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Strategizing Integration in the Labor Market. Turkish Immigrants in Poland and the New Dimensions of South-to-North Migration

Abstract: The aim of this article is to examine the specific nature of the mobility patterns and labor market integration of the Turkish community in Poland, and to situate those phenomena in the broader context of migration from Turkey to northern Europe. Migration from Turkey to Poland is much newer than migration from Turkey to Western European states but has grown dynamically in the past decade. These migration flows are distinct from those inside the EU or from post-Soviet European countries such as Ukraine or Belarus to Poland. The article distinguishes three occupational trajectories that are typical for Turkish migrants in Poland. These paths are characterized by the various social environments in which they develop: the host society, the ethnic community, and the international (expat) community. Analysis reveals the great importance of co-ethnic networks, which play an even more crucial role because Turkish mobility to Poland is not supported by the state policies of either the sending or receiving country. The article refers to data from an original qualitative study (in-depth interviews) as well as to official statistical data from various sources.

Keywords: Turkish migration, Turks in Poland, immigrants in Poland, migrants in the labor market, economic integration.

Introduction

Turkish communities are very numerous in Western European states, where the Turkish migrant workers (Gastarbeiters) have been present since the 1950s; thus, the third or even fourth generation of migrants is living in those countries today. Yet the case of Central and Eastern Europe is different: the processes of immigration are still very recent and one may therefore observe the patterns of labor market integration of the first generation of migrants. The article will focus on the case study of the Turkish community in Poland, as an example of the new Turkish mobility to Central-Eastern Europe. While this is not the biggest migrant group in Poland (Ukrainians are much more numerous—see e.g., [Andrejuk 2017](#)), the Turkish community is very special and worth in-depth examination. The mobility of Turks to Poland demonstrates the prevailing importance of migration patterns from the southern countries to Central Europe. These streams are unique and distinct, both from the perspective of intra-EU mobility, as well as from that of mobility from the post-Soviet European countries (such as Ukraine, Belarus) to Poland. For many years Turkish migration has been perceived as a model example of south-to-north migration: mobility taken up for economic reasons, from peripheral Euro-Asian regions to

the more advanced “centre,” i.e., the economically developed states of northern Europe. However, the mechanisms of such mobility may be subject to changes even though the geographic patterns of movement are reiterated. Studying the case of a relatively young migrant community in a Central European state may reveal important aspects of the continuity and change in the patterns of mobility and migrants’ economic adaptation in Europe. The main research question I pose in the article is: What are the career patterns and the uniqueness of labor market integration in the case of the Turkish community in Poland?

In this article the concept of integration is deployed to examine the economic behavior and labor market incorporation of foreigners in the host country. However, the notion itself is characterized by multidimensionality and has been subject to numerous scholarly studies. Integration is a highly politicized concept and is important for both practice and research. On the one hand it is an instrument of social policy, but on the other it is utilized in academic studies to examine the multifaceted and complex phenomenon of migrant adaptation (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2013: 40). Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas define integration as “the process of becoming an accepted part of the host society” and emphasize its various dimensions: legal-political, socio-economic, and cultural-religious. In each of these dimensions numerous actors are involved, including immigrants and the receiving society. The multidimensionality of integration also means that there are multiple levels of the process: individual, collective, and institutional (Penninx, Garcés-Mascreñas 2016; see also Penninx 2005). Integration involves various aspects of migrants’ participation in social life, including their labor market activities, educational inclusion, acceptance of the host society’s values, identity transformations, and legal status (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2013; Bosswick, Heckmann 2006; Da Lomba 2010). Due to globalization and technological advancement, the process of integration supplies new challenges associated with multiple belongings: migrants are increasingly often living in transnational social fields (Faist 2000; Faist, Fauser, Reisenauer 2013). Interactions between transnationalism and integration are intricate and complex, but studies show that maintaining transnational ties with co-ethnics does not necessarily impede foreigners’ integration in the new host society (Snel, Engbersen, Leerkes 2006; Bivand Erdal, Oeppen 2013).

When analyzing migrants’ integration in the labor market, researchers often refer to a specific type of activity such as self-employment (Nestorowicz 2008), employment, or unregistered work in the grey zone (Fakiolas 2000). The analysis below does not negate this categorization, but it emphasizes the necessity of a different typology that has a huge explanatory potential and may elucidate in an in-depth manner the determinants of labor market adaptation. The proposed division refers to the type of social environment where the integration process takes place: it may be the ethnic community, the host society, or the international expat community. A similar approach was offered by Min Zhou in her analysis of the segmented assimilation of migrants in the United States. She noticed that migrants and their descendants might assimilate either with American society or with their own ethnic community (developing economic activities in ethnic niches) (Zhou 1997; Portes, Zhou 1993). These findings should be read together with the theory of labor market segmentation, which indicates that workers with various socio-demographic characteristics operate in different segments of the labor market that of-

fer diversified working conditions, salaries, and promotional opportunities—more prestigious in the “primary” segment and worse in the “secondary” one (Reich, Gordon, Edwards 1973).

The approach proposed in this article differs from the concept of segmented assimilation in that it includes additional factors. Apart from adaptation to the host (national) society and to the ethnic community, it distinguishes a separate category—namely, adaptation to the international expat environment in the host country. In the analysis below, it is called a strategy of internationalization. This threefold division may shed light on the dynamics of migrants’ trajectories and their social context. The second and third strategy (integration into ethnic niches/an international community) are especially important in the context of urban settings, which may create an environment for emergent ethnic and cultural “superdiversity”: labor market activities are influenced by the increasing presence of new immigrants, who remain transnationally connected to their multiple places of origin, legally stratified, and socio-economically diversified (Vertovec 2007). Even though the diversity of Polish cities is not as marked as in Western European states, the notion is becoming increasingly relevant for the description of the social environment of immigrants. Culturally diversified cities and metropolises also attract privileged, highly skilled migrants who work in prestigious sectors—the uniqueness of the experience of such mobile professionals is reflected by using the term expatriate/expat (e.g. Gatti 2009; Fechter 2007). In addition to this typology of integration into the given environment, my approach underlines the intentional shaping of occupational careers, or at least attempts at long-term planning of career paths. The article uses the notion of strategy, which assumes the deliberate design of a specific professional trajectory, and denotes engaging in activities in order to achieve a particular career pattern. The notion of strategy recognizes that individuals enjoy a certain level of autonomy and use their individual agency to implement their professional plans within a given set of structural conditions (see also: Archer 2003), such as legal and economic determinants, and cultural and social factors.

In studying the importance of different social environments, the concept of migrant social networks and their role in labor market integration should be taken into account. Since the beginning of academic interest in social networks, researchers have emphasized their role in the occupational trajectories of individuals (Granovetter 1973). In addition, migrant networks have long been studied as an important aspect of the adaptation process. They reduce the costs of migration by providing necessary information and other resources (Massey 1988, as in: Gurak, Caces 1992: 154). The specific social infrastructure developed by migrant communities bridges the sending and receiving countries, and enables newer migrants to benefit from the experience of the earlier cohorts (Wilpert 1992: 177). Such connections are unique and distinct from the native networks in the sense that they are developed in small communities, are based more on strong ties, and are homogeneous with regard to socio-economic status (Lomnitz 1976, as in: Gurak, Caces 1992: 154). Networks help migrants adjust after arrival, providing assistance with housing, employment (channeling migrants into particular occupations or enabling professional advancement), and also emotional support (Gurak, Caces 1992: 167). Studying personal networks provides insights into the persistence of migration flows: they may ex-

plain the continuation of migration streams long after the original impetus for mobility has ended (Boyd 1989: 661). Networks also have a darker side: they may confine immigrants' activities to ethnic niches, thus exacerbating exploitation and rivalry; as a consequence, such migrants become distrustful towards others and remain tightly connected to family and small groups of friends (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, Siara 2008: 686). In Poland, the role of networks has been studied with regard to the Ukrainian community (Kindler, Wójcikowska-Baniak 2018), but their importance for the Turkish migrants remains to be examined.

Research Method

I made use of two types of research method: the first is based on statistical data and the second on an original empirical study focusing on the micro-sociological dimension of migrants' behaviour and interactions. The empirical research was conducted in 2018 (June–September) and encompassed 20 semi-structured interviews with Turkish migrants residing in Poland. The topic guide for the interviews included questions about the respondents' educational trajectory, occupational activities in Poland and other countries, and networks of support. The interviews were conducted in Polish and Turkish (the quotes presented in the article are translations): 18 were transcribed while two were reconstructed on the basis of the interviewer's notes. The respondents were individuals who are economically active in the Polish labor market. They were recruited pursuant to heterogeneity sampling in order to collect diversified profiles and achieve maximum differentiation with regard to gender, age, education, and status in the host country. The respondents had various types of permits: permanent permits, temporary residence permits, a permit associated with refugee status; one of them was naturalized and held dual citizenship. The sample encompassed both men and women (with a preponderance of men). Most resided in Warsaw, but there were also respondents from Kraków and Wrocław. The majority of respondents were ethnic Turks, the sample also included one Yörük (which is sometimes considered a subgroup within the Turkish ethnicity) and two Kurdish persons. The qualitative research provided thorough insights into the subjective perspectives of migrants, their reflexive constructions of personal biographies, micro-situated understandings of their life trajectories, and their unique perceptions of the mobility experience. The in-depth interviews reveal how individuals narrate the migration process and how they define their opportunities, challenges, and problems against the backdrop of the new social and cultural environment.

The qualitative study was complemented by an analysis of extensive official statistical data concerning Turkish residents in Poland. I looked at records from the Office for Foreigners, the Ministry of Family, Labor, and Social Policy, and the Central Statistical Office in order to obtain an adequate demographic description of the Turkish population in Poland. While each of the official sources shows only a certain aspect of the migrants' presence in the host country (residence statuses, work permits, university enrolments, etc.), the combination of the data offers a quite comprehensive and accurate picture, allowing the in-depth interviews to be properly contextualized.

Why is the Turkish Migration to Poland Different? Contextualizing the Turkish Mobility to Western and Central Europe

Pondering the history of 20th-century migrations of Turks to Europe reveals how the different structure of migration streams and diversified state policies have shaped the labor market activities of foreigners, even in the succeeding generations. The most common destinations for Turkish migrants are Western European states, especially Germany. Their labor migration in the 20th century was unique since it was not only the mobility from the south to the north, but also from rural regions to urban spaces and from conservative religious environments to secularized societies of the West. This multidimensional transition, along with the settling process of the migrants (who initially were assumed to stay only temporarily), defines the special nature of the Turkish south-to-north migration. The mobility of the *Gastarbeiters* (guest workers) was a process parallel to the migration of workers from previous colonial territories to Western European colonial states such as the UK and France (Castles, Miller 2011: 128). Nermin Abadan-Unat (1995) distinguished several phases of Turkish migration to Europe. Between 1956 and 1972, in a time of economic prosperity and shortages of employees in the labor market, Western European states recruited *Gastarbeiters* on temporary contracts for mainly low-skilled jobs. They were recruited through intermediary contracts and later bilateral agreements between Turkey and the receiving states. The largest receivers were Germany, Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The recession in 1972–1975 brought the end of guest worker programmes, and the host states made (mostly unsuccessful) attempts to send the migrants back. Many migrants stayed despite losing their jobs, and thus the number of unregistered foreigners increased. The next phase (1975–1978) was family reunification; many children came to Western Europe and entered European schools. The ensuing period (the 1970s to 1985) was characterized by refugee mobility, an increase of asylum applications, and extensive organizational activity within Turkish communities abroad. Between 1985 and the 1990s the second generation of Turks in Europe entered the labor market, which led to the popularization of ethnic entrepreneurship on the one hand and an increase of ethno-religious organizations on the other (Abadan-Unat 1995: 279–281).

In the first decade of the 21st century, Turkish communities in countries such as Germany and the Netherlands were characterized by low educational levels, high rates of unemployment, and work in non-prestigious sectors; in general, their position was unfavourable in comparison to the natives (Euwals, Dagevos, Gijsberts, Roodenburg 2007). More recent research has emphasized the trends of return migration that encompassed the first, second, and third generation of Turks, who were frequently discouraged from staying by xenophobia and widespread discrimination in the host countries, such as Germany (Sirkeci, Cohen, Yazgan 2012). However, previous observations about return migration may no longer be valid since the drop in internal security in Turkey after the 2016 coup. In addition to the typology and trends above, another tendency that began in the 21st century should be distinguished. After the 2004 enlargement of the European Union, Central and Eastern European states became new destinations for Turkish migration. In the meantime, the growth of the third and fourth generation within the Turkish community in the Western EU was taking place. A preliminary analysis of entrepreneurs with Turkish names and EU citizenship reg-

istered at CEIDG indicates that some EU citizens of Turkish origin have chosen to move to Poland (and, presumably, also to other Central European countries). Another important development is the growing role of transnationalism, which affects migrants' networks and everyday practices (Schiller, Basch, Szanton Blanc 1995), and denotes durable, resilient multinational orientations in the economic, political, and socio-cultural dimensions of individuals' activities (Portes, Guarnizo, Landolt 1999).

The focus of this article is on economic activities and not religious practices. However, the cultural dimension of immigrants' lives may nevertheless influence their presence in the labor market. As Ruud Koopmans states, migrant groups from Muslim countries are particularly well suited to examine the role of socio-cultural factors in exploring labor market disadvantages: as cross-national surveys show, the cultural values recognized in Muslim societies are different and often more distant to European values than cultures of people of other origins. Not only Turkish migrants, but also other minorities originating from Muslim countries tend to be particularly disadvantaged in European labor markets (Koopmans 2016: 198). In many Western European countries, the Turks are perceived as emblematic Muslim others, being the most numerous group of Islamic residents (e.g., Kroissenbrunner 2003; Nalborczyk 2005). Turkish Muslim religiosity is less "symbolic" than the natives' Christian religiosity, and has a deeper influence on certain behaviour, for instance, those relating to gender (in)equality (Diehl, Koenig, Ruckdeschel 2009). This is relevant for an analysis of economic activities: socio-cultural determinants and support for conservative gender roles prevent Muslim (including Turkish) migrant women from more active labor market participation (Koopmans 2016). Parallel to the trend towards secularization, which is associated with the educational advancement of young Turks and their upbringing in Europe, some academic studies have observed the revival of religious attendance among second-generation Turks (Maliapaard, Lubbers, Gijsberts 2012). Other studies indicate that Muslim immigrants' attitudes to their faith have been transformed from those typical of a folk religion to a more sophisticated and intellectual "citizens' Islam" (Pędzwiatri 2005). Nevertheless, cultural values associated with the Muslim country of origin may have an impact on migrants' patterns of behaviour, even if the significance of religious practices for a migrant community has decreased.

The context of the receiving state also influences the patterns of Turkish mobility. Poland is gradually transforming from a net emigration to a net immigration country. The number of immigrants who come to Poland is beginning to outnumber the Poles who emigrate abroad (see, e.g., GUS 2017; Andrejuk 2017). This transformation has already occurred in other Central European countries (the Czech Republic, Slovakia). In Poland the official statistical data indicate that the transition has already happened with regard to settlement migrants (those who stay permanently). Migrants in Poland live mostly in large cities and metropolitan areas. It is noteworthy that at the same time Poland is also experiencing a shift in policy paradigms, that is, very dynamic changes in its approaches to immigration and integration. The previous framework document, "Polish Migration Policy-the Current Situation and Postulated Actions" (2012), which defined the general policy goals, was repealed in 2016 and the government is in the process of developing a new framework document. Important inconsistencies can be observed with regard to the statutory level and the discourse level. The legal provisions have gradually been liberalized, granting foreign-

ers more access to the Polish labor market. There are also increasing legal incentives for people with Polish origins who live abroad to come to Poland and obtain a stable residency status here. Moreover, Poland has developed an extensive framework of inviting seasonal and short-term foreign workers to address labor shortages in certain sectors such as agriculture. At the same time, the public (political) discourse is becoming more hostile towards immigrants and emphasizing the ethno-national dimension of the political community. As has already been observed in Western European countries, the political discourse and the actual directions of legal change may be inconsistent: even at times when the political climate (“discursive politics”) surrounding immigration is negative, the states may introduce liberal policies which serve the demands of the labor market (Geddes 2008). These paradoxical developments and crucial incongruences provide an extremely interesting context with regard to the challenges of multicultural policy-making in a post-communist country that for many decades was ethnically homogeneous.

Contrary to the Western European countries, Poland has not had official programmes that would attract foreigners from Turkey and other Asian states. As a result, the current Turkish migration to Poland is different than the streams to Germany, Austria, or the Netherlands fifty years ago. Due to its dynamic economic development, in the 21st century Poland has experienced shortages of workers in the labor market; however, they were filled with labor workers from post-Soviet countries. Since 2007, Poland has developed programmes for recruiting foreign labor from the former USSR states. The scheme of “statements of entrusting work to foreigners” enabled migrants to work short-term in Poland (up to 6 months in a year) without a separate permission that would require a lengthy administrative procedure. This scheme was directed to foreigners from 6 post-Soviet states: Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Moldova, and Russia. Its significance was limited to certain sectors in 2018, when a new system of seasonal work permits was introduced, ones available to all foreigners from all the potential sending countries. Nevertheless, the functioning of the programme in the period 2007–2017 led to the development of certain patterns and networks of labor mobility between Poland and the post-Soviet states. Another legal incentive for immigrants from the post-Soviet states is the programme of the “Card of the Pole” (*Karta Polaka*), which has been in force since 2008, which offers permanent residency status and full access to employment to immigrants who prove their Polish origins; most of the addressees of the scheme come from the neighbouring post-Soviet states such as Ukraine and Belarus. The Polish state does not encourage immigration from Turkey or other Muslim countries. One of the reasons may be the distrust towards Muslim culture and foreigners that is frequently presented by politicians and in the public discourse, including the media (see e.g., Goździak, Márton 2018; Górak-Sosnowska 2011 and 2016). In the absence of state programmes initiating international movement and facilitating migrants’ economic activation, migration from Turkey to Poland is based on informal channels of mobility and social networks. They play a role in both initiating mobility and activating migrants in the labor market.

The key phases of Turkish migration to Poland are different than in the case of Western European countries, which translates into a different community structure and integration patterns. The communist CEE states did not develop policies of attracting migrant workers, but in the 1950s and 1960s ethnic Kurds came to Poland as students; they were offered

scholarships by the Polish government. They originated from various states, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey (Jomma 2001). After graduating from Polish universities, some of them settled in Poland. The significant migration flows from Turkey did not begin until the 1990s and increased after Poland joined the EU in 2004. Even before Polish accession to the EU, the Polish-Turkish Association was founded in Gdańsk (2000). In Warsaw, private educational institutions financed with Turkish capital were established: the Vistula Academy (1996) and the Meridian (primary and secondary) school (2002). They attracted Turkish students as well as employees; both institutions are still operating as of 2019.

The Turks coming after 2004 were mostly labor migrants and entrepreneurs seeking economic opportunities in Poland. Many of them set up their own businesses. The Turkish ventures frequently operated in the textile sector: they were a continuation of the earlier activities of “suitcase traders” which led to more durable links between Turkish manufacturers and wholesalers and the Polish sales market (Pędziwiatr 2014). At the beginning of the 21st century, the Association of Entrepreneurs Poland-Turkey (2005) and the Polish-Turkish Economic Chamber (2007) were established, reflecting the growing role of Turkish entrepreneurs in the Polish labor market. Many small Turkish businesses were developed at the trade centre in Wólka Kosowska, where they operate in the vicinity of similar Vietnamese and Chinese enterprises. When Poland joined the European Union in 2004, it also became a party to the agreement between Turkey and the EU (Decision No 1/80 of The Association Council of 19 September 1980 On The Development Of The Association): it improves the situation of Turkish workers and their families residing in European countries in comparison to third-country nationals from other countries. In 2009 Poland and Turkey signed a bilateral agreement about economic cooperation that declared support for Turkish business and entrepreneurs in Poland (and vice versa). In recent years, the increasing presence of Turkish construction companies in Poland has been visible: they are involved in building business and trade centres, office buildings, and residential apartments. Another example of Turkish expansion is Gülermak, the firm involved in building the Warsaw underground (Ministry of Development 2017). Polish accession to the European Union also attracted students, who started enrolling at Polish universities. Diplomas acquired at Polish universities are recognized throughout the European Union. Moreover, the university student status also enables employment without a separate permit, which may be treated as the first step of a professional career in Europe. In addition to these trends in mobility, the increasing trend since the 1990s is that of marriages between Polish and Turkish citizens. Some of the binational couples choose to reside in Poland. The new phase of Turkish mobility to Poland began in 2016, after the failed political coup in Turkey. Many Turks associated with the liberal religious movement of the Gülenists left Turkey and sought a new place for life in EU countries: some of them came to Poland.

Nowadays the Turkish community in Poland consist of individuals coming and residing in Poland for different reasons. The first category is economic migrants who come to work in Poland; they are either employed or set up their own business ventures. The second group are individuals who migrate for family reunification. Some of them join their Turkish spouse (within the collected sample, this pattern concerned women), others migrate because their partner is Polish. The third category is students: those who are educational migrants and those who came with their parents as children. The fourth type is migration

because of political reasons. All the mentioned categories are active in the labor market. This also concerns students of Polish universities: many foreign students combine school and work in Poland. The migration streams encompass people with various socio-cultural backgrounds. These factors influence the forms and dynamics of the labor market activity of the Turkish group, which are diversified. The integration patterns of the migrants encompass the development of ethnic firms and associations, activities of white-collar workers, and employment in unskilled jobs.

Turks in Poland—What the Official Data Reveal

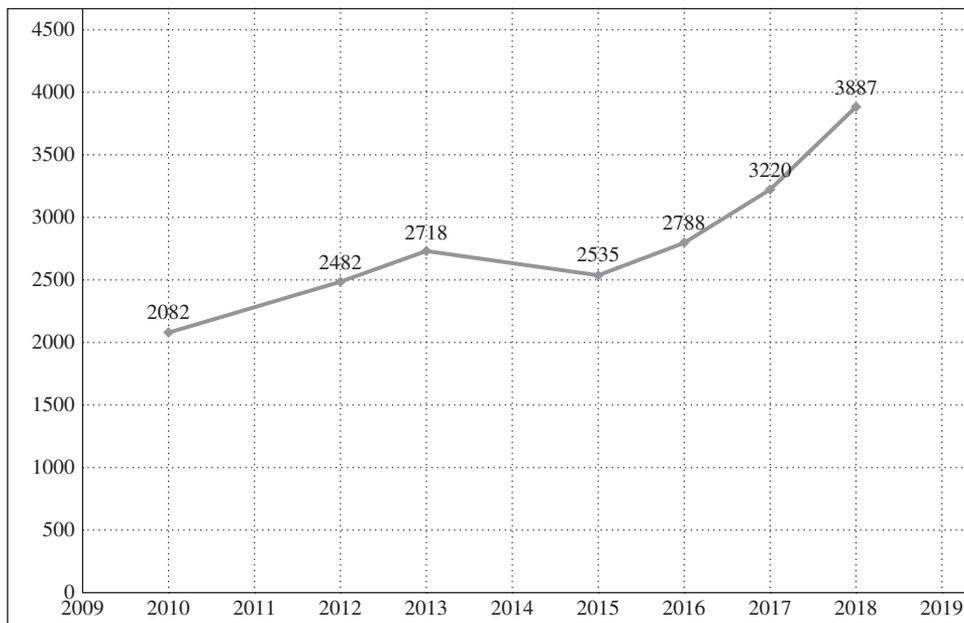
The community of Turks in Poland has grown dynamically in the recent decade. Between 2010 and 2018, the number of Turkish migrants increased by 86.7 percent. The Polish labor market is increasingly absorbent; it attracts growing numbers of foreigners. The data in **Table 1** are not complete because they only show residence permits and some immigrants (especially students) only have visas, which are not covered in this register. In addition to that, the statistics of the Office for Foreigners do not show naturalized persons who renounced their Turkish citizenship; however, both Poland and Turkey do allow dual citizenship so such relinquishment is not necessary in the case of naturalized Turks in Poland. Another “invisible” category could be unregistered migrants who stay in Poland illegally: mostly those who remain in Poland although their visa or temporary permit has expired. In sum, the number of Turkish immigrants in Poland most probably exceeds 4,000 people. It should be estimated at between 4,100 and 4,500 persons.

Table 2 shows the same statistical data as the previous one, but indicating types of residence permits. The largest group are Turks with a temporary residence permit: this category is more numerous than all the other legal entitlements put together. However, the number of Turkish migrants with long-term statuses has increased as well. This type encompasses permanent residence permit and long-term EU residency, which allow their holders to remain in the host country for an indefinite period of time. It is interesting that the number of refugees and similar permits has not increased since 2016. The explanation is that before the coup in 2016, refugees who were ethnic Kurds kept coming to Poland from Turkey. Besides, Turks who fled their country after the coup may have official statuses not connected with refugee status. The individual motivations for international mobility are frequently complex and multi-layered; the economic aspect also plays a role in the most recent Turkish migration.

These statistics should be complemented by another category. As mentioned before, some students may not have official residence permits and may be staying on the basis of student visas. According to the Central Statistical Office (2018), as of the academic year 2017/2018, there were 1,807 students from Turkey at Polish universities (including 504 women), and 163 Turkish graduates of Polish universities.

Another important aspect of labor market integration, its patterns and migrants' strategies, is the sectorial dispersion of foreigners. **Table 3** presents work permits issued in 2017 for Turkish migrants in specific sectors. In Poland, the permits can be issued for a period of up to three years. The most popular sector of the labor activity of Turkish migrants

Table 1
Turkish immigrants in Poland



Source: Own elaboration on the basis of data of the Office for Foreigners (UDSC, *Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców*).

Table 2
Turkish migrants in Poland 2010–2018: types of residence permits

| Year | Permanent stay | Long-term EU residents | Temporary permit | Permit for family members of EU citizens | Refugees and similar statuses |
|------|----------------|------------------------|------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| 2010 | 490 | 233 | 1329 | — (not available) | 30 |
| 2012 | 516 | 230 | 1715 | — (n.a.) | 21 |
| 2013 | 587 | 280 | 1835 | — (n.a.) | 16 |
| 2015 | 611 | 393 | 1510 | 6* | 15 |
| 2016 | 547 | 465 | 1751 | 8* | 17 |
| 2017 | 589 | 537 | 2061 | 13** | 20 |
| 2018 | 622 | 574 | 2653 | 21** | 17 |

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the data of the Office for Foreigners (UDSC, *Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców*).

Explanation: (*—temporary stay) (**—permanent stay). Refugees and similar statuses: auxiliary protection; tolerated stay; humanitarian stay.

is that of professional, technical, and scientific activities. They encompass legal and tax consultation, research and technical analyses, scientific research, advertising, and translations. A very similar sector, one that is also popular, is “Information and communication.” It encompasses *inter alia* computer programming, Internet website hosting, and publish-

ing activities. These statistics indicate that most Turks in Poland work in prestigious jobs that require high qualifications. Just as in the case of the UDSC statistics, it has to be emphasized that the data from the Ministry are not exhaustive. Some categories of migrants, mainly those with permanent and long-term permits, but also foreign students and graduates, do not have to obtain a permit in order to work in Poland, so their economic activities are not reflected in any kind of official register. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that the Turks who are employed without permits are more prone (in comparison to the whole ethnic community) to be in well-paid, highly qualified occupations, because the migrants' status in the labor market usually improves in the course of the years with their integration. The migrants who are entitled to work without a permit are usually either permanent residents settled in Poland, or university students and graduates.

Table 3

Sectors of employment and self-employment of Turkish migrants in Poland

| Permits issued in 2017—sectors | Number of permits issued (2017) |
|---|---------------------------------|
| Professional, scientific and technical activities | 340 |
| Gastronomy and hotels | 319 |
| Retail and wholesale trade | 133 |
| Information and communication | 108 |
| Industrial manufacturing | 103 |
| Construction works | 79 |
| Transportation | 28 |
| Financial and insurance activities | 12 |
| Education | 4 |
| Households employing workers | 3 |
| Agriculture, forestry, hunting, fishery | 3 |
| Healthcare and social work | 1 |
| Total | 1228 |

Own elaboration on the basis of data from the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Policy.

The stereotype about Turks who run kebab bars in Poland is partly true, because gastronomy is the second most popular branch for Turkish migrants. Besides, the data show the popularity of the trade sector. It is also one of the most popular sectors among Poles in general and also among other migrant groups active in the Polish labor market. More in-depth examination of migrants' presence in specific sectors is provided by the narrative interviews.

Results of the Qualitative Study

The qualitative study distinguishes three typical occupational trajectories of Turkish migrants in Poland. These paths are characterized by the various social environments in which they are developed: the host society, the ethnic community, and the international (expat) community. In consequence, they are also differentiated with regard to the prospects for social and economic advancement, opportunities of cultural adaptation, and chances for

remaining in the host country, return migration, and further mobility to other states. It is noteworthy that migrants pursuing different trajectories may take advantage of ethnic networks: the role of co-ethnic peers is not limited to the first strategy (activities in ethnic niches), but also plays a role in developing international career paths and a strategy of integration with the national host society.

The strategies are also a response to structural conditions: the situation of Turkish migrants in Europe is slightly more favourable than that of other third country nationals in the EU states. This is the consequence of denser immigrant networks in Western Europe, as well as the currently binding Decision No 1/80 of the Association Council of 19 September 1980 on the development of the association, concluded between the EU and Turkey. This context translates into mobility choices. The opportunities for Turkish low-skilled immigrants in countries such as Germany or the Netherlands cause that they are less eager to seek jobs in Poland, where salaries are lower. Choosing Poland as a destination country is more frequent among middle-class professionals, and students.

The Strategy of Activities in Ethnic Niches

Immigrants possess unique ethnic cultural capital (e.g., language) and social capital, which makes them prone to economic activities in ethnic niches. The role of ethnic networks starts even earlier, before entering the host labor market: it is crucial for recruitment of migrants, their mobility and choice of Poland as a country of study. Student mobility is often initiated as a result of the incentives and encouragements of Turkish friends and acquaintances already studying in Poland. They also provide assistance with regard to bureaucratic formalities and accommodation during the first phase of stay in Poland.

“Actually two of my friends from Turkey played an essential role in terms of my coming to Poland. I came to Poland thanks to them (...) they arranged all my paperwork regarding my admission to the university in Poland as well as my integration in Poland during my early period of stay. I also shared with them the same flat upon arrival”

Co-ethnic peers who are familiar with the characteristics of the host labor market facilitate the economic activation of newcomers. Key migrant actors of the social networking process are migrants who are highly skilled and relatively well embedded in social environment (both ethnic and Polish). They have a longer period of residence of stay in Poland and they are self-sufficient on the labor market—for example, they run their own businesses. Ethnic networks are used to find employment in ethnic firms: many Turkish entrepreneurs who operate in Poland employ Turkish migrants, including Turkish graduates of Polish universities. While the religious affiliation was not referred to as a factor shaping the occupational trajectory, the networks associated with religious groups were not completely insignificant. One of the respondents mentioned the mosque in Warsaw as the place where he made his first contacts with co-ethnics in the host country who helped him find the first job in a Turkish bar. Co-ethnic networks also serve as support in establishing the channels of occupational advancement. They create opportunities for obtaining better paid, or more prestigious jobs, including the possibility of transition from the secondary to the primary segment of the labor market. This co-ethnic assistance may also take the form of

recommending a certain person for a particular position. The co-ethnic support may also be realized in institutionalized form: the Turkish associations organize language classes, courses, which educate migrants about the Polish law, tax system, and business environment.

“Later I started work in a kebab company established by the Turks. I was doing marketing stuff there (...) Currently I am working for a foundation / association. I am the president of this association. (...) With support of some other professional firms we organize seminars for future investors, finance and accounting seminars that focus on the Polish financial system, how the tax system works in Poland, etc. (...) Apart from that, both at the institutional and personal level we support newcomers in terms of bureaucratic issues as well as buying cars, finding flats. We have organized Polish and English courses for the newcomers. Moreover, in terms of residence related issues we made them meet the proper bodies using our existing contacts”

The role of co-ethnic support for the mobility process also translates into the mechanisms of labor market activation and the predisposition to commence activities in ethnic niches. In addition to peer support during student mobility, some respondents came for family reunification, which was based on ethnic networks. Usually this involves a woman who comes to Poland to join her co-ethnic husband who already has a stable professional situation here. Despite the huge significance of ethnic networks, the Turks also demonstrate criticism towards their own community, citing the widespread Turkish proverb that Turks are enemies to each other abroad. In one case, a highly skilled female respondent declared her intentional alienation from the co-ethnic community, stating that she had not had contact with other migrants for several years. Nevertheless, her trajectory was an example of network-based migration, since she came to Poland to join her husband. While the respondent's declaration exposes important tensions within the community, it also proves that the interviewees' narratives should be perceived as a subjective reflection of life events: the interview clearly illustrated the case of co-ethnic support in the process of initiating international mobility. This finding is also consistent with other studies which have observed that migrants may construct a binary opposition between particular co-ethnic networks (relatives, close friends) and the general migrant population, believed to be competitive, hostile and threatening (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, Siara 2008: 680). The huge significance of family values in the Muslim culture may also strengthen the role of ethnic networking in the process of migration and labor market adaptation.

While the ethnic networks are well developed in the receiving country, some migrants take advantage of transnational ethnic networks, asking for help from friends and family back in Turkey in order to improve their situation in Poland. In the sample under study, the most evident case of such transnational practices was a refugee who escaped from the country of origin with his family after the 2016 coup. Since he was detained in Poland on his way to Germany and originally did not have any networks in the country of detainment, he activated his contacts back in Turkey in order to connections in the new place of residence. His case, however, illustrates the economic degradation of migrants who do not have sufficient social and cultural resources in the country of residence: his work in a Turkish restaurant was below his qualifications and work experience as a state official and maths teacher. For many migrants it is necessary to seek out the help of ethnic networks, all the more so as Turks rarely have sufficient knowledge of the Polish language. This also concerns students: many of them are enrolled in programmes with English as

the language of instruction. The ethnic networking strategy may result from the lack of the necessary cultural and social capital including language skills, limited embeddedness in the host society, and meagre links with both the natives and other migrant/expat communities.

Strategies of adaptation into a specific social environment may change in the course of a migrant's life. The strategy of activity in the ethnic niche appears to be susceptible to transitions into the paths of either internationalization or integration with the host society, while other strategies are not that susceptible to transition to the ethnic tactic. The most frequent change observed in the sample was the transition from the strategy of ethnic niches to the strategy of internationalization, through exposure to a more multicultural environment. After the first phase of staying in Poland, which is devoted to studies or work in a Turkish firm, the migrants acquire more skills and professional experience which allows them to look for job opportunities in corporations. They offer a chance of more internationalized career paths.

The Strategy of Internationalization

Not all foreign students treat Poland as a transitory phase in a more international occupational path, but such a pattern is visible in some narratives. Educational migrants may see Polish university education as the potential first step for a career in Western European countries. The advantage of studies in Poland is the level of university fees and lower costs of living in comparison to countries such as Germany or the UK, and, at least from the perspective of third-country nationals, the comparable worth of the diploma. Migrants strategize to maximize their benefits from higher education. Enrolling at a Polish university is perceived as a start of education in an EU member state, which is advantageous because of the EU-wide recognition of Polish diplomas and degrees. This strategy proves that third-country nationals increasingly often treat the EU countries as a unity, the single destination of their migration.

Some respondents had experience of studies or work abroad before coming to Poland. Their international mobility experiences encompassed various countries of the European Union and post-Soviet area. In such cases, migrants are more prone to perceive their movement to Poland as a phase in a multifaceted, more compound process of international mobility, which encompasses different receiving countries and cultural spaces. They strategize to enhance their opportunities for careers that would not attach them to a single nation state. As a result, for such migrants the development of “cross-national” skills—experience of work in globally recognized companies, fluency in the languages spoken all over the world, mainly English—may be more important than for migrants who perceive their migration path as binary, i.e., happening between the sending country and the receiving country. For migrants, who develop the strategy of internationalization, the working language is often English. They are eager to work in international corporations, in a multinational environment. The increasingly “superdiverse” context means that migrants are exposed to more socio-cultural differences and maintain an array of both professional and private links to other places and ethnicities (Vertovec 2007). Since Turks reside in large Polish cities, which are increasingly multicultural, it is easy for them to remain in such an “international ex-

pat bubble” (Fechter 2007) and to be successful in the labor market without necessarily integrating with the host society.

“I am working in an international company. From this point of view, if the company is international for example American, they are open-minded and positive about foreigners (...) It is a multicultural environment because even in my office there are 8 foreigners from different countries (...) In fact there are not many Turks in the company, only three Turks besides me. Apart from this, there are engineers from Central Asia, employees from Ukraine, Poland. Let me think. From Georgia, Azerbaijan.”

Within the strategy of internationalization, some individuals reveal emergent cosmopolitan orientations: they develop habits and lifestyles of “world citizens” who can reside anywhere feel the same degree of familiarity and strangeness’ to the local culture, and thus be “partially adjusted everywhere” (Vertovec, Cohen 2002: 10). The cosmopolitan orientation reflects the growing significance of universal social and economic interdependence which create a social space for individuals to form post-national and cross-national bonds (Beck, Sznaider 2006). The strategy of internationalization is also typical for individuals who were raised as “nomads” or “third culture kids” (Trąbka 2013), travelling with their parents outside their country of birth even before taking up occupational activities. Such a lifestyle translates into the later inclination to look for internationalized career paths and avoid attachment to a single country of residence. Such a strategy is facilitated by the European Union, which introduced various legal tools that make mobility within the Member States easier. These simplifications serve mostly EU citizens, but some of them (the visa regime within the Schengen zone, EU-wide recognition of university diplomas) may also help third-country nationals. On the psychological and emotional level, the practice of mobility developed from early childhood is also important. It allows one to comprehend the importance of cultural sensitivity, openness to new environments, weakens the ethno-national attachment, enhances willingness to learn the language and customs of a new country—features that (as the respondent below disapprovingly emphasizes) are often scarce within the Turkish community:

“I did not grow up in Turkey. That’s why I do not understand the mentality of Turkish people much. Because of that, I do not feel myself close to Turkish people and I do not have much relationship with them. (...) They behave as if they were in Turkey and they simply do not integrate themselves into the Polish community. For instance, in the traffic they make a lot of mistakes, which actually cannot be forgiven, even Poland has strict rules about it. The most important thing I do not like about them is that they do not learn the Polish language. (...) They believe that they can solve all problems with English. I lived in Ukraine and I know that I could not have lived there without Ukrainian language. But here in Poland, local people know English and when the Turks realize that they can live with it, then they do not bother to learn a new language.”

For some migrants, taking up work in an international company is also a way of social advancement from the activities within the ethnic niche. The important reason is that their knowledge of English is better than their language skills in Polish. Moreover, international companies in Poland also look for employers with unconventional and narrow linguistic competences, for example in order to cooperate with Turkish contractors or extend their activities in the Turkish markets. In such cases, fluency in English and Turkish is sufficient to obtain a position in the primary segment of the labor market. The inability to communicate fluently in Polish does not hamper the opportunities to work in a corporation as much as it hampers employment of (even highly skilled) foreigners in the small national firms and work in the sectors where customers are primarily native Poles.

The Strategy of (Hesitant) Integration

The strategy of integration into Polish society and acquiring cultural skills was rarely observed in the sample. This strategy of integration means making attempts to learn Polish language and culture. Such a strategy is observed especially when the migrants' plans are to stay longer or settle permanently, and if they raise children in Poland. This can be seen as a dimension of the "national" integration of the whole family: children born in Poland to Turkish naturalized migrants or in binational marriages obtain Polish citizenship and are considered Poles. In the aspect of the labor market presence, the longer the migrants stay in Poland, the more important the integration with the host society appears to them. The view that it is sufficient to know English (and the mother tongue) in order to develop a professional career in Poland can be deceptive, as note the respondents who have lived in Poland for several years. While the segment of international corporations can absorb professionals who do not understand Polish, this component of the primary labor market is very narrow and special and does not reflect the mechanisms of employment opportunities that are typical for the host country. Firms whose customers are mainly Polish constitute most of the market and the prerequisite for employment are the adequate linguistic skills. This is illustrated by one of the interviewees who describes the labor trajectories of his two acquaintances with equal qualifications: one of them learnt Polish and the other did not:

"If you can't speak Polish there are many obstacles for doing your own job. If you look for jobs other than this, there are only language-specific jobs or jobs in which you don't need to communicate with people. Like arranging shelves in Carrefour, washing dishes at restaurants. Jobs which either don't require any language, or jobs which are language-specific. For example, a close friend of mine is a veterinarian. But he has been unemployed for about a year because he is not fluent in Polish, I mean he can speak Polish, but he does not command it. Another friend of ours could only start working after he went to Polish courses and got a certificate, he is also a veterinarian."

Still, better integration with the host society (language proficiency, naturalization), and employment in a Polish firm, does not preclude migrants from taking advantage of their cultural capital to some extent. Working in a firm where management and most of the staff are Polish does not necessarily mean that the working language is Polish. For example, one of the respondents (a naturalized Pole) worked at a Polish university, but his tasks concerned dealing with international students and required the frequent use of multicultural skills, including proficiency in English.

Strategy of integration into the Polish society (or its segments) reveals that non-economic factors such as socialization in the Polish family, cultural adaptation associated with achieving a long-term residential status may redefine occupational orientations and choices. However, even for the well-adapted long-term residents, integration does not denote full socio-cultural convergence with the host society. Such possibility is prevented by the subjective sense of cultural distinction and also by the visibility of the Turks' ethnic differentiation in a still homogeneous host society. Respondents emphasize their sense of otherness, even though they make attempts to adapt, e.g. for the sake of their family members:

"I came here because of a relationship, marriage. It did not end up successful. We have decided to split up. Before that decision, we already had a child. I live here now because of a fatherly responsibility. My daughter is now 5 years old. (...) I am not saying 'I am a world citizen.' I think it is healthy to have smaller groups inside bigger groups. These differences make people beautiful. It's like how we are different as 'dark heads' inside this 'blonde

culture.’ So, when we go to Turkey, smaller groups in that locality should exist. It becomes more important when you become ‘the other’ here, when you become ‘the dark head.’ You can regard it more positively. But these must be innocent feelings. It’s important live together with difference.”

In the course of the integration process with the host society, Turkish migrants become embedded within certain communities and groups rather than the society as a whole. Such “subgroups” are not necessarily representative of the entire country and its typical residents. Socio-demographic features of Turkish migration (prevalence of well-educated individuals; residential preferences) may mean that the immigrants will be incorporated mainly into the metropolitan middle class, which is more open towards cultural diversity and possesses higher cultural capital. However, such pattern of incorporation depends on various familial and educational factors and is not the only possible. A notable case that illustrated the ambiguities of the integration process was a respondent—naturalized Pole married to a Polish woman—who chose the strategy of activity in the ethnic niches, because his low education level (primary education) prevented him from the job opportunities offered by Polish employers.

Conclusions

The Turkish constitute a case of an internationalized and richly networked community of third-country nationals in Poland. The study reveals that the mechanisms of migration are different and unique in the case where mobility is promoted or initiated neither by the host state nor the state of origin. First, state policies frequently promote attracting migrants to the secondary segments of the labor market, which leads to associating foreigners with non-prestigious blue-collar jobs. Since Turkish migrants in Poland initiate their mobility on their own, they often manage to start a professional career outside of this segment, finding job opportunities in more prestigious and well-paid sectors. Second, ethnic networks become very significant in the process of migration and labor market integration. The lack of state programmes encouraging migration from this particular country or addressing migrants’ labor market activities translates into the necessity of arranging more extensive forms of support within the migrant community. Within the ethnic networks, the highly skilled migrants (Turkish students and graduates of Polish universities, Turkish migrant entrepreneurs) play a particularly important role. These characteristics cause the patterns of international mobility and labor market activation of Turkish migrants in Poland not to resemble those of Turks in Western Europe. Hence the Turkish mobility to Central Europe reveals new dimensions of the south-to-north migration.

The qualitative study sheds more light on the new forms of foreigners’ economic activities. Immigrants’ integration into the labor market does not equal full socio-cultural convergence with the host society: in fact, in the Turkish community under study such a process of “total incorporation” was not observed. The adaptation process is much more multidimensional and complex. For some migrants, the most rational strategy is to develop networks within the international expat community, so they can take advantage of their work experience in many countries and their English language skills. On the other hand, remaining attached to the ethnic community does not necessarily denote economic marginalization:

such migrants achieve economic success through intensive use of the ethnic resources in their labor market activities. The research of the Turkish community in Poland reveals that the strategy of integration with the host society is only common among long-term migrants whose intention is to remain in the current country of residence and who do not have plans to migrate further. Since the community is young and many of its members have resided in Poland for just a few years or less, the strategy of “national” integration may become more common in the future, as more migrants settle down and decide to stay permanently. On the other hand, the Europeanization of migration processes (the popularity of movements among member states) may lead to the growing popularity of more Europeanized strategies of third-country nationals and “internationalized” career paths developed in various EU countries.

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