

Katarzyna Gmaj*

THE INTEGRATION OF INDIAN MIGRANTS IN POLAND

Research leading to these results has received funding from the European Found for Integration of the Third Country Nationals and the Polish Government. The present work benefited from the input of Iwona Bąbiak, Ph.D Candidate at SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities, who was the Leader of the project *Namaste Poland! Researching the Situation and Integration Needs of Indians in Poland* run by the Foundation for Somalia. The author would like to thank all interviewees and interviewers for their involvement in the project leading to these results.

INTRODUCTION

The article presents a selected findings from the research project devoted to the integration of Indian citizens in Poland¹. In total, 40 interviews with Indians (30 males and 10 females) were conducted between April 2014 and February 2015. Interviewees resided predominantly in Warsaw² and the majority had higher education, while six had secondary education and one a vocational level of education. They were divided as follow: specialists, students (including BA, MA and PhD programs), academics, entrepreneurs, and skilled workers. They constituted a very diverse group with regards to their length of stay in Poland: the shortest stay was three months and the

* Katarzyna Gmaj – PhD, Lazarski University in Warsaw, Faculty of Economics and Management, k.gmaj@lazarski.edu.pl

¹ More results are included in I. Bąbiak, K. Gmaj (2015).

² The remaining interviews were conducted in Katowice (1), Krakow (2), Lodz (2), Siedlce (2), Wroclaw (6) and Wrzesnia (2).

longest 26 years. Those who have been in Poland for less than two years were mainly young people, mostly students, academics or specialists delegated to work in Poland. Those who have stayed longer were entrepreneurs having their own business or/and families in Poland.

In general, integration refers to the process of settlement, interaction with the host society, and social change that follows immigration. The concept of integration continues to be central in many studies; however, many scholars reject it. They argue that it is highly normative and teleological in nature (Penninx, Garcés-Masareñas 2015). Nevertheless, this stimulating theoretical discussion goes beyond the scope of this article. In short, Indian citizens' motivation for coming to Poland and their perception of our country and its people were analysed. The study revealed different patterns of adaptation. In the research, special attention was devoted to language acquisition since it is a central condition for the further social integration of immigrants outside the ethnic context (Esser 2006). Language proficiency influences migrants' social relations and their labour market performance, and in broader context their functioning in different spheres of everyday activities. Language skills play a crucial role in psychological and practical adaptation. They impact the sphere of individual emotions, strategies and activities of particular migrants (Halik, Nowicka 2002). Learning the language of the host country can be interpreted in categories of human capital, thus within the framework of the classic approach towards migration introduced by Larry Sjaastad (1962). Any given migrant decides to undertake an effort to gain linguistic skills (costs borne by the migrant) depending on the expected benefits which it brings.

The presentation of findings from the field study is preceded by some statistics on Indian immigrants' presence in Poland.

1. STATISTICS

Poland is not a typical country of migration for Indian citizens and they do not constitute a significant category of foreigners legalising their stay in Poland (see table 1. below). Nevertheless, an increase in their numbers has recently been observed, which has not escaped researchers' notice, especially in the context of Indian economic activities and the movement of highly skilled professionals (Pędziwiatr 2015; Kloc-Nowak 2013; Piłat and Wysieńska 2013).

In 2007, only 1 251 Indian citizens resided in Poland. This covers three forms of permits: short-term, permanent and EU long-term resident, as the base for their stay in Poland. Data for 1 January 2016 shows that 3063 Indian citizens resided in Poland.

Table 1

Residence permits issued to citizens of India, 2006–2015*

Year	Positive decisions on settlement permits/ (from May 2014) permanent stay	Share of decisions issued to all foreigners (%)	EU long-term resident permits	Share of decisions issued to all foreigners (%)	Residence permits issued for the fixed time/ (from May 2014) a temporary residence permit	Share of decisions issued to all foreigners (%)
2006	27	0.8	73	7.3	588	2.6
2007	18	0.6	37	4.6	628	2.7
2008	26	0.72	28	3.9	977	3.8
2009	26	0.9	16	1.3	1094	3.6
2010	34	1	27	3.5	1138	3.7
2011	35	0.9	23	3	1018	3.4
2012	61	1.6	35	4	1049	3
2013	57	1.6	66	3.7	1091	3.4
2014	71*	1.7	107	5.7	650**	3.5
2015	59	0.6	100	5	1713	2.6

* New regulations entering into force in May 2014 introduced permanent stay instead of settlement permits and temporary residence instead of fixed-period permits.

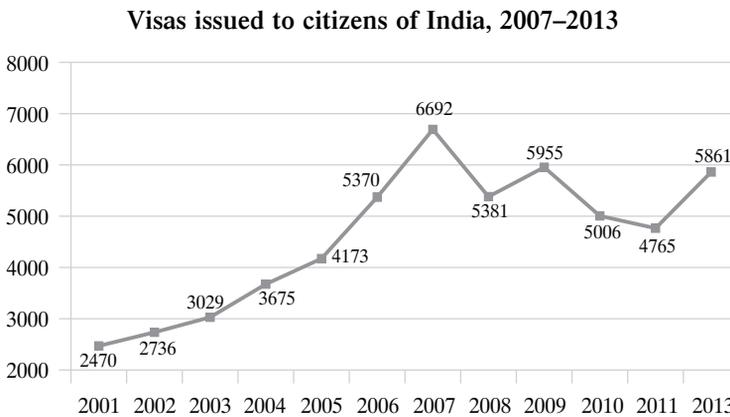
** Addition of 25 positive decisions for settlement permits issued before the new regulations entered into force in May 2014.

*** Addition of 748 positive decisions for fixed-period permit issued before new regulations entered into force in May 2014.

Source: Office for Foreigners, different years.

A residence permit was not the only basis for foreigners' stay in Poland. Indian citizens also stayed on the basis of visas. Not surprisingly, data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicated that Indian citizens constituted a low proportion of all foreigners to whom Polish consulates issued visas. However, a comparison of the number of visas issued at the beginning of the century and in 2013 shows that this figure has more than doubled. Figure 2 presents data on national and Schengen visas issued by Polish consulates.

Figure 1



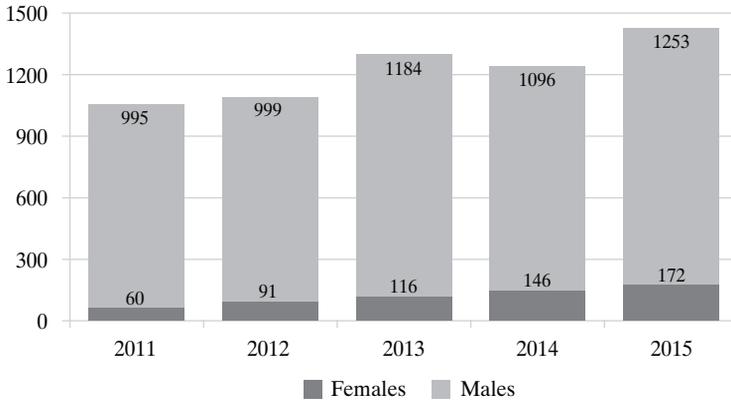
Source: Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs data.

The predominance of men among migrants legalising their stay in Poland was evident, particularly among working-age people, with most among those aged 20–54. The majority of work permits was issued for men. The table shows data from the period 2011–2015. Up until 2015, the number of permits issued to women never reached 10% of the total number.

Data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy (MLSP) provided the occupational characteristics of migrants. The main observation referred to the number of work permits, with their number doubling between 2009 and 2015. Regarding the geographical distribution of work permits, approximately two thirds were issued in Mazovian province.

Figure 2

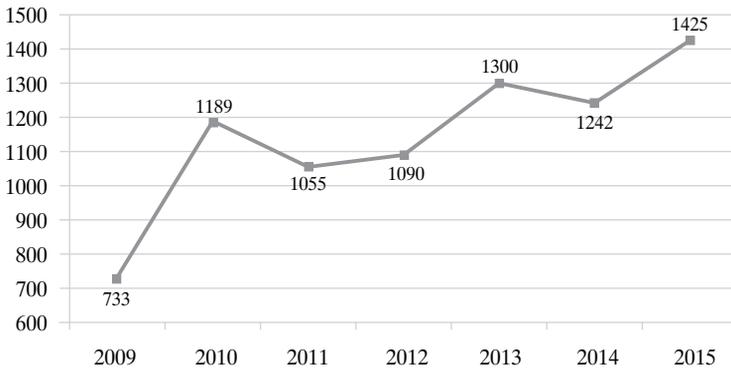
Number of work permits issued to the citizens of India by sex, 2011–2015



Source: Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy data.

Figure 3

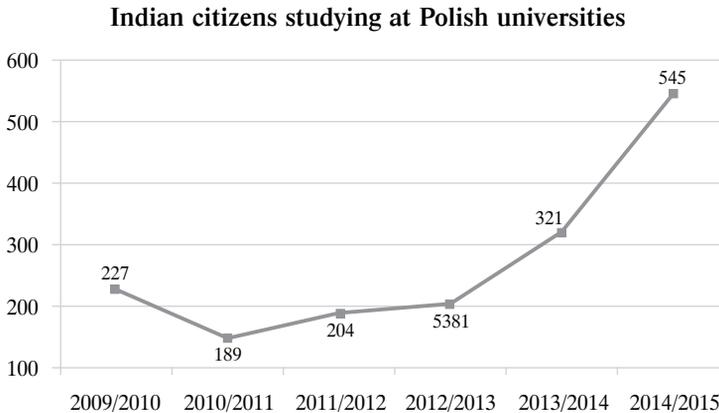
Number of work permits issued to Indian citizens



Source: Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy data.

In the context of the demographic crisis faced by Poland and the challenges that have to be addressed by Polish universities, students originating from India deserve special attention. The following figure shows the number of students in the last six academic years.

Figure 4



Source: Polish Ministry of Sciences and Higher Education data.

The data refers to the total number of bachelor, master and doctoral students. The Ministry of Science and Higher Education provided an overall description of students from India³. The majority arrived with the aim of completing an undergraduate or postgraduate program, while the majority were interested in master's programs. They also undertook five-year master's programs. They chose mainly public universities, and the majority paid for their studies at public universities (86%). Interestingly, half of them (51%) were studying at technical universities, choosing strictly technical specialisations. They preferred full-time studies.

2. TYPICAL MOTIVATIONS THAT BROUGHT INDIAN CITIZENS TO POLAND

The Indian migrants interviewed had a very limited knowledge of Poland at the time they decided to travel here:

'I did not know anything about Poland before coming to Poland, I thought that after finishing my studies, it would be an option to go to another country.(...) But then after coming here I felt very good and I did not wish to go anywhere. I preferred to stay here'.
[23-year-old man, 5 years in Poland]

³ Data provided by the Unit of Analyses in the Department of Migration Policy in the Polish Ministry of Interior.

In some cases, interviewees only placed Poland on their cognitive map when somebody suggested they come here. This refers most frequently to students who learnt about a scholarship or met somebody promoting a Polish university or employees delegated to Poland. A typical reaction was a fast online search. Furthermore, Indian migrants who had resided in Poland earlier (co-workers, friends, relatives, students visiting home during their summer holidays) were a key source of practical information.

Regarding their knowledge of Poland, some interviewees mentioned the country's geographical location (between the East and the West) and the economic opportunities associated with Poland's membership in the European Union. Sporadically, famous Poles or historical events were quoted.

'I was really excited, I didn't have too much knowledge about Poland, but all I knew, Poland shares border with Germany and Czech Republic, and Poland was one of the colonies of Russians. So, this basic knowledge (33-year-old woman, specialist in economics, one year in Poland). I knew the famous Poles like. Chopin, Madam Curie, Pope'. [30-year-old woman, PhD Student, one year in Poland]

Sometimes, the image of Poland was shaped by mass media coverage from the 1980s:

'I have shock, because what I had in my mind, the Poland is a more a communist country, you have a lot of problems, You have to stand the queue to get bread. And all this things what were in the mind'. [60-year-old man, manager, 4 years in Poland]

Since interviewees demonstrated such a limited knowledge of Poland, what encouraged them to come? Typical motivations that brought Indian citizens to Poland may include one or more of the following:

- studying at a Polish university;
- improving their individual/family material situation;
- investing their own (or family's) money in a European country;
- involvement in scientific research projects in Poland;
- seeking professional and career development (both in multinational and Indian corporations);
- emotional relationship with a Pole (e.g. marriage).

The Indians who have been living in Poland for the longest time arrived before 1989 because they had an opportunity to study at a Polish university. After graduation, they married a Pole and started their professional career in Poland. They took an active part in the birth and development of the free-market system in Poland, finding jobs not necessarily related directly to their education. In this context, they shared the experience of economic and

political transformation with Poles and they integrated with Polish society that was undergoing social change.

Another wave of migrants from India was also education-related. However, these students differed in many aspects from the older generation, which had studied Polish language. It was educational conducted in English that attracted students, and their presence in Poland was a result of recruitment efforts made by Polish universities. Poland was not on the list of the most desired destinations; however, a calculation of the costs and benefits that studying abroad could bring resulted in them choosing a Polish university. An earlier experience of older siblings, cousins or friends, who had already studied in Poland, was taken into account:

'All my friends went to US and Canada. Poland is cheap compared to USA (...) and one more thing Poland is in the European region (...) We can study out of India. Good education is important. I select Poznan University here in Poland. (...) and the cost of living and everything is good in Poznan (...) That's why I chose Poland. It is the European region, and it is good for job. I had a plan to look for a job from here in another European country (...) My cousin is living here 10 year, and he told me about everything. When he was coming to India he was telling about Poland very nicely: they are good people, they are going to help everyone, it is not like in other country, For example if you take Germany there is some racism. Here is not like, that they want to help (...) Frankly, I came here because I had support from my cousin. If I would be alone there is nothing to do for me'. [23-years-old man, student, 6 months in Poland]

Some interviewees worked occasionally, mainly in restaurants or shops run by Indians, some worked for Polish companies. The types of jobs that they had did not differ significantly from those of Polish students. However, not all students were interested in working during their studies. Those who come from affluent families did not see such a need.

Poland offered opportunities to entrepreneurs investing their own or family capital. Interviewees included owners of restaurants and shops or wholesalers. Employees from India who were invited by other Indians were also present: *We provide them flat and work. I am dealing with all papers for them* [50-year-old man, restaurant owner, university teacher, 21 years in Poland, language of the interview: Polish]. Several times, interviewees pointed out that they had been invited to Poland by their relatives and friends who were residing in Poland. They also expressed their wish to bring their relatives here in the future.

Indian entrepreneurs employed Indians because they needed someone responsible for contacts with suppliers and contractors in India. In the case

of Indian restaurants, cooks were the most required employees because they are responsible for the quality and originality of dishes. Restaurant owners choose their employees very carefully. Nevertheless, interviewees reported cases of people running away further to the west.

Indians who have lived in Poland for many years and who have benefited greatly from the success of the economy have invited Indian entrepreneurs to Poland to show them investment opportunities. One interviewee emphasised that Indian businesspeople were surprised by the enormous investment opportunities they could find in Poland.

A separate category of Indians in Poland consists of employees of multinational or Indian corporations. They came to Poland as a result of a decision by their superiors to implement certain projects. The length of their stay in Poland is determined by their contract. This is an exceptional group of migrants. They did not have to concern themselves with organising a work permit or learning Polish or even finding accommodation. Everything was arranged in advance by their employers and was a part of their contract. They work in an international or mainly Indian environment and they communicate mainly in English. These employees do not perceive Poland as a place to settle. They are part of the global flow of skilled labour and investment, and they are beneficiaries of work permit systems that accommodate the global search for expertise (Salt 1997):

'I never had plan to come to Poland, I never had that plan, so.... The contract is for 3 years and that is a long time to go, another 2 years (...) Maybe I can renew a contract, maybe, I am giving myself the option to reach some other location, we [the company] have a plant now in US'. [21-year-old man, IT specialist, 2 years in Poland]

Some interviewed expats were accompanied by their wives and children. Usually, the women did not search for employment opportunities and are focused on the family.

3. THE PERCEPTION OF POLAND AND POLES

The perception of Poland and Poles was one of the elements examined within the study. Asked about their observations, first of all, interviewees pointed to differences in population density, climate and pollution. The perception of space and living conditions in Poland was shaped by comparisons to India:

'It is a small, green town (...) Yes, it is small, because when you compare it to Bombay it is small. And I like it'. [35-year-old man, IT specialist, 5 years in Poland, language: Polish]

'Warsaw is silent and not so much people. The traveling system is good, the public transport is really good (...) I think is the best in Europe. I've seen that buses are on time'. [26-year-old woman, PhD student, 2 years in Poland]

'It's very beautiful, this city is very beautiful, it is very clean, there is no pollution, no honking of the cars. Because in India people honk (...). It's a very peaceful country, definitely its very clean and no pollution and it's the best thing I like here'. [33-year-old woman, specialist in economics, one year in Poland]

'This is really a beautiful country, you know, when you compare it with India, the population is quite low, so you don't see a lot of people here, and the atmosphere is very clean. (...). And the temperature there and climate is all the extremes, in summer it is quite hot, it almost touches 50, so I never like these (Indian) summers'. [60-year-old man, manager, 4 years in Poland]

Furthermore, interviewees highlighted similarities between Poles and Indians in treating older family members with respect and care. These parallels were underlined particularly by those who had Polish spouses, but also those who came to Poland with their Indian families. They appreciated the fact that family values were essential in both cultures:

'India has family culture, Poland has family culture. You can see grannies, and grandparents taking care of grand-children, the same as in India'. [60-year-old man, manager, 4 years in Poland]

A positive perception of Poland and Poles, often spontaneously accompanied by comparisons with other countries, reflected individual migrant's experience and history:

'In my opinion Poles and Hindu are similar. They are both friendly (...) In Germany they are not so friendly and in England, too. In USA they are friendly, but they are superficial. (...) I have lived there (in England) for two, no, four years and then for two years in America and in Belgium for one year. So I think that Poles are nicer'. [35-year-old man, IT specialist, 5 years in Poland, language: Polish]

Altruism and hospitality shown by Poles to strangers was mentioned several times:

'I like Polish people. Even when you ask them something, even if they don't know English, they are trying to help you'. [28-year-old man, student, 6 months in Poland]

'Initially understanding the language was difficult, so when I landed here the people were very, very nice to me. And... in fact, even today, wherever I go (...) there are people here who help me in every case (...) Their hospitality, yes, the people show, and it is really nice'. [22-year-old man, student, one year in Poland]

Nevertheless, differences arose particularly in workplace and business relations. Poles seemed to be inflexible and too strict in business relations with Indians. One interviewee mentioned that Poles often expected to sign a contract after only the first or second business meeting. They wanted to discuss contract proposals when they had met the Indian party for just the first time. Poles expected very formal negotiations and they get disappointed by delays in signing contracts. Indians present a different approach to the convention of business meetings. Nevertheless, interviewees who decided to invest in Poland have not regretted it. Relatively cheap land, in comparison to India, and the very good geographical location of Poland are appreciated by them.

Regarding observations about Polish co-workers, interviewees stressed the strict approach to schedule, working hours and overtime presented by Poles.

‘It is not a first time that I am working with Polish people. I worked with them before in different companies and my first impression was wow they are so particular, they are coming at 8 in the morning and they must leave at 4 pm. They will not stay one minute extra. I am coming from India it is normal even, if you are not paid over time you are working 3 hours 4 hours longer. It is normal so I was very surprised to see this kind of attitude. Of course it is good because you keep your work-life balance and this was missing when I was working in India. When I had a lot of work I worked 16 hours a day and it was ok. I felt good at the end of the day that I finished my work’. [30-year-old woman, IT specialist, 2.5 years in Poland].

Indians appreciated the way their Polish colleagues behaved in informal situations, like changing into English:

‘It is nice to see their effort, even if they are not good at it. For me it is important that somebody want me to understand the whole conversation. I really appreciate that’. [30-year-old, IT specialist, 2.5 years in Poland]

What attracted Hindu⁴ interviewees’ attention in the context of informal meetings was alcohol:

‘Your culture is like this... when you meet together you have to drink together. We don’t have that kind of habit. (...) Here people are drinking and then is hard to understand what they are saying. If you don’t drink, you don’t take full part in the conversation. Then we sit. We don’t know what to do’. [26-year-old student, 2 years in Poland]

⁴ Although, interviewees were not asked about their religious affiliation, some of them during the interview or before it declared that they were Hindu. For them, access to vegetarian meals and maintaining their diet was an important issue of everyday life:

‘When I came to Poland there were not so many foreigners. Many people told me that chicken is vegetarian, fish is vegetarian. I do not even eat eggs. So you can imagine, I never eat outside’. [53-year-old man, IT specialist, 8 years in Poland]

Polish women were perceived by Indian interviewees, both male and female, as more open and independent than Indian women and Poland was perceived as a safe country for women:

‘In Poland the female has so much strong independence, and in India is like opposite. Females are not strong, they aren’t independent’. [26-year-old man, PhD student, one year in Poland]

‘It’s very safe for the women. Because I’ve been also around city center at 12 o’clock at night, 1 o’clock and that I felt very safe (...) That’s is the best thing, you know’. [33-year-old woman, specialist in economics, 6 months in Poland]

However, some male interviewees recalled cases when they were insulted by drunk Poles because they looked like foreigners.

Negative comments by some interviewees referred to severity, a lack of empathy, selfishness, and instrumentalisation of social contacts.

‘What I don’t like (...) I feel that people do not have emotions. They are very straight and cold blooded (...) Here if you see somebody on the road who has a problem, nobody will even look at them (...) The rest of things are fine’. [32-year-old businessman, 8 years in Poland]

Concluding the part devoted to the perception of Poles and Poland, the most frequently recalled inconvenience is the Polish reluctance to use English. Employees delegated to Poland by their multinational or Indian headquarters used diverse techniques to communicate with Poles who did not speak English.

‘I can understand majority of Polish. But I can’t speak. Only few words. Few sentences which I use in my daily language (...) [in case of any problem] I call my secretary and she becomes a translator on the phone. But we try to manage without her, handling with drawings, talking to them, yes we manage a little bit. All translation, Google translation’. [60-year-old man, manager, 4 years in Poland]

4. POLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

The vast majority of interviews was conducted in English, even when the interviewee had been in Poland for several years. Only a small number of interviewees (4 out of 40) declared that they possessed Polish language competencies allowing them to fully function in a professional and informal context.

Having a Polish family and running a business in Poland definitely affected their motivation to learn Polish. It was encouraging in the case of an interviewee who had lived in Poland for almost 30 years and who had a Polish wife, and for a younger IT specialist residing in Poland for five years whose Polish wife wanted to live in her homeland. However, it was discouraging in the case of another interviewee who had resided in Poland for a decade:

‘It’s long, my being in Poland, but I don’t get a chance to learn Polish. Mostly I’m in my business, from morning to evening. I manage most of foreign customers, other country people (...) my wife takes care about Polish customers’. [34-year-old man, shop owner, 9 years in Poland]

His Polish wife acted as his translator and mediator in contacts with Poles.

Affluent migrants benefit from a rich offer of private schools or individual teachers. Middle-class Indians, such as IT specialists, HR managers and finance employees, study Polish since they wanted to improve their informal relations outside work. Those less privileged learn Polish in a non-institutionalised way:

‘So this is so simple (...) I talk to you now. I met my girlfriend, we talk a little bit. And I have contact with some people here...(...) Word by word. And I always learned a little bit like that’. [35-year-old man, shop-assistant, 15 years in Poland, language: Polish]

Evidently, this kind of language training has its disadvantages – these migrants have gained speaking skills, although unfortunately their writing and reading skills have developed to a comparable level.

Students studying at programs conducted in English and academics working on research projects run by international teams have mostly not learned Polish at all. Students treat their stay in Poland as temporary. Their social ties are rooted in the international academic community. In this case, learning Polish is not considered a worthwhile investment of time and money. However, without language skills interviewees are alienated and excluded from many Polish interactions.

CONCLUSIONS

Poland is not a destination for mass Indian immigration; moreover, for some Indian citizens it is just a stop in their further journey west. Nevertheless, it has not escaped researchers’ notice that their number is growing steadily,

which is confirmed by official Polish statistics. The key issue that arises is how they are adapting to life in Poland.

The research conducted between April 2014 and February 2015 revealed that before their arrival Indian interviewees demonstrated a limited knowledge of Poland. Their motivation behind coming to Poland was diverse: studying at a Polish university; improving their individual/family material situation; investing their own (or family's) money in a European country; involvement in scientific research projects run in Poland; seeking professional and career development (both in multinational and Indian corporations); emotional relationship with a Pole (e.g. marriage). At the time of the research, the majority of interviewees declared that they intend to leave Poland after accomplishing their goals. Such temporariness, or on the contrary permanency, was reflected in patterns of adaptation.

Interviewees who arrived before or shortly after 1989 had an opportunity to study at one a Polish university with Polish as the language of instruction. At the beginning of their stay in Poland, they participated in introductory Polish language courses. After graduation, they married a Pole and started their professional career in Poland. They were involved in the introduction and development of the free-market system in Poland, working not necessarily in areas that matched their education. In this context, they shared the experience of economic and political transformation with Poles. Their integration occurred through family and economic activities, usually their individual or family businesses. Polish spouses played an important role in the social but also the economic sphere. Polish partners have also been important for the integration of more recent migrants. Interestingly, in some cases they have introduced Indians into relations with Poles, encouraging them to learn Polish. In others, they have hampered interactions with Polish people. They act as intermediaries in contacts with Poles and Polish institutions, allowing partners to focus exclusively on their business (restaurant, shop, wholesaler, etc.). A relationship with a Pole, marriage or otherwise, is often accompanied by a decision to stay longer in Poland. When a migrant searches for a job (as a freelancer) or employment outside of an ethnic business, learning Polish turns into a cost (time and money) to be borne in order to adjust to the requirements of the labour market and contacts with Polish business partners.

Poland has offered opportunities to entrepreneurs investing their own or family capital. Several times, interviewees mentioned that they had been invited to Poland by their relatives or friends who were residing in Poland. With the development of Indian enterprises, a demand for Indian employees

has emerged. They maintain contacts with Indian suppliers and contractors both in India and worldwide. In the case of Indian restaurants, cooks are the most needed employees, as they are responsible for the quality and originality of dishes. For newcomers, Indian migrants who have already been residing in Poland (co-workers, employers, friends, relatives) are a key source of practical knowledge. Sometimes they offered accommodation and assistance in dealing with Polish institutions.

A separate category of Indians in Poland was a part of the global flow of skilled labour and investment, which included employees of multinational and Indian corporations. These professionals do not perceive Poland as a settlement destination and the length of their stay is determined by their contract. They do not even have to trouble themselves about finding accommodation. Everything is arranged in advance by their employers as part of their contract. They work in an international or Polish-Indian environment and most often they communicate in English. Their social life is based largely around co-workers. Some, who wanted to improve their informal relations outside work, study Polish.

Indian students who were interviewed were studying programs conducted in English at Polish universities. Their social ties are limited to the international academic community. Learning Polish is perceived as not worth the time and money. In the individual long-term perspective, the discomfort and limitations (such as alienation and exclusion) experienced in Poland is considered as the cost of achieving a higher income after graduating from a foreign university. In the Indian context, it should be stressed that graduating from a foreign university offers prestige; therefore, families consider universities located in various parts of the world. In this context, studying abroad appears to be a form of gaining 'cultural capital' and is connected with the aspirations of middle-class Indians. Their ambitions are reflected by ideas about the rich and more comfortable lifestyle of the Western middle class compared to Indian realities. For young Indians, westward migration is an indicator of their social status and is associated with a better lifestyle (Saavala 2010).

Regarding the last two cases – highly skilled migrants and students – the concept of integration understood as the process of settlement and interaction with the host society did not seem appropriate at the moment of the research. Temporariness is imprinted in the patterns of their adjustment to life in Poland. However, migration is a process comprised of different stages. It might turn out that due to different reasons migrants, regardless their initial plans, prolong their stay and finally settle in Poland.

The perception of Poland and Poles depends on a given migrant's individual experience. The perception of space and living conditions in Poland was shaped by comparisons to India in favour of Poland. Some pointed to the altruism and hospitality shown by Poles to strangers, while others mentioned severity, indifference and selfishness. Differences between Poles and Indians were particularly underscored in the context of workplace and business relations. Poles seemed to be inflexible and too strict in business relations. Nevertheless, interviewees who decided to invest in Poland have not regretted it. Relatively cheap land, in comparison to India, and the very good geographical location of Poland (in the neighbourhood of seven other European countries) is an advantage for them. Polish co-workers were perceived as having a strict approach to schedule, working hours and overtime. However, they tried to include Indian colleagues in informal situations, which was appreciated by them. For some interviewees, the presence of alcohol during informal meetings, and more generally, people who abused alcohol in public caused awkwardness.

Remarkably, the relative attraction of Poland increased when it was compared to countries that from an economic point of view are more attractive than Poland. This can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, interviewees really appreciate Poland – they chose Poland, knowing that in other countries they could gain more in economic terms. However, non-economic reasons prevailed and constituted the main advantage of Poland. Secondly, due to the huge adaptation costs already borne, they did not want to undertake additional efforts in other countries. Therefore, they justified their decision about abandoning the idea of searching for higher incomes elsewhere. They presented non-material justifications for their decision to stay in Poland, which initially was supposed to be just a stop on a further journey. It is important to point out that at different stages of the migration process people are influenced by many interrelated material and non-material factors. Migrants who have Polish spouses, but also those who came to Poland with their Indian families, appreciate the fact that family values and strong family bonds are essential in both cultures. The positive perception of Poland and Poles, often spontaneously accompanied by comparisons with other states, was a reflection of individual migrants' experience and history. However, it also mirrored both countries location on the Welzel-Inglehart's cultural map, which refers to dominant values shared by people in different states (www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSCContents.jsp, Inglehart, Baker 2000). The distance between India and Poland is repeatedly smaller than the distance between India and main destinations for Indian migration – the UK, US,

Canada and Australia, as well as richer EU countries. What does it mean in the context of immigration to Poland? What does it mean in the context of the individual experience of a particular Indian immigrant? It means that, in spite of inconveniences, which Indians experience in Poland, and the cultural differences they face, everyday relationships with Poles are similar to those they know from India. This might lead to well-being experienced by Indian immigrants in Poland and might impact their integration with the Polish society if they decide to prolong their stay.

REFERENCES

- Bąbiak I., Gmaj K. (eds.) 2015. *Namaste Polsko! Sytuacja i potrzeby imigrantów z Indii w Polsce*. Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR: Warszawa.
- Esser H. 2006. *Migration, Language and Integration*, AKI Research Review 4 [PDF FOR Digital Editions version], Arbeitsstelle Interkulturelle Konflikte und gesellschaftliche Integration (AKI) Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). Available at: https://www.wzb.eu/www2000/alt/aki/files/aki_research_review_4.pdf [accessed: 03.11.2016].
- Halik T., Nowicka E. 2002. *Wietnamczycy w Polsce: integracja czy izolacja?* Instytut Orientalistyczny, Wydział Neofilologii UW: Warszawa.
- Inglehart R., Baker W.E. 2000. Modernization, Cultural Change and the Persistence of Traditional Values, „American Sociological Review”, Vol. 65.
- Kloc-Nowak W. 2013. *Highly Skilled Indian migrants in Poland*. CARIM-India Research Report 2013/38 4 [PDF FOR Digital Editions version], Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute. Available at: <http://www.india-eu-migration.eu/media/CARIM-India-HSM-2013-38.pdf> [accessed: 03.11.2016].
- Penninx R., Garcés-Mascareñas B. (2015). *The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept*, [in:] R. Penninx, B. Garcés-Mascareñas (eds.), *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe. Contexts, Levels and Actors* [PDF FOR Digital Editions version], IMISCOE Research Series, Springer Available at: <https://www.imiscoe.org/publications/library/2-imiscoe-research-series/85-integration-processes-and-policies-in-europe> [accessed: 03.11.2016].
- Pędziwiatr K. 2015. *Imigranci w Polsce i wyzwania integracyjne* [PDF FOR Digital Editions version], Studia Biura Analiz Sejmowych Kancelarii Sejmu – Infos, nr 1(184). Available at: <http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/wydbas>.

nsf/0/b154060c37557e78c1257dcb004c62c3/\$file/infos_184.pdf [accessed: 03.11.2016].

Piłat A., Wysieńska K. 2013. *Badanie jakościowe liderów społeczności migrantów azjatyckich – raport cząstkowy*, [in:] A. Piłat, J. Segeš Frelak, K. Wysieńska (eds.) *Mała Azja w Polsce. Plany i strategie imigrantów z Azji i Bliskiego Wschodu*, Instytut Spraw Publicznych: Warszawa.

Saavala M. 2010. *Middle-class Moralities. Everyday Struggle over Belonging and Prestige in India*. Orient BlackSwan: New Delhi.

Salt J. 1997. *International Movements of the Highly Skilled* [PDF FOR Digital Editions version], OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers, No. 3, OECD Publishing, Paris. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/104411065061> [accessed: 03.11.2016].

Sjaastad L.A. 1962. *The cost and returns of human migration*, „Journal of Political Economy”, 70(5), Part. 2: Investment in human beings.

Official sites of the Polish Institutions:

Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy <http://www.mpips.gov.pl/> [accessed: 03.11.2016].

Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, www.msz.gov.pl [accessed: 04.12.2014].

Office for Foreigners, <http://udsc.gov.pl/> [accessed: 03.11.2016].

Other sites:

World Values Survey, www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp [accessed: 3.11.2016].

THE INTEGRATION OF INDIAN MIGRANTS IN POLAND

Summary

The article presents the findings of research aimed at obtaining information about the life of Indian citizens in Poland. In total, 40 interviews with Indians were conducted between April 2014 and February 2015. Their motivation for coming to Poland and perception of our country were analysed. The study revealed different patterns of adaptation. Special attention was devoted in the research to language acquisition. Conclusions from the qualitative field study are accompanied by statistical data on the presence of Indians in

Poland. Poland cannot compete with other traditional destinations of Indian sub-continent migrations; nevertheless, statistics show that their numbers are steadily growing.

INTEGRACJA MIGRANTÓW Z INDII W POLSCE

Streszczenie

Artykuł prezentuje wnioski z badania mającego na celu pozyskanie informacji na temat życia obywateli Indii w Polsce. Między kwietniem 2014 r. i lutym 2015 r. przeprowadzono 40 wywiadów z migrantami z Indii. Analizie poddane zostały ich motywacje do przyjazdu oraz postrzeganie Polski i Polaków. Badanie pozwoliło na wytyczenie różnych wzorów adaptacji. Specjalną uwagę poświęcono nauce języka polskiego. Konkluzjom z badania jakościowego towarzyszą dane statystyczne dotyczące obecności obywateli Indii w Polsce. Chociaż Polska nie może konkurować z tradycyjnymi kierunkami migracji z subkontynentu indyjskiego, to oficjalne dane wskazują na rosnącą liczbę migracji z Indii do Polski.

ИНТЕГРАЦИЯ ИММИГРАНТОВ ИЗ ИНДИИ В ПОЛЬШЕ

Резюме

В статье представлены результаты исследования, целью которого является получение информации о жизни граждан Индии в Польше. В общей сложности с апреля 2014 года и до февраля 2015 года было взято 40 интервью с мигрантами из Индии. Объектом анализа послужили мотивы их прибытия, а также восприятие ими Польши и поляков. Исследование позволило разработать различные варианты адаптации. Особое внимание было посвящено изучению представителями Индии польского языка. Выводы по качественному анализу сопровождаются статистикой, касающейся пребывания индийских граждан в Польше. Несмотря на то, что Польша не может конкурировать с традиционными миграционными векторами с Индийского субконтинента, официальные данные указывают на растущее число миграций из Индии в Польшу.