they deal with the challenges they face and how they approach their situation. They also impact, whether working migrants seek education. Prior migrations might have contributed to working migrants experience in dealing with the demands of working abroad. Especially with regards to language proficiency, or in cases of skilled jobs, prior education can positively influence a working migrants migration experience. Lastly, the planned duration of the stay shapes working migrations and has implications for working migrants' educational demands. With shorter durations of stay, working migrants have less time for informal learning through experience abroad. In addition, they might have less incentives, to seek out formal education addressing their educational demands.

A working migrants **personality** influences how they deal with situations they face in the country of destination and how they perceive those situations in the first place. In short, a working migrants personality determines, how they subjectivize the objective circumstances they face. Working migrants who have an outgoing and open personality, for example, might actively seek contact with others and have less reservations about interacting with the country of destinations society and institutions. Working migrants, who are rather timid, might shy away from such encounters more easily. Working migrants' attitudes might decide, among other factors, how they perceive exploitation. Themselves influences by the intensity of material pressures, attitudes taken towards exploitative practices can result in different ways of reacting towards them. The way such practices are perceived and psychologically processed can range from outright rejection, resulting in resistance, to begrudging acceptance, implying dissatisfaction while not resisting, to rationalization and compartmentilization, resulting in justifying experiences of exploitation as a rite of passage or as a necessary evil. However, this influence is not one-directional. Working migrants' personalities also change through their migration experiences. Working

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migrants can be intimidated, even traumatized, if they are mistreated. With lasting abuse and exploitation, their self-esteem might suffer, weakening their defenses against such abuse and making them ever easier victims for further abuse and exploitation. By contrast, in the material, we also found examples of interview partners who reported gaining self-confidence through their migration experience. The different personality structures of working migrants have implications for their educational demands. Providing education for working migrants must aim at empowering them to resist their exploitation at work and abuses when interacting with other in general. The goal of education for working migrants must also be to encourage them to engage with society. Through the process of education, the self-esteem of working migrants could and should be strengthened by providing information that increases their agency.

Throughout our interview material, we found, that **education** is shaping working migration. This holds true for language proficiency working migrants had before their migration, as well as for their job training and other forms of formal education undergone before migrating. In addition, informal education, both before and during the migration play a role. Lastly, the question whether educational attainment is properly acknowledged in the country of destination impacts the situation of working migrants. Education itself is influenced by other intermediary factors and context variables. The families' finances and family background impact educational attainment, as does the country of origins education policy, social system and economic standing. Personal attitude towards learning and school also play a role in educational attainment. In the experience of our interview partners, language proficiency, whether acquired through formal learning or through informal means of learning (learning by ear, learning through TV-shows), has a beneficial effect on the situation in the country of destination. For job training, the results are mixed. Some interview partners in the German case point to successfully employing job trainings and past degrees. Within the sample, two academics used their migration specifically for further research, or for specialization. One interview partner went abroad to study. Some interview partners completed or planned job trainings in their country of destination, using their migration as an educational opportunity. Other interview partners again had the problem of skills mismatch, working in other, lower-skilled jobs than they would have been trained for. A big problem in these cases are lacking language proficiency and degrees/job trainings not being acknowledged. Cases in the Polish country study also varied. While some interview partners could better their job situation in their country of destination by employing their skills, others suffer from a skills mismatch and work in jobs beneath their level of training. In the Romanian country study, most interview partners reported being employed in unskilled jobs. In many cases, this might be due to skills-mismatch. In some cases it can also be traced to the necessary educational degrees not being completed. Some interview partners point out, that they not having completed their baccalaureate in school might be a disadvantage in their current situation. Interview partners in the German and Romanian case report preparing for the working migration through formal education, e.g. language classes. In the Romanian case, such preparation is almost exclusively found among male interview

partners, who subsequently display a higher level of self-esteem. Interview partners from different countries report, that they see migration and working abroad as an opportunity for informal learning. A lot of interview partners for example mention picking up new languages or learning new skills. The educational experience has implications for the contents and forms of educational demands of working migrants. To which degree the country of destinations language is a necessary educational content, for example, depends on prior language education. While most interview partners, who have visited German courses in their countries of origin, see only a limited utility in their prior education, Language courses in the country of origin could still be a valuable contribution if taught thoroughly and practice oriented. In order to enable working migrants to employ the skills, trainings and degrees acquired in their countries of origin, information is necessary about acknowledgement rules and procedures and the problems of skills mismatch in the country of destination. With regards to form, educational formats aiming at addressing the educational demands of working migrants should be compatible with informal ways of further learning.

In our material, these are the predominant intermediary factors which shape working migrants' educational demands.

6.4. Integrated Influence of Context

Not only factors on the micro- and meso levels influence the migration and subsequently the educational demands of working migrants. Structural factors on the macro level play a role as well. We have decided, to categorize these factors as context-factors. These factors influence the decision to migrate and the country of destination chosen by working migrants. They influence the form and content of working migrant's educational demands. They also contribute to shaping the intermediary factors influencing working migration.

Among these structural factors is the **society and culture of the country of origin**. In societies, where working migration has a longer history, and where a larger part of the workforce is working abroad, working migration experiences are shared within families. In addition, a larger part of the workforce working abroad means, that migrant communities might exist in the country of destination, providing immaterial and material resources and thus shaping migration decisions. Additionally, widespread political or moral attitudes can influence people's decision to migrate if these attitudes are discriminatory. The choice of a country of destination can also be influenced by social or cultural factors: similar languages, historical ties, or a high prestige of the country of destination in the country of origin can influence migration decisions.

The political systems of the country of origin and the country of destination respectively can also influence the decision to migrate and the choice of the country of destination. Political dysfunction, like widespread corruption, or oppressive, authoritarian tendencies in the country of origin can be reasons to pursue a working migration. In the case of Ukrainian migrants, the direct and indirect effects of the civil war with pro-Russian separatists is a strong push factor. Generally, push factors created by the political system of the country of

origin can create a high level of pressure to migrate, decreasing the time to plan for such a migration and the agency of the migrant abroad. Conversely, the real – or even just perceived – political system in the country of destination are pull factors for some working migrants when choosing their country of destination. Positive attributes like the rule of law or a comprehensive welfare policy can be strong motivators for working migrants. This is not without peril, as even in those countries which are seen as rule-abiding, abuse and exploitation still happen. This can take working migrants by surprise when they initially anticipated an honest work environment due to the country's reputation. The political systems of working migrants' countries of origin and destination have implications for their educational demands, too. Information about the political system of the country of destination can help working migrants to orient themselves and can help to prevent misconceptions. For working migrants from authoritarian or otherwise dysfunctional political systems, which were under higher pressure to migrate, large parts of the educational demands would need to be addressed in the country of destination.

Not only the political system of the countries of origin and destination respectively, are an important contextual variable. One specific structural factor impacting working migrants' decision to move, their destination and their migration experience, is **social policy** and the **social security system**. A strong welfare state can raise the attractiveness of a country of destination, even among working migrants who do not want to rely on welfare. Benefits like child benefits can be incentives to work in a specific country. Additionally, weak, or dysfunctional social security systems in the country of origin can be a reason for migration. If a country's health care system needs medical personnel and care workers, the country might become a country of destination for working migrants in the care sector. Social policy has implications for working migrants' educational demands. In order to be properly informed about their social rights abroad, working migrants need to understand the social security system, its institutions, processes and their rights within it. Information on the social security and health care system is especially valuable for those working migrants working within it, such as nurses, carers and doctors.

Education systems in the country of origin and the country of destination determine, which education working migrants can acquire in these respective countries. The curricula of formal education for example might influence, whether working migrants had the opportunity to learn the country of destinations language prior to their migration. The education system in the country of origin generally influences the skills working migrants can acquire before working abroad. The educational infrastructure in the countries of origin additionally determines, whether they can fulfill their migration specific educational demands before migrating. The education system in the country of destination influences, whether and to which extent degrees and job trainings completed in the country of origin are acknowledged. Its' infrastructure also influences, whether working migrants can fulfill their educational demands during their migration. As a consequence, information about the country of destinations education system itself becomes an important educational content for working migrants.

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One of the main drivers of working migration is the **economic situation**, both in their countries of origin and in their countries of destination. While other factors play a role, too⁶, the prospect to earn higher wages abroad is a predominant reason for working migration in our material. Working migration is undergone to save, to send remittances back to the country of origin, or to stay in the country of destination permanently. Our interview partners reported of bad payment practices, inability to make a living wage despite working full time, or a generally weak economy that made it hard to find work in their countries of origin. The relatively better economic situation in the countries of destination, then, for most, was the reason to migrate there for work. The economic situation working migrants find themselves in in their country of origin and the intensity and form of economic problems they face can shape the working migration itself. Among our interview partners, there were those who migrated in order to send remittances home, so their children could study, those who did not find work in their country of origin, and those who planned to migrate permanently. The economic situation in the country of origin influences the degree of pressure working migrants are under, both before and during their migration. With high pressure to migrate and work abroad, preparing for the migration becomes more difficult. In the country of destination, the dependency on the income can diminish working migrants' agency and force them into accepting exploitative jobs. Working migrants under high financial pressures to send remittances might tolerate bad working conditions and exploitation, even if they know about their workers' rights. The better the country of origins economic situation is, the lower the economic pressure on working migrants becomes and the more agency they have in their choice to migrate. This phenomenon could be observed, when agricultural businesses complained in the last years, that not enough migrant workers could be found as farm hands. In the face of an economic crises, such trends might be reverted, and economic pressure on working migrants might rise again. The economic situation in the countries of origin and the countries of destination influences the intermediary factors of work and migration. It also has implications for education. Firstly, the material pressures arising from a bad economy in the country of origin might increase the pressure to migrate fast, reducing their time for preparation. This means, that educational demands might not be fulfilled in the country of origin, if the form of their facilitation is not compatible with working migrants' timeframes. Secondly, the pressures working migrants face due to the bad economic situation at home might decrease their possibilities to fulfill their educational demands in the country of destination. And thirdly, a high financial pressure on working migrants might decrease the utility of labor laws as an educational content, if the facilitation of this content is not connected to teaching practical ways of enforcing ones rights, such as informing about counselling and advocacy institutions in the country of destination.

Lastly, **legal frameworks** shape the migration of working migrants. The residency laws in the country of destination determine, how long and under which conditions working migrants can stay and if they can legally stay at all. Laws also determine if and when

⁶ See Massey 2009: 27-31

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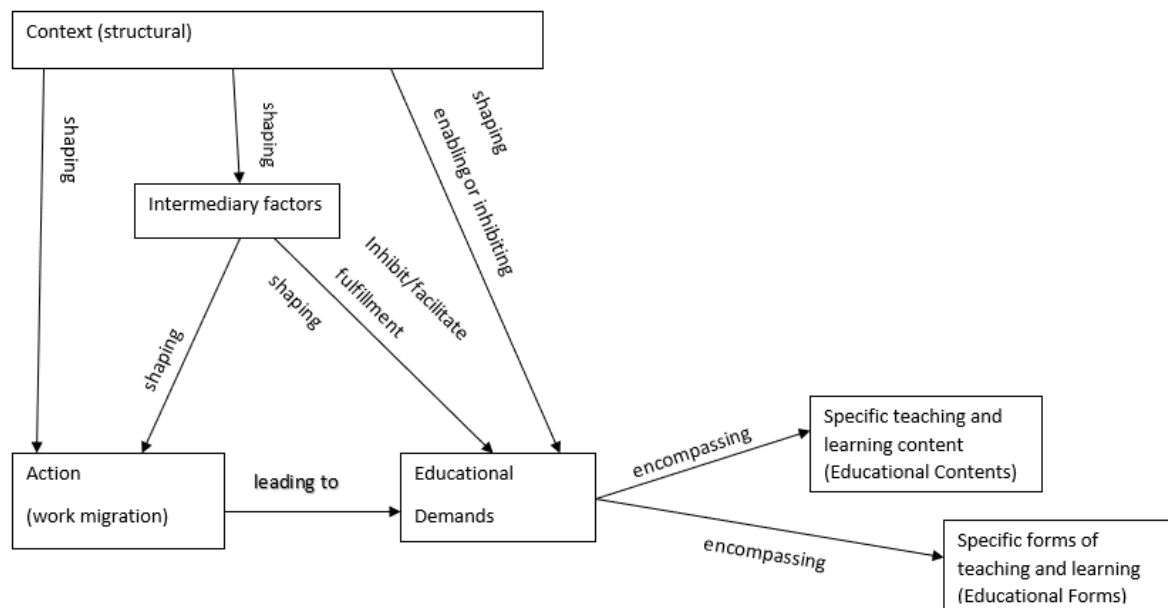
working migrants are entitled to benefits, how long they can be unemployed in the country of destination and which jobs they can work in. The legal framework is also the basis for the interaction of working migrants with **institutions** in the country of destination. As such, they have a strong impact on working migrants' migration experience. They also influence intermediary factors, like work and family. Depending on the specific legal provisions, the pressure on working migrants to accept and stay in exploitative jobs can increase. Provisions concerning residency can also heighten the pressure on working migrants to accept sub-par housing and living conditions. As one interview partner in Germany put it: "If you come here, you need to have an address. That's the first thing you need to do...". Consequentially, the legal framework has implications for working migrants' educational demands. With regards to educational contents, the legal framework of migration creates the need to know about the framework and the details of laws of residency, migrants' rights and claims. This also entails the need to know about the institutions involved in administering these rights and the processes involved, for example, in legalization. As concerns the formal aspect of educational demands, education for working migrants needs to respond to the pressures on working migrants amplified by legal frameworks.

While intermediary factors are factors, over which working migrants possess some agency, the larger contextual factors cannot be changed by working migrants, only reacted to. While their influence might sometimes exert itself indirectly, through intermediary factors, it is no less potent. Changing those contextual factors, which put working migrants in harms way is a task that concerns society and states alike and which can only be achieved through transnational cooperation. The task of educators is to provide the information working migrants can utilize to best respond to the – for the time being immutable – circumstances which shape their lives.

6.5. Relations between factors

What are the educational demands of working migrants? To answer this research question, we scrutinized educational contents and educational forms. We also researched, which factors gave rise to the educational demands of working migrants and which factors determined the access working migrants have to education. The diagram below shows the different factors we identified and their relations.

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Model of working migrants educational demands and factors influencing them

Working migration is shaped by its context, and by intermediary factors, which, to some degree are also influenced by the larger context. Subsequently, the context and intermediary factors are influencing the educational demands of working migrants. Dominant context factors we found in the material include social and cultural imprint, political systems both in the country of origin and in the country of destination, the educational system in these countries, their social policies and welfare systems and the relevant legal framework governing migration. One important contextual factor is the economic situation in the countries of origin and destination respectively, impacting the economic pressure to migrate and the pressure during migration. Depending on these contextual factors, the migration of working migrants can take a very different course, with preparation time or pressure to migrate being impacted by them. The contextual factors, either directly or mediated through intermediary factors thus impacts working migrants' ability to seek out education, and the educational need for certain information, i.e., the educational contents. As mediating forces for the pressure working migrants are under, contextual factors also shape the form of working migrants educational demands, as their need to prioritize earning, e.g., disincentivizes further education, or requires educational formats to take into account working migrants time scarcity or exhaustion.

The dominant intermediary factors shaping the educational demands of working migrants are work and economic situation, migration, family, individual psychological factors, categorized as "self" and education. These intermediary factors, either as independent factors or as expressions of the larger context, are shaping working migration and educational demands. As is the case with contextual variables, intermediary factors can facilitate the fulfillment of working migrants' educational demands and contribute to favorable conditions, or inhibit and hinder this fulfillment. The intermediary factors identified in our study impact the contents and forms of working migrants' educational

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needs by creating demand for specific information and specific ways of conveying this information.

The answer to our study's research question *what are the educational demands of working migrants?* is as follows: The educational demands of working migrants with regard to educational contents are language, rights and laws, social policy and healthcare, career development and further education and orientation in the country of origin. With regards to educational forms, the educational demands of working migrants are forms of imparting that take into account the time working migrants have for courses, their needs with regards to accessibility of education, their experience with formal and informal ways of learning, their level of language proficiency and their age and cultural background. These educational demands in content and form are responding to the circumstances and experiences of working migrants. The individual educational needs and the possibilities for their fulfillment are shaped by intermediary factors and contextual factors. Educational formats therefore have to address the educational contents and forms which follow from such factors and take their influence into account. This way, education oriented towards the demands and needs of working migrants can contribute to their wellbeing and successful working migration.

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