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The attractiveness of the Poznan metropolitan region for the development of the creative knowledge sector. The view of transnational migrants

Strylakiewicz, T.; Kaczmarek, T.; Lodyga, B.; Macrionowicz, D.; Meczynski, M.; Parysek, J.J.; Stachowiak, K.

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**The attractiveness of the Poznan metropolitan region
for the development of the creative knowledge sector**

The view of transnational migrants

ACRE report 7.8



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Tomasz Kaczmarek
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Daria Marcinowicz
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Accommodating Creative Knowledge – Competitiveness of European Metropolitan
Regions within the Enlarged Union

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AMIDSt, University of Amsterdam

ACRE

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The objective of the research presented in this report is to identify the factors that influenced the decisions of the transnational, creative and highly qualified migrants to settle and work in the Poznań metropolitan region. This group comprises both: 1) expatriates (or ex-paths), who migrated between large international economic centres and stayed in Poznań for a relatively short time (from a few months to a few years), and 2) other highly skilled migrants. As Florida (2002) states, openness to transnational migrants is one of the keys to successful development of the creative knowledge sector.

The report consists of two basic parts. The first one presents a general context of the process of internationalisation of the economy of Poland and Poznań, and emphasises the role of foreign direct investment (FDI) in this process after 1990. In this part of the report the three main factors attracting transnational creative and highly skilled people to Poznań are pointed out, i.e. the influx of FDI, the migration policy and the fact that Poznań is an important academic centre.

The liberalisation of border movement regulations in recent years has created an unprecedented situation in which Poles could not only leave their country, but also return to it, with no fear of negative political consequences. With international bilateral agreements on employment signed in the 1990s and Poland's accession to the European Union Poles have been able to enjoy greater access to and freedom of employment abroad. Short-time migrations have become more significant because of purely economic reasons, especially the relation of costs and migration-related benefits as well as demand in the labour market of the receiver countries. At the same time, as early as in the 1990s, Poland became an attractive country to be in for more and more immigrants. The country's joining the European Union has contributed to a massive rise in economic migrations and has led to growing attractiveness of Polish citizenship. A new quality in Polish migration movements was undoubtedly defined by the country's joining the Schengen area at the beginning of 2008.

The Poznań metropolitan region belongs to the most dynamic migration centres in Poland. However, the balance of foreign migration is negative, like in many other Polish metropolitan regions.

A relatively new phenomenon in Poznań is student mobility. It is an essential element of student creativity, which translates into the creativity of places in which they live and study. City as such is becoming more and more attractive as a place of long-term studies. In the case of Poznań, students come not only from less developed countries in Eastern Europe, but also from highly developed ones (USA, Canada, Scandinavian countries). One should stress that thanks to globalisation and European integration, higher education has become a spur to local and regional development, a source of creativity and innovation for a metropolis on an unprecedented scale. Poznań and other Polish cities with their long academic tradition and a great deal of research and educational potential are starting to take these opportunities.

Foreign migration, both student and staff, helps create an intellectual character of a metropolis, improve its economy and shape not only its economic life, but also its social and cultural values.

The second part of the report presents the results of the survey carried out among a group of 25 transnational migrants and 5 experts in the second half of 2008. The sample has been selected to ensure a balance between creative and knowledge-intensive occupations, between different countries of migrants' origin, between migrants sent by their companies and those who came on their own, as well as between migrants living in the city and in the suburban zone. Following the decision of the ACRE coordination team, the migrants employed in three sub-sectors were surveyed:

- visual and performing arts,
- business consultancy, and
- higher education and knowledge.

A semi-structured interview was used in the survey. It concerned the transnational migrants' reasons for settling in the Poznań metropolitan region and their assessment of the attractiveness of this region for the development of the creative knowledge sector. In particular, the following aspects were mentioned:

- a way of coming to the Poznań metropolitan region;
- education and professional career;
- motivation to come to Poznań; the role of hard and soft factors;
- opinions about living and working conditions, quality of life, support structures, everyday problems, overall satisfaction and future plans;
- suggestions of improvements.

The information obtained (supplemented by the information from experts) made it possible to tackle the problem posed by the WP7, which can be expressed in three more detailed research questions:

1. To what extent does the Poznań metropolitan region manage to attract skilled migrants across the national borders?
2. Are the skilled migrants who are needed in the 'creative knowledge region' actually coming to the region? and
3. If they are attracted, how accessible and attractive is the local and regional housing market for them?

On the basis of the interviews, there can be identified two groups of factors determining the influx of creative, highly skilled people to the Poznań metropolitan region:

- work or professional contacts; and
- personal or social networks.

The major factor determining the creative knowledge sector employees' decision to move to the Poznan metropolitan region, had an economic character and involved a profitable job. The remaining factors related to personal reasons (e.g. finding a partner, changing a life style) or to quality of life in the city, played a boosting role in making a decision to come to the PMR. Creative people who were delegated to Poznań by their companies had the easiest way to adapt to the new conditions. A full service was provided for them and that included a work permit, finding a place to live and registration of the residence. For the rest the problems in adapting to new life and work conditions in Poznan were mainly connected with formal matters – the complexity of securing a visa or a work permit, for example. These difficulties were aggravated by a language barrier. Bureaucracy was seen as a major problem connected with the adaptation to living in the Poznań metropolitan region.

One of the most important aspects of living in a different country is, on the one hand, the adaptation to the environment, and, on the other hand, the locals' reaction to people coming from different countries. In this context, acceptance and tolerance of foreigners' being different on part of locals may influence the quality of life and decisions made by transnational migrants. In the respondents' views Poznań is open and tolerant towards foreigners. In this respect, the city stands out from other regions in the country. Foreigners perceive the local environment as conducive to action – especially when it comes to entrepreneurship. The local community has some features that make interpersonal relations easier, i.e. a spirit of entrepreneurship and pragmatism. At the same time the environment stimulates creativity, which creates prospects for this particular sector.

The researched foreigners also emphasised the social climate of the city, though it was not the main reason why they came to Poznań. In general, the majority of respondents liked the local colour. Nevertheless, Poznań was considered to have a slower pace of life than Cracow, for example, and to be very family orientated. Although this was an advantage for some respondents, most of them said it lacked uniqueness and diversity of activities. In this aspect, other cities, such as Cracow, turned out to have a better climate favouring creativeness.

Local policy, particularly concerning culture and the city spatial development, was quite critically assessed by interviewees. The majority thought that the creative knowledge sector required more support from local authorities. This support would not have to necessarily be financial, but it could be provided in a form of promotion of creative activities, and of culture in particular. Nevertheless, the opinion of the migrants as well as the experts was that this sphere was underdeveloped in the region. The most significant problem occurred to be poor access to information about cultural events. As far as spatial planning policy in the city is concerned, interviewees criticised the policy of excessive commercialisation of the city space and using it for consumption purposes.

The results of the research carried out show that for the transnational migrants the prospects of the development of the creative knowledge sector in the Poznan metropolitan region are mostly related to its position as a centre of higher education and knowledge. The accessibility of housing and tolerant atmosphere are also stimulating its development, however, lack of appropriate support for cultural-oriented policy is definitely slowing it down.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and outline of the report

The report presents the results of the research on the drivers behind the decisions of the transnational creative knowledge migrants to settle in the Poznan metropolitan region (PMR). This research is one of the successive stages (WP7) of the ACRE project. Hence, it is a logical consequence of the earlier review of literature on the role of creative knowledge in making metropolitan regions competitive (WP1), analyses connected with the determination of the development pathway of the Poznan metropolitan region (WP2), and finally the survey research carried out in the target groups - graduates and employees (WP5) and managers (WP6) in the region's creative and knowledge industries. The studies conducted under the current work package consisted in interviewing the next group - creative knowledge migrants, being an employees or company managers in the creative knowledge sector. This chapter presents the aim of the studies and an outline of the report.

The aim of the research carried out at this stage of the project was to identify factors that had decided the creative knowledge workers from abroad to take up work in the creative knowledge sector of the Poznan metropolitan region. These factors are differentiated according to the type of economic activity they are connected with. The aim of the research was also to estimate the relative importance of the location factors that played a role in the decision making process (with a particular focus on the importance of 'soft' factors, such as the quality of space, atmosphere of the city and region, availability of high-quality residential space, etc.). The information was obtained through interviews with the foreign persons in managerial or expert positions in the following sub-sectors: business and management consultancy, visual and performing arts, and higher education and knowledge. These sub-sectors play an important role in the socio-economic development of the region. Besides, valuable information was also obtained during interviews with experts representing institutions that play a significant role in creating conditions for the settlement of the creative, talented and highly skilled migrants in the PMR. The interviews concerned not only the reasons to settle in the PMR (for example the quality of living in the region) and the process of accommodating, but also the policy of the local authorities stimulating the inflow of the creative-knowledge migrants to the region.

The interviewees mentioned various aspects related to the creative people who migrate between large international economic centres and only stay in their current place of residence for relatively short times between a few months and a few years. These aspects are as follows: personal trajectory, motivation to come to the PMR, social networks, actual living and working situation and future plans. The information obtained made it possible to tackle the problem posed by the WP7, which can be expressed in three more detailed research questions:

1. To what extent does the Poznan metropolitan region manage to attract skilled migrants across the national borders?
2. Are the skilled transnational migrants needed for the ‘creative knowledge region’ actually coming to the region? and
3. If they are attracted, how accessible and attractive is the local and regional housing market for them?

The report consists of ten chapters. Chapter 1 states the aim of the research and gives an outline of the report and description of the Poznan metropolitan region. Chapter 2 provides theoretical background of migration. Chapter 3 is devoted to the economic development of Poland and the Poznan metropolitan region as well as to the role of the foreign investments in this development. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 illustrate foreign migration in Poland and Poznan metropolitan region, and role of educational migration of students in this phenomenon. Chapter 7 addresses the methodology of the research and the structure of the interview. Then follows chapters 8 and 9 with the actual results of the interviews. They describe of the main factors influencing the decisions to settle in the Poznan metropolitan region transnational migrants representing creative knowledge sector. A final conclusion is in chapter 10.

1.2 Introduction to the Poznan metropolitan region

Poznan is one of the largest and fastest-growing cities in Poland. Located in the west-central part of the country and equidistant between Warsaw and the German capital Berlin, it is the place where the Polish statehood originated more than 1,000 years ago. With its 565,000 inhabitants (2006), Poznan is the fifth largest city in Poland (after Warsaw, Lodz, Cracow, and Wroclaw). The position of Poznan among other Polish cities in terms of selected characteristics (including those of the creative knowledge sector) is presented in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 - Poznan in comparison with other Polish cities and Poland (2005)

	Poznan	Gdansk	Cracow	Lodz	Warsaw	Wroclaw	Poland
Area in km ²	262	262	327	294	517	293	312,685
Population in thousands	567.9	458.1	756.6	767.6	1,697.6	635.9	38,157.1
Women per 100 men	115	111	113	119	117	114	107
Population growth per 1.000 inhabitants	-0.01	-0.01	-0.80	-6.1	-1.47	-1.78	-0.10
Infant deaths per 1000 live births	5.7	8.8	5.6	6.8	4.3	7.2	6.4
State enterprises registered in the REGON system	90,666	58,631	104,292	96,029	298,062	93,047	3,615,621
of which:							
commercial companies	9,886	6,970	10,047	6,463	48,827	9,089	230,588
of which foreign capital	2,350	1,195	1,843	1,416	15,697	2,415	54,336
Unincorporated business proprietors	66,805	40,346	7,438	74,190	197,947	65,893	2,776,459
Average employment*:							
in thousands	146.4	75.7	164.6	98.2	851.9	129.9	4,773
per 1.000 inhabitants	257.9	165	210	127.9	502	204.2	125.1

Table 1.1 continued

	Poznan	Gdansk	Cracow	Lodz	Warsaw	Wroclaw	Poland
Registered unemployed:							
in thousands	19.6	18.7	25.3	54.7	58.4	31.4	2,773.0
Unemployment rate %	6.1	9.6	6.9	16.4	5.6	11.0	17.6
Unemployed per one job vacancy	76	61	15	105	47	26	158
Average gross monthly salary (zlotys)**	2,702.08	3,072.47	2,432.66	2,227.83	3,396.50	2,423.57	2,507.00
Flats completed in thousand	3.4	2.6	4.6	0.6	14.4	2.0	114.1
Crime detection rate %	47.9	42.9	28.9	29.3	35.4	50.9	58.6
Schools:							
primary	103	85	145	127	280	102	14,572
general secondary	83	59	100	96	222	74	7,031
post-elementary							
vocational	24	22	34	19	36	19	1,778
comprehensive high	50	67	101	104	235	87	2,572
vocational	56	60	119	85	181	50	4,641
post-secondary	36	75	113	99	131	169	3,731
higher education	26	14	21	20	77	22	445
Pupils and students in thousands:							
primary	29.6	25.2	39.5	36.6	78.3	30.7	2,602.0
general secondary	18.4	15.1	30.1	23.3	47.0	19.8	1,596.8
post-elementary							
vocational	3.2	2.0	4.1	2.0	4.2	3.2	237.3
comprehensive high	17.5	13.1	25.6	26.4	57.4	19.7	738.6
vocational	10.5	10.1	18.4	9.5	19.8	10.7	753.3
post-secondary	3.1	6.4	13.1	11.1	15.4	13.0	313.5
higher education	132.9	71.8	173.8	113.4	277.8	133.8	1,953.8
College and university enrolment per 10,000 inhabitants	2,340.8	1,568.0	2,296.9	1,478.0	1,636.0	2,104.3	512.0
Viewers in permanent cinemas per 10 000 inhabitants	3,560	2,639	2,706	1,251	3,377	2,130	652.6
Lodgings in thousands	7.5	9.7	15.3	3.5	21.3	7.2	569.9
Hotel customers in thousands	434.0	364.9	1,209.3	258.4	1,633.1	49.2	16,597.2
including foreign tourists	165.7	147.4	731.8	58.0	744.6	25.0	4,310.4
Hotel occupation rates in %	28.9	39.2	50.2	40.3	42.7	45.5	36.5
Per capita Gross Domestic Product in 2003	42,508	29,719	32,559	26,531	62,896	31,274	22,048

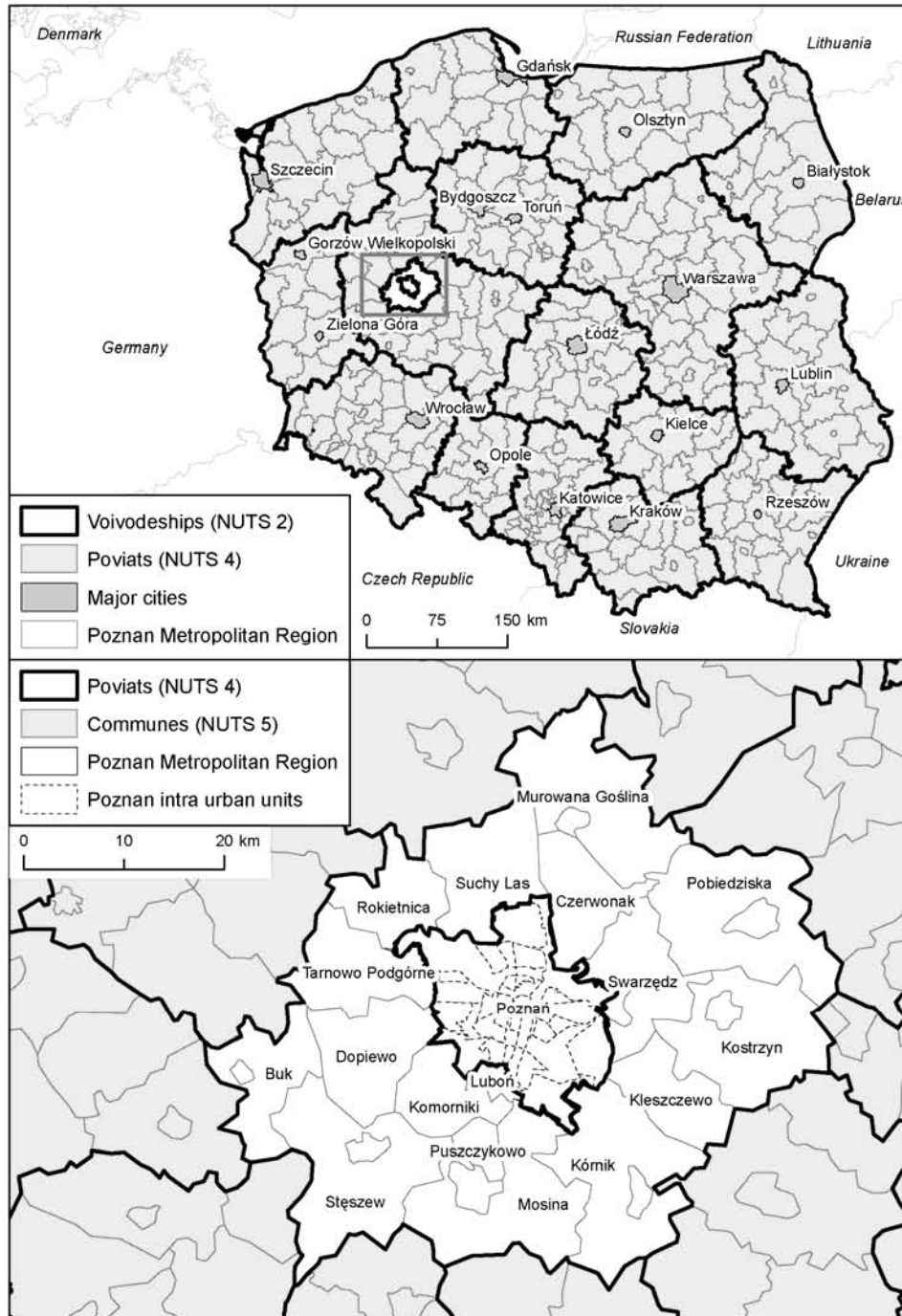
* private sector

** 1 zloty \approx 0.25 euro (2005)*Source: Statistical Office in Poznan*

Poznan is the centre and main city of a metropolitan region (PMR) inhabited by about 856,000 people. The spatial range of the region adopted in the ACRE project, apart from the city, coincides with the boundaries of the administrative unit called Poznan powiat (district). It corresponds to the NUTS 4 level and includes the adjacent towns and communes (gmina). These are: two towns (Lubon and Puszczykowo), 8 urban-rural communes (Buk, Kostrzyn, Kornik, Mosina, Murowana Goslina, Pobiedziska, Steszew, and Swarzedz), and 7 rural communes (Czerwonak, Dopiewo, Kleszczewo, Komorniki, Rokietnica, Suchy Las, and Tarnowo Podgorne). Some of these communes within the limits of the Poznan metropolitan

region (such as Tarnowo Podgórne, Czerwonak or Suchy Las), although called rural, are among the most industrialised communes in Poland. The spatial range of the Poznan metropolitan region is presented in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1 - Poznan metropolitan region - the research area



Source: own compilation

Apart from its municipal and poviát administrative functions, Poznan is also the seat of provincial authorities. The provincial-level unit of the administrative system (corresponding to NUTS 2) is called the voivodeship (województwo). Wielkopolska voivodeship is one of the largest in Poland (the second largest in terms of area and the third in terms of population).

The position of Poznan in the European network of metropolitan regions is defined by the following features:

1. In comparison with the biggest European cities, Poznan's metropolitan functions are not fully formed yet.
2. Poznan's location halfway between Warsaw and Berlin puts the city under strong competitive pressure from those two capitals.
3. The discontinuity of the city's development path and its inability to keep up with global processes under the communist system (like in other cities of the Eastern bloc) have serious implications for accommodating creative knowledge.

In spite of all the above-mentioned reservations, Poznan is one of the most dynamic Polish cities, a leader in the process of social and economic transformation. It also has assets that can make it into a creative and knowledge-based metropolitan region. So far, this type of development path has been far from common in post-communist East-Central Europe. There are signs, however, that this unfavourable situation is gradually changing. Poznan provides many examples of this change.

Poznan is a city generally well perceived by the inhabitants of other regions of Poland, attractive to live and work in. Its milieu is a product of history, an urban layout with a historic centre and numerous architectural monuments, cultural institutions, higher schools, wedges of greenery, retail outlets, practically an absence of degraded areas, and finally order and cleanliness. The city's attractiveness is enhanced by its good location in terms of transport, a diversified economic structure, a low unemployment rate, a relatively low crime rate, and the feeling of safety in the place of residence. The cost of living, while rather high in the Polish conditions, is lower than in the other major cities, like Warsaw, Gdansk, Gdynia or Wroclaw. The costs of housing and municipal services are rather high too. According to Ziółkowski (2004), the Poznanians are perhaps less spontaneous and extroverted, but very reliable and hard-working. All this makes Poznan a place people are glad to live and work in, and glad to visit. It is also attractive to foreign investors, who have for years been sitting their investments there, worth in 2006 a total of \$5.1 billion (it is only in Warsaw that the total stock of foreign direct investment has outstripped that in Poznan).

2 THEORIES OF MIGRATION: THE CASE OF HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRANTS¹

For a better understanding of trans-national migration in creative and knowledge intensive industries in the Poznan metropolitan region it is important to have a look on recent international migration research and its theories. Migration to Europe in the past 20 to 25 years differs in form and consequences from earlier population movements across national borders. New types of migration and new forms of trans-national migration can be observed in most countries in the EU, including the Poznan metropolitan region. Older approaches of migration research do not seem to describe current migration processes properly. Especially the migration of highly skilled workers shows specific characteristics which require new descriptions.

There is no consistent theory of migration; on the contrary, migration research is characterised by a wide range of theories. Classical approaches basically deal with economic factors to explain migration processes on the macro-level or decisions to migrate on the micro-level. But the changes of migration processes since the 1990s cannot be described appropriately by classical theories. Hence new approaches try to explain contemporary migration structures. They point out the embeddedness of migrants in social networks and try to focus on the meso-level of migration in form of exchange processes between social spaces. In this chapter classical approaches of migration research and new theories will be described which focus on labour migration in general. Afterwards there will be a description of approaches which deal with migration of highly skilled in particular. This also includes Florida's account of the 'creative class'. His perception of this 'class' as being 'hyper-mobile' is one of the most contested elements of his creative class thesis. Finally it will be discussed which approaches are appropriate to describe the movement of highly skilled migrants to the Poznan metropolitan region.

2.1 Classical theories of labour migration

Classical theories of migration interpret migration processes which are seen as unidirectional with definite countries of origin and destination areas. Migration processes are explained as a consequence of economic disparities and adverse conditions on which individuals react and decide to migrate.

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2.1.1 Push-pull-model

The emergence of international migration can be explained by correlations between countries of origin and host societies. Everett (see Lee, 1972), worked out a push-pull-model which states that there are push-factors in the regions of origin and pull-factors in the destination area, which encourage migration. There are also intervening factors like spatial distance or migration laws and personal facts which influence decisions to migrate. This approach considers not only economic factors like economic disparities but also social factors like conflicts or the attempt to escape from danger (Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 38; Haug, 2000, p. 8; Kneer, 1996).

2.1.2 Neoclassical theories

Neoclassical theories are based on the push-pull-model. Macro-economic approaches focus on economic factors like economic growth (see Lewis, 1954, see Todaro, 1976). It is assumed that disparities between places of production and labour markets – namely disparities of wage level as well as labour supply and demand for labour – lead to migration. Migration is seen as the attempt to reach a macro-economic equilibrium. Countries with work intensive sectors are characterised by low wages and countries with capital intensive sectors by high wages. These wage differentials cause migration to the areas where the income level is higher. Thus the labour supply lowers and wages increase in ‘poorer’ countries while labour supply increases and therefore wages lower in ‘richer’ countries. At the same time economic and human capital flows towards the ‘poorer’ regions, which are beginning to develop capital intensive sectors. Migration abates when economic disparities vanish. This disregards that there are other factors like the establishment of migrant communities in host societies which may encourage further migration (Haug, 2000, p. 2, 11; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 38).

Macro-economic theory has its counterpart in micro-economic approaches. Here the focus is on the individual migrant. As individuals they opt for migration by rational cost-benefit calculations. Migration is interpreted as investment in order to maximise economic utilities. Individual features, social conditions or technologies which lower the costs of migration enhance the probability of migration. The amount of the expected benefits determines the extent of migration flows. The higher the income level in the destination area in comparison to the earning in the home region, the lower the costs of migration, and/or the longer the remaining years in professional life, the higher the probability of migration. This implicates that there is a higher incentive to migrate for workers with less human capital if the expected income level is low. By contrast high skilled workers are encouraged to migrate if the expected income is high. Otherwise they tend to stay because they can take advantage of their human capital in their home country as well (Massey et al., 1993, p. 456; Haug, 2000, p. 5, 13).

But neoclassical theory disregards international political and economic contexts and decisions as well as social boundaries. Furthermore the implicated assumption of homogeneous professional abilities in countries of origin and destination areas as well as the assumed trend to global macro-economic equation are controversial.

2.1.3 New migration economy

The new migration economy approach also focuses on an economic factor: the income. But it also considers the social embeddedness of individuals in households. Individuals are interpreted as acting collectively. Hence the approach focuses on families and households. According to this approach households try to maximise the expected income and to minimise risks for their economic wealth. The job migration of a household member is a form of reassurance because the migrant is independent of local economic conditions of the household. Furthermore international migration and the associated money transfer from abroad can be used as capital for an increase in productivity of the household. Usually it is a matter of temporary migration. It is claimed that adjustment of wages does not stop international migration. Even if there is no strong incentive, households try to diversify their economic risk by migration of family members. Migration is seen as a risk lowering strategy (Haug, 2000, p. 7f).

2.1.4 Dual labour market theory

Neoclassical migration theory as well as new migration economy assume that migration is a result of rational decisions of individuals or families. In contrast the Dual labour market theory suggests that migration is an effect of political and socioeconomic constellations. The reasons for labour migration are not seen in a trend to a labour market equation but in the segmentation of the labour market. Advanced industrial societies develop a dual economy with a capital-intensive primary segment and a labour-intensive secondary segment. The latter is characterised by insecurity and low wages. Native workers usually do not have any motivation to accept these jobs, which also mean less prestige and low promotion prospects (Lebhart, 2002, p. 13). Hence advanced economies demand foreign workers for the secondary segment. This causes migration (Haug, 2000, p. 3; Lebhart, 2002, p. 13).

2.1.5 World system theory

This migration approach deals with the idea of the clash between capitalistic industrial- and developing nations. It is assumed that the origin of migration lies in institutional and sectoral disparities which are evoked by the integration of nations into the worldwide capitalist system. This approach divides the world into three zones: core, semi-periphery and periphery. To explain the patterns of migration the reciprocal dependency of these zones as well as direction and constitution of flows of capital and goods are analysed. It is presumed that international labour migration follows the international flows of capital and goods in the opposite direction. This intends that first of all migration is detectable in Global Cities, which attract migrants from the periphery and not industrialised societies.

Therefore migration is seen as a logic consequence of the globalisation of the economy which causes the emergence of the capitalistic market in developing countries. This implicates that international migration primarily appears between former colonial powers and its colonies because of already existing relations in economy, transport, administration, culture and language (Lebhart, 2002, p. 16; Haug, 2000, p. 4; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 40).

2.2 New theories of labour migration

The 1990s confronted the migration research with new migration forms which cannot be described as unidirectional processes with definite countries of origin and definite destination areas. The classical micro- and macro-analytic migration theories failed to apply to these forms. There was a missing link: the connection between individuals and society. New approaches in migration research pointing out the importance of social networks as the missing link were required.

2.2.1 *Theory of migration systems*

The theory of migration systems assumes that the intensive exchange of information, goods, services, capital, ideas and persons between specific countries causes a stable system. Migration is one of these exchange processes. Thereby several countries of emigration can be connected with one region of immigration, just like one emigration country can be characterised by migration flows to several destination areas (multi-polarity). Migration systems are variable social arrangements (formal and informal) including individuals and institutions of both countries. The participation of social ethnic networks, multinational firms, educational institutions or other corporations - as mediations between macrostructures and individuals as well as between the different countries - in shaping the migration system plays a crucial role. Therefore this approach concentrates on macro-, meso- and micro-structures. It considers the economic, political, social, demographical and historical context of migration systems and focuses on both ends of the migration flow, on disparities and interdependencies. But it does not say much about the genesis of migration systems.

In contrast to other theories the relevance of spatial proximity is denied. Instead it points out the influence of political and economic relations on migration systems. As political, economic and communication relations are adjusted by feedback and modulation mechanisms, migration systems, although stable, are not static but dynamic. The processes in and between countries change. New migration systems emerge, countries drop out or join a system, interdependencies transform and migration flows alter in shape (Haug, 2000, p. 17; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 44; Lebhart, 2002, p. 29; Fawcett, 1989, p. 671).

2.2.2 *Theory of migrant networks*

As seen the migration system approach points out the very relevance of ethnic networks built by migrants and their family and friends. In contrast to old micro- and macro-analytic approaches, new migration theories focus on the meso-level of migration. The social network approach also stresses the influence of social networks on migration. Migration networks shape social and spatial paths of migration provide new migrants with information and resources² and therefore facilitate their migration. In short, they lower the costs and risks of

² For example supporting finding a residence and a job or providing financial security.

migration. On the other hand they smooth the process of keeping in touch with the home region and influence the integration process of the new migrants into the host societies.

Therefore it is assumed that personal relationships which connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in the home countries and host societies increase the probability of international migration and can lead to chain migration and sustained migration flows. That means there is no strong correlation between migration flows and wage and employment disparities because of the positive effects of migrant networks. These networks develop an own dynamic which can hardly be regulated.

The effects of social networks on migration are not clear yet. Surely, social relationships influence the decision to migrate by providing information and support or the opposite. Strong social ties in the home countries can inhibit migration. Less social ties can promote the movement. Migrant networks can produce security but also dependency, liability, little integration in the host society and therefore less freedom. This could frighten people. Thus respective contexts have to be considered in order to correctly interpret the relationships between social networks and migration (Haug, 2000, p. 20; Lebhart, 2002, p. 20; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 42).

2.2.3 Theory of social capital

The network perspective can be specified by the term social capital. As already mentioned, personal contacts to friends, relatives and compatriots facilitate migrants to find jobs and housing and can offer financial support. The motives for providing resources might vary. While some act simply by ethical reasons (value orientated) or feel a group identity and therefore act by solidarity (bounded solidarity); others act strategic (reciprocal transfer) or in awareness of their position in the group (status orientated) (Haug, 2000, p. 22; Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 45).

That means that besides the benefits of social capital there are also restrictions like conformity pressure, obligation to share and limitation of contact with other persons which do not belong to the social network. Making contacts outside of the community could be seen as an assault to the group identity and cause punishment. So individual getting ahead could be inhibited.

In consequence it depends on the community in which the migrant is situated and its openness if social capital is next to economic capital a beneficial element in the migration process.

2.2.4 Trans-national migration

Migration systems and processes have changed since the 1980s. They can be described as circular movements with specific social structures and mobile lifestyles. This new patterns are called trans-national migration as a special form of international migration. New forms of communities emerge, producing specific social spaces by the socio-cultural practice of trans-national migrants. These spaces are neither bounded in the home country of the migrants nor in the host society but between and therefore are interpreted as being trans-national social spaces.

“[...] trans-national social spaces are pluri-local frames of reference which structure everyday practices, social positions, employment trajectories and biographies, and human identities, and simultaneously exist *above and beyond* the social contexts of national societies” (Pries, 2001, p. 65).

Trans-national migration is characterised by spatial movements that can be nomadic and pluri-local, but these movements are not de-territorialised. This leads to hybrid identities and practices. Trans-national migrants can benefit from opportunities of their home countries as well as of their current domicile. They are able to create flexible strategies of sojourn. The possibility of gaining power in their country of origin by i.e. transferring economic capital to their country of origin and simultaneously gaining more power in the host society as political actors, as “voices for the minorities”, is a specific feature of trans-national migrants (Bürkner, 2000, p. 302).³

Trans-nationalism is explained by the process of globalisation and its linked modern communication, transport and labour forms. But as Bürkner points out, there were migration forms in history which showed trans-national characteristics before globalisation began.⁴ Furthermore economic and socio-cultural processes of globalisation as well as processes of transformation on a national level appear to be not more than framing conditions for a collectivisation around an individual or a little group. The relevance of economy for the emergence of trans-national spaces is disregarded (Bürkner and Heller, 2008, p. 46; Bürkner, 2005, p. 113-122; Haug, 2000, p. 16; Pries, 2007, p. 20-22).

³ Glick Schiller et al. (1992) showed the phenomena of trans-nationalism in the case of the migration of workers from Central America to the US.

⁴ Bürkner refers to the early shaping of migration paths by ethnic communities in the USA at the beginning of the 20th century (Bürkner 2000, p. 302).

2.3 Theories of highly skilled migration

Besides old and new migration theories which try to explain labour migration in general (see 2.1. and 2.2.) there are new approaches which focus on migration of highly skilled workers in particular. Besides the concept of Brain Drain where movement of highly skilled is interpreted as unidirectional, other theories think this migration form as circular and oscillating and connect them with the new shaping of capitalism.

2.3.1 *Brain drain*

The brain drain approach normally is applied on migration of highly skilled workers between different countries. Country of origin and destination area are seen as clearly defined containers with separated social systems.⁵ The embeddedness of migration processes into flows of capital, goods, communication and information is only of marginal interest.

The concept of brain drain assumes a unidirectional and permanent migration between ‘more’ and ‘less’ developed countries. Again economic factors like the higher income level in the destination area are claimed to be the main reason for migration. Seen from the perspective of dependency theory⁶ developing regions are characterised by a loss of human capital while highly industrialised societies benefit. In consequence it is said that the emigration of highly skilled obstructs the economic progress in developing regions and as a result keeps them in economic dependence (Meusbürger, 2008, p. 31; Meusbürger, 2008, p. 51, Pethe, 2006, p. 5). But this approach does not consider that emigrated highly skilled workers might return to their home countries. This would be brain gain since highly skilled workers improved their qualifications abroad and therefore could push the development in their home countries. Instead of speaking about brain drain, it is more likely that there is brain circulation (Pethe, 2006, p. 9). We will now discuss the gradual shift in migration literature from ‘brain drain’ to ‘brain circulation’ and the possible negative and positive impacts on the countries of origin in some more detail.

In the social science literature, three approaches are prominent which discuss the mobility of the highly skilled professionals. In the 1960s, the issue of brain drain discussed the negative outcomes of the emigration of talent of third world countries to industrialised countries. Often graduates originating from developing countries took advantage from the large income differences and better working conditions in Western states (Schipulle 1973; Adams 1968). Although many European countries refused to give labour permits to third world graduates, the US became the favourite destination for this group of mobile highly skilled migrants. As a

⁵ It is also possible to use this concept for different regions in one country. This is the case when migration processes between the old West German and the newly-formed German states are focused. There are not two separated social systems but yet the different history causes different economic and social conditions.

⁶ Dependency theory assumes a stratification of countries in an international system and resulting power and dependency relations between dominant societies and countries in a lower position. Here migration is seen as a specific form of interaction between states, which is caused by structural disparities in dependent societies and provides a benefit to dominant countries (Bürkner and Heller 2008, p. 39).

result, more than 40 per cent of the highly skilled persons in all OECD countries who are resident outside their home country lives in the US. Although the brain drain perspective is still present in the political arena, it lost its prominence. Firstly, the geographical pattern of mobility changed in the 1980s due the increasing trans-nationalisation of the companies and the economy (Findlay, 1988; Salt, 1988; Findlay and Gould, 1989; Beaverstock, 1990; Findlay and Garrick, 1990). Secondly, researchers like Annalee Saxenian pointed out that the emigration of highly skilled can lead to a return migration of highly skilled after several decades, which has a positive impact on the economies of the developing countries. In her book 'Silicon Valley's new immigrant entrepreneurs' (1999), she explained how India, Taiwan and China profited from the economic activities of their 'diaspora'. In her latest book 'The New Argonauts' (2006) she describes also the positive effects of international mobility of highly skilled migrants for the regional development. She has observed the impact of foreign talent and entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley in the last decades also points out the openness to foreign creative talent is also one of the key factors for the success of Silicon Valley and in the home countries of the migrants. Saxenian proposes that the successful development of the ICT industry in Israel, Taiwan and to a lesser extent in China and India is caused by the mobile talent who stimulates innovation, investment and trade between the countries. The exchange of knowledge, she concludes is that the foreign experts 'welcome the openness, diversity and initiative that have built Silicon Valley'. The connection which is constructed by the mobile ICT engineers is the basis of the economic success of these industries in their home and host countries.

Thirdly, country and regions in industrialised countries have become aware that highly skilled home nationals are also increasingly mobile and migrate to foreign destinations. Some of the earlier mentioned studies, like the work of Beaverstock, address expatriate communities from advanced capitalist countries to other advanced capitalist countries or to rapidly developing countries, like the British communities in New York City and Singapore. In our own empirical analysis we will also demonstrate that a significant part of the highly skilled migrants coming to European city-regions are coming from other European city-regions, and that they are often either on the move to yet another European city-region or plan to return to their city-region of origin. This is again an example of 'brain circulation', a form of circular migration we will discuss in more detail now.

2.3.2 '*Brain circulation*': circular migration

Since the 1980s labour migration changed. As empirical studies showed (i.e. Wolter, 1997) an increasing movement of highly skilled workers has emerged. Often this migration is temporary and can be described as circulation⁷ between industrialised societies as well as a migration from 'more' to 'less' developed countries. Circular migration implicates the return of the migrants to their home regions after one or more migration steps and is linked to trans-

⁷ It has to be pointed out that circular migration is not only a phenomenon which describes the movements of highly skilled. It also applies to less or unskilled workers (Smith and Guarnizo 1998, p. 18).

nationalism (Vertovec, 2007, p. 3).⁸ Even though the region of origin firstly suffers a brain drain by losing highly skilled workers there is also a brain gain by foreign highly skilled or a brain re-gain by returning highly skilled, who might have improved their qualities. So it we could speak of brain exchange between the different regions (Schultz, 2008, p. 52; Pethe, 2006, p. 7).

This new form of migration of highly skilled is attributed to internationalisation and economic interdependences. Therefore the perspective of research focuses primarily on the meso-level like firms and institutions. In the 1980s, the international financial market was deregulated and many industrial producers moved their production units outside their home markets. The world economy began to internationalise. Many trans-national production and service companies developed which lead to the 'brain exchange' of highly skilled professionals within these large international organisations. The expertise of the highly skilled employees was needed to control and supervise the new sales offices, production units and bank branches abroad (Boyle et al. 1994, Findlay 1995). These so called expats were typically seconded to a foreign branch for two to five years. Although they were privileged compared to those professionals who came from third world countries a decade earlier, and they were compensated for their international assignment with relocation service and a salary above the home level, the seconded professionals had little choice to select their country of destination. They were are part of the international stream of investments and trade which was allocated due to the outcomes of international investment opportunities. I.e. the expats accompanied the foreign international direct investments streams and, in the case of newly erected production units, the trade of foreign goods and services. Wolter (1997) showed the interrelation between investment and international migration for the case of the European Union in the 1980s.

Beaverstock, who investigated the mobility of these professionals in the financial service sectors over two decades, points out that the geography of their mobility is often related to the geography of the global cities (Beaverstock 1994, 1996, 2002). Global cities are metropolitan regions with a large concentration of high range services and international headquarters which command and control international investment streams (cf. Friedman 1986; Sassen 1996). The Globalization and World Cities Research Network in Loughborough mapped out the position of cities in this international urban system by looking at the connectivity of the international organisation in the urban regions (www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc). In addition to the circular movement within the industrialised countries, Beaverstock and others also describe a movement from the North to the South. Compared to the previous mobility which was described as brain drain, the brain exchange connected industrialised countries more strongly or describes mobility from industrialised countries to less industrialised countries. Due to its strong economic embeddedness, the brain exchange is influenced by economic circles with a large increase of international mobility in the period of economic upturn and a decrease of international migration in the period of the economic downturn.

The brain exchange perspective was criticised recently for approaching the international migration of the highly skilled mainly from an economic perspective and neglecting the

⁸ As Fassmann points out that the distinction between circular and trans-national migration is problematic, if migrants keep up their social and functional relations to their home society on a large scale (Fassmann 2008, p. 23).

agency of the individuals (Scott 2006). Before the role of the individual migrants will be discussed below, it should be mentioned that the economy has also changed in the last decade, and the organisation has also influence on intra-company mobility of employees. Large vertically integrated companies were typical for the Fordist age. These differentiated units did not only comprise various production and administrative units, they also began to allocate each function at the most suitable location. Due to the internationalisation of their organisations, highly skilled migrants were seconded between the different parts of the companies. Typically they were sent from the head quarter to peripheral locations. Due to the reorganisation of trans-national companies in post-fordism (Cormode, 1994; Koser and Salt, 1997; Wolter, 1999), hierarchies were reduced and activities were outsourced. Not only is the size of the companies reduced, but also the expensive international career opportunities for employees. The companies in the creative knowledge industries tend to be very small. A large share has less than 5 employees. On the one hand, this particular structure of the sector makes it less likely that intra-company mobility is a common feature in the creative knowledge sectors. On the other hand, the technological progress enabled small actors to be mobile internationally, because the international communication and transport become cheaper and easily available. Instead of being seconded within a large company, it appears to be more likely that highly skilled individual change between small and medium companies now on their own steam.

2.4 Florida's conception of the international mobile creative class

“Regional economic growth is powered by creative people, who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant and open to new ideas”, writes Richard Florida in his book “The rise of the creative class” . The attractiveness of cities, its quality of life and its diversity of cities are pivotal for the future development of cities. A good people climate will draw new creative people to those places and will lever the economic success of regions. Using this imagination Florida describes conditions which are strongly related to the inward mobility of creative talent as a precondition and an effect for regional economic success of metropolitan regions. Diversity which is described as heterogeneity in terms of ethnicity, sexuality and lifestyles is seen as a precondition for the inflow of new talent. People from various backgrounds will be attracted to these spaces which will again lead to an even larger diversity of people. In the first texts, Florida does not distinguish between national or international migrants, but his later book ‘The flight of the creative class’ uses examples which indicate that he does not only have national migration, but also international migration in mind.

Florida mainly focuses on the ability of places to attract foreign creative, when he writes: “Today, the terms of competition revolve around a central axis: a nation’s ability to mobilise, attract, and retain human creative talent” . The attractiveness of regions is important, because the economic success will increase with the inflow of talent. This is the most important formula which Florida uses. A detailed description in which ways foreign migrants contribute to the host economy is difficult to decipher in his work. Several hints can be found: foreign creatives “help build our scientific enterprises” (p. 95), account for “a disproportionate share of most influential scientists” (p. 101), relieve the “looming talent shortage” (p. 103), “take

American ideas and American relationships back home” (p. 110) and contribute to the entertainment industry (p. 125).

Florida has a very broad conception of the creative class which comprises 30 per cent of the American work force. Again it is unclear in which aspects the mobility of the creative class is different from other highly skilled persons. But not only Florida lacks a clear definition of what is meant by the mobility of the highly skilled. Scholars who want to investigate the international mobility of the highly skilled see themselves facing a jungle of definitions. The definition of their qualification and their migrant status can vary enormously. For instance, the term ‘highly skilled’ can indicate a formal educational credential, but ‘skill’ can also be defined as the ability to solve certain task whether those ability was acquired with a ‘learning by doing’-approach or a formal education. The status as migrant can be related to certain forms of work permits for foreign employees, the status as a seconded employee within an international companies or simply mean non-national. In addition to that, Florida gives an account about the creative class which does not necessarily mean that other occupations such as doctors or are not internationally mobile (cf. OECD, 2002), whereas other creative knowledge workers are certainly limited to perform their activity in different countries. One prominent example are lawyers whose main professional references are national laws. International law firms have only developed recently and mostly they are limited to certain field like international mergers and acquisitions. Although differences between the creative knowledge occupations seem to exist, their scope is still unclear and also how do they contribute to the different national economies?

Florida’s ideas might be one of the most prominent accounts of social scientists which emphasise the importance of the international migration for regional economies. In the political arena, the issue has been more strongly articulated since the labour shortages in several sectors appeared in industrialised countries (OECD). Since the creation of a common market, the individual member of the countries of the European Union received the right to move freely within the common space even earlier. At the time, the creation of a common space was not so much motivated by the attraction of foreign talent, but by the reduction of economic disparities between the various regions of the member states. Although several limitations exist, for examples for citizens of the new European member states, the member states and the European commission try to reduce the barriers, introduce a common migration policy and even support the mobility of certain groups actively. The Lisbon agenda, the agreement of a common migration policy in Tampere and the establishment of the student exchange programmes such as Socrates and Erasmus are examples which aim to promote the international mobility within Europe. The goal is to increase the competitiveness of the member states of the European Union by stimulating their ability for innovation and knowledge transfer. In other political arenas, other motivations to support the international mobility of highly skilled professionals are articulated. For example, on a global level, governments find mechanism to deregulate short term international mobility which is related to the international trade of goods and services (OECD, WTO). Apart from the attraction of talent, the reduction of disparities, the decrease of labour shortage, the stimulation of innovativeness and the lubrication of economic globalisation, various national statistical offices in central and eastern Europe point at the continuous decrease of their work force in the coming five decades. The political initiatives in Europe and the US are increasingly

perceived as an international 'war for talent'. Florida addresses in his recent book the increasing danger that the US American cities lose this ability to attract and to retain foreign talent. European countries are becoming increasingly successful competitors for creative talent, in his view .

All accounts use imaginations of international migrations which expect positive outcomes. This is a recent development. Since the oil crisis in the early 1970s, immigration was stopped in most European states, because the incoming labour was seen as a competitor for the home nationals. In many countries only transferees of trans-national companies were successfully able to apply for a labour permit. Although those negative threats are less articulated in the public now, the mechanism of the international migration of highly skilled are not fully analysed. Who is internationally mobile? Why are trans-national migrations engaged in certain industries? How long do they typically stay? What effects does their presence have on the region, in particular on the economy and the housing market? Which cities and regions are attractive and what are the drivers behind their success?

2.5 The upcoming paradigm

The firm related perspective has been central in the study of international migration of the highly skilled, because many researchers assumed that this migration flow was largely demand driven. Apart from labour migration, other motives exist. Personal motives like family unification and marriage are the most prominent. Another important factor is education. But asylum seekers and refugees start a new life in other countries, too. In addition to that, an increasing number of cases are reported, when highly skilled migrants decide to live in a country because of the interesting cultural environment and the offered amenities as it was described by Florida too. Then, immigrants settle in the country first, and look for work later. In other words, the variety of reasons to settle in a certain country might be larger than the reasons which are found in the immigration legacy of the country in question.

In the Netherlands, for example, about one third of the immigrants entered the country due to employment related reasons, another third because of family related reasons and one sixth started with their studies in the Netherlands. Of course, these numbers needed to be treated with caution, because they are strongly related to the immigration categories which exist in the Dutch law. Firstly, immigrants use and tend to be classified in categories which gives them the best access to the host country. Research (Kanjapan 1995) shows that immigrants tend to switch between the categories to a large extent. Secondly, important motives such as large differences in the house prices in border regions which are not relevant in the legal framework are not mentioned in the legal framework.

The heterogeneity of expats increases. Apart from the seconded transferees who work in large companies, an increasing share comes on their own steam. Due to the removal of immigration barriers for labour migration within the EU and the stronger support of student mobility in the EU, but also internationally, the socio-economic background and the motives of trans-national migrants diversify (Conradson and Latham, 2005; Scott, 2006a; Scott, 2006b). According to Scott , the group of expats is diversified. Young professionals who come in their early career

or stay on as graduates, international Bohemians who enjoy the cultural amenities and assimilation-settlers who marry a partner in the host country are new groups that have not gained enough attention. An overview of the nationality of foreign highly skilled immigrants in the Netherlands shows that the immigration of highly skilled persons cannot always be related to economic linkages between the countries. Nearly 50 per cent of the highly skilled foreign nationals who lived 2000 in the Netherlands come from countries which either had strong colonial ties to the Netherlands such as Indonesia or Suriname, or were the recruiting countries of the former guest workers such as Turkey and Morocco or where the home countries of a larger highly skilled refugee population such as Iraq, Iran or Afghanistan. Less than one third of the foreign highly skilled in the Netherlands, however, derive from Western OECD countries. Using the nationality as an indicator of the migration motivation is, of course, problematic too. Firstly, this approach assumes that persons with a similar nationality share the same motive. Secondly, these immigrants are formally highly educated, but it is unclear, if they can use their educational credentials in their job. In addition to that, many foreign nationals are born in the Netherlands, although they hold a foreign passport. They cannot be considered as migrants.

The new heterogeneity of the skilled migrants leads also to a larger diversity of residential choice between the foreign highly skilled. The former orientation on the higher segments of the housing market in the suburban areas fades in favour of the increasingly popular and therewith more expensive inner city on the one hand, and lower priced flats on the other. Due to the strong urban orientation of creative workers, the overall preference for inner city location might also be emphasised by foreign creative workers. Furthermore, the duration of the stay appears to change to. Expats which typically live between two to five years abroad are accompanied by trans-national migrants who settle for a longer time frame or even permanent in the foreign country. In addition to that, the possibilities to access the labour market of creative knowledge workers might also vary with their demographic background. Kibbelaar (2007) points out that foreign migrants who are not part of the classic expat population in the Netherlands often struggle to find positions in the creative knowledge industries on the one hand. On the other hand, they are less likely to choose a creative knowledge profession, because they consider those occupations as less prestigious and economically less rewarding .

Therefore, an analysis which identifies how many persons work in the creative knowledge economy and are of foreign descent might give a more accurate number about the real inflow foreign creative knowledge workers than an approach which only identifies the formal education of immigrants. A comparison between the results of both approaches identifies the scope of the brain waste of immigrant human capital, because it will identify the scope of access of foreign highly qualified workers to these industries.

2.6 Settling and staying: Highly skilled migrants in the host society

While the trans-national mobility of highly skilled migrants receives increasing interest and attention from academic researchers and policy-makers, much less attention has been given so far to their experiences after their move and their preferences in terms of residence, amenities and relations with the host society. Integration in the host society, for example, is generally hardly considered a problem since most highly skilled migrants are expected to stay a few years at most and since they are expected to have a well-paid job. Another generalising assumption often made is that highly skilled migrants most often come from societies that are very close to the host society in terms of norms, values and behaviour, so they would hardly have adaptation problems. These assumptions might apply to most expatriates, but as we have seen in the sections above and will see again in our empirical analysis, this group is actually only a small part of the highly skilled migrants coming to and travelling within Europe. Highly skilled migrants quite often stay for more than a few years, they do not always come with the guarantee of a job, their job is not always well-paid, and they also come from non-Western developing countries. While this heterogeneity in the broad category of highly skilled migrants is gradually acknowledged, we hardly find evidence of this in the international academic debate so far. As far as matters of settling and staying of highly skilled migrants are discussed, mostly the focus is strongly on the sub-category of expatriates, and most attention is given to the housing and real estate market.

Expatriates are often merely seen as affluent corporate movers that can rely on relocation services. Because of this view, they are often discussed in terms of dualisation of world cities. Several studies (Freund, 1998; Glebe, 1986; White, 1998; White and Hurdley, 2003) show that immigrants from OECD countries differ in their housing preferences strongly from other, often lower skilled migrant population. The residential pattern is often very similar to home nationals with the same socio-economic status. “[T]he settlement of migrants from North America, Australasia and other parts of Europe has tended to occur most strongly in those parts of London with the highest occupational status”, observes White. This pattern varies between different OECD nationals. Japanese corporate transferees and their families show the strongest segregation of all national groups in London, in Düsseldorf and Frankfurt/Main. They live more often in suburban locations, and share less often similar housing patterns with similar status groups. The high concentration is often ascribed to the activities of relocation services and Japanese real estate agencies, the important of public transport access to work, security of the residential environment, quality of the dwelling (cleanliness of kitchen) and proximity to school and other community institutions (Glebe, 1986; Glebe, 1997; White, 1998; White and Hurdley, 2003). In particular the proximity to schools is often stated as a pivotal point for all OECD nationals too, although this view is also contested. Generally, expatriates rent more often than home nationals due to their temporary status, although the rental sector is with some 10 per cent of the dwellings relatively small in some of the investigated cities such as London. Rarely the flats of the transferees are owned by their companies. Instead White and Hurdley observe that other ethnic entrepreneurs who hold these flats as property investment let these high-priced dwellings to Japanese in London. This untypical demand in the rented sector leads to a rise of rent prices in those residential neighbourhoods. A similar connection between the rise of housing prices and immigration is described for Vancouver. This is properly the most prominent and extreme example which

illustrates how activities of affluent immigrants lead to a significant increase of housing prices (Brosseau et al., 1996; Hiebert, 2000, 31ff; Ley and Tutchener, 2001; Olds, 1998; Olds and Yeung, 1999). Because of the transfer of Hong Kong to the People's Republic China, wealthy Chinese immigrants and entrepreneurs fled to Canada. They acquired the Canadian citizenship by doing large investments. Often they spent large amounts of money in the regional housing market and transformed the suburban residential landscape, because they constructed houses which were conceived as monster-houses by the older population of English descent. Due to their acquisition of large suburban properties the prices in the higher housing market segment rose. In addition, entrepreneurs built malls and developed larger inner city housing projects (Ley and Tutchener, 2001; Olds, 1998; Olds, 2001).

The examples from London and Vancouver, however, show how the effects are firstly related to global flows which are linked to each city. Secondly, they show that the aims of the incoming educated population from the industrialised countries and the effects of their inflow can vary considerably. Recently, Scott underlined that an increasing heterogeneity of highly skilled immigrants stream into European cities. Apart from the typical expatriate population, overstaying students, family migrants and international bohemians live in the metropolitan regions. Also Conradson and Latham point at the 'middeling trans-nationalism' in large European cities such as London which comprises an increasing number of mobile middle class individuals. Compared with the typical expat population, the residential preferences differ. They are more oriented towards inner city neighbourhoods. Due to their lower income, they are not able to afford a rented dwelling in the upper housing segments. Since they travel more often individually, they can also not rely on relocation services to find accommodation. On contrary, they are more likely to compete with the local middle class. In other words, the chances of trans-national migrants and expats to access the labour market and the effects of their presence are as much related to their socio-demographic background as to the local and national regulations.

2.7 Highly skilled migrants in Poznan in the context of migration theories

After the above description of several theories of migration, it can be assumed that not all approaches are adequate to deal with the migration of highly skilled workers, in particular in the case of Poznan. It seems that a combination of several approaches, both new and classical, could be a way to understand the situation of migrants in Poznan.

The new approaches are appropriate to deal with oscillating migration, new forms of migrant communities, mobile migration patterns, knowledge transfer by migrants and its influence on innovation processes. Hence in recent migration research the issues of education, language, biography and hybrid migrant identities are considered.

The theory of migration systems might be adequate to explain trans-national migration to Poznan if we consider the EU as a developing migration system. European unification establishes specific economic and political relations between the different member states. Because of its enlargement, the EU as a migration system is permanently transforming and establishing new forms of interdependencies and transfers. There are also subsystems like the

migration systems “South”, “North-West”, “Central” and, following enlargement to the East, also a migration system on the axis East-West. Thus, there is a great number of trans-national migrants who move between countries of the EU. Furthermore we might view Poznan as being connected with East European countries in a migration system because of their common ‘socialist’ history and ethnic relationships (especially with the Ukraine and Belarus).

As seen in section 2.2.4, new migration forms are attributed to the idea of trans-nationalism. Especially the movement of highly skilled is described as nomadic and supra-local. Therefore the approach of trans-nationalism seems to be adequate to deal with the specific situation of highly skilled migrants in Poznan. The question is whether the city is open to trans-national migrants and trans-national social spaces.

Since Poznan is not characterised by a great amount of big trans-national firms but by its educational and scientific institutions (which can be seen as trans-national social space), there might be a high correlation between the migration of highly skilled and the improvement of qualifications and chances of employment and career. Therefore we will focus on migrants’ networks (both formal and informal). On the basis of the theory of trans-nationalism it can be supposed that networks play a decisive role for trans-national migrants living in the city, especially in the University environment.

However, focusing on the new migration theories does not mean, that the classical approaches (such as new migration economy or dual labour market theory) can be neglected. A phenomenon that has appeared in all post-communist countries after the ‘old’ EU states opened their labour markets to the new members is a heavy outflow of well educated and talented young people seeking better job and income opportunities. Up to now this outflow has not been balanced by an influx of creative immigrants. Hence one can speak about a ‘brain drain’. It is too early to predict whether this ‘brain drain’ will turn into ‘brain circulation’. It may do so if highly skilled emigrants come back after they have gained new experience in more developed countries and if on return they find comparable conditions not only in terms of income but also for an expression of their creativity. The building of such conditions, on the one hand attracting new talents and on the other preventing an outflow of the resident ones, is perhaps the biggest challenge facing both state and urban policies. The results of the present study should help to identify and better understand these conditions.

3 INTERNATIONALISATION OF THE ECONOMY OF POLAND AND POZNAN AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURY

3.1 Trends in internationalising the Polish economy

Attracting transnational migrants is dependent, among other things, on situations and trends in social and economic development. In recent years Poland's rate of economic growth has been very dynamic. This positive trend was stalled as late as at the end of 2008, as a result of the world's financial crisis. After 2000, with a certain decline in the economic growth in 2001 and 2002, the economy registered a rapid increase in the years to follow, but the trend was not monotone. Better years for the economy alternated with worse ones (see Table 3.1). In this period Poland was one of the most dynamically developing European countries.

The growth was accompanied by a decline of unemployment and inflation rates, however, one cannot say that these changes were monotone. What may give cause for concern, however, is a marked decline of the economic growth and a rise of inflation, which has been observed in the last two years. The situation may stem from high dynamic development and a falling rate of unemployment, on the other hand. It has to be borne in mind that the Polish transformation has not been completed yet; the restructuring of the economy, especially the industry, is still taking place. Nowadays, quite a few economic entities are in business thanks to heavy subsidies from the state and have serious problems with productivity (e.g. shipyards).

Table 3.1 - Selected social and economic development indicators in Poland between 2000 and 2008

Indicator	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
GDP (in billion zlotys)	774.4	779.2	807.9	842.1	923.2	980.7	1050.9	1,162.0	.
GDP per capita (in thousand zlotys)	19.4	29.4	21.1	22.0	24.2	25.7	27.5	30.3	.
Economic development dynamics (%)	4.1	1.1	1.4	3.8	5.3	3.5	6.1	6.6	5.5
Rate of inflation (per cent)	10.1	5.5	1.9	0.8	3.5	2.1	1.0	2.5	4.7
Unemployment rate (per cent)	15.0	19.4	20.0	20.0	19.1	17.6	14.9	11.5	8.0

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

One of the major factors conducive to Poland's dynamic economic development is foreign direct investment influx that has been taking place unceasingly since 1990. It has also contributed to an increased dynamics of transnational migrations.

Interest that foreign companies take in investing in Poland is, on the one hand, a result of a systemic transformation which has created relevant favourable conditions, but also stems from the fact that Poland is perceived as an attractive country to invest in. The Polish

systemic transformation has consisted in the country abandoning the state-governed command economy and creating free market as well as abolishing political isolationism, which has resulted in the country's opening up to foreign investment. This is additionally reinforced by other conditions conducive to investment, such as qualified workforce, facilities to be developed, a growing internal market (consumption and investments) and favourable regulations (e.g. special economic zones, tax exemptions).

The systemic transformation has affected the whole of the state's system, i.e. political, economic and social. As to politics, it concerned the abolishing of barriers isolating Poland from the rest of the world, especially from the highly developed Western European countries (the fall of the communist block and its main pillars such as the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). In other words, political constraints for international cooperation ceased to exist, which meant that Poland could at last be regarded as a potential area to conduct economic activities. An economic transformation means first of all that free market has been introduced, which has been accompanied by privatisation and development of entrepreneurship. It has created conditions identical with the ones present in democratic countries, which has encouraged foreign investment in Poland. Poland's attractiveness in this respect has become a fact and its competitiveness started to be determined by classical factors of localisation. Social transformation usually causes a civic society and its structures to develop, especially local governments. It is these bodies that are responsible for securing local communities' basic needs and, thus, an economic growth. One important element of this growth is foreign investment, which is especially valuable in the case of the lack of internal capital. Therefore, the authorities of particular communes seek investment by presenting their offers in their widely-understood local marketing.

Poland's attractiveness as a place for investment is, as it seems, conditioned by market factors. The country is first of all a market of 38 million consumers, who had experienced severe shortages before 1990. It is also a labour market, highly qualified from a European perspective, even if not very entrepreneurial or creative. Both a relatively high level of education and a poor level of creativity are remnants of the former period. The educational system which was universal and widely available on all levels of training is undoubtedly one of the major achievements of the former system. However, in the wake of the system the level of creativity and entrepreneurship in the society which seems to suffer from the so called homo sovieticus syndrome. When this is said, labour force is, as it seems, one of the major factors of foreign investment localisation, especially when foreign investments contribute to technological innovations. There is also an estate market, especially the one of disused industrial facilities and other areas which require revitalisation or at least development.

The dynamics of foreign direct investment may be subject of changes with time, but for a longer period it has been staying on quite a high level, with a certain tendency to rise (Table 3.2). One can observe that this tendency is cyclical, which is difficult to be explained unambiguously. Although the methodology of invested amounts changed, which resulted in different kinds of conversion rates, and thus, various amounts given, the statistical data that has been gathered for the last couple of years draw a clear picture of the situation (better or worse, depending on specific data). Regardless of how comparable the data is, invested amounts seem to have been rising quite noticeably.

Table 3.2 - Value of foreign direct investment in Poland between 1993 and 2006

Year	Value of investment (billion USD)
1993	2,830
1994	1,490
1995	2,510
1996	5,200
1997	5,680
1998	5,570
1999	9,890
2000	10,600
2001	7,120
2002	4,370
2003	6,420
2004	9,980
2005	7,680
2006	15,600

Source: Polish Information and Foreign Investment Agency

Investing in Poland is not only advantageous for investors themselves, but also for a state and its citizens. In Polish conditions, foreign investment in its location: (1) creates jobs, (2) raises the quality of production, (3) is a source of innovation, (4) improves reliability and the design of produced goods, (5) raises the level of workers' knowledge, (6) develops a network of suppliers and sub-contractors, (7) leads to the improvement of a local environment; in other words, it brings a lot of various benefits. Foreign investment also produces a lot of indirect results, including the so called multiplier effect (Parysek 2005).

Between 1993 and 2003 over 40 per cent of foreign capital was invested in industry. They were usually made in such branches as transport, dairy industry, non-metallic resources, chemical and pharmaceutical industries as well as electrical and optical appliances. Paper, printing and publishing industries were much less popular. Over 20 per cent of foreign direct investment between 1993 and 2003 was made in banking, insurance and re-insurance, financial counselling and retirement schemes.

A large proportion of foreign investment, i.e. 10 per cent, went to commerce and repair services. To be more specific, the subject of investment was mainly large floor area shopping facilities such as the so called hypermarkets and more exclusive shopping arcades. Moreover, investments were made in wholesale and semi-wholesale trade ("cash and carry" facilities). Transport, telecommunications and warehousing also attracted major foreign direct investments, i.e. 10 per cent of the total in the period under question (Parysek 2005).

Between 1993 and 2003 the biggest foreign investor in Poland was France Telecom who invested over 4 billion dollars mainly in telecommunications. Almost 1.8 billion dollars were invested in car industry by the Italian company "Fiat". Large amounts were invested in financial services by banking and capital groups: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (2.7 billion dollars), the HVB capital group (over 1.3 billion dollars), the CitiGroup (1.3 billion dollars), the KBC Bank N.V (almost 1.3 billion dollars), Uni Credito Italiano Group (1.2 billion dollars), the ING Group N.V (990 million dollars) and Allied Irish Bank Plc (750 million dollars). International networks and trade consortia were the most

important investors. These include, among others: Vivendi Group (1,245 million dollars), Metro Group A.G. (160 million dollars), Tesco Plc (850 million dollars), Carrefour (815 million dollars), Casino (801 million dollars) and BP International B.V., an oil products distributor (800 million dollars). Other major groups that invested in Poland are: General Motors Corporation (1,010 million dollars in car industry), Daewoo (937 million dollars in car and electrical industry and financial agencies), Russian OAO Gazprom (1,285 million dollars in the distribution, storage and industry of oil products) and Kronospan Holdings Ltd. Capital group (1,062 million dollars invested in wood and paper industry).

As far as countries of origin of these investments are concerned, the major investor in Poland was France between 1993 and 2003. Capital investment in the country amounted to over 13.8 billion dollars (about 20 per cent of the total of investments made in Poland). Major sums were also invested by the Netherlands (9.9 billion dollars, i.e. 12.9 per cent), the US (8.7 billion dollars, i.e. 12.5 per cent), Germany (8.4 billion dollars, i.e. 12.1 per cent), Italy (3.8 billion dollars, i.e. 5.5 per cent) and the UK (3.7 billion dollars, i.e. 5.3 per cent).

After 2003, when foreign investment capital was the lowest since 1999, one could observe considerable changes. First of all, there was a rise in the number of investing entities among which new members of the European Union appeared and other countries of the former Soviet Union (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Russia, Ukraine, Croatia). China became a crucial investor. The period also saw capital investment from countries which can hardly be considered significant (e.g. Liechtenstein, Monaco, the Philippines, the Republic of South Africa). Apart from major investors in Poland, there was also a group of minor ones. Although considerable amounts of money were still devoted to automotive industry, the number of other branches of the economy that attracted foreign investment was rising steadily. Large amounts of money were invested in electronic industry as well as in aviation, chemistry, construction and paper industries. This rise also concerned housing construction, transport, trade services (shopping centres), banking, insurance, counselling and consulting, IT, accountancy and press industries.

As more and more investments were made in Poland, more and more highly-qualified and creative employees were attracted, too. These were mainly management executives, both in an administrative and technological dimension. A report prepared by Ernst and Young entitled "Open World", drawn at the beginning of 2008, shows that in 2007 alone, 18,400 jobs were created in Poland as a result of foreign investment, which constituted 10.4 per cent of all new jobs created in Europe. More jobs were created in the UK (24,200, i.e. 13.7 per cent). During that period 146 big investments projects were implemented in Poland (which came seventh in Europe), whereas more were realised in the UK, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium and Romania. The report also contains forecasts for the next years which say that 18 per cent of all European investment projects will be realised in Poland (1st place), Germany (16 per cent), Russia (12 per cent), France (11 per cent) and Romania (10 per cent). In general East Asia will be a major competitor for European investment market (China, India, Korea, Indonesia), mostly because of cheap labour force and emerging markets. These forecasts, however, come from a period when no one could have possibly thought of a world financial crisis. It must be stressed that it is impossible to predict now what scale, geographical extent, intensity, duration and consequences the crisis will have.

3.2 The place of Poznan in the internationalisation process

Alongside with a system transformation, related to a transition from command economy to market-oriented one, Poland has been gradually becoming a more open country. In result, various global processes have started to play more significant role. One of the most distinctive features of the opening was an internationalisation of the economy, thanks to which foreign enterprises have been increasingly becoming an important element of the country's economy. The enterprises have often been locating their branches in large urban centres among which the most important role played the capital region of Warsaw. Other urban centres were less important and within this group Poznan stood out.

It is estimated that the total value of direct foreign investments in Poznan, between 1990 and 2004, came to \$4.3 billion (Table 3.3). At the same time, less than \$3.5 billion was invested in Wrocław. Therefore, \$7.6 thousand per capita was invested in Poznan by foreign investors until year 2004 (compare to \$6.0 thousand until year 2003), whereas in Wrocław it was \$5.5 thousand (\$4.8 thousand until year 2003). The value of foreign direct investments per capita in Poznan is 1.5 times higher than in Kraków and 3 times higher than in Łódź, Szczecin and Gdańsk. From 1997 Poznan has been continuously ranked second among large Polish cities (after Warsaw) in respect to a foreign capital invested per capita. In comparison with the year 2003, contribution of Poznan to the total value of foreign investments in Poland has increased by 0.3 per cent and reached 5.1 per cent. It means that every twentieth dollar invested in Poland by the largest foreign investors is invested in Poznan. In comparison with the data from the end of 2003, the dynamics of foreign investments has reached nearly 25 per cent.

According to the research conducted by the Center for European Regional and Local Studies (EUROREG) in Warsaw (Dziemianowicz, Jałowiecki 2004), major factors that determine location of foreign investors in urban agglomerations in Poland are: qualifications of the workforce, size of the market, labour cost and road network. In Poznan Two most important location factors are: qualifications of the workforce and its cost. High availability of office space and a large size of local market are also important, though these factors are ascribed a lower credit in a scale of importance than in other cities. This may mean that various possibilities of business activities in Poznan (likewise in Warsaw) are encouraging.

The city pursues a general policy towards investors. Foreign investors are not privileged in it, although they are the ones whose contacts with the local authorities are more frequent (owing to the scale of investment on the one hand and unfamiliarity with the scene on the other). The effects of such a policy are hard to assess because there may be a host of factors affecting investment in the city, both external of a general economic nature and internal, following from its specificity. Still, the city's level of economic development and its attitude towards potential investors certainly figure significantly among them.

One of the measures of the effects of investment policy can be the city's place in all kinds of ranking lists. As early as 1992 Poznan was judged by the weekly "WirtschaftsWoche" to be one of the most attractive cities for investors in Eastern Europe: the capital of Wielkopolska was fifth on its list of 150 East-Central European towns. In a ranking prepared by the Gdańsk Institute for Market Economics in 2001, Poznan was found by investors to be second only to Warsaw as the most attractive city in Poland (Swianiewicz, Dziemianowicz 2001).

Starting in 2001, the Foundation for Local Democracy has been organising rankings assessing the quality of management in communes, including the level of investor service. The ranking was designed with a view to improving communal management. Its winner is granted the title of "A Professional Commune Friendly to Investors". In the years 2003 and 2004 Poznan was ranked first in the category of communes with population more than 100,000. In 2001 the city was second to Gdynia.

In 2003 Poznan took first place in the Grand Ranking of Towns designed by the Centre for Regional Studies, in the category of big, poviats-ranking cities. The Grand Ranking Board assessed towns on the basis of four criteria: economic activity, citizen activity, infrastructure, and ability to attract residents. Poznan beat Wrocław and Cracow, which took second and third places, respectively.

The high position of Poznan and its metropolitan area in the rankings of attractiveness has led to emergence of not only new enterprises but also new workplaces. Some of them, especially the ones connected with an administration in supranational companies are occupied by foreigners. These people significantly reinforce the sector of creative knowledge in the Poznan metropolitan region.

Table 3.3 - Value of foreign direct investment in Poznan in 1990-2004

Year	Value of investment (billion USD)
1990-1997	0.8
1997-1999	0.8
2000	0.4
2001	0.3
2002	0.3
2003	0.9
2004	0.8
Total 1990-2004	4.3

Source: Polish Information and Foreign Investment Agency, Poznan City Hall

3.3 Development of the creative and knowledge-based economy in the Poznan metropolitan region

The development of creative knowledge sectors accelerated steeply when Poland opened its borders after 1989. The next growth impulse was Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004. Poznan made perfect use of its location assets and became one of the leaders of the socio-economic transformation. The present period (2000 onward) is characterised by a high growth dynamics of creative and knowledge-based industries. However, this period is too short and the scale of the process too small to make far-reaching generalisations.

An impressive growth dynamics of the creative knowledge sector in Poznan can be noticed since 2000. The serious growth impulse was Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004. This development in Poznan rests on several 'pillars', such as higher education, a well-developed ICT sector, an innovative business environment, cultural potential and heritage (especially music events), and traditional artistic crafts.

A detailed empirical analysis of the creative knowledge sector in the Poznan metropolitan region (by sub-sectors and territorial units) is based on two main indicators: (1) the number of entities and (2) employment. In 2005 there were 22,200 entities of this sector, or 17.6 per cent of all businesses in the region, whereas the employment figure was 94,260, or 17.5 per cent of total employment. Those firms show a high growth dynamics. In 2001-2005 their number increased by 45 per cent, which contributed substantially to the increase in the total number of economic entities in that period (two-thirds of the new businesses were those in the creative sector). Also employment dynamics was higher in the creative and knowledge-intensive industries than in the economy as a whole. Over the years 2001-2005 those industries increased their employment in the Poznan metropolitan region by 31.9 per cent as against a rise in total employment of 10.3 per cent, with the increase in the suburban communes being higher than in the city. The highest dynamics was recorded in ICT services, in which employment grew by 137.3 per cent, followed by law and other business services - by 84.7 per cent.

A characteristic structural feature is a huge number of small businesses (with under 10 employees), which constitute 95.6 per cent of the total number of creative firms. Almost 75 per cent of them are located within the city limits (mostly in the downtown and the densely populated areas around it). The highest concentration in the city is characteristic of publishing, R&D and higher education, whereas crafts are located mostly in the suburbs (which is largely determined by the cluster of traditional carpenter handicrafts in Swarzedz, resembling the 'Third Italy' model).

From the point of view of the employment structure, the most important creative knowledge sectors include:

- Law and other business services,
- R&D and higher education (with an emphasis on the latter),
- Financial intermediation,
- Creative crafts,
- Arts and antiques trade,
- Architecture, and
- ICT services.

The highest employment growth dynamics is recorded in the following sectors:

- ICT services,
- Law and other business services,
- Advertising,
- Arts and antiques trade, and
- R&D and higher education.

A characteristic structural feature of the creative and knowledge-based industries is a huge number of small businesses (with under 10 employees), which constitute 95.6 per cent of the total number of creative firms. Their greatest number can be found in:

- Law and other business services,
- Financial intermediation,
- Architecture,
- Arts and antiques trade, and
- ICT services.

The highest growth dynamics of the number of entities (over the years 2001-2005) was recorded in:

- R&D and higher education,
- Law and other business services,
- ICT services,
- Advertising, and
- Architecture.

The above data show that the creative sector is represented in Poznan primarily by business and ICT-oriented firms as well as institutions of higher learning. The role of cultural industries (including the media) has so far been mediocre. Among the factors stimulating the development of the creative and knowledge-based industries, 'hard' factors still seem to predominate over 'soft' ones. Notable in the spatial distribution of the creative and knowledge-intensive sector is its concentration in the core city, especially its downtown area. There are, however, some indications of the suburbanisation process as well. The steepest increase in employment and the number of entities in this sector is recorded in the attractively located, rich suburban communes of Suchy Las, Czerwonak, Swarzedz, and Dopiewo. They show intensive development of single-family housing while real-estate prices are much lower than in Poznan.

4 FOREIGN MIGRATION IN POLAND

4.1 General context

Foreign migration in Poland has an extremely long tradition and has become a permanent feature of its reality. In the past Poland was, and it still is now, a country of emigrants, i.e. there are more Poles emigrating abroad than foreigners coming to live in the country. For hundreds of years migrations of Poles have had a significant impact on social and economic processes taking place in the country. At least since the mid-19th century what has played a leading role in the mobility of Poles is economic migration, ensuing from an aspiration to raise their standard of living or a willingness to satisfy the most basic life needs.

During the period of transcontinental migration (between 1860 and 1940) 5 million people left Poland, 1.7 million of whom went to the United States. Moreover, a large group of people moved to find a temporary job – very often a seasonal and short-period one – mainly in France and Germany. The post-war period also saw an increased mobility of people, although it had a completely different character. When the Second World War ended, about 5 million people found themselves outside Polish borders, which amounted to 20 per cent of survivors in the war. Until 1950, mass migration had affected 3-4 million people, which is crucial inasmuch as the then demographic processes shaped considerably present social conditions in Poland (Kaczmarczyk, Tyrowicz, 2007, p. 4-5).

The diversified nature of contemporary foreign migration and constant expansion of border-free zones makes it difficult to determine the scale of the phenomenon precisely. It is quite challenging to analyse thoroughly foreign migration of Poles, too, due to the lack of up-to-date, reliable and exhaustive sources of information on this particular issue. As a consequence of this, one can only present approximate figures relating to the extent of Poles' mobility before the country joined the European Union and confront them with the latest trends in their migration after 2004.

4.2 Basic notions and regulations regarding migration

In the system of Polish public statistics, foreign migration refers to going abroad and coming to a country in order to be settled in it permanently or to stay there temporarily. One can say that foreign migration for a permanent stay is registered, when the following administrative activities concerning a person's place of residence have been completed in a relevant census office:

- the person declared their place of residence as permanent after they came to Poland,
- they notified the relevant authorities of leaving their place of residence in order to go abroad and settle there permanently.

Short-term migrations, however, are defined as movements of people related to them changing their place of residence for the period of from 3 to 12 months (until 2005 – from 2 to 12 months), and long-term migrations as those which entail change of residence for at least a year.

A foreigner is a person that does not have Polish citizenship. A person who has Polish and another country's citizenships is always treated as a Polish citizen (in other words, he or she is not a foreigner). Foreigners who have come to the country to stay here permanently (they have been granted a permit to settle permanently) are regarded as a population settled permanently; those who stay in Poland for 2-12 months (3-12 months until 2005) – as a population staying here temporarily (short-term migrants); and those who stay in the country for at least 12 months are seen as residing population (long-term migrants).

A foreigner staying in Poland must fulfil the so called registration obligation under conditions set forth in the Census and Identity Cards Act (Ustawa o ewidencji ludności i dowodach osobistych – Dz.U.06.139.993 – the Polish Journal of Laws). Its detailed regulations say, among other things, that:

1. A foreigner who wishes to register themselves to stay in the country permanently provides the office with all the relevant data and delivers:
 - a permit of stay issued in connection with being given a permit to settle, an EC long-term residence permit, subsidiary protection, the permit for tolerated stay or a refugee status in the Republic of Poland,
 - or a permit settle, an EC long-term residence permit, an EC long-term residence permit, the decision that a refugee status has been granted for the Republic of Poland, being provided with subsidiary protection in the Republic of Poland or a permit for tolerated stay.
2. A citizen of an EU member state and a member of his or her family not being a citizen of an EU member state, registering themselves for a permanent stay, deliver the relevant data, but it must be borne in mind that a citizen of an EU member state presents a valid travel document or another valid document that confirms his or her identity and citizenship as well as a valid document that confirms his or her right to permanent stay; and the member of his or her family who is not a citizen of an EU member state – a valid document of travel and a permit for permanent stay issued for the member of the EU citizen's family.
3. A foreigner who wishes to register themselves for a temporary stay lasting over 3 months, delivers all the relevant data and presents a visa, and if the foreigner has entered the country on the basis of an agreement stipulating lifting or limiting the obligation to have a visa – a travel document, a temporary confirmation of the person's identity, a permit stay or a permit for a stay for a designated period of time, a permit for settlement, an EC long-term residence permit or the decision granting the person a refugee status in the Republic of Poland, granting subsidiary protection in the Republic in Poland or a permit for a tolerated stay.
4. A citizen of an EU member state and a member of his or her family not being a citizen of an EU member state, registering themselves for a temporary stay lasting over 3 months deliver the relevant data, but it must be borne in mind that a citizen of an EU member

state presents a valid travel document or another valid document that confirms his or her identity and citizenship as well as a valid document that confirms the registration of his or her stay in the Republic of Poland, or if he or she does not have one, he or she makes a statement that such a registration has taken place; and the member of his or her family who is not a citizen of an EU member state – a valid document of travel and a permit for permanent stay issued for the member of the EU citizen's family.

The regulations presented in 2) and 4) are applicable to citizens of countries belonging to the European Economic Area that are not part of the European Union or of countries that are not parties in the European Economic Area Agreement, who are entitled to take advantage of a free movement of persons on the basis of agreements signed between these countries and the European Communities as well as its member states; the same regulations are applicable to families of such citizens.

An EU citizen can enter and stay in the Republic of Poland up to 3 months on the basis of a valid travel document or another valid document confirming his or her identity and citizenship. If a stay is longer than 3 months, an EU citizen must register his or her stay, and a non-EU member of his or her family must obtain a permit for permanent stay issued for the member of the EU citizen's family.

A stay permit confirms a foreigner's identity during his or her stay in the Republic of Poland and entitles, together with a travel document, to re-enter the country for many times without having to obtain a visa. The permit is issued by the governor of a voivodship (województwo) who has given the person the permit to stay in the country for a designated period of time, the permit to settle or the EC long-term residence permit.

A stay permit issued to a foreigner who has obtained:

- a permit to live in the country for a designated period of time – is valid during this period;
- a permit to settle in the country – is valid for 10 years;
- an EC long-term residence permit – is valid for 5 years.

A stay permit is a document issued also to foreigners who have obtained protection in the area of the Republic of Poland. A type of protection that has been granted determines how long such a document is valid. These periods vary and they are as follows:

- 3 years for a refugee status;
- 2 years, if the person uses subsidiary protection;
- 1 year, if he or she has received a permit for a tolerated stay.

A stay permit is issued or renewed to foreigners with a refugee status or the right to subsidiary protection by the Head of the Office for Foreigners. However, persons who have been granted tolerated stay it is issued by the Head of the Office for Foreigners or the governor of a voivodship.

A repatriate is a person returning to a country (to be settled permanently there) as provided for in relevant laws and regulations after a voluntary or compulsory, short or longer stay outside his or her country. Nowadays, a person of Polish origin can be regarded as a repatriate, if he or she has met, or will meet, the following requirements:

- before the 2000 Repatriation Act came into force, they had lived permanently in the territory of the present Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Georgia, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Tajikistan, the Republic of Turkmenistan, the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Asian part of the Russian Federation,
- there are not any circumstances that would make it impossible for an expatriate entry visa to be issued (under the relevant act),
- the person has stayed in the Republic of Poland on the basis of a permit for a stay for a designated period of time, issued to enable him or her start higher education (under regulations relating to taking up and completing studies by persons not being Polish citizens),
- the person will submit an application to the relevant governor of a voivodship not later than 12 month after completing a university.

A refugee is a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of their nationality or of their place of residence, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail him/herself of the protection of that country.

4.3 Migration policy in Poland

Researchers have always been interested in the complexity of the phenomenon of migration, however, they have stressed one of its aspects: demographic, economic, psychological, sociological or cultural. The first theory on migration was formulated as early as at the end of the 19th century by Ravenstein. Most of his “migration laws” later updated and extended by Lee (1966) forms an axiomatic base of contemporary studies on migration. The ‘push-pull theory’ developed by Lee stresses the importance of the so called ‘push’ factors (within a sender population) and ‘pull’ factors (within a receiver population).

In Poland’s interwar period (in the 1920s and 1930s) emigration was a key issue, because it was considered inevitable. The country’s migration policy was in fact an emigration policy pursued with the conviction that the Polish state could accumulate positive results of migration processes through an efficient system of regulating people’s departures and taking care of emigrants abroad (Kicinger 2007). After the Second World War during the times of Polish People’s Republic, the term ‘emigration policy’ lost its ‘raison d’état’ and was replaced by the term ‘passport policy’. It was a natural consequence of the assumption that in a communist country incentives to emigrate were efficiently abolished (Kicinger 2007).

Nowadays, “migration policy” is the most popular term used by states to determine their attitude towards people influx into their territories, their stay and their departure. In practice, however, the term often relates to what is seen as the most serious problem of a particular state. When analysing Poland’s rich migration experience, it needs to be pointed out that the country’s migration policy has in fact been an emigration policy. Although it is easy to identify factors conducive to emigration from Poland (the so called “push factors”), first of all economic ones, the country still lacks important factors that would attract potential immigrants (the so called “pull factors”). Poland, unlike other European countries, has one of the lowest proportion of immigrant population – 0.1 per cent as opposed to other countries, where the figure is fluctuating between several and a dozen or so per cent. Apart from immigrants who usually come from Ukraine and, to a lesser extent, from Russia and Belarus, the only significant and new immigrant population is a group of Armenians and the Vietnamese – several dozen thousand people.

Migrations and foreign migrations in particular, are inextricably linked with the demographic situation of a particular country. On the one hand, they influence demographic processes, on the other, it is the demographic situation that can stimulate individual migration streams. Preparing demographic forecasts, one also takes into account future migration processes and considers not only the extent of migration, but also its structure.

The necessity of examining migration seems obvious. Collecting information and creating relevant analyses is also indispensable, if action taken by a state is to be effective. First of all, such a state needs to determine objectives of its migration policy and the way these should be met (detailed programmes), which will consequently have an impact on other aspects of the state’s functioning, e.g. its social policy, its educational policy and its labour market. Migration policy, under the Treaty establishing the European Union, is left to the member states (with the exception of asylum issues and border crossing). So far, however, Poland does not have a document that sets forth the state’s migration objectives.

Before Poland’s joining the European structures (between 1999 and 2003), its migration policy had been a reactive policy based to a large extent on assimilating a whole set of laws and regulations from the European system. Additionally, the policy was designed to help meet Poland’s obligations ensuing from EU enlargement and the country’s being an EU border state (Iglićka 2007). Assumptions of the migration policy formulated before and after Poland joined the European Union by the Government Population Council and migration research specialists are still in the sphere of ideas.

Recent years, i.e. those after 2005, have seen a growth of interest to create a Polish migration policy. One relevant topic that has been vividly debated in political discussions is Poles’ economic migration. Even the biggest political parties are taking interest in the issue – their political programs include plans to stop emigration and encourage Poles to come back to their country (Kicinger 2007). Institutional changes have also taken place. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration has created the Migration Policy Department, whose aim is to developing a relevant policy for Poland. Migration is becoming gradually, but inevitably, a public and political issue, which is confirmed by the fact that Polish emigrants, especially those in the UK, took an active part in the latest parliamentary election campaign (Lesińska 2008).

The indispensable condition to develop assumptions of a migration policy is to adopt a migration doctrine. According to the Government Population Council, a migration doctrine should form a fundamental principle of the policy, reflecting Poland's 'raison d'état', humanitarian ideas and the state's philosophy, including in particular its strategic civilisation and modernisation premises. The doctrine should also refer to national traditions or basic international documents, and in the future it should be reflected in the Constitution (Sytuacja demograficzna ..., 2006/Demographic situation ...). Based on the approved doctrine, assumptions of a Polish migration policy should be developed, considering objectively internal and external conditions.

One of the most important postulates is to acknowledge a state's migration policy as a permanent and crucial element of the state's development strategy. For years this approach has been implemented by countries with the widest experience of immigration, i.e. the USA, Canada or Australia. Examples of these countries show that accepting a planned number of immigrants is a demographic necessity and a way of providing their economies with the most useful people – young, healthy, educated people who know the language and more often than not have large financial resources (Sytuacja demograficzna ..., 2006/ Demographic situation...).

One consequence of changes that have taken place in the last year of Poland is halting a demographic growth. An adverse balance of foreign migrations, apart from a decline of birth rate (or natural wastage) will do no more than worsen the situation in the future. Therefore, the priority of a Polish migration policy should be an attempt to halt the number of population from falling, which in the future should result in the population's growth. It also has to be remembered that the population is ageing very rapidly, so labour force is growing old too, therefore the shaping of an adequate demographic structure through migration will also be an important objective. Other objectives which should form the basis of a migration policy as a long-term strategy can be generally formulated as follows: 1) security, 2) economic development, 3) a social and cultural integration (Lesińska 2008).

It seems that by analysing the Polish labour market in terms of shortages that it feels one can establish assumptions of a migration policy. The literature on foreign migration presents a lot of ideas and recommendations put forward by various groups of experts (Duszczyk 2008; Iglicka 2007; Bieniecki, Frelak, Kazmierkiewicz 2007). Major ones refer to the following issues:

- making Polish labour market regulations more flexible,
- using “simplified procedures” in terms of employment, e.g. of those with the most sought-after professions and qualifications,
- declaring an amnesty for illegal workers in Poland.

One oft-stressed question which should be an important element of a migration policy is Poland's educational policy and necessary changes in education. As a consequence of the systemic transformation and changes in the education system, Polish vocational education has broken down and higher education has developed rapidly (it is a massive phenomenon now, whereas 20 years ago it had an egalitarian character). Nowadays having a university degree

does not guarantee that its holder will find employment (Zahorska, Walczak 2005), which means that there are a lot of graduates among emigrants who have found their first jobs only outside Poland. This problem shows clearly that regardless of the so called 'brain drain', the Polish system of education should be brought closer together with an employment policy and, in addition, it should consider medium- and long-term perspectives of the labour market (Wiśniewski, Duszczyk 2006).

According to the Government Population Council assumptions of a migration policy have to be the result of wider social consensus, therefore it is necessary to take action to gain public support for these (the Government Population Council 2006), because this is what assimilation of immigrants will depend on. It has to be borne in mind that assimilation is a two-way process in which:

- a receiver population is to create space for immigrants' different identities as well as mechanisms of the coexistence immigrants and its culture, and
- immigrants will seek a balance (internal and external) in the new place or country, which conditions their gradual assimilation with the new society, in which they will obtain equal rights as its members and citizens (Bartz 1997, see: Sytuacja demograficzna ... 2006/ Demographic situation...).

According to Iglicka (2007) "the lack of bold, well-thought-of and cogent action as to a migration policy may unfortunately lead to a situation in which Poland will only attract those legal workers who have been unable to find employment elsewhere and, or it will be a country where those who have not had enough courage or opportunity to go further west will work illegally."

4.4 Sources of data on mobility

The extent of research on foreign migration from and to Poland is determined by the amount of available data, its quality and usefulness. Migration data that is available generally comprises two categories of information (Grabowska-Lusińska, Okólski, 2008):

1. The first category is a collection of data on movement (foreign influx and departure, its dynamics and its intensity),
2. The other group is collections of data on the number of foreigners, at a particular moment in time.

Considering the above division, one has to stress that in order to present the phenomenon of migration, one cannot combine data on movement with data on the number of foreigners.

The most important sources of data on foreign migration of Polish inhabitants include:

1. Register data – it comes from the system of registering population and is made available by the Central Statistical Office (GUS). The data refers to immigrants who have registered a permanent or temporary change of address (registered for permanent or temporary residence after arriving from abroad, notified the relevant authorities of change of address because of going abroad permanently or temporarily).
2. The Census – this type of data is widely regarded as the best source of information on demographic processes in a given country, including information on migration. The advantage of a census is that it is an extensive study, however, censuses do not take place often and regularly in Poland, which means that they do not provide information on current migration processes. The latest censuses were organised in 2002 and 1989 (in 1995 only a census based on representative sample took place, the so called Microcensus). The 2002 National Population and Housing Census covered persons who lived permanently or stayed temporarily in flats, buildings, objects and rooms and people with no place of residence. The census research consisted of two parts. The first part aimed at collection of information on people migrating between 1989 and 2002 and staying outside their current place of residence, i.e. in another town at home or abroad for at least 12 months. Second part of the census survey was designed to describe a particular flat or building and register all persons in a flat, persons living in a room which was not a flat, persons in an object of collective accommodation as well as homeless people. Within the same census, an additional survey was carried out on long-term migration.
3. The Labour Force Survey (LFS) – data relating to economic activity, mainly when it comes to the participation in the labour market. It is a panel survey carried out since 1993 by the Central Statistical Office. Since 1994 the survey contains a series of questions about places of residence and work of members of households (*Współczesne migracje ... 2008/Contemporary migrations ...*). The examination covers Poles who are at least 15 years old, and since 2004 it has also covered foreigners. Surveyed individuals are subject to interviews for two quarters in a row, then for the next six years they are excluded from observation to be interviewed twice again (the Central Statistical Office 2007). During each quarter 24,700 households are drawn for a sample, which means that in each week of the quarter 1,900 household are surveyed. On the basis of the LFS results it is possible to make generalisations at country level and at voivodship level, so, consequently, it is viable to make any international comparisons (Mioduszevska 2008). Data that comes from LFS is regarded as the best source of information that describes patterns of behaviour in the Polish labour market. It has to be remembered, however, that in the case of analysing migration it is imperfect, because of the fact that it delivers information on households of which at least one member has stayed in the country. As a consequence, the surveys do not take into consideration a situation in which a whole family have moved abroad (there is no member of a household left), or a situation in which one-person households have emigrated (people living on their own). Despite these constraints, LFS results are the basic source on Polish emigrants (Information..., 2008).
4. Data collected and made available (at least to some extent) by government departments and public administration offices – this is data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to name just a few sources. For example it is data from the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy on the

number of work permits issued to Poles so that can take up employment in different countries (Central Statistical Office 2008).

5. Data collected by academic entities for specific research projects – it is often a compilation of data available from official sources both published and unpublished and original data collected for quantitative and qualitative research. These are e.g. compilations by Centre of Migration Research (at the University of Warsaw), Centre for International Relations, Institute for Public Affairs, etc.

Foreign sources of data on Polish migration include in particular (Informacja ..., 2008/Information ...):

1. official sources, like Home Office in the UK, for example. This data contains the number of registered people in Worker Register Scheme (WRS) and data on the number of people having a National Insurance Number. Data from the WRS system allow merely showing a trend in employing workers from new member states. It is not possible to determine the number of Poles in the UK, because data of those who have finished working there or have left the country is not removed from the system;
2. registers of foreigners who have been granted the right to stay in a particular country as well as registers of insurance;
3. websites of Central Statistical Offices presenting data on emigration.

4.5 Foreign migration between 1950 and 1989

A very prominent feature of permanent foreign migrations after 1945 was their constant negative balance, i.e. there were more emigrants than immigrants in Poland (Figure 4.1).

Migration between 1946 and 1947 was a direct consequence of Second World War events and was related to displacing populations of non-Polish origin outside the country on the basis of international agreements and Poles who stayed abroad and who did not decide to return to their country once the war ended.

It is difficult to determine in a reliable way the extent of foreign migration till 1948. The Central Statistical Office says that permanent migration between 1946 and 1949 affected the total of 2.5 million people, and immigration (repatriation) was the reality for almost 1.5 million people (Demographic Yearbook 2008). It was only in 1948 that the balance of foreign migration was positive (20,000 people). People immigrated to Germany (flees and displacements that took place between 1945 and 1950), to the Soviet Union (expatriation of Ukrainians, Belarusians and Lithuanians between 1945 and 1946) and to Israel (emigration of the Jews).

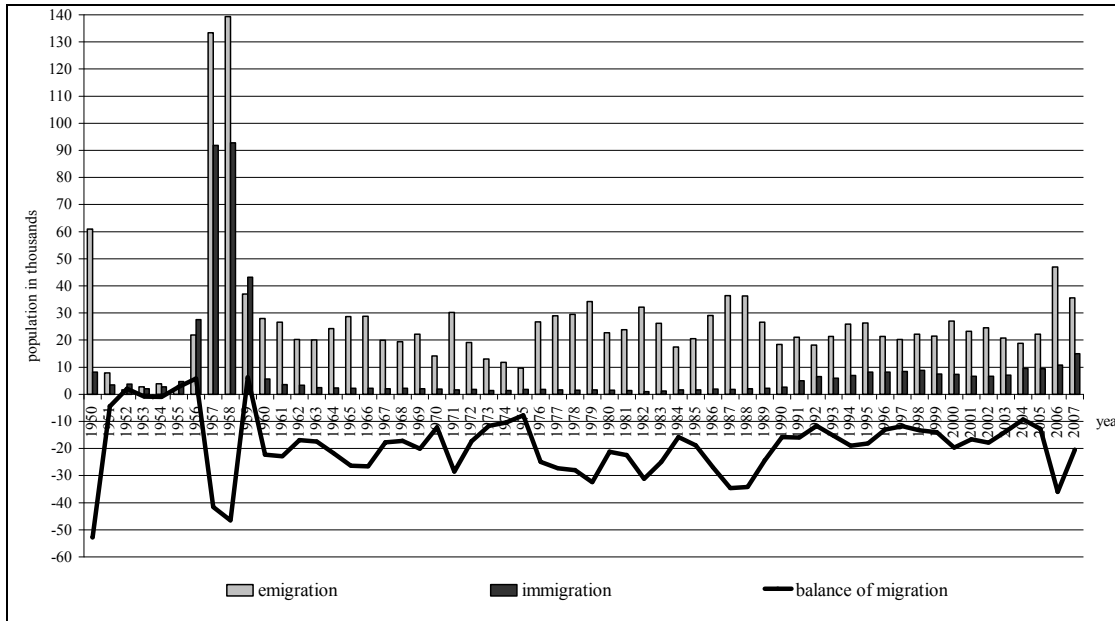
In 1950 post-war displacements and repatriations of Polish people from the Soviet Union and of German people from the Polish Recovered Territories were over, as a result of change of borders. The period from 1951 and 1955 can be considered important, because it was then that external migration was almost completely stopped. During that time there were not more than 10,000 permanent emigrants a year, and the scale of the migrations was the lowest in the whole post-war period. Poland's political situation (migration was blocked by the authorities)

made it extremely difficult for people to move outside their country. Both the number of emigrants and immigrants rose considerably in the late 1950s. External migrations between 1956 and 1970 were mainly conditioned by further repatriations of Poles from the Soviet Union as well as Jews and Germans leaving the country (joining families). The period from 1958 to 1959 saw a dramatic increase of emigration, because the authorities enabled people of German nationality and with the right to two citizenships to leave Poland. It shows that the phenomenon changed in terms of quality (Kaczmarczyk 2008, p. 15). Between 1950 and 1960, especially in the period from 1956 and 1957, about 50 000 Jews emigrated from Poland (Latuch 1994, p. 59; Gawryszewski 2005, p. 459), whereas other sources mention 40,000-50,000 (that partly being a continuation of the process stopped in 1951). There were also 13,000-14,000 Jews who returned to Poland as a result of the second repatriation from the Soviet Union (the so called “transfer” emigration (Latuch 1994, pp. 61 and 125).

Until November 1956 all migrants to Israel obtained a travel document which deprived them of their Polish nationality. However, after that time part of migrants were issued Polish foreign passports on the basis of which their holders retained their Polish citizenship and had the right of return to the country (Latuch 1994, p. 61).

Under the 1949 Act on Passports that amended that of 1936, the only document that authorised its holder to cross the border of Poland was a passport (Gawryszewski 2005, p. 459). Between 1955 and 1959 as many as 257 000 people were repatriated, with 75 per cent who returned from former Polish territories within the USSR between 1956 and 1957. Poles repatriated from Belarus and Ukraine were the overwhelming majority (70.9 per cent) (A. Gawryszewski 2005, p. 463). Repatriates were settled in Western and Northern Territories, which were then being left by people of German descent (Latuch 1994).

Since the early 1960s it is emigrations that have been prevalent when it comes to the mobility of Poles. In the 1960s the number of departures abroad fluctuated between 20,000 and 30,000 a year. In the next decade (the 1970s) initially, the number of permanent emigrants fell dramatically to 10,000 in 1975, but when regulations of border movement were liberalised (formalities were simplified and foreign currency exchange was made possible, to name just a couple of them), there was a considerable rise in emigration (to the level of 30,000 people since 1976). It was a period of not only a gradual increase of permanent migration, but also of temporary migration, mainly economic and touristic, but also due to political reasons. Many migrants left for touristic or commercial reasons, which, as was confirmed by subsequent research, shapes patterns of migration behaviour in the decades to come (Kaczmarczyk 2007).

Figure 4.1 - Permanent foreign migrations in Poland between 1950 and 2007

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (Demographic Yearbook 2008)

The 1980s was a period of the gradual abolition of constraints (liberalising of passport regulations), but also a political and economic crisis and very bad living conditions, which resulted in greater numbers of people who were willing to move and, consequently, in a massive character of the mobility. In 1984 588 000 departures to Western countries were registered, in 1985 – 1.1 million, in 1988 – 2.8 million, and in 1989 as many as 19 million people (Stola 2001). Okólski (1994) using available data estimated the total number of foreign migration to stand at 2.2 and 2.35 million people between 1980 and 1989. The years 1987 and 1988 recorded the highest figures as to emigration from Poland. In the Federal Republic of Germany alone about 250,000 of people “displaced” from Poland were registered (Kaczmarczyk 2007, p. 16). To compare, official data published by the Central Statistical Office (Fig. 1) shows that between 1980 and 1989 about 270,000 people left Poland to be settled abroad.

For the period of 30 years (1960-1989) the rate of permanent immigration was very low – less than 5,000 people incoming to the country, and had no significant impact on the balance of foreign migration.

4.6 Foreign migration after 1989

The 1990s saw a breakthrough in migration processes in Poland, like in other Central and Eastern European countries. Democratic transformation opened borders and abolished many constraints concerning travelling to and from the country both for Polish citizens and foreigners. This resulted in a new migration in Poland in terms of quality. On the previous decade the number of incoming and outgoing people, both Polish and foreign, rocketed, which gave rise to a so far unknown problem of refugees, asylum seekers and foreigners attempting to cross the border illegally to move forward to Western Europe. The labour market opened for foreigners, too, and trade in open markets and bazaars began to thrive. Foreigners who came to Poland for longer became an inherent part of social landscape in many Polish cities. Political changes that took place in countries of the former Soviet Union made the Polish authorities think about problems of Polish people living there and about their possible repatriation to the country. In the late 1990s repatriates began to return to Poland on the basis of a repatriation procedure which started in 1998.

Contemporary migrations abroad comprise both Poles' departures and returns to the country as well as a more and more noticeable number of foreigners in Poland (especially in big cities).

Since the beginning of the transformation in Poland one can observe a new quality of different types of foreign migration, which undoubtedly results from the liberalisation of passport regulations and the development of non-visa movement. New law and regulations concern foreign migration in Poland, and bringing them to conform with EU legislation has contributed to increased people movement to other regions. When a liberal emigration policy was adopted at the end of 1989, all citizens were guaranteed a right to free access to passports and a right to free border crossing. A symbol of these transformations was that in 1989 cards of crossing borders were abolished – these were documents which allowed the authorities to control a person's departures, returns and length of their stay abroad. That meant that a source of information, so valuable in the 1980s, which registered Poles' permanent departures and returns to Western countries ceased to exist. With free movement and lack of repercussions from the Polish administration if a stay abroad was prolonged (this happened a lot in the 1980s) such as refusal to issue a passport a permit for another trip, the term 'illegal migration' ceased to exist from the point of view of Polish passport regulations (*Sytuacja demograficzna Polski... 2006/Poland's demographic situation...*).

4.6.1 *Permanent foreign migration*

After 1989 a foreign migration balance was still negative (Figure 4.1, Table 4.1), but since 1990 it has decreased and remained steady at the level of minus 10,000 to 20,000 people a year. It was mainly a consequence of a bigger immigration wave which reached much higher levels in the early 1990s as opposed to the years 1960-1990. This resulted from changes in the Polish labour market, which stopped being a strictly internal market in 1990 and later. A new phenomenon arose of legal and illegal (unregistered) employment of foreigners. As a result, Poland turned from an emigration country to an emigration-immigration country in the 1990s.

After Poland joined the European Union in 2004, foreign people influx doubled on 1991 and reached the level of about 10,000 people, reaching a peak of 15,000 in 2007.

1990s emigrants were usually inhabitants of towns and cities – more than 80 per cent (Table 4.1). However, after 1999 one can observe a gradual increase in the proportion of emigrants from rural area (from 15 per cent in 1999 to 30 per cent in 2007). A similar trend was also the case for immigrants. In the early 1990s immigrations to towns and cities constituted about 85 per cent of the total (10 percentage points more than emigrations), but 1999 they reached the level of emigrations and comprised only about 70 per cent immigrants.

According to Kaczmarczyk (2006, 2007, 2008) systemic transformation which started in 1989 have not changed drastically the scale of Poles' mobility, but merely influenced its form and structure. After 1989 departures from Poland, as opposed to the trend observed in the 1980s, have turned from long-term permanent migrations into short-term migrations or seasonal employment (lasting for a dozen of weeks or a couple of months). Determining scales of particular types of migrations is difficult, however, due to their diversified character and the lack of reliable sources of information.

In the 1990s Poland has become an attractive labour market for a group of immigrants from poorer countries. However, since 2002 there was a decline in the number of work permits issued to foreigners, which was mainly caused by an extremely high rate of unemployment (about 20 per cent). On the other hand, after 2004 (when Poland joined the EU) countries which opened their markets to Polish employees now have full access to the Polish labour market, which means that work permits are no longer necessary¹, and former Soviet Union citizens' access to the labour market had to be restricted². One can still observe an increased number of foreigners that come to Poland temporarily and an increased transit movement. They sometimes turn into a longer stay of foreign citizens in Poland, which means that the extent of unregistered immigration is expanding.

According to registered data, which is official statistical data on Polish migrations, between 1989 and 2007 462,000 people emigrated from the country, including 368,000 people from cities and towns and 94,000 from rural areas (Table 4.1). Between 1990 and 2005 the number of permanent foreign migration decreased to about 20,000 people a year (Figure 4.1). The Central Statistical Office's data (Table 4.1) does not show a dramatic increase in people mobility in 2004 and 2005, after Poland's joining the EU. However, in 2006 a scale of migration reached the highest value since 1960 (almost 47,000 people), and, in this way contributed to the increasing the negative balance of migration to the level of minus 36,000, a trend not observed since the 1980s. The year 2007 saw a dynamic change in migrations – the number of emigrants fell to 35,000, which decreased the negative balance by almost a half (to

¹ On 10 January 2007 Poland opened its labour market to citizens of all EU countries, and since that time no work permit has been required from them.

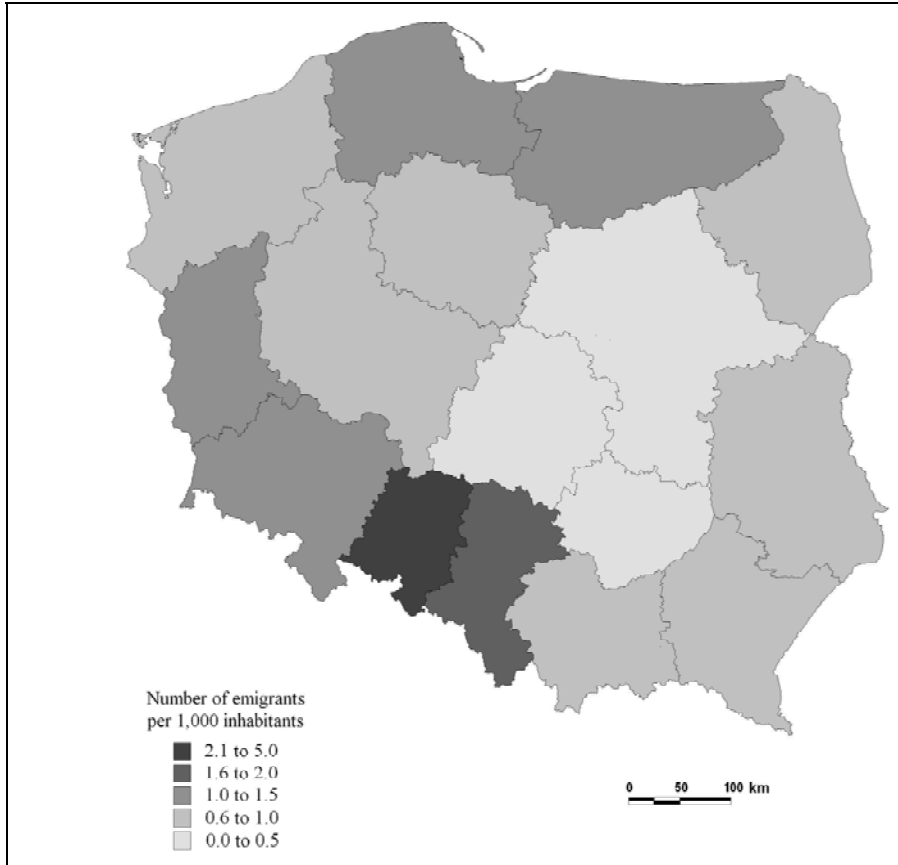
² It was only in July 2007 that the amendment of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy's directive, which allows employing citizens of three countries: Ukraine, Russia and Belarus without them having to hold work permits (the directive was a response to a rapid fall in workforce in Poland and employers' demand relating to this). The only requirement that has to be met is to notify a Poznan poviat's employment office of this. Under the directive employers have the possibility of employing a foreigner without him or her having to have a work permit for the period of six months during a year.

the level of 20.5 per cent), because at the same time the number of immigrants rose to the level of 15,000 people. Kaczmarczyk (2006) points out that a two-fold increase of permanent migration in 2006 on the previous year was not directly related to Poland joining the European Union, but was a result of confusion over the so called double taxation, which made a large group of people to change their permanent residence officially (see *Współczesne migracje zagraniczne ... 2008/ Contemporary foreign migration*, p. 24).

Table 4.1 - Permanent foreign migration in Poland between 1989 and 2007

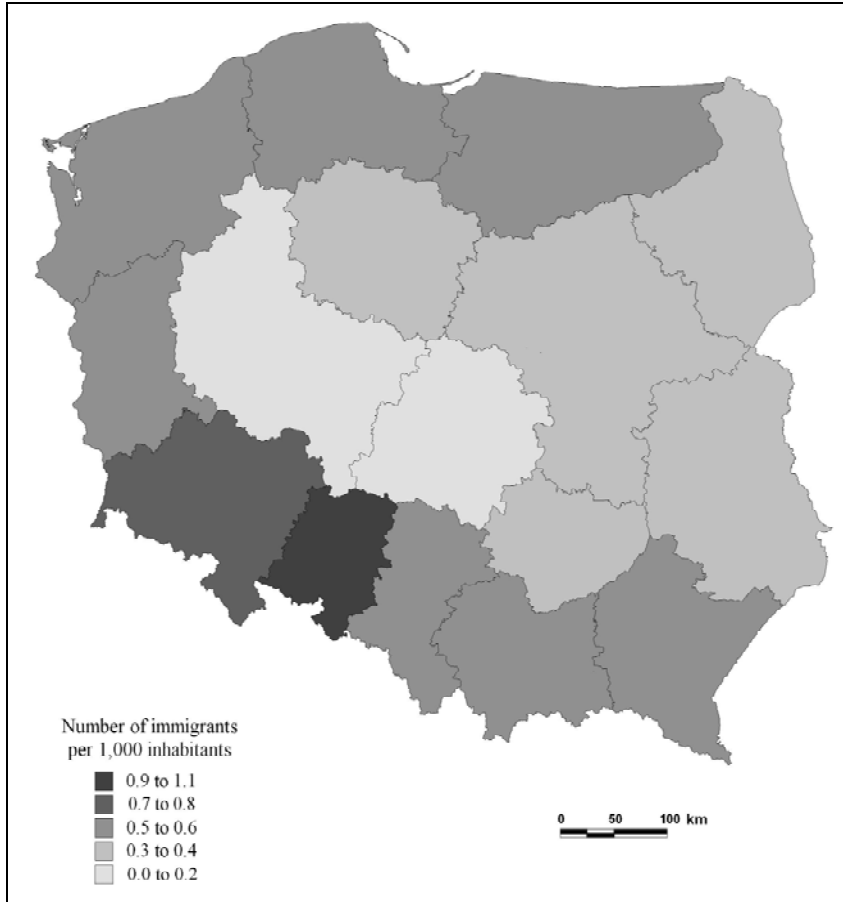
Years	Total			Urban areas					Rural areas				
	immigration	emigration	balance	immigration		emigration		balance	immigration		emigration		balance
	in thous. of people	in thous. of people	in thous. of people	in thous. of people	in per cent	in thous. of people	in per cent	in thous. of people	in thous. of people	in per cent	in thous. of people	in per cent	in thous. of people
1989	2.2	26.6	-24.4	1.9	86.4	20.3	76.3	-18.4	0.3	13.6	6.3	23.7	-6.0
1990	2.6	18.4	-15.8	2.2	84.6	14.8	80.4	-12.6	0.4	15.4	3.6	19.6	-3.2
1991	5.0	21.0	-16.0	4.3	86.0	18.5	88.1	-14.2	0.7	14.0	2.5	11.9	-1.8
1992	6.5	18.1	-11.6	5.5	84.6	16.3	90.1	-10.8	1.0	15.4	1.8	9.9	-0.8
1993	5.9	21.3	-15.4	4.8	81.4	18.1	85.0	-13.3	1.1	18.6	3.2	15.0	-2.1
1994	6.9	25.9	-19.0	5.4	78.3	22.1	85.3	-16.7	1.5	21.7	3.8	14.7	-2.3
1995	8.1	26.3	-18.2	6.3	77.8	22.0	83.7	-15.7	1.8	22.2	4.3	16.3	-2.5
1996	8.2	21.3	-13.1	6.1	74.4	18.1	85.0	-12.0	2.1	25.6	3.2	15.0	-1.1
1997	8.4	20.2	-11.8	6.2	73.8	16.9	83.7	-10.7	2.2	26.2	3.3	16.3	-1.1
1998	8.9	22.2	-13.3	6.5	73.0	19.0	85.6	-12.5	2.4	27.0	3.2	14.4	-0.8
1999	7.5	21.5	-14.0	5.5	73.3	18.2	84.7	-12.7	2.0	26.7	3.3	15.3	-1.3
2000	7.3	27.0	-19.7	5.1	69.9	21.5	79.6	-16.4	2.2	30.1	5.5	20.4	-3.3
2001	6.6	23.3	-16.7	4.7	71.2	18.1	77.7	-13.4	1.9	28.8	5.2	22.3	-3.3
2002	6.6	24.5	-17.9	4.6	69.7	18.9	77.1	-14.3	2.0	30.3	5.5	22.4	-3.5
2003	7.0	20.8	-13.8	4.9	70.0	15.6	75.0	-10.7	2.1	30.0	5.2	25.0	-3.1
2004	9.5	18.8	-9.3	6.7	70.5	13.9	73.9	-7.2	2.8	29.5	5.0	26.6	-2.2
2005	9.4	22.2	-12.8	6.6	70.2	17.1	77.0	-10.5	2.7	28.7	5.2	23.4	-2.5
2006	10.8	46.9	-36.1	7.9	73.1	34.1	72.7	-26.2	2.9	26.9	12.8	27.3	-9.9
2007	15.0	35.5	-20.5	10.6	70.7	24.8	69.9	-14.2	4.4	29.3	10.7	30.1	-6.3

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (Demographic Yearbook 2008)

Figure 4.2 - Permanent emigration from Poland in 2007

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

Regions from which the most people left to be settled permanently abroad in 2007 include the south-western voivodships of Opolskie and Śląskie, which was related to the fact that they had people of German minority who had families among post-war emigrants and who mainly went to this country (Figure 4.2). A relatively high rate of migration is also noticeable in Poland's western and northern voivodships. People living in central regions were the least interested in migration (the Łódzkie, Mazowieckie and Świętokrzyskie voivodships) (Figure 4.3). Migration movement in the other direction was relatively the highest also in the case of the voivodship of Opolskie (e.g. emigrants returning after having reached their retirement age abroad), but the voivodships of Dolnośląskie, then the ones closer to the border from the voivodship of Podkarpackie, Lubuskie and Warmińsko-Mazurskie. Immigrants settled in the voivodships of Wielkopolskie and Łódzkie the least often.

Figure 4.3 - Permanent immigration to Poland in 2007

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

4.6.2 Temporary foreign migration

For many years now, Poles have been participants in international labour markets. Migrations have been a significant element that resolved difficult problems in the labour market. With international employment bilateral agreements signed in the 1990s and Poland's accession to the EU, freedom of movement and availability of work for Polish people have increased. This type of transformation of space mobility has been a consequence of several economic and political factors. Firstly, the liberalising of border movement regulations has created a so far unknown situation in which Poles are not only able to leave their country, but also return to it, without fear of negative political consequences. Secondly, short-term migrations have gained significance through strictly economic factors, especially the relation between costs and benefits ensuing from migration (the relation between wages and costs of living at home and abroad) as well as labour market needs of receiver countries (often limited to sectors offering seasonal work). However, with abolishing successive constraints in international movement (especially those related to passport and visa regulations), chances of accurate statistical

analyses have decreased¹ and this is undoubtedly one of the reasons why a picture of Poles' migrations is far from being perfect.

4.6.2.1 Emigration

According to national censuses (The 1988 National Census and The 2002 National Population and Housing Census) in 1988 508,000 people stayed abroad longer 2 months (i.e. 1.3 per cent of the population, and in 2002 the number rose to 786,000 people (i.e. 1.8 per cent of the population) – Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 - Emigrants staying abroad temporarily for more than 2 months in 1988 and 2002

Years	Total	Men	Women	Urban areas			Rural areas		
				Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
in thousands of people									
1988	507.9	294.8	213.1	387.8	223.4	164.4	387.8	223.4	164.4
2002	786.1	363.0	423.1	488.1	221.1	267.0	298.0	141.9	156.1
in per cent									
1988	100.0	58.0	42.0	76.4	44.0	32.4	23.6	14.0	9.6
2002	100.0	46.2	53.8	62.1	28.1	34.0	37.9	18.1	19.9

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

Table 4.3 - Emigrants staying abroad temporarily for more than 2 months in 2002 by length of stay and gender

Emigrants	Total	Staying from 2 to 11 months			Staying 12 months or longer
		Total	2-5 months	6-11 months	
Total					
Poland	786,085	159,895	79,881	80,014	626,190
Men	362,973	77,603	40,124	37,479	285,370
Women	423,112	82,292	39,757	42,535	340,820
Urban areas					
Total	488,122	100,982	48,958	52,024	387,140
Men	221,082	47,135	23,548	23,587	173,947
Women	267,040	53,847	25,410	28,437	213,193
Rural areas					
Total	297,963	58,913	30,923	27,990	239,050
Men	141,891	30,468	16,576	13,892	111,423
Women	156,072	28,445	14,347	14,098	127,627

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

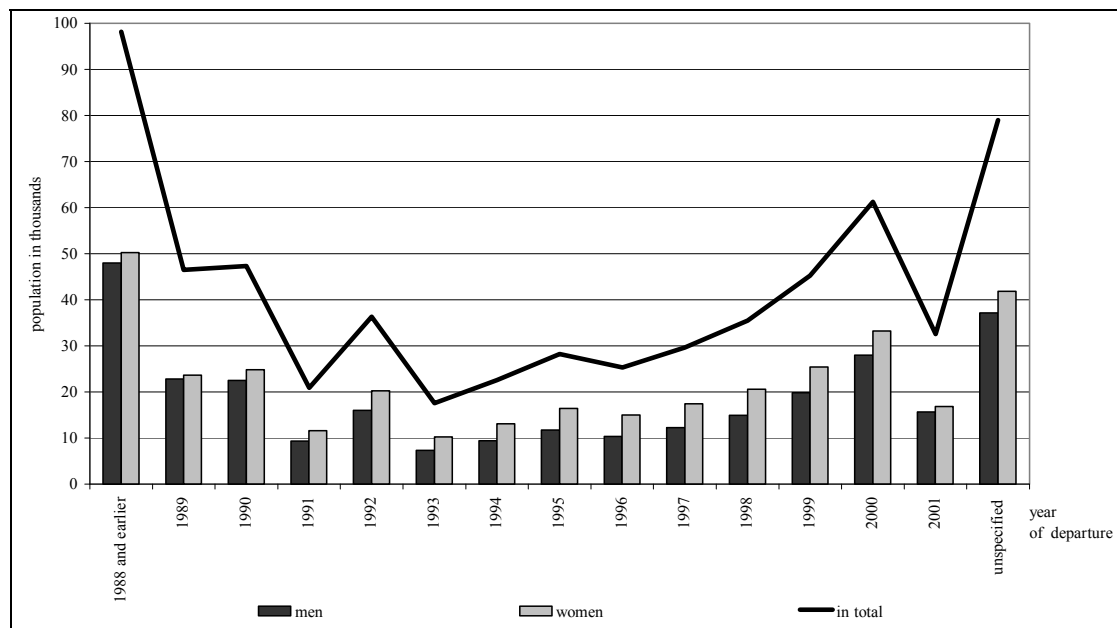
¹ The extent and structure of migrations after 1989 can be examined on the basis of: registered data, national censuses (National Population and Housing Census 2002), data obtained from Population Economic Activity Studies), data from government departments, data obtained from receiver countries as well as scientific research carried out in Poland and abroad.

It needs to be noted that the data from the latest census does not reflect the full scale of the phenomenon. In fact, emigration at that time was much bigger, because the census did not cover people who left Poland after notifying the relevant authorities of change of their address (about 300,000). It has to be stressed, however, that census data shows that during the whole period of the systemic transformation, the number of people who stayed abroad was relatively stable and fluctuated between 800,000 and one million people (Współczesne migracje zagraniczne..., 2008/Contemporary foreign migration, pp. 14-17).

Results of the 2002 census prove that over 80 per cent of temporary emigrants (i.e. 626,190 people) stayed abroad 12 months or longer – these were long-term emigrants (Table 4.3). It needs to be stressed that people who are abroad temporarily (even for a couple of years) are still included in the number of Polish population. Short-term emigrants (staying abroad from 2 to 11 months) with permanent residence in Poland constituted 20 per cent.

In 2002 there were more female emigrants (54 per cent of the total), whereas in 1988 there were more men (58 per cent). Between 1988 and 2002 the proportion of emigrants from towns and cities decreased (from 76 per cent in 1988 to 62 per cent in 2002). However, the proportion of women from rural areas more than doubled (from 10 per cent in 1988 to 20 per cent in 2002), and the number of men from towns and cities fell (from 44 to 28 per cent respectively) – see Table 4.2.

Figure 4.4 - Emigrants from Poland in 2002 staying abroad temporarily for more than 12 months and longer

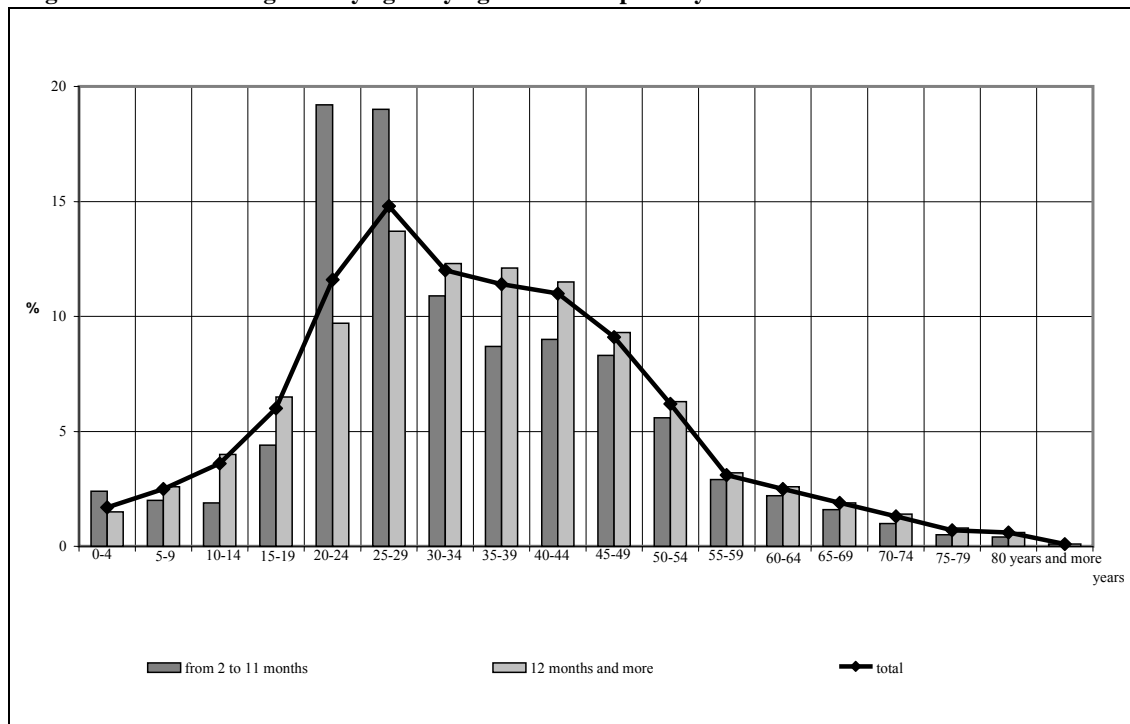


Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

According to the 2002 census, the number of emigrants who left Poland in 1988 or earlier stood at about 98,000 (Figure 4.4), so almost 20 per cent of people staying abroad temporarily during the census were still there in 2002. The remaining part of people staying abroad in 2002 left the country in later years. Quite a lot of people have stayed abroad since 1989 (over 46,000) and since 1990 (over 47,000); it was the first migration wave of the 1990s. A large group emigrated in 1992, out of which over 36,000 stayed abroad in 2002. Among emigrants leaving Poland in the period between both the censuses, the biggest group were those who had left Poland in the previous years (1999-2000) – it was the second wave of emigration in the 1990s. In all years in question there were slightly more women than men in the emigration structure (Figure 4.4).

It needs to be stressed that the number of actual departures abroad in particular years has been higher than presented, because part of the people have already come back home from abroad, and others may have returned and left again for some time (Migracje zagraniczne/Foreign migration ..., 2003).

Figure 4.5 - Polish emigrants by age staying abroad temporarily for over 2 months in 2002

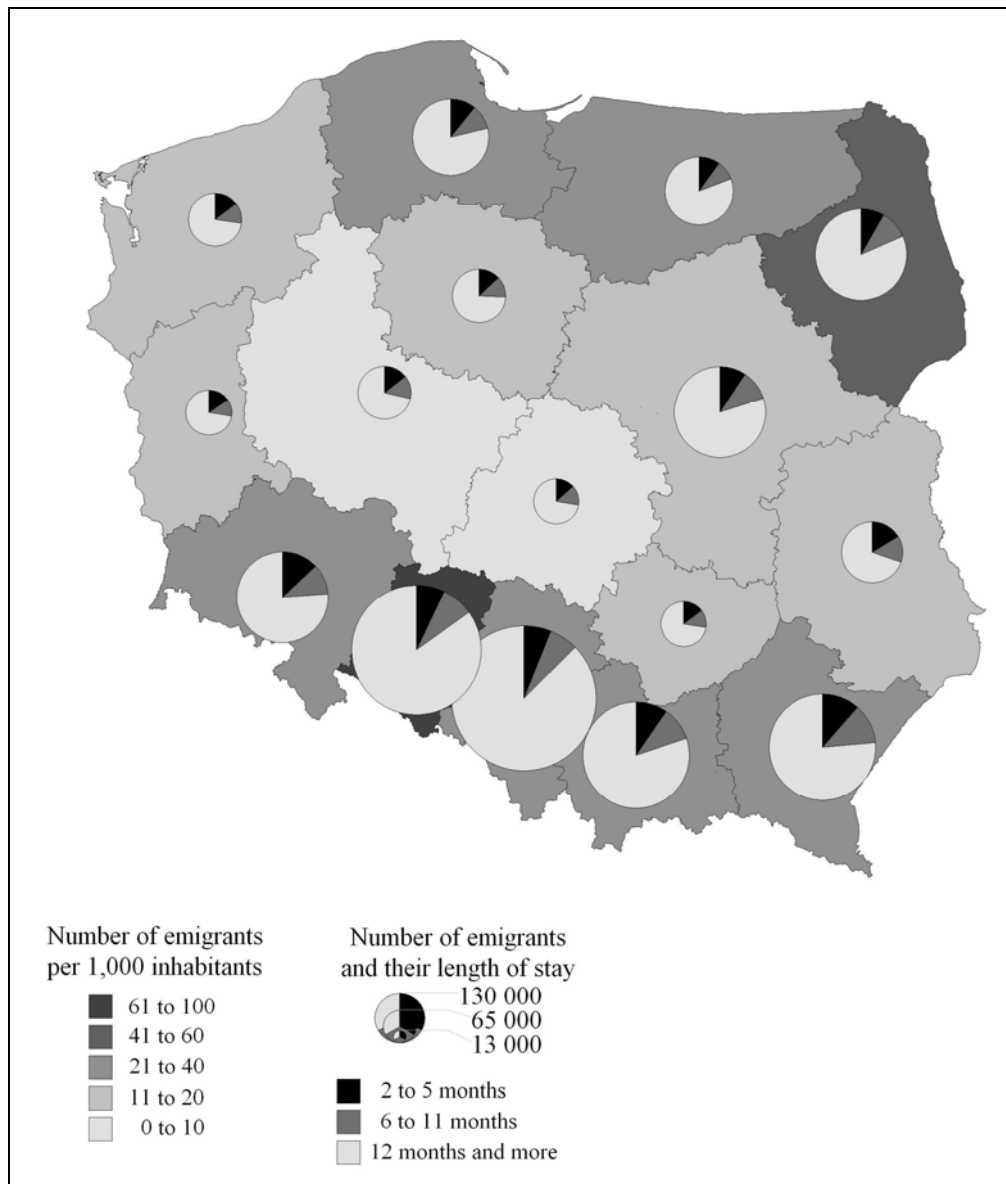


Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

In the structure of the total number of emigrants staying abroad for more than 2 months, the highest percentage (14 per cent) was young Poles between 25 and 29 years of age. Other groups of people in their working mobile age (20-24, 30-44) stood at the level of 11-12 per cent. The proportion of emigrants in particular age groups over 55 years old fell in relation to their age. More young people between 20 and 24 years of age, between 25 and 29 years of age as well as children between 0 and 4 emigrated to stay abroad temporarily than permanently. Most emigrants who stayed abroad shorter than 12 months were in the age group from 20 to

29 (about 20 per cent). All other age groups had more emigrants staying abroad for more than a year (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.6 - Emigrants from Poland in 2002 staying abroad for more than 2 months

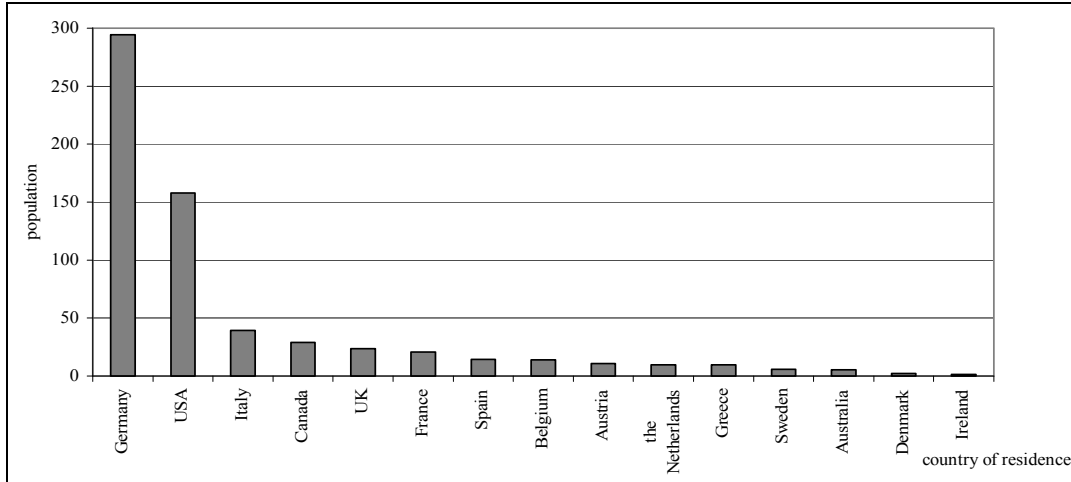


Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

The highest number of people being abroad in 2002 lived in the voivodships of Śląskie (125,000 people), Opolskie (over 105,000), Małopolskie (80,000 people) and Podkarpackie (77,000 people), before they left from Poland. The least temporary emigrants came from the voivodships of Lubuskie (below 16,000), Łódzkie and Świętokrzyskie (about 18,000 people each). In all the areas there were more people who stayed abroad for over 12 months. However, in southern and northern-eastern areas of Poland, their percentage was slightly lower and stood at about 80 per cent or more, and in northern-western and central Poland the

percentage of long-term emigrants did not exceed 75 per cent. In all voivodships proportions between the number of short-term migrants and their length of stay abroad (2-5 months and 6-11 months) were almost the same (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.7 - Destinations for temporary migration of Poles in 2002

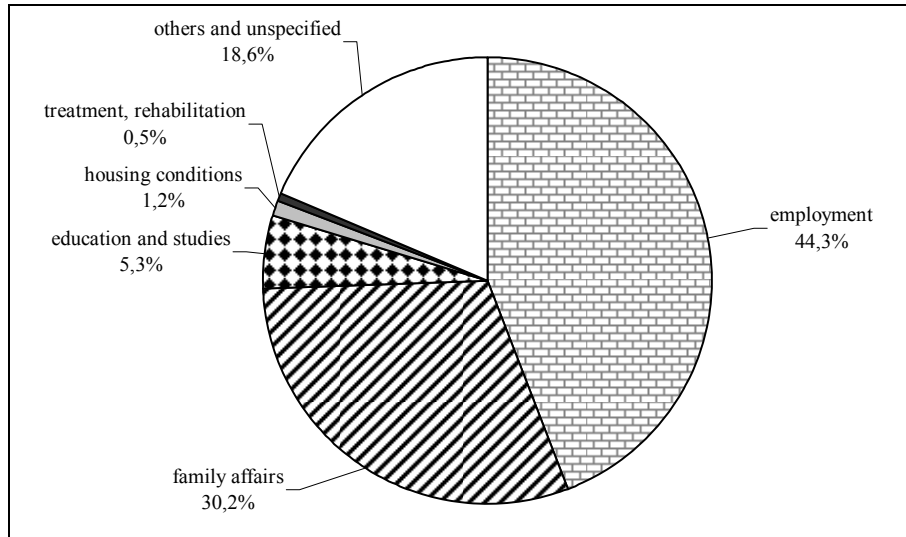


Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

Taking into consideration the rate of temporary foreign migration (the number of emigrants per 1,000 people) in Poland, it has to be noticed that it was the highest in the voivodship of Opolskie (99 emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants), and it was lower by a factor of two in the voivodship of Podlaskie (46 emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants). In the remaining voivodships in the south and north of Poland the rate amounted to 20-40 emigrants per 1,000 inhabitants. The voivodships of Wielkopolskie and Łódzkie were characterised by the lowest rate (Figure 4.6).

Results of the 2002 census show that Poles stayed temporarily in all continents. Most of them, however, stayed in Europe, 97 per cent of whom in EU countries (Figure 4.7). The most popular country was Germany, where 294,000 stayed (i.e. 375 of all Polish temporary emigrants). Other countries include Italy (39,000 people), the UK (24,000 people) and France (20,000). Poles were also willing to go to the United States with 158,000 people already there, which constituted 20 per cent of all emigrants staying abroad. Canada had much fewer people (only 4 per cent of emigrants).

In the 2002 census, information was obtained on reasons of emigration (Figure 4.8). It is worth noting that in 1988 such data was not collected. The most frequent reasons of Poles leaving abroad were employment (44 per cent emigrants) and family affairs (30 per cent). Other reasons influenced their decisions to a much lesser extent (5 per cent education).

Figure 4.8 - Reasons for temporary migration of Poles for longer than 2 months in 2002

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

4.6.2.2 Immigration

According to the 2002 census, there were 34,100 temporary immigrants who stayed longer than 2 months in Poland, inclusive of 22,700 people (i.e. 67 per cent) who stayed in the country for 12 months or longer – the so called long-term immigrants. They are regarded as residing population. Immigrants staying in Poland temporarily are not treated as the ones actually living in Poland. The number of immigrants staying temporarily in Poland in 2002 was much higher than the one obtained in the census. It may have been due to the fact that for various reasons not all immigrants in Poland were counted.

Table 4.4 – Immigrants staying in Poland temporarily for over 2 months by length of stay and gender

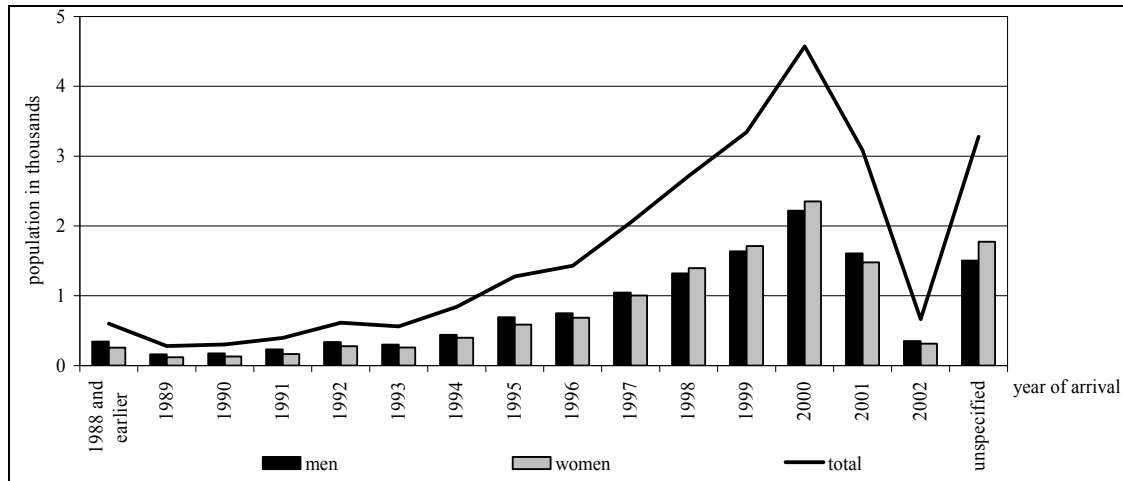
Voivodships	Total	Staying from 2 to 11 months			Staying for 12 months and longer
		Total	2-5 months	6-11 months	
Total					
Poland	34,072	11,362	6,107	5,255	22,710
Men	17,398	5,803	3,239	2,564	11,595
Women	16,674	5,559	2,868	2,691	11,115
Urban areas					
Total	26,995	9,211	4,700	4,511	17,784
Men	14,062	4,676	2,487	2,189	9,386
Women	12,933	4,535	2,213	2,322	8,398
Rural areas					
Total	7,077	2,151	1,407	744	4,926
Men	3,336	1,127	752	375	2,209
Women	3,741	1,024	655	369	2,717

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

Among temporary immigrants who stayed in Poland longer than 2 months, there were more long-term ones. A similar trend could be observed in both urban and rural areas. In the immigration structure, there were slightly more men than women in cities and towns, and more women in rural areas. 80 per cent of immigrants lived in cities (Table 4.4).

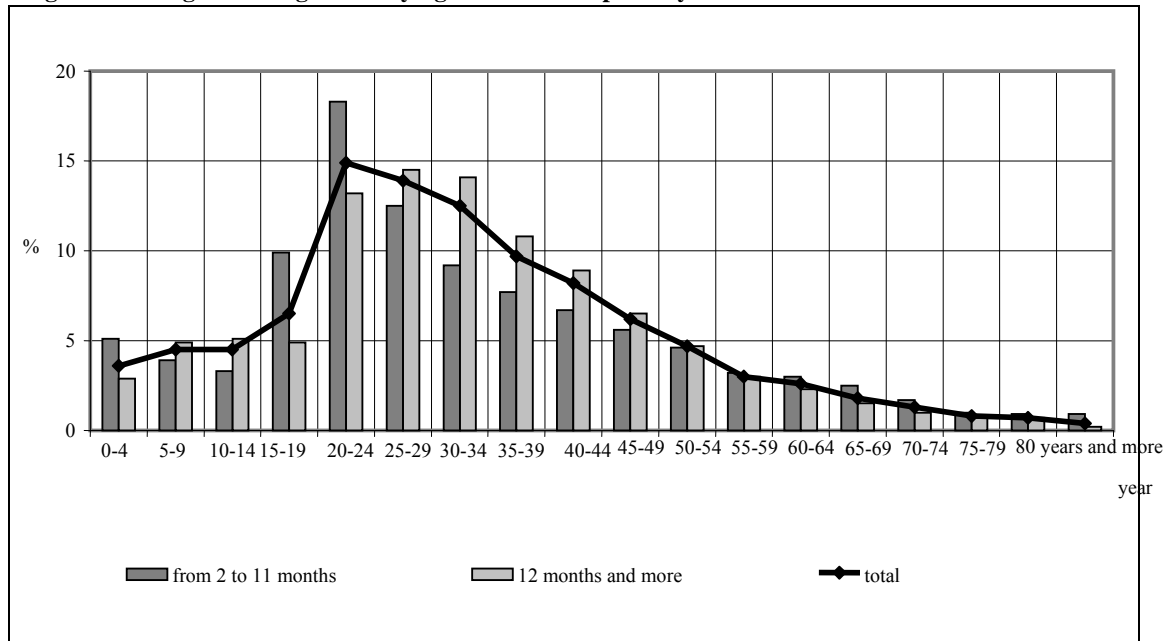
The most immigrants staying temporarily for more than a year had come to Poland before the census. Many of those who had arrived earlier may already have left the country (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9 - Immigrants staying in Poland temporarily for 12 months and longer



Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

Figure 4.10 - Age of immigrants staying in Poland temporarily for more than 2 months in 2002

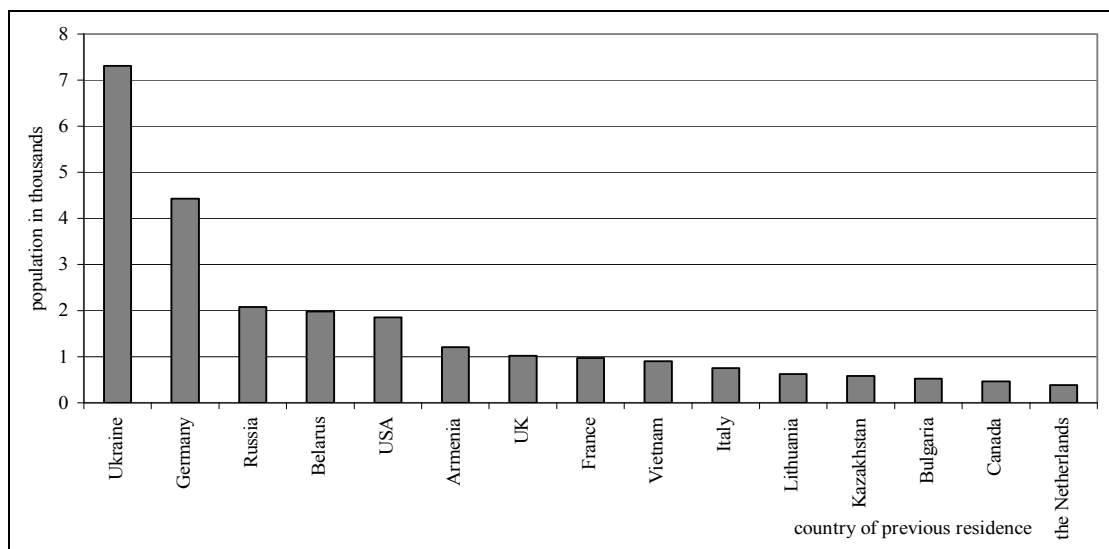


Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

Because of that one could observe a marked rise of this group of migrants. Lower values in 2002 and 2001 stemmed from the fact that the threshold value was a one-year stay in Poland, whereas the census took place in the mid-2002 (Figure 4.9).

The immigrant structure by age was similar to the structure characterising emigrants (compare Figure 4.10 and 4.5). As far as differences are concerned, there were fewer people of the age of 25-29 years old and more people staying in Poland for 12 months and longer in this group than short-term immigrants. In turn, in the group aged from 15 and 19 there were more people staying in Poland from 2 to 11 months. In the most active age group aged from 20 to 24 when it comes to migration, the majority of short-term immigrants was much lower than in the case of emigrants. People in their mobile working age (20-44 years) constituted 60 per cent of short-term immigrants.

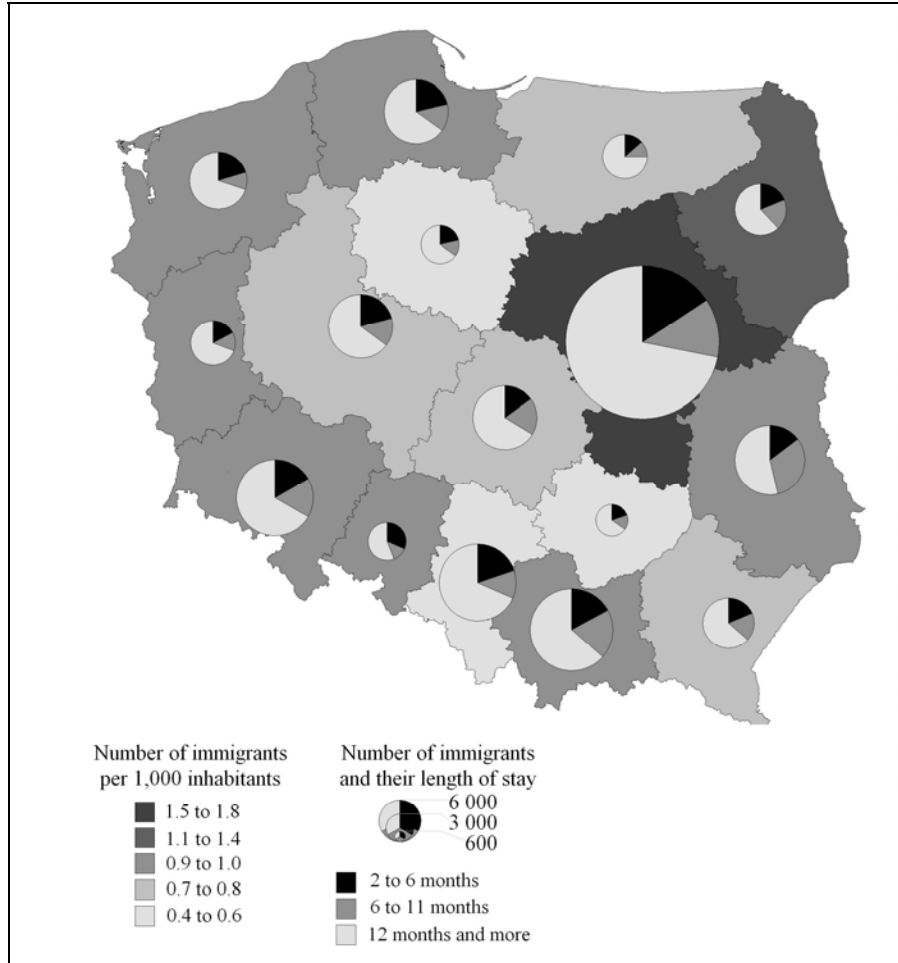
Figure 4.11 - Immigrants in Poland in 2002 by previous place of residence



Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

Countries for which Poland was an attractive place for temporary emigration (e.g. education – studies) include mainly those of the former Soviet Union (Ukraine – 21.5 per cent immigrants in total, Russia and Belarus – 6 per cent each, Armenia – 4 per cent, Kazakhstan – 2 per cent), which, on the one hand, was related to Poland's economic attractiveness, but also to people of Polish origin returning to the country. People from Germany came second (13 per cent), among whom there were post-war Polish economic emigrants, but also people associated with companies financed from German capital. Almost 2,000 immigrants (5.5 per cent) came from the USA, including, like in the case of Canadians, students (usually those of medical sciences²). In total, 71 per cent of immigrants came from Europe, 14 per cent from Asia, and 7 per cent from North America (Figure 4.11).

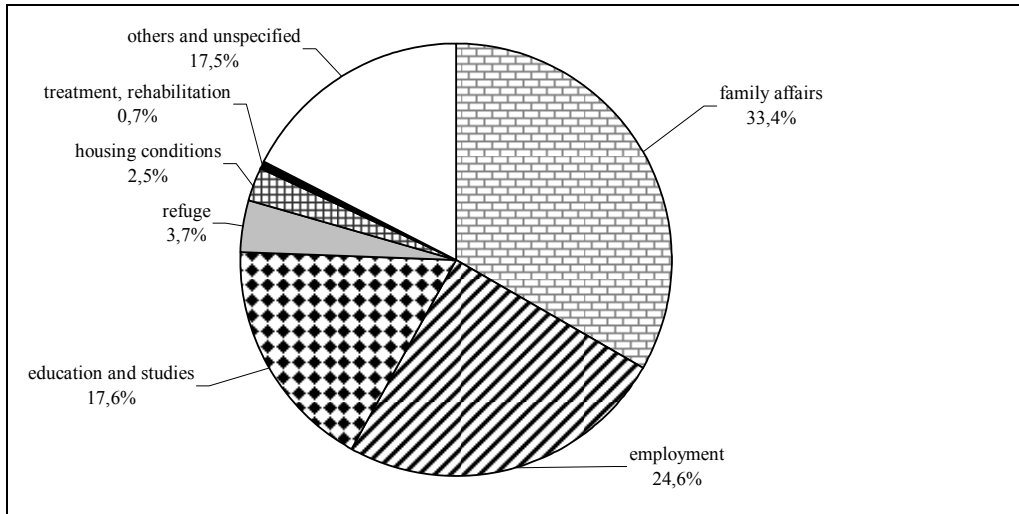
² In the 1990s Polish medical universities with lectures conducted in English became a major place of study for young people from North America, mainly due to relatively lower costs of studies and a high standard of education.

Figure 4.12 - Immigrants staying in Poland temporarily for longer than 2 months

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

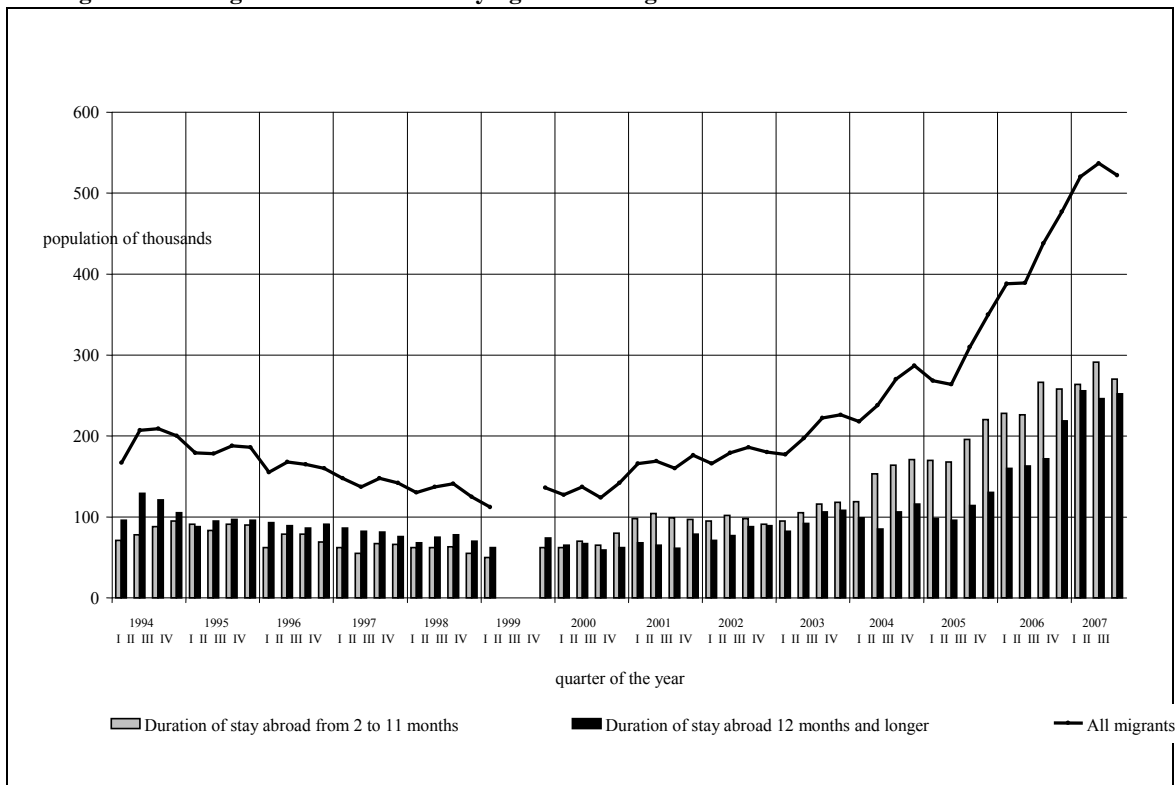
The voivodship of Mazowieckie attracted the most temporary immigrants (about 9,000 people), then southern voivodships: Dolnośląskie, Śląskie and Małopolskie came second, however, the voivodship of Podlaskie, preceding the one of Kujawsko-Pomorskie came first as to the number of immigrants per 1,000 inhabitants. The voivodships of Kujawsko-Pomorskie and Świętokrzyskie had the lowest number of immigrants, and the voivodship of Śląskie registered the lowest rate of immigrants to 1,000 inhabitants. In all regions there were the most long-term immigrants, constituting more than a half of population in the voivodship of Lubelskie and almost 75 per cent of population in the voivodships of Warmińsko-Mazurskie, Mazowieckie and Zachodniopomorskie (Figure 4.12).

The major reason for temporary migration to Poland was family affairs (Figure 4.13). Such a decision was taken by majority of immigrants (33 per cent) because of, among other things, their Polish descent, a marriage with Polish citizens or the willingness to settle permanently in Poland. 25 per cent immigrants came to Poland to seek employment, and 18 per cent of them wished to take up studies, develop their education and raise their qualifications. Almost 4 per cent of temporary immigrants sought refuge in Poland.

Figure 4.13 - Reasons for temporary immigrations for Poles for longer than 2 months in 2002

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

It is possible to assess how the dynamics of migration processes changed on the basis of data obtained from the Labour Force Survey (LFS), carried out in Poland since 1994.

Figure 4.14 - Migrants from Poland staying abroad longer than 2 months between 1994 and 2007

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (Labour Force Survey)

Results of the studies showed that between mid-1994 and the late 1990s there was a slow decline in temporary migrations from Poland for over two months (Fig. 14, Table 4). The number fell from about 200,000 in 1994 to about 112,000 in 1999. However, in all this period, there was a relative balance between those who left for less and more than 12 months. There were only slightly more long-terms migrations (12 months and longer) till the end of the 1990s. From 2000 temporary migrations rose steadily, and then massively, which was mainly related to changes in the Polish labour market. Between mid-2005 and 2007 the rate of migration over 2 months increased markedly, which was a result of subsequent labour markets being opened in EU countries. From 2000 there were slightly more short-term migrations (from 2 to 11 months) than long-terms ones. This tendency rose considerably from mid-2004 (after Poland joined the EU) to mid-2006. However, at the end of 2007, the balance between short- and long-term migration was equal.

Table 4.5 - Migrants from Poland staying abroad for more than two months between 1994 and 2007

Date of LFS	Quarter of the year	All migrants			Duration of stay abroad (in months)		Of which: migrant workers			
		Total	Men	Women	From 2 to 11	12 and more	Total	Men	Women	% of total
1994		196	117	79	83	113
February	I 1994	167	97	70	71	96
May	II 1994	207	121	86	78	129	144	89	55	69.6
August	III 1994	209	131	78	88	121	150	100	50	71.8
November	IV 1994	200	119	81	95	105	139	90	49	69.5
1995		183	110	73	89	94				
February	I 1995	179	103	76	91	88	126	82	44	70.4
May	II 1995	178	104	74	83	95	130	83	47	73.0
August	III 1995	188	116	72	91	97	139	90	49	73.9
November	IV 1995	186	116	70	90	96	138	92	46	74.2
1996		162	92	70	72	90				
February	I 1996	155	86	69	62	93	109	68	41	70.3
May	II 1996	168	97	71	79	89	119	75	44	70.8
August	III 1996	165	94	71	79	86	112	70	42	67.9
November	IV 1996	160	92	68	69	91	108	68	40	67.5
1997		144	83	61	62	82				
February	I 1997	148	85	63	62	86	105	66	39	70.9
May	II 1997	137	78	59	55	82	94	59	35	68.6
August	III 1997	148	85	63	67	81	101	63	38	68.2
November	IV 1997	142	82	60	66	76	102	64	38	71.8
1998		133	76	57	60	73				
February	I 1998	130	73	57	62	68	96	60	36	73.8
May	II 1998	137	76	61	62	75	100	62	38	73.0
August	III 1998	141	83	58	63	78	104	66	38	73.8
November	IV 1998	125	73	52	55	70	93	59	34	74.4
1999										
February*	I 1999	112	63	49	50	62	89	66	23	79.5
	II 1999									
	III 1999									
4th quarter	IV 1999	136	80	56	62	74	94	54	40	69.1

Table 4.5 continued

2000		132	75	57	69	63				
1st quarter	I 2000	127	75	52	62	65	94	65	29	74.0
2nd quarter	II 2000	137	78	59	70	67	106	66	40	77.4
3rd quarter	III 2000	124	65	59	65	59	95	56	39	76.6
4th quarter	IV 2000	142	82	60	80	62	108	70	38	76.1
2001		168	97	71	99	69				
1st quarter	I 2001	166	97	69	98	68	131	82	49	78.9
2nd quarter	II 2001	169	99	70	104	65	134	85	49	79.3
3rd quarter	III 2001	160	92	68	99	61	125	78	47	78.1
4th quarter	IV 2001	176	100	76	97	79	138	87	51	78.4
2002		178	102	76	97	81				
1st quarter	I 2002	166	97	69	95	71	134	83	51	80.7
2nd quarter	II 2002	179	102	77	102	77	142	85	57	79.3
3rd quarter	III 2002	186	106	80	98	88	148	90	58	79.6
4th quarter	IV 2002	180	104	76	91	89	136	85	51	75.6
2003		206	112	94	109	97				
1st quarter	I 2003	177	99	78	95	82	129	79	50	72.9
2nd quarter**	II 2003	197	104	93	105	92	149	87	62	75.6
3rd quarter	III 2003	222	117	105	116	106	175	100	75	78.8
4th quarter	IV 2003	226	126	100	118	108	172	105	67	76.1
2004		253	143	110	152	101				
1st quarter	I 2004	218	127	91	119	99	165	98	67	75.7
2nd quarter	II 2004	238	135	103	153	85	193	120	73	81.1
3rd quarter	III 2004	270	148	122	164	106	224	132	92	83.0
4th quarter	IV 2004	287	161	126	171	116	250	147	103	87.1
2005		298	181	117	189	109				
1st quarter	I 2005	268	154	114	170	98	232	141	91	86.6
2nd quarter	II 2005	264	160	104	168	96	225	147	78	85.2
3rd quarter	III 2005	310	196	114	196	114	271	180	91	87.4
4th quarter	IV 2005	350	212	138	220	130	315	199	116	90.0
2006		423	271	152	245	178				
1st quarter	I 2006	388	232	156	228	160	347	219	128	89.4
2nd quarter	II 2006	389	257	132	226	163	353	245	108	90.7
3rd quarter	III 2006	438	288	150	266	172	403	276	127	92.0
4th quarter	IV 2006	477	306	171	258	219	444	296	148	93.1
2007										
1st quarter	I 2007	520	327	193	264	256	477	311	166	91.7
2nd quarter	II 2007	537	343	194	291	246	492	329	163	91.6
3rd quarter	III 2007	522	345	177	270	252	490	333	157	93.9

* LFS was temporarily discontinued after February 1999.

** Since the second quarter of 2003, data from the LFS were adjusted on the basis of the 2002 population census. Earlier data were adjusted on the basis of the 1988 population census. Consequently, caution needs to be exercised in comparing data across the two periods.

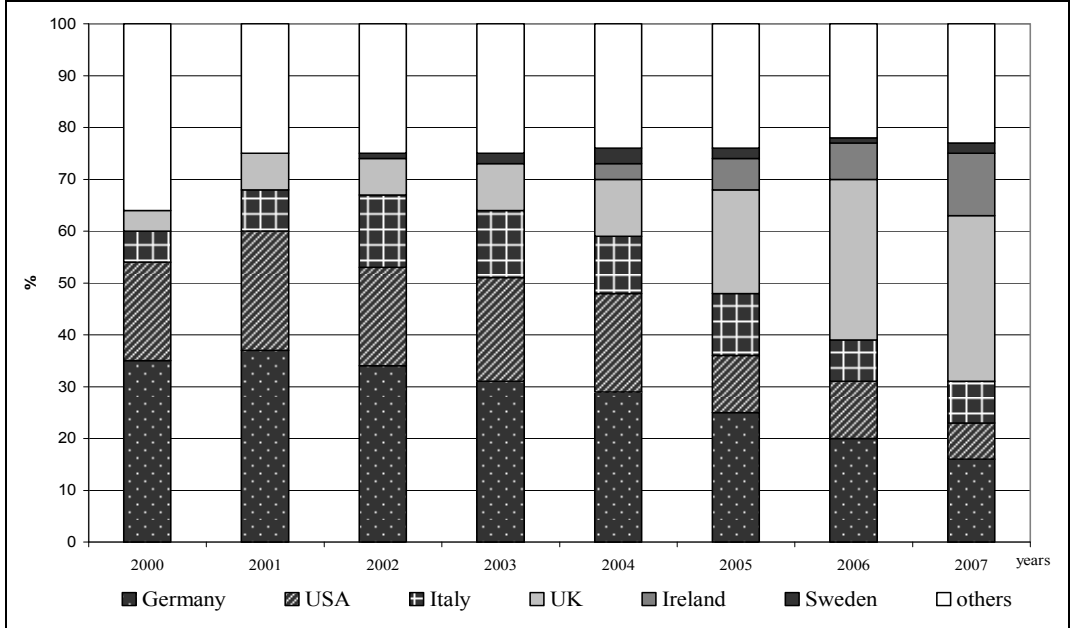
Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (Labour Force Survey)

In Poles' temporary migration structure economic migration was prevalent – its share rose steadily from about 70 per cent in 1994 to over 80 per cent between 2004 and 2005 and to over 90 per cent in the years 2006 and 2007. In this group there were more men – 60 per cent and more of all migrants (Table 4).

The data presented above, obtained from the Labour Force Survey, refers to people who were members of households in Poland and stayed abroad for over 2 months. It means that to a large extent it does not provide information on seasonal workers employed legally outside Poland, because in this particular case the length of their contracts was shorter than 8 weeks. It is crucial, since seasonal migrations are one of the most important migration waves from Poland during the transformation period – arguably the biggest in terms of quantity till massive migrations to the UK and Ireland occurred after 1 May 2004. Seasonal migrations to Germany took place on the basis of a Polish-German agreement signed in 1990. It provided for the fact that Poles were allowed to work only in some sectors of the German economy for the period of 3 months. After some time, it turned out that agriculture played the most crucial role (especially when construction was excluded from these sectors) – more than 90 per cent of all seasonal workers found employment in this sector. The programme itself turned out to be a spectacular success: as early as in 1993 the number of people who worked in Germany under conditions of the agreement exceeded 140,000, and in 2004 it was equal to 300,000. In this way seasonal migrations were one of the most important forms of Poles' migrations (Współczesne migracje zagraniczne .../Contemporary foreign migrations 2008).

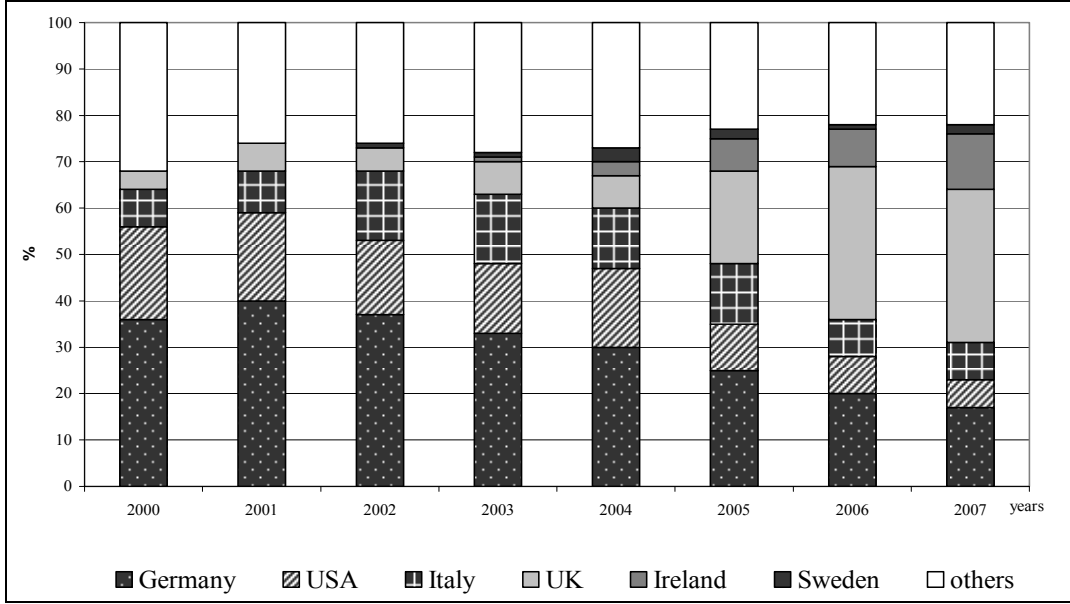
Between 2000 and 2007 destinations for Poles leaving abroad temporarily (also seeking work) changed markedly (Fig. 4.15 and 4.16, Tables 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7). Before 2004 Germany was the most often visited when it came to work, too. It is this very country that 37 per cent of Poles leaving abroad for longer than 2 months (Figure 4.15) went to in 2001 and 40 per cent of those who worked abroad in general. Till 2001 the US was the second country that attracted Poles the most often – about 20 per cent of all people leaving temporarily for longer than 2 months, and Italy was the third. Although between 2001 and 2007 the number of people leaving for Germany each year stood at the level of 45,000-50,000 people, their share in foreign migrations for longer than 2 months declined considerably (37 per cent in 2001 to 16 per cent in 2007) – a similar situation was noticed in the case of economic migration. After Poland joined the European Union in 2004, the most popular destinations for economic migrants were the UK (one third of all migrations), Germany fell to the second place (16-17 per cent) and Ireland came third (12 per cent).

Figure 4.15 - Poles staying abroad for over 2 months between 2000 and 2007



Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (Labour Force Survey)

Figure 4.16 - Poles leaving to find employment for more than 2 months between 2000 and 2007



Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (Labour Force Survey)

Table 4.6 - Polish citizens staying abroad for over two months in total and leaving for work by destination country (in per cent)

Destination country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Emigrants in total								
Germany	35	37	34	31	29	25	20	16
USA	19	23	19	20	19	11	11	7
Italy	6	8	14	13	11	12	8	8
UK	4	7	7	9	11	20	31	32
Ireland	0	0	0	0	3	6	7	12
Sweden	0	0	1	2	3	2	1	2
Emigrants leaving to find employment								
Germany	36	40	37	33	30	25	20	17
USA	20	19	16	15	17	10	8	6
Italy	8	9	15	15	13	13	8	8
UK	4	6	5	7	7	20	33	33
Ireland	0	0	0	1	3	7	8	12
Sweden	0	0	1	1	3	2	1	2

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (Labour Force Survey)

Table 4.7 - Polish citizens staying abroad for more than 2 months in total and leaving for work by destination countries (in thousands) between 2002 and 2007

Destination country	Length of stay abroad (in months)											
	From 2 to 11						12 and more					
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007*	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007*
Migrants in total												
Total	102	105	153	168	226	291	77	92	85	96	163	246
Austria	4	2	5	2	4	6	1	1	2	4	4	5
Belgium	6	4	3	2	1	3	1	2	1	2	5	6
France	3	6	5	7	1	9	1	3	8	6	5	6
Germany	45	41	51	47	47	46	15	21	19	20	32	41
Ireland	0	1	4	9	18	37	0	0	2	6	11	27
Italy	14	12	18	20	15	20	11	13	9	12	15	23
The Netherlands	4	3	3	5	9	23	5	5	3	1	3	9
Spain	3	4	6	5	5	7	2	3	4	4	5	3
Sweden	2	1	6	4	3	5	0	2	1	2	2	5
The UK	4	9	18	40	80	102	8	8	7	12	41	69
USA	9	16	22	11	16	10	25	24	24	19	25	28
Others	8	6	12	16	27	23	8	10	5	8	15	24
including: migrants to seek employment												
Total	86	83	126	148	208	267	56	66	67	77	145	225
Austria	3	1	4	2	3	5	1	1	1	3	4	5
Belgium	5	3	3	2	1	3	1	2	1	2	4	5
France	3	5	4	5	4	8	0	2	8	5	4	4
Germany	41	33	44	42	43	44	12	16	14	14	29	38
Ireland	0	1	4	9	18	34	0	0	2	6	11	27
Italy	12	10	17	17	14	18	10	12	9	12	15	20
The Netherlands	4	2	3	5	9	20	4	4	3	1	3	9
Spain	3	4	6	5	4	7	2	3	4	3	5	3
Sweden	2	1	4	3	3	4	0	1	1	2	2	5
The UK	4	7	10	36	33	98	3	3	4	9	38	63
USA	5	9	15	8	9	8	18	14	17	15	18	22
Others	4	7	12	14	67	18	5	8	3	5	12	24

* According the Central Statistical Office's classification from 1 January 2007 short-term migrants stayed abroad not less than 3 months, but less than a year.

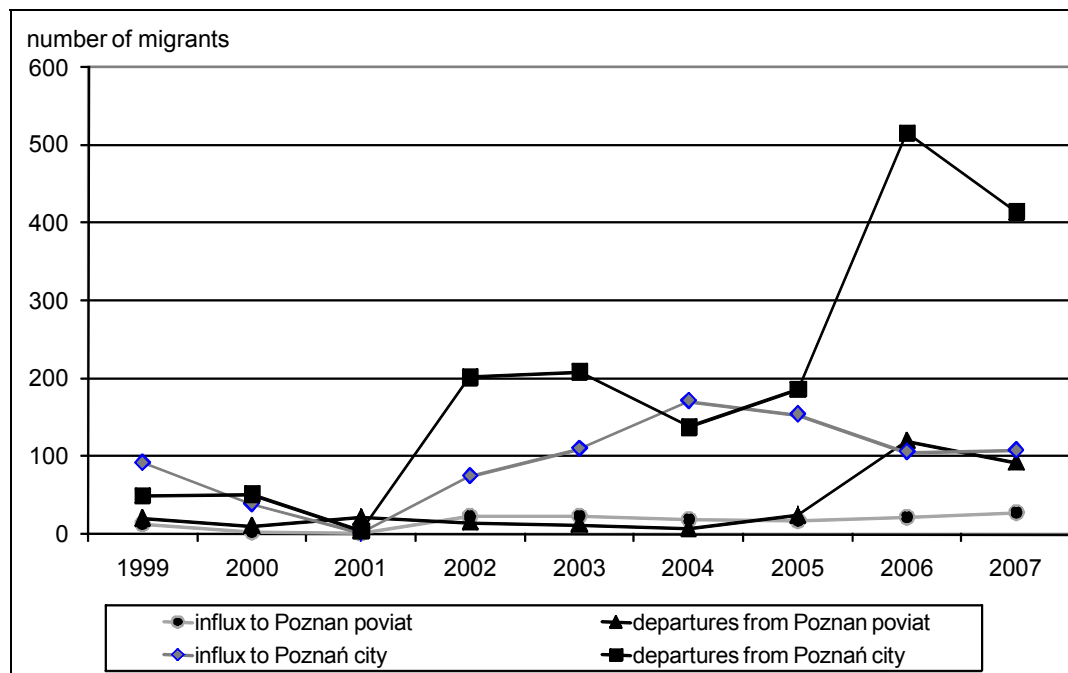
Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (Labour Force Survey)

5 FOREIGN MIGRATION IN THE POZNAN METROPOLITAN REGION

As already mentioned, data on foreign migrations that comes from population registers (official data) does not reflect the actual extent of these migrations. Data considered to be the most valuable comes from the Labour Force Survey. However, it must be noted that the lowest level at which the Survey is generated is voivodship. In turn, valuable data obtained from the 2002 National Census is becoming more and more outdated. Shortages of available statistical data imply the degree of how detailed studies should be and make it difficult for researchers to analyse the phenomenon of foreign migration on lower levels, i.e. at commune or poviát level.

Between 1999 and 2007 the turnover of migrants between Poznan city and Poznan poviát stood at 3,101 people, with 1,001 incoming people (registered for permanent residence after returning from abroad) and 2,100 outgoing people (notification to the relevant authorities of a change of their address) (Table 5.1). As a result, the Poznan metropolitan region recorded a loss of 1,099 people due to the exchange (-915 in the city of Poznan, -184 in the Poznan poviát).

Figure 5.1 - Influx, departures and the balance of foreign migrations in the city of Poznan and in Poznan poviát between 1999 and 2007



Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

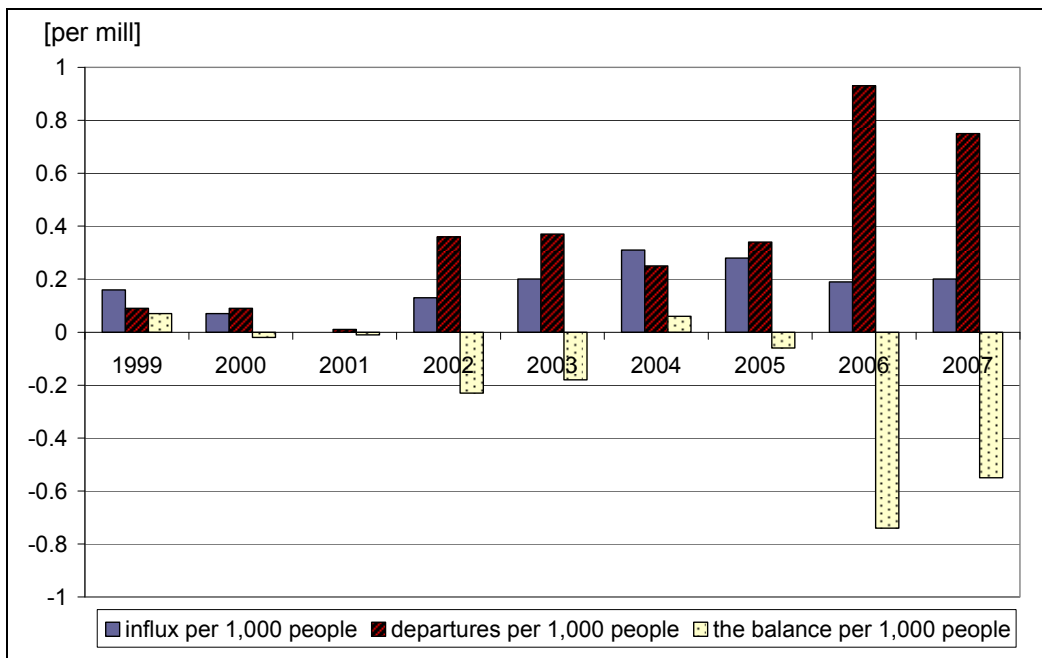
In the last two years of the period in question, i.e. 2006 and 2007, the city of Poznan and Poznan powiat recorded a higher than usual number of people leaving them. In 2005 the number of emigrants from Poznan more than doubled, and from Poznan powiat (as a whole) it rose by a factor of 4 (see Figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5).

Table 5.1 - Foreign migrations in the Poznan metropolitan region between 1999 and 2007

Years		1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Poznan city	Registrations for residency including	92	39	2	75	110	171	154	106	108
	men	45	25	0	38	54	83	72	50	54
	women	47	14	2	37	56	88	82	56	54
	Notifications of a change of address including	50	52	5	202	209	138	187	515	414
	men	18	21	4	100	80	64	76	292	248
	women	32	31	1	102	129	74	111	223	166
	Balance of migration including	42	-13	-3	-127	-99	33	-33	-409	-306
	men	27	4	-4	-62	-26	19	-4	-242	-194
	women	15	-17	1	-65	-73	14	-29	-167	-112
	Poznan powiat	Registrations for residency including	13	2	1	22	23	18	17	21
men		7	2	1	13	9	7	12	14	15
women		6	0	0	9	14	11	5	7	12
Notifications of a change of address including		21	11	22	16	13	8	25	120	92
men		11	6	11	7	6	4	11	65	47
women		10	5	11	9	7	4	14	55	45
Balance of migration including		-8	-9	-21	6	10	10	-8	-99	-65
men		-4	-4	-10	6	3	3	1	-51	-32
women		-4	-5	-11	0	7	7	-9	-48	-33
Poznan metropolitan region		Registrations for residency including	105	41	3	97	133	189	171	127
	men	52	27	1	51	63	90	84	64	69
	women	53	14	2	46	70	99	87	63	66
	Notifications of a change of address including	71	63	27	218	222	146	212	635	506
	men	29	27	15	107	86	68	87	357	295
	women	42	36	12	111	136	78	125	278	211
	Balance of migration including	34	-22	-24	-121	-89	43	-41	-508	-371
	men	23	0	-14	-56	-23	22	-3	-293	-226
	women	11	-22	-10	-65	-66	21	-38	-215	-145

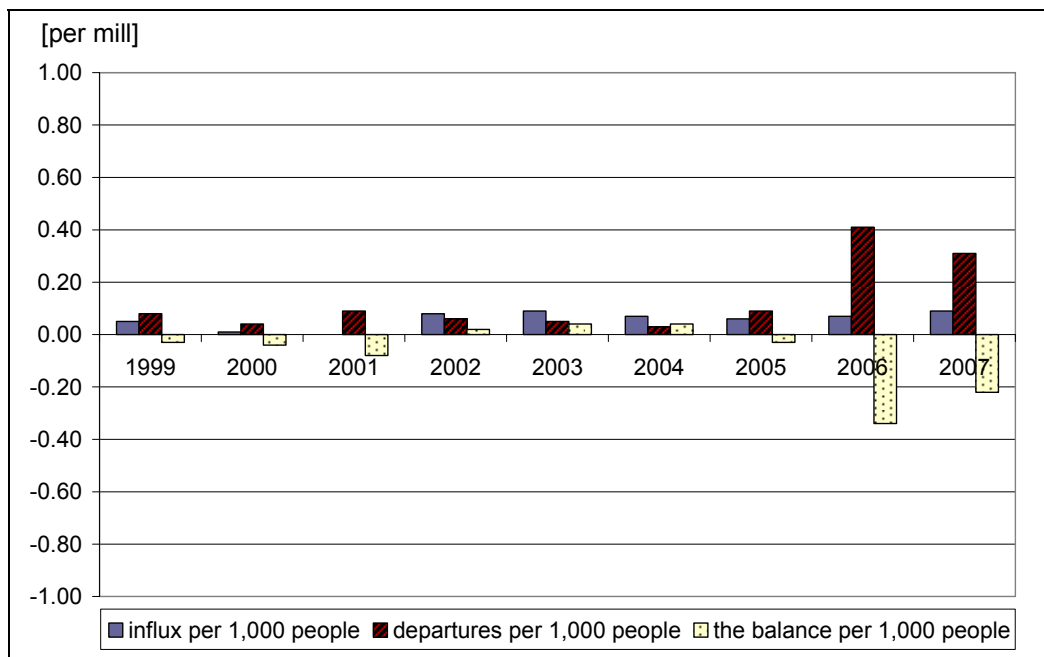
Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

Figure 5.2 - Ratios of people incoming to and outgoing from the Poznan city as well as the balance of foreign migrations between 1999 and 2007 (in per mill)



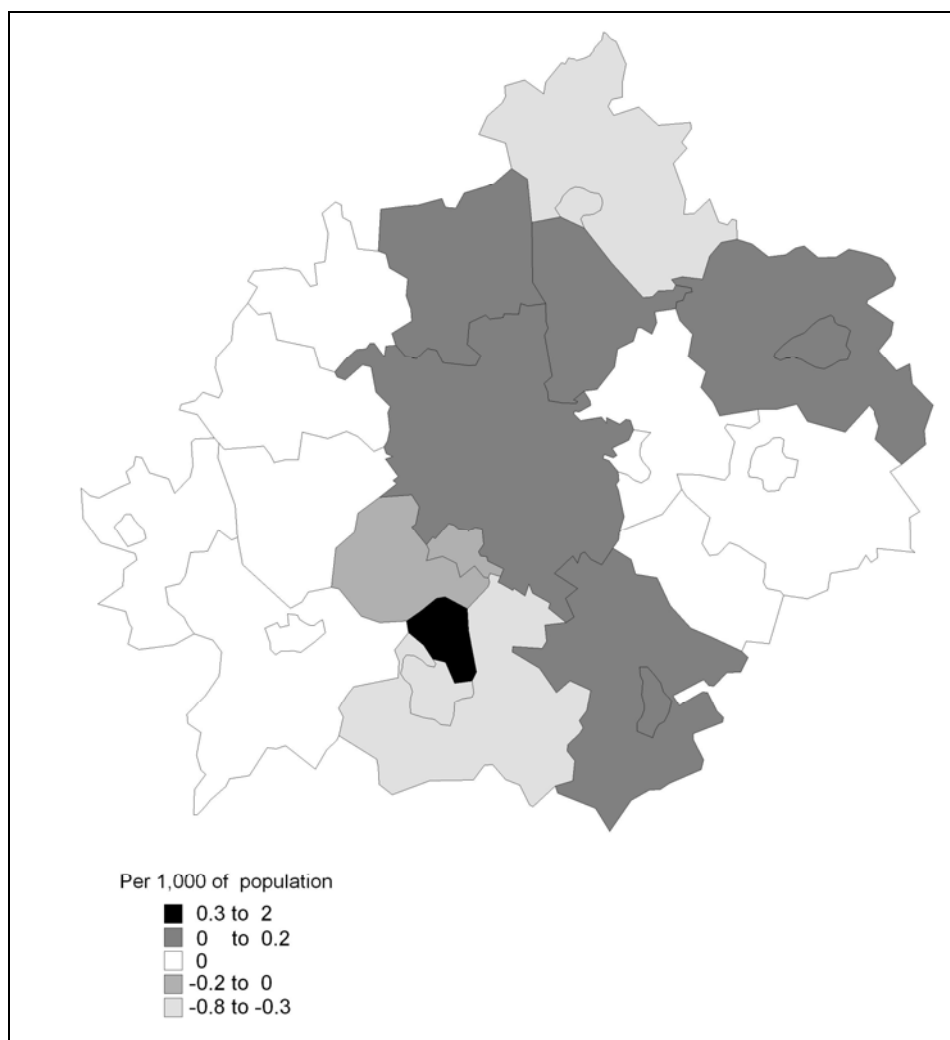
Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

Figure 5.3 - Ratios of people incoming to and outgoing from Poznan poviat as well as the balance of foreign migrations between 1999 and 2007 (in per mill)



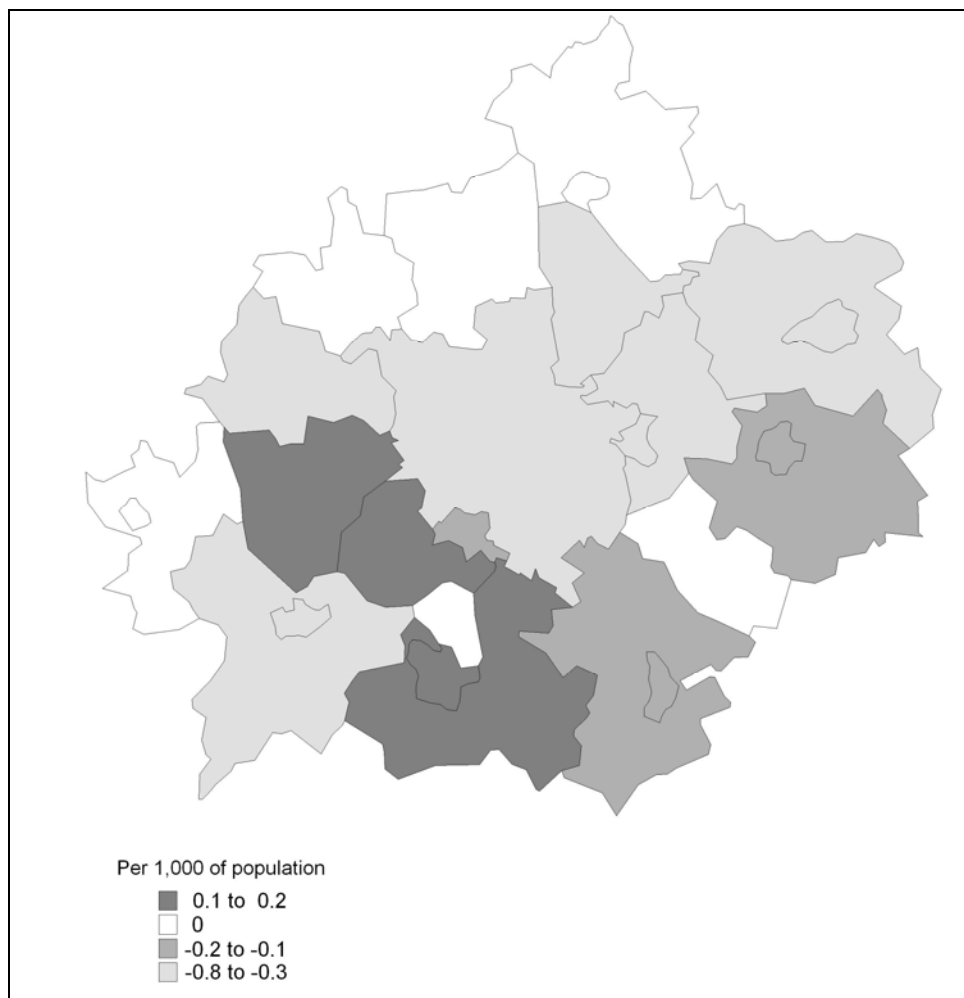
Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

Figure 5.4 - The ratio of foreign migration balance in the Poznan metropolitan region in 1999 (in per mill)



Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

Figure 5.5 - The ratio of foreign migration balance in the Poznan metropolitan region in 2007 (in per mill)



Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

Analysing the data on foreign migrations between particular communes of Poznan poviat and foreign countries, it is worth pointing out that these flows were insignificant, and did not exceed 10 people a year (both incoming and outgoing). Among the communes who recorded highest than ever numbers of incoming and outgoing people are the town of Swarzędz and the communes of Pobiedziska and Mosina (these figures had the biggest influence on the figures for the whole Poznan poviat) (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 - Foreign migrations in the Poznan metropolitan region between 1995 and 2007

		1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Poznan metropolitan region	Registrations for residency	105	41	3	97	133	189	171	127	135
	Notifications of a change of address	71	63	27	218	222	146	212	635	506
	Balance	34	-22	-24	-121	-89	43	-41	-508	-371
Poznan city	Registrations for residency	92	39	2	75	110	171	154	106	108
	Notifications of a change of address	50	52	5	202	209	138	187	515	414
	Balance	42	-13	-3	-127	-99	33	-33	-409	-306
Poznan powiat	Registrations for residency	13	2	1	22	23	18	17	21	27
	Notifications of a change of address	21	11	22	16	13	8	25	120	92
	Balance	-8	-9	-21	6	10	10	-8	-99	-65

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

As the biggest and strongest urban region in the voivodship of Wielkopolska, Poznan has attracted not only immigrants from the country, but also from abroad. According to data obtained from the 2002 Census, about 1,500 people from abroad came to live in Poznan permanently between 1989 and 2002, which constituted about 37 per cent of foreign migration influx in the voivodship of Wielkopolska and about 47 per cent of influx to cities of this voivodship (Table 5.3). In the same period about 358 foreigners settled permanently in Poznan powiat. In the structure of the foreign population of Poznan there were slightly more women (as is the case for the voivodship and the country).

Table 5.3 - Population of Poznan in 2002 who came to live in the city between 1989 and 2002 by previous place of residence, gender and year of arrival

Year of arrival	Total	Previous place of residence in Poland	Previous place of residence abroad
Total	62,182	60,718	1,464
1989-1992	10,735	10,304	431
1993-1995	9,178	8,877	301
1996-2002	41,054	40,329	725
Not specified	1,215	1,208	7
Men	28,121	27,409	712
1989-1992	4,889	4,673	216
1993-1995	4,028	3,875	153
1996-2002	18,671	18,329	342
Not specified	533	532	1
Women	34,061	33,309	752
1989-1992	5,846	5,631	215
1993-1995	5,150	5,002	148
1996-2002	22,383	22,000	383
Not specified	682	676	6

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

Table 5.4 - Population of Poznan by gender and declared nationality in 2002

Declared nationality	Total	Men	Women
Total	578,886	269,899	308,987
Polish	561,702	261,697	300,005
Not Polish	1,180	615	565
Not specified	16,004	7,587	8,417

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

The results of the Census showed that the overwhelming majority of migrants (i.e. 82.2 per cent) who had come to the Wielkopolska voivodship to be settled permanently in 1989 and 2002 were Polish. The remaining 17.4 per cent were foreigners. On the basis of that one can infer indirectly that Poznan had more Polish migrants.

The 2002 Census registered 2,040 foreign immigrants in the Wielkopolska voivodship, including 719 short-term immigrants (staying here from 2 to 12 months) and 1,321 long-term immigrants (staying in the region 12 months or longer). More than 71 per cent of temporary immigrants to the voivodship of Wielkopolska were foreigners, among whom there were the most Ukrainians (Germans and Russians, subsequently). Immigrants who stayed in the Wielkopolska voivodship in 2002 said that they had emigrated because of family affairs (32 per cent), employment (25 per cent) and education (19 per cent). Family affairs were the most frequent reason for long-term immigrants and education (studies) for short-term ones.

As to the voivodship (2,040 people) the most immigrants in 2002 stayed in city of Poznan (973 people, i.e. 47.7 per cent) and in Poznan powiat (6.8 per cent), which confirms that the Poznan agglomeration is attractive for potential migrants.

Table 5.5 – Immigrants to and emigrants from the Wielkopolska voivodship staying abroad for over 2 months by gender and duration of their stay in 2002

Specification	Total			Cities			Rural areas		
	Total	M*	W*	Total	M	W	Total	M	W
Immigrants staying for over 2 months									
Voivodship	2,040	1,131	909	1,632	893	739	408	238	170
Poznan city	973	545	428	973	545	428	–	–	–
Poznan powiat	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Including immigrants staying for 12 months or longer									
Voivodship	1,321	757	564	1,082	614	468	239	143	96
Poznan city	638	380	258	638	380	258	–	–	–
Poznan powiat	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Emigrants staying for over 2 months									
Voivodship	22,697	9,839	12,858	15,828	6,641	9,187	6,869	3,198	3,671
Poznan city	4,248	1,732	2,516	4,248	1,732	2,516	–	–	–
Poznan powiat	1,363	565	798	739	297	442	624	268	356
Including emigrants staying for 12 months or longer									
Voivodship	16,202	6,607	9,595	11,510	4,616	6,894	4,692	1,991	2,701
Poznan city	3,088	1,257	1,831	3,088	1,257	1,831	–	–	–
Poznan powiat	1,030	412	618	554	214	340	476	198	278

*M- men, W- women

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office

The results of the 2002 National Census show that 22,700 people living permanently in the Wielkopolska voivodship stayed abroad for longer than 2 months (Table 5.5). 71.4 per cent of them were long-term migrants. In the structure of emigrants there were more women (57 per cent). Emigrants from Poznan (emigration longer than 2 months) constituted 18.7 per cent (4,248 people) of all emigrants from the Wielkopolska voivodship, including long-term emigrants who constituted 13.6 per cent (3,088 people) (Table 5.6, Figure 5.6).

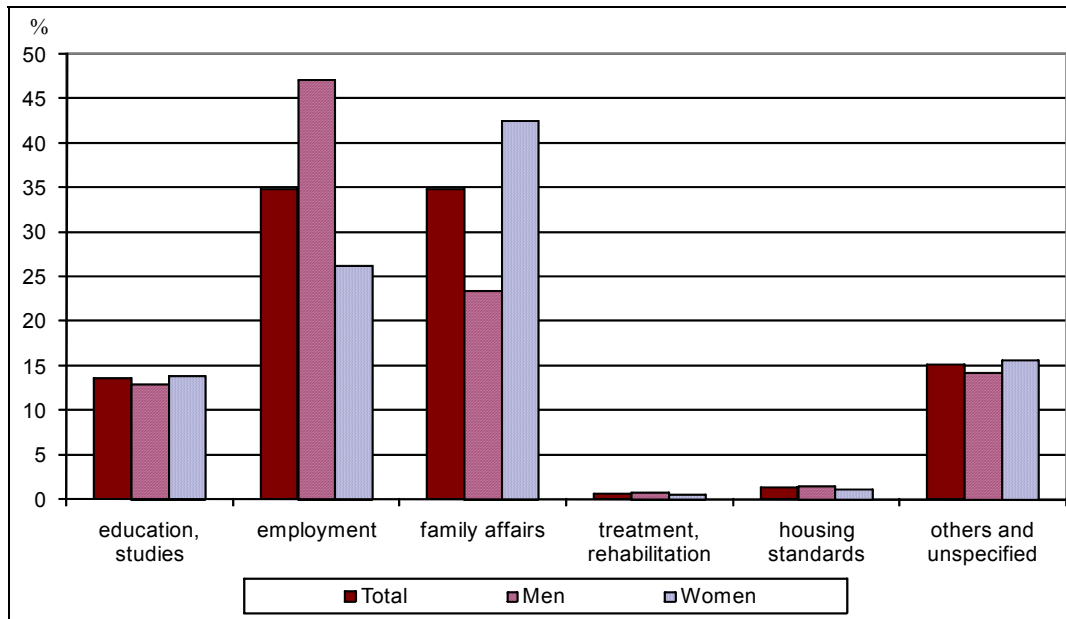
Table 5.6 - Emigrants from the city of Poznan staying abroad for 12 months or longer by reasons of emigration, gender and economic age group in 2002

Economic age groups	Reasons for emigration						
	Total	Education, studies	Work	Family affairs	Treatment, rehabilitation	Standards of accommodation	Others and not specified
Total	3,088	417	1,073	1,073	20	39	466
Pre-working age	285	27	31	163	–	5	59
Working age including mobile	2,700	390	1,032	868	10	33	367
non-mobile	2,016	379	693	662	7	24	251
Retirement age	684	11	339	206	3	9	116
Not specified	99	–	10	41	10	1	37
Men	1,257	163	592	294	10	19	179
Pre-working age	149	14	17	92	–	4	22
Working age including mobile	1,086	149	570	196	5	15	151
non-mobile	762	144	366	144	4	11	93
Retirement age	324	5	204	52	1	4	58
Not specified	22	–	5	6	5	–	6
Women	1,831	254	481	779	10	20	287
Pre-working age	136	13	14	71	–	1	37
Working age including mobile	1,614	241	462	672	5	18	216
non-mobile	1,254	235	327	518	3	13	158
Retirement age	360	6	135	154	2	5	58
Not specified	77	–	5	35	5	1	31
	4	–	–	1	–	–	3

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

For all Poznan's citizens (also for citizens of Wielkopolska voivodship in total) employment and family affairs were the main reasons for them going abroad. Employment was the most frequent reason of long-term migrations for men rather than women. In the group of women, most of them emigrated because of family affairs; they also emigrated to study or to raise their qualifications.

Figure 5.6 - Emigrants from Poznan staying abroad for 12 months or longer by reasons of emigration and gender in 2002



Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

Among emigrants from Poznan who stayed abroad for more than 2002, a group of people in their mobile working age (18-44) was the most prevalent (67 per cent). Women constituted 61.6 per cent of the group. Women with higher and secondary education were the most mobile (there were more women with higher than secondary education).

Table 5.7 - Population of Poznan staying abroad temporarily for over 2 months by education, economic age group and gender in 2002

Including people with the following type of education							
Specification	Total	higher	post- secondary	secondary	vocational	primary and lower	not specified
Staying abroad for over 2 months							
Total	4,248	1,510	222	1,381	364	300	276
Incl those in their mobile working age*	2,856	1,094	177	1,058	271	114	142
non-mobile working age	868	384	41	266	74	13	90
Men	1,732	609	64	498	201	150	111
Incl those in their mobile working age*	1,094	382	51	384	159	60	58
non-mobile working age	413	217	12	103	39	6	36
Women	2,516	901	158	883	163	150	165
Incl those in their mobile working age*	1,762	712	126	674	112	54	84
non-mobile working age	455	167	29	163	35	7	54
Including those abroad for 12 months and longer							
Total	3,088	1,087	148	976	261	231	243
Incl those in their mobile working age*	2,016	757	118	727	198	84	132
non-mobile working age	684	308	30	209	55	11	71
Men	1,257	444	42	356	132	116	98
Incl those in their mobile working age *	762	265	33	267	102	41	54
non-mobile working age	324	172	9	80	29	5	29
Women	1,831	643	106	620	129	115	145
Incl those in their mobile working age*	1,254	492	85	460	96	43	78
non-mobile working age	360	136	21	129	26	6	42

*working age 18-59/64 years (18-64 years for men, and 18-59 years for women), including mobile working age (18-44) and non-mobile working age 45-59/64 (45-64 for men, 45-59 for women).

Source: own compilation based on data provided by the Central Statistical Office (National Population and Housing Census 2002)

6 FOREIGN STUDENTS IN THE POZNAN METROPOLITAN REGION

6.1 The migration of students to academic centres

For centuries, academic centres, especially those biggest and most renowned ones in the education market, have been the destination of the academic migration of young people from the nearest region, the same country or foreign countries. Student influx to an academic centre stems not only from it being attractive as a place of study, but also from a city itself being attractive as a place of residence and for leisure. In a longer perspective, the city in which the young people study is their first place of work, initially casual or seasonal. With time, after their studies have been completed, the city becomes the major job market for graduates, which means that seasonal migration (education) turns into permanent migration, connected with a place of work (economic migration).

A city's academic functions, even if they reach beyond a particular region or country, are not the only prerequisite of the city's development. These functions, however, may be a necessary prerequisite for the city to become a metropolis and maintain its competitive edge at home and abroad. Universities and colleges create a specific intellectual and cultural atmosphere of the city, influencing its creativity. Students together with their teachers are a source of innovative solutions. An academic city bustles with life, is more open in terms of sociology, culture and also economy. It is linked with cooperation prospects with other economic sectors in the city which determine their development and influence its international status.

The results of the ACRE project to date indicate that students' migrations are a significant component of 'personal trajectories' which – in turn – are one of the most important development factors of the creative knowledge sector in many European metropolitan regions, including Poznan.

As estimated, about 2 million young people study outside Poland, and by 2020 this number is expected to rise to 6 million (Lambert, Butler, 2007). Foreign student influx to universities and colleges is one of the basic factor influencing their academic potential and level of teaching. In many rankings it is the number of foreign students studying in a particular university that confirms its international character and attractiveness. Schools of higher education are assessed on the basis of their prestige, research power, conditions of studies and the degree to which they are internationalised. These four features form the basis of all rankings on a country level (e.g. of those carried out by the 'Perspektywy' magazine or the Polityka weekly). So far the internationalisation of studies is not such an important factor in international rankings. This particular criterion is not taken into consideration in the most prestigious Shanghai Jiao Tong University Academic Ranking of 500 World Universities (www.arwu.org/rank), which takes into account strictly academic factors. The second most prestigious ranking of higher education schools, i.e. the one of British weekly The Times (The Times Higher-QS World University Rankings Top 200, www.timeshighereducation.co.uk),

however, takes consideration the number of international staff and student. The EU is preparing a project of a ranking of European universities (Brussels Ranking) which would appear in 2010. The ranking would consider the internationalisation of studies and foreign student migration, including Erasmus students', in a greater degree than others so far. It would reflect the European model of education at universities which realises assumptions of Bologna process (Marshall, 2008, New Ranking Scheme For Universities).

For cities themselves the fact that they have a big number of international students increases their prestige, generates revenue and helps develop services relevant to students. If it is assumed that part of students stay in the city or country where they have completed their studies, one can infer that education migration is the beginning for work migration, because the city as a place of study is at the same time an extensive labour market which enables graduates to find a job and, later, offer promotion opportunities. Education migration can also turn into matrimonial migration. During studies young people set up their families. Big academic centres in which thousands of young people study are huge "matrimonial markets" offering students more chances to find their spouse than anywhere else. Big cities are also considerable housing markets in which young people from smaller towns, poorer regions and countries are given the opportunities to raise their standard of accommodation.

For the last decade the number of international students studying in Polish universities and the number of countries that they come from has still been rising. There has also been an increase in the ratio of international students and the total of all students in Poland. The factors that have contributed to the growth of the internationalisation of studies include:

- solving the problem of mutual recognition of diplomas and titles for academic purposes;
- developing a formal and legal framework of principles for maintaining contacts with foreign universities, especially when it comes to partnership agreements;
- extending curricula with subjects taught in foreign languages, including international programmes;
- creating favourable conditions of studying for foreigners;
- developing government scholarship programmes;
- implementing assumptions of the Bologna Process;
- developing international scholarship programmes, especially EU-subsidised ones;

What plays the most crucial role in the process of the internationalisation of studies and the increase in the number of students in Polish universities is the adapting of the system of studies to assumptions of the Bologna Process. Under the Bologna Declaration of 1999 an advance in legal regulations enables creating the European Higher Education Area, whose objective is, among others, to develop conditions conducive to the free movement of students and university staff. Since 1998 Poland has been an active participant of the Socrates/Erasmus Programme (LLP Erasmus since 2007), which has contributed to a dramatic increase of foreign migration within European countries. In the case of Poland, the number of people participating in the Erasmus Programme rose from 220 in the 1998/99 academic year to 996 in the 2002/2003 and to 3,730 in the 2006/2007 academic year.

6.2 Poznan's significance as an academic centre

Poznan is one of the most important academic centres in Poland in terms of both the number of students as well as available faculties and the qualifications of academic staff and the level of education. In the country the city ranks fourth, following Warszawa, Kraków and Wrocław, considering the number of students, and second (together with Kraków), considering the number of higher education schools. There are 230 students per 1,000 inhabitants, which makes Poznan come first among big Polish cities. That means that 133,000 students constitute 23 per cent of the inhabitants. Therefore, academic functions belong to basic ones in the city and confirm its high position among all other similar centres in Poland.

In Polish universities rankings (e.g. 4th International Colleges and Universities Ranking, the weekly *Polityka* ranking and the education monthly 'Perspektywy' ranking), Poznan schools of higher education have high positions in their categories. These rankings take into consideration, among other things, a university's prestige, its research potential, conditions of studies, the degree of computerisation as well as the internationalisation of studies (www.perspektywy.pl). In a ranking of all Polish universities, Adam Mickiewicz University comes third (following University of Warsaw and the Jagiellonian University in Kraków). In terms of the internationalisation of universities, the following are taken into account: the number of students participating in the exchange programmes, the number of faculties teaching their subjects in foreign languages, the number of people studying in foreign languages, the number of courses (lectures) offered in foreign languages, the multicultural character of academic environment, i.e. the ratio of international students to one Polish student.

In 2005 Adam Mickiewicz University was given the Stańczyk Reward of the Education World magazine for implementing EU educational programmes. In 2008 two Poznan universities: Adam Mickiewicz University and Poznan University of Economics were winners of the Foundation for the Development of the Education System's competition entitled "The Leader of Movement" for developing 'Erasmus' foreign exchange programmes between 1998 and 2008 (there were 5 prize winners in the country).

Poznan's 25 (including 8 public ones) universities are places of study for 133,000 students, with 1,600 foreigners. To compare, in 1989 there were about 34,000 students in 8 universities and merely about 200 foreigners. Between 1990 and 2008 as many as 18 universities were created (all of them private), and the number of students rose by a factor of 4. Economy seems to be a prevailing faculty in the newly created schools, which allows gaining knowledge indispensable in management, banking and business.

Almost 60 per cent of students come from outside Poznan, mainly from the Wielkopolska voivodship and northern-western Poland, for which the city is the main academic centre. Academic staff amounts to 7,600 people, including nearly 900 professors. Every year 25,000 students graduate from the city's universities.

The most important and biggest universities in Poznan are public. These include: Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan University of Technology, Poznan University of Economics, Poznan University of Life Sciences, Poznan University of Medical Sciences and Eugeniusz

Piasecki University of Physical Education. Adam Mickiewicz University, the biggest one in the city, educates 52,000 students, i.e. 1 out of 3 in Poznan.

There are also 5 private higher education schools in which students can pursue a master's degree. The most renowned ones are Poznan School of Banking and the School of Humanities and Journalism, which have 119 faculties in total. Full-time courses are the most popular form of education – they are taken by almost half students. However, as non-public education is developing, the number has been decreasing (in 1990 75 per cent of students took such courses). It is also worth mentioning that the number of people who start extra-mural, evening and external studies is growing.

Poznan universities are popular beyond region level, which is confirmed by the fact that about 60 per cent of students come from outside Poznan as well as the fact that as many as 10 schools educate students in 27 branches and schools located elsewhere. They educate the total of 27,000 people. Recent years have seen a considerable development in research and methodological facilities, e.g. Adam Mickiewicz University has created a state-of-the-art campus at Morasko in the city fringe. Almost all state universities can boast new impressive buildings. Non-public schools also extend and improve their didactic facilities, which is exemplified by the main office of the School of Humanities and Journalism, which has actually been built from scratch.

Poznan is a major research and scientific centre in Poland: research is conducted not only by schools of higher education, but also by almost 50 scientific research institutions, including 23 research and development units (these are, among others, the Wood Technology Institute, the Institute of Natural Fibres, the Institute of Logistics and Warehousing, the Rail Vehicles Institute, the Central Laboratory of Batteries and Cells) and 18 research units of the Polish Academy of Sciences (e.g. the Institute of Bioorganic Chemistry, the Institute of Molecular Physics, the Institute of Human Genetics, the Institute of Plant Genetics). There are also other institutions such as the Institute of Communications and IT Technologies, the Institute for Western Affairs, the State Archive, Poznan Scientific and Technology Park of AMU Foundation, which deals with knowledge transfer between science and economy.

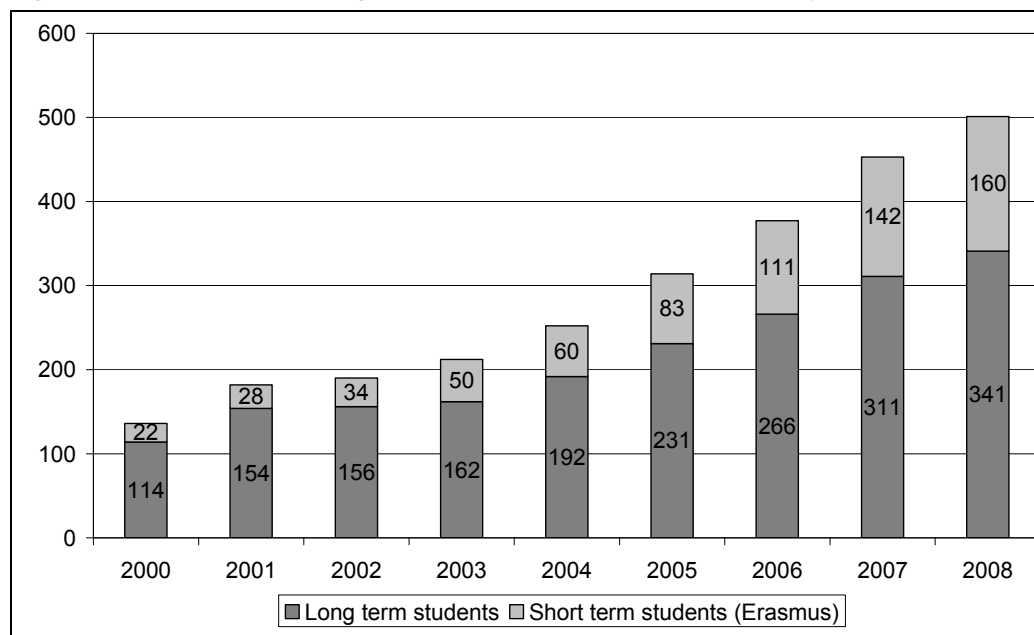
Since 2006 Poznan authorities have been implementing the programme “Academic Poznan”, whose aim is to aid universities when it comes to didactics as well as research and development. These factors determine the city's prestige and popularity and are conducive to its development. “Academic Poznan” is to attract teachers of new specialisations, organise lectures to be delivered by renowned professionals (including Noble prize winners) and preparing lectures in new specialisations.

6.3 Foreigners studying in Poznan

There are about 1,600 foreigners studying in Poznan each year, which is about 2.5 per cent of the total of the city's full-time students (data from the 2007/2008 academic year). 1,200 of them attend full-time courses which last 3-5 years. They come from 64 countries, some of them exotic, e.g. Nepal, Indonesia, Cameroon, Zambia or Zimbabwe. Every second student comes from European countries, every fourth from North America, every fifth from Asia. About 400 students are staying in the city for a short period of time, attending the Erasmus exchange programme. These are mainly from EU countries.

The number of foreign students coming to Poznan universities is growing by the year. It can be exemplified by Adam Mickiewicz University, the biggest university in the city (Figure 6.1). Foreign students constitute about 1 per cent of the total of 50,000. Among 500 international students at the university in 2008, 340 (68 per cent) took full-time courses, pursuing their bachelor's, master's and doctoral degree, and 140 (32 per cent) short-term students attended one- or two-semester courses in the Erasmus programme.

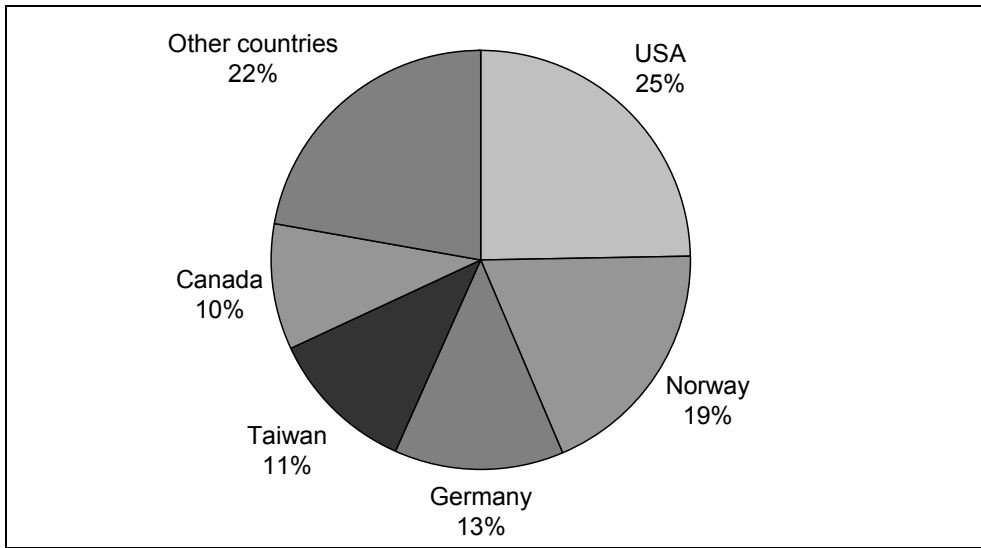
Figure 6.1 - The number of foreign students at Adam Mickiewicz University between 2000 and 2008



Source: own compilation based on data obtained from AMU's Department for Foreign Cooperation

The University of Medical Sciences has the highest number of international students – over 700 each year. It has prepared a broadly-based curriculum for full studies in the English language, one of the best of this type and Poland, which makes an attractive offer from students from the richest countries in the world. It is confirmed by a nationality structure of international students at the university (Figure 6.2). The highest number of them come from the United States (178 students), Norway (135), Germany (94), Taiwan (81) and Canada (70).

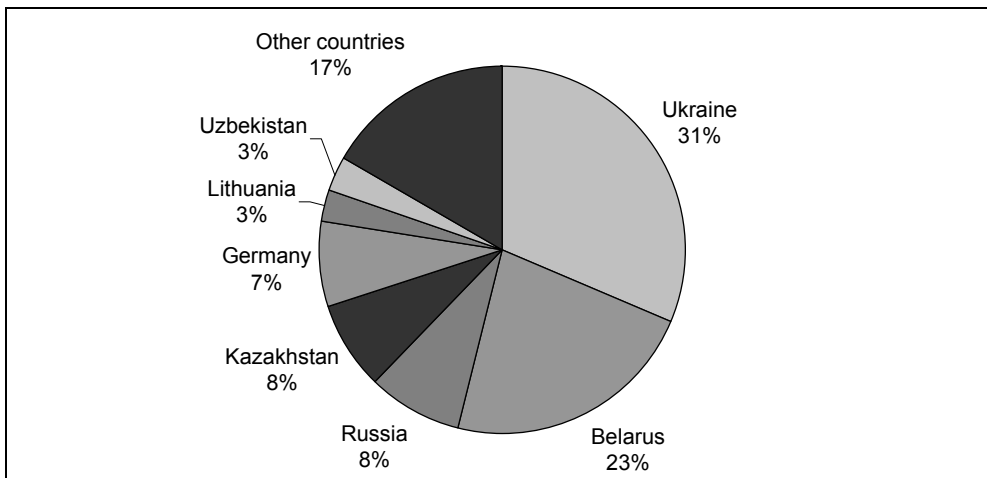
Figure 6.2 - International students at University of Medical Sciences by country of origin in 2007 (717 people)



Source: own compilation based on data obtained from AMU's Department for Foreign Cooperation

Almost 340 foreigners are studying at Adam Mickiewicz University 341 foreigners were studying during the 2008/2009 academic year. The university is the most attractive for those coming from countries of the former Soviet Union. It is interesting for Ukrainians (117), Belarusians (77), Russians (28) and Kazakhs (27) and Poland's neighbouring country – Germany (25). Among over 100 foreign students at Poznan University of Technology, the highest number of them comes from Germany. More than 50 foreigners study at Poznan University of Economics, and 40 – at the Academy of Hotel Management and Catering Industry. Figure 6.3 shows countries of origin of foreign students at Poznan's biggest university.

Figure 6.3 - International students at Adam Mickiewicz University by country of origin in 2008 (341 people)



Source: own compilation based on data obtained from AMU's Department for Foreign Cooperation

The reasons why Poznan is chosen as a city to study in are various: Polish descent, the willingness to get to know Europe, lower costs of studies and a relatively easy admission to a university. In the case of American, Western-European and part of Asian students, the main reason for them to study in Poznan are lower costs of education. To exemplify, the tuition fee at the University of Medical Sciences stands at 17,000 US dollars a year. For a lot of American students, who usually finance studies from their own resources, this is at least a half of what they would pay in their own country, where such studies cost about 40,000 US dollars a year. Many Americans are studying in Poland thanks to loans from the federal budget. For a student to obtain a loan, the university they want to study at must meet adequate requirements and adhere to high standards of education. These criteria are satisfied for the University of Medical Sciences. However, Eastern European students who wish to take up their studies in Poznan benefit from scholarships funded by the Polish government (these are mainly students from Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan) and basically choose humanities as their faculties.

An incoming period of population decline forces universities to compete for foreign students. It is likely that very soon people from China, India, Brazil and other distant countries may want to come to Poznan to study. Since 2008 Poznan University of Economics has been offering students holding a bachelor's degree two-year master's studies in the English language in the Department of Finance and Insurance and three-year studies in the Department of Management. Adam Mickiewicz University is preparing an offer of studies for a couple of hundred of students from East and South Asia, mainly from China and India, and their recruitment takes place at education fairs, usually in Beijing and Delhi, where the universities are promoted under the national programme "Study in Poland". In 2009 Adam Mickiewicz University predicts to recruit about 40 students from Taiwan who are going to take courses to prepare them to study in Poland.

6.4 Erasmus exchange programme students in Poznan

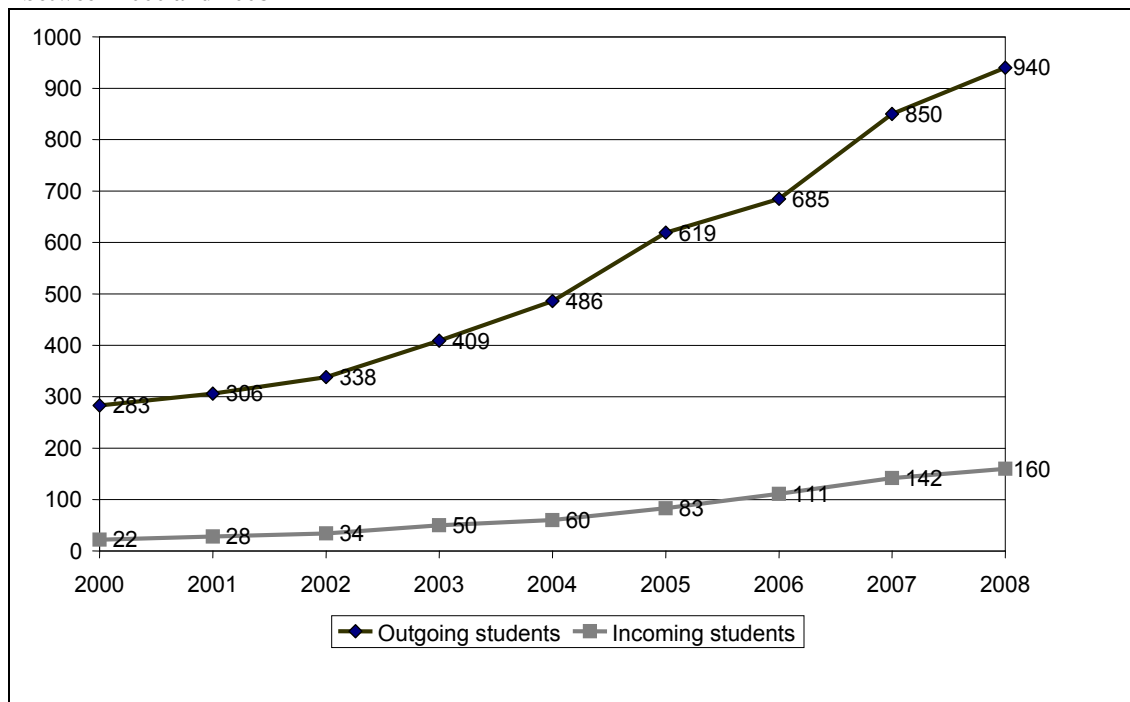
The LLP Erasmus Programme is a European initiative which enables a free movement of students to attend one- or two-semester courses outside their country of origin. It is possible thanks to the European Credit Transfer System, which guarantees the recognition of a student's stay abroad by their own university. In Western Europe the Erasmus Programme is more than 20 years old. In Poland, however, it started in 1998, since when Poznan universities have also been its beneficiaries (the Erasmus Programme has 18 participating universities in the city). EU scholarships help eliminate differences in costs of living among countries, which has been an important feature of the Programme since its very beginning. Thanks to this the Programme makes it possible to a considerable number of students to go to foreign universities. On the other hand, lower costs of living and an increasing range of lectures conducted in foreign languages attract international students. 32 European countries have made thousands of bilateral agreements concerning exchange of students among universities.

As is the case in all Polish universities, the disproportion between the number of Erasmus students going abroad and coming to Poland is also visible in Poznan. Data show that the differences in the whole country are as follows: 2007 saw 11,219 students going to study abroad, and 3,730 coming to Poland (www.erasmus.org.pl). When it comes to Poznan, the

number of people who went to study abroad stood at 1408, and there were 318 international students who wished to study in the city. Adam Mickiewicz University sent the most students – 685 people, Poznan University of Economics – 213, Poznan University of Technology – 201 people. In 2007 most foreigners came to Adam Mickiewicz University – 109, Poznan University of Economics – 84, Poznan University of Technology – 37 and the Academy of Fine Arts – 37 (www.erasmus.org.pl).

The growth of the dynamics between students going abroad and coming to Poland to attend the Erasmus Programme took place especially after 2004, when Poland joined the European Union. This can be observed for Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan's biggest university, which is one of Polish leaders in the Erasmus Programme (it ranks third, following the University of Warsaw and the Jagiellonian University). The 2008/2009 academic year saw 940 students of Adam Mickiewicz go abroad and 160 foreign students come to the university (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4 - The dynamics of outgoing and incoming Erasmus students at Adam Mickiewicz University between 2000 and 2008



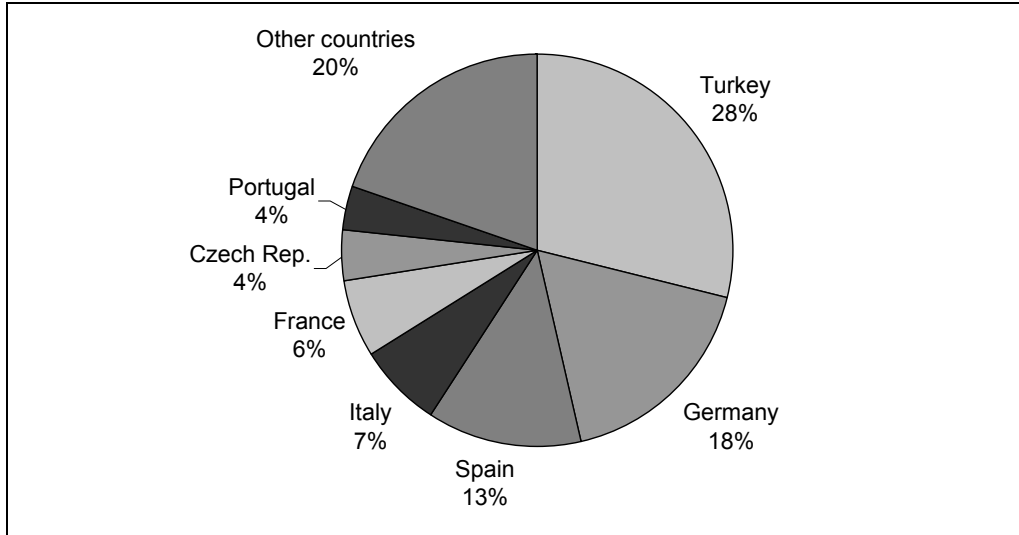
Source: own compilation based on data obtained from AMU's Department for Foreign Cooperation

The number of Erasmus students is rising by the year, which is caused by the fact that universities have the chance to promote themselves at international education fairs (e.g. in Brussels, Turin, Trondheim, Berlin, Antwerp and Kraków) and that there have been an increase in the number of lectures given in foreign languages. Data for 2008 show that Adam Mickiewicz University signed 300 bilateral agreements with 200 European universities (Figure 6.5). Students from Poznan go to most of them and dozens of foreign universities send theirs to Poznan. It is intensive cooperation which also relates to similar curricula as well as teacher and administrative staff movement.

Figure 6.5 - Erasmus Programme bilateral agreements between AMU and its foreign partners

Source: T. Kaczmarek, 2008.

The university's Erasmus students are recruited from 20 European countries. Turkish students have been the biggest group for the last two years. Adam Mickiewicz University has signed a dozen or so agreements with Turkish universities, thus becoming the university with the highest number of Turkish Erasmus students in Poland. The Erasmus Programme in Poland is also quite popular among students from Germany and Mediterranean countries: Spain, Italy, France and Portugal (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6 - AMU's LLP Erasmus students in 2007 (111 people in total)

Source: own compilation based on data obtained from AMU's Department for Foreign Cooperation

Recruiting foreign students to participate in the Erasmus Programmes encourages universities to develop the internationalisation of their curricula and raise their quality. For years now, public universities in Europe (which is suffering from population decline) have been competing for foreign students. Universities in Mediterranean countries are definitely the most attractive destination for students, not necessarily because they offer better curricula, but because they offer their incoming students good standard of living in places of tourist importance. Among European universities with the highest number of Erasmus students, there are 8 Spanish ones: from Madrid, Valencia, Granada, Barcelona, Salamanca and Seville; and 2 Italian ones: from Rome and Bologna (Erasmus – Success stories, 2007). Poznan universities do not appear in the first 300 of the ranking. When it comes to Erasmus students going abroad, Adam Mickiewicz University boast a high 39th place in Europe, following the universities in Louven or Göttingen, and preceding so big and renowned universities like the ones in Munich, Cologne or Milan (op. cit.). Numerous Poznan outgoing students means the promotion of the university and the growth of the number of incoming students by the year.

6.5 International students in Poznan – social and economic dimension

Students' living in a city has a significant economic and social impact on the way it functions. Economically speaking, it translates into greater revenue both for the city's and its inhabitants' budgets. Research on how the presence of students contributes to Poznan's development shows (Gaczek et al., 2006) that an average Poznan student spends from 750 to 1,500 złoty for a living monthly (ca. 200-500 euro). This means that all the students in the city spend the total of about 1.5 billion złoty (400 million euro), which amounts approximately to the city's budget. This sum includes costs of accommodation in students' houses or private accommodation (100-400 złoty a month), costs of meals, transport, education and entertainment. The city's students' houses have only 11,000 places, so most of students outside Poznan rent rooms or flats on their own. They also have to pay quite a significant

amount for public transport, photocopies and Internet access, books, stationery and computer materials. Assuming that foreign students constitute about 2.5 per cent of all full-time students, i.e. those who stay in the city permanently, their share in the city's revenue can be estimated to be more or less the same (it has to be noted that foreign students' expenditure, especially of those from Western countries, is usually bigger, considering them being far away from their families' homes).

There are several market segments that offer students their services and their viability and revenue is strictly related to students. These include: private accommodation, retail trade, restaurants and bars, cultural facilities such as museums, theatres and cinemas, discotheques, copy shops, public transport (buses and trams). Poznan ranks first as to the number of cinemas per 1,000 inhabitants (U. Kaczmarek 2008).

It is difficult, however, to pinpoint those services that are offered to foreign students only. Poznan has fast-food bars and restaurants frequently visited by international students (McDonald's, Pizza Hut) and restaurants with international cuisine (Asian, Arab, Turkish, Spanish, etc.). Several students clubs are of international character (e.g. Czynelnia, Pub Corner). They organise meetings for students, concerts, or the so called "national evenings" (e.g. "Discover Turkey with Erasmus Students"). Each year the city organises a lot of events with the help of foreign students, such as Erasmus Day, International Students Day.

Foreign students in Poznan feel good, which is confirmed by the growing number of them by the year as well as results of surveys that examined how they evaluated their stay in Poland (Figlewicz et al., 2006). The surveys were carried out in a dozen or so Polish universities and Poznan's incoming foreign students also took part (6 per cent of the whole sample, n=167). Most incoming students in Poland study in the English language (86 per cent; 22 per cent in the Polish language). They are willing to learn Polish (75 per cent of the surveyed people). As many as 97.6 per cent of foreign students said that their costs of studying in Poland were not higher than in their mother countries. When asked about their level of satisfaction derived from staying at a Polish university, 25 per cent said they were highly satisfied, and 48 per cent said they were quite satisfied. Only 4 per cent of foreign students said that their satisfaction was low or very low. As many as 97 per cent said they would recommend studies in Poland to their friends. When it comes to prospects of finding an attractive job in Poland, 6 per cent said they were very high, 33 per cent - high, 41 per cent - average, and 15 per cent as little or very little. These replies show that about 40 per cent are optimistic about career prospects and staying in Poland after they have completed their studies. However, there is no data as to whether these declarations have been implemented and whether foreign student short-term migration has turned into long-term migration of economic, accommodation or matrimonial character. The low number of foreign students in Poznan proves that its labour market has not yet been fully developed for them.

Interesting comparisons across Europe (the number of respondents – 7,754) are provided by a 2005 study by Krzaklewska and Krupnik (2005) of the Erasmus Student Network Organisation) on the level of satisfaction of Erasmus students after having studied abroad (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 - Level of satisfaction of Erasmus students having stayed at a foreign university in a particular country (the average 1 – being the lowest score and 5 – being the highest)

Respondents' country of studies	Atmosphere of the country/city where the hosting university is located	Contact with the culture of a given country	Contact with local students in a given country
Poland	4.45	3.99	3.54
The Czech Republic	4.44	3.91	3.38
Spain	4.43	3.91	3.31
Belgium	4.38	3.82	3.26
Italy	4.35	3.96	3.42
Germany	4.34	3.89	3.38
France	4.33	3.92	3.43
Denmark	4.32	3.82	3.26
Sweden	4.31	3.85	3.39
The Netherlands	4.30	3.83	3.33
The UK	4.29	3.83	3.31
Austria	4.60	3.94	3.57
Finland	4.22	3.80	3.35
Switzerland	4.18	3.75	3.25

Source: Krzaklewska, Krupnik (2005)

As shown in the table Erasmus students staying in Poland think highly of the atmosphere of the city and the country in which they study and their contact with its culture. In both the cases Polish academic centres ranked first among 14 surveyed countries (see also Figlewicz, Williams, 2005). The surveyed students were equally satisfied with contact with their Polish peers (ranked second, following Austria). Analogous studies carried out in Polish cities (Krupnik, Krzaklewska, 2006) have shown that in a five-degree scale Wrocław came first (with the average of 4.6), then Warszawa and Kraków (4.5), Poznań (4.3), Gdańsk and Katowice (4.2). These results confirm that the good atmosphere in Polish cities and universities, including Poznań, is conducive to foreign student migration.

7 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY; SELECTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE SAMPLE

The basic question examined in the research was the identification of factors that had decided the transnational migrants (ex-pats) to take up work in the creative knowledge sector of the Poznań metropolitan region. Another aim was to estimate the relative importance of the location factors that played a role in their decision-making process ('classic' factors, such as the presence of adequate and specialised labour, spatial accessibility or tax incentives, and 'soft' factors, such as the quality of space, atmosphere of the city and region, availability of high-quality residential space, etc.).

In order to obtain qualitative information related to the drivers behind the decision of transnational migrants to settle in the Poznań metropolitan region, use was made of the method of an individual in-depth interview (see Appendix). This is a typical method of collecting quantitative data to get an insight into matters that would elude examination by a standardised instrument, e.g. a questionnaire. When talking to a person, one can devote more time to issues that are more interesting from the cognitive point of view. An advantage of this approach is that the interviewee himself can touch upon matters the interviewer did not anticipate. The course of the interview can be imposed by the researcher proceeding with a list of issues to be dealt with, but it can also be chosen by the interviewee. Then the interviewer merely stimulates the conversation and allows the interlocutor to follow its various threads. In the interviews conducted for the present research, a list of issues (in the form of general questions) was employed. They were put to the interviewee and then, as the situation developed, several additional questions were asked, or the interviewee himself elaborated on new aspects of an issue. The interviews were held in 25 creative knowledge firms with highly skilled, talented and creative workers from abroad. All the interviewees had their own experience in living in Poznań metropolitan region and in working in the creative and knowledge-intensive sector. The data obtained are qualitative in nature, which disallows the quantification of, e.g., the frequency with which specified problems occurred. However, they do illustrate the role of location factors in the decision-making process of the creative-knowledge workers. As a result, they ensure an insight into the matter studied.

In-depth interviewing as a data generation method is 'the hallmark of qualitative research' (Rossman, Rallis 2003, p. 180). It is also a way to get rich and detailed data about how people view their worlds. For the purposes of this study, interviews could be considered conversations with a purpose (cf. Rossman, Rallis 2003). Daniels and Cannice (2004) suggest that interview-based studies are particularly well-suited when there is a small population of possible respondents and when there is a wish to acquire rich information from each respondent and a need to develop a deeper rapport with the informants. To obtain the intended data for the purposes of this study, a quantitative research approach was unsuitable.

To select the transnational migrants to be contacted, purposive sampling (also called theoretical sampling) was employed (cf. Mason 1996; Denzin, Lincoln 2000). In purposive sampling the parameters of the population are critically considered before choosing the sample. In this study the selection of interviewees was made on the basis of the relative importance of the sector in which they work. The selected transnational migrants were employed in the fields of:

- business and management consultancy,
- visual and performing arts, and
- higher education and knowledge.

The choice was made from among those entities whose activities were considered the most significant for the creative knowledge sector, not only in the Poznan metropolitan region, but in all the 13 metropolitan regions of Europe participating in the ACRE project.

Originally it was planned to base the analysis on 50 questionnaires completed by skilled international migrants. Due to the fact that in the PMR the number of creative, talented and highly skilled transnational migrants is limited, it was decided by the coordination team upon approval of the EU to change the methodology. Instead of 50 questionnaires, we carried out 25 semi-structured interviews with highly skilled migrants and 5 expert interviews (Table 7.1).

It was agreed that we should not only concentrate on the group of ex-pat migrants who had been sent to Poznan by their companies, but also on other highly skilled migrant groups. Managers and trans-national migrants who were not sent by their companies formed the main target groups of the research. In addition, it was agreed that the target groups of migrants and experts were not only asked about their housing situation but also about other factors that may have played a role in their decision to settle in the region.

Table 7.1 - Structure of the sample

	Subsector	Country of origin	Gender	Sector	Interview code
Transnational migrants (25)					
1.	Higher education and knowledge	Germany	M	Knowledge intensive industry	ACRE_WP7_01
2.	Business consultancy	Germany	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_04
3.	Visual and performing arts	Russia	F	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_06
4.	Higher education and knowledge	Germany	M	Knowledge intensive industry	ACRE_WP7_10
5.	Visual and performing arts	Ukraine	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_16
6.	Business consultancy	Germany	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_17
7.	Visual and performing arts	Spain	F	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_05
8.	Business consultancy	Germany	M	Knowledge intensive industry	ACRE_WP7_20
9.	Business consultancy	Spain	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_21
10.	Business consultancy	Turkey	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_29
11.	Visual and performing arts	France	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_22
12.	Business consultancy	Germany	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_11
13.	Higher education and knowledge	Japan	M	Knowledge intensive industry	ACRE_WP7_25
14.	Visual and performing arts	Germany	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_12
15.	Visual and performing arts	Bulgaria	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_28
16.	Business consultancy	USA	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_14
17.	Visual and performing arts	Belarus	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_27
18.	Higher education and knowledge	Ethiopia	M	Knowledge intensive industry	ACRE_WP7_23
19.	Visual and performing arts	Ukraine	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_15
20.	Higher education and knowledge	Venezuela	F	Knowledge intensive industry	ACRE_WP7_05
21.	Higher education and knowledge	Italy	M	Knowledge intensive industry	ACRE_WP7_07
22.	Visual and performing arts	Palestine	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_02
23.	Business Consultancy	Spain	M	Creative industry	ACRE_WP7_24
24.	Higher education and knowledge	Great Britain	M	Knowledge intensive industry	ACRE_WP7_08
25.	Higher education and knowledge	Great Britain	M	Knowledge intensive industry	ACRE_WP7_09
Experts (5)					
1.	Higher education and knowledge	Poland	M	-	ACRE_WP7_18
2.	Business consultancy	Poland	F	-	ACRE_WP7_13
3.	Business consultancy	Poland	F	-	ACRE_WP7_26
4.	Business consultancy	Poland	F	-	ACRE_WP7_03
5.	Business consultancy	Poland	M	-	ACRE_WP7_19

8 FACTORS DETERMINING CREATIVE KNOWLEDGE EMPLOYEES' DECISIONS TO MOVE ABROAD TO POZNAN

Employees of the creative knowledge sector belong to a social group which is subject to frequent migration movements (Florida 2002). Such people are typically more mobile and have an internal need to make changes, including those related to their place of residence as well as their workplace. This need drives them to meet new people, experience new places, different living and working conditions, and leads them to develop new creative and innovative solutions. The decisions of transnational migrants related to the choice of living place are in many cases the result of 'push' and 'pull' factors. The former include, for example, unemployment or deteriorating living conditions; the latter can relate to better job or educational opportunities in the receiving country as well as personal matters.

On the basis of the interviews conducted with creative knowledge employees, two groups of factors were identified that determine the migration of highly-qualified creative knowledge employees and managers to the PMR. These can be classified as follows:

1. Work or professional contacts;
2. Personal affairs or networks of friends.

The chapter consists of two parts on the basis of this division.

8.1 Work or professional contacts

A lot of work especially in the area of sociology (Cichocki, Podemski 1999) as well as previous research conducted under the ACRE project (see Stryjakiewicz et al. 2008 and Stryjakiewicz, Męczyński and Stachowiak 2008) have attempted to define factors that determine the choice of the PMR as a place of residence and work by creative knowledge employees and executive managers. However, the literature is mainly based on the opinions of those who come to the PMR from various other regions in Poland. This chapter presents the problem in relation to those who have come to the PMR from abroad.

When considering the importance of various factors that determine the choice of the PMR as a place of residence, one should pay attention to the fact that people move because of continuous social and economic transformations in different parts of the world. Experts that deal with migration and who have taken part in the research stress the importance of these factors as the ones that encourage migration. They also confirm that demographic migration movements can be classified according to two reasons: 1) economic (e.g. an attractive job offer), and 2) non-economic, related to social issues (learning, further education, family, etc.). However, more often than not, the second group of reasons is slightly less important.

Interviews with creative sector foreign employees confirm that economic factors, i.e. a better job offer, determined their decision to move to the PMR. Other factors related to personal matters (e.g. finding a partner, a change of lifestyle) or the quality of city life only aided their decision: the group of non-economic factors made people lengthen their stay or decide to settle permanently in the PMR.

Interviewees had various jobs, held different positions (e.g. a chairperson, a language teacher) and had various places of employment. This variety enabled to look at the problem of creative knowledge employees in the PMR from a wider perspective. However, although interviewees may have represented different backgrounds, they were all highly qualified, talented and creative, and were part of the group that Florida refers to as the “creative class” (Florida 2002).

Different career paths, changes of places of residence, including arrival in the PMR, helped determine the so called personal trajectories of an employee’s personal development. Because of such a diversity of employees with different professions and their trajectories of development, one can classify them in the following way:

1. people sent by their parent companies;
2. people who have received scholarships or a job offer in one of Poznań’s universities;
3. people who have set up and started their own businesses.

People from the first group think that it is possible to make a career in the region, but only in a branch of an international company where a foreign language is spoken. Moreover, they clearly stress that the quality of the city has much less importance when it comes to making their decisions to move into the region.

“From the perspective of foreigners I know, making a career in Poznań is possible when you take up a job in a company where they speak a foreign language. It seems to me that there are hardly any foreigners who would come here just because they think that the city offers such chances. Firstly, the language is a barrier. English may be widely used, but it is Polish that’s spoken in Polish companies. (...) Personally, I don’t know anybody who has come to Poznań of their own will, believing in his or her luck. All the people who work in Poznań that I know of have been sent here by their parent companies. Of course all the people, including me, want to develop professionally. Nobody has left their countries, where they led comfortable lives only because of the charm that the city has.”

(ACRE_WP7_17)

People who have participated in the interviews were both executive managers and highly qualified specialists, who because of the skills they had were an important part of their companies. Their companies usually belonged to a big international group. Because of their importance to the companies, they were provided with a range of services to help them settle and adapt to work and life in the PMR. They were given help concerning the registration of their stay here, their work permits and finding a place to stay. In this way, their contact with the public administration was limited. On the one hand, providing this assistance saved the employees’ time and energy that could then be devoted to the company, but on the other hand, it limited to some extent contact with the PMR’s everyday life. This type of isolation is also

linked to some companies having their own transport, which makes it easier for an employee to get around Poznań, get to work and outside the metropolitan area.

Meeting such high standards related to serving highly-qualified employees of the creative sector raises the attractiveness of work in the region. Respondents confirm that such services offered to a new employee are one of the reasons why foreigners are motivated to take up employment in the PMR.

“At the moment I have my own company plane who takes off in Poznań to land in Braunschweig, where our specialists meet in their main office on a Monday morning. The plane also takes off on Wednesdays and Fridays. It means that our work is much more efficient for various reasons, for example, taking development engineers to the factory, where they are needed all the time.”

(ACRE_WP7_17)

It needs to be remembered, however, that there is a flow of information among highly-qualified employees of multinational companies, relating to the quality of the place where a branch of their company is located. Although Poznań is well recognizable in localisation maps of big transnationals and is well connected, there is still area for improvement of foreigners' standards of living in the metropolitan region. Everyday problems which should be solved to raise the attractiveness of the region also include transport and communication issues. In their opinion, the problem stems from the fact that the existing system is not adapted to current needs (e.g. the lack of a ring road which would enable fast access to the airport).

“Another issue is the traffic chaos. It's a priority that has to be addressed as fast as possible. In the morning I get to work in 15 minutes. In the evening, when I get back home, the journey takes me about 90 minutes! It's madness! The city does need a ring road which would take the traffic from the centre. I'm sure that building it would make the city much more attractive.”

(ACRE_WP7_17)

Another frequently mentioned issue is the lack of international secondary schools where migrants' children could be taught (surprising in a city which boasts one of the best universities in Poland). To some extent this situation lowers a quality of life of creative and highly skilled transnational migrants, especially those who work in the business consultancy subsector. They have to reduce the time of spending together with their family.

“One of the reasons why Poznań is not such an attractive place to settle in with your own family is the lack of appropriate schools to which they could send their children. The only school that can provide an adequate level of teaching is the International English School, although you can also have some reservations. Other cities have a wider choice. For this reason foreigners that I know of and that work for me prefer to leave their families in Germany, where their children get a good education and go back home for weekends. As I said, the reason is the language. I've heard of experts from our company working in Lisbon or Madrid who have nothing against sending their kids to local schools. It stems from the fact that a child that's been learning Spanish or Portuguese for two years will be able to use it in the future. It may mean having to catch up with one year at school, but

it's possible to communicate in Spanish almost all over the world, in Southern America or in Mexico."

(ACRE_WP7_17)

Such opinions coming from highly qualified foreign specialists working in Poznań companies should not be overlooked, because they have a great significance in shaping the PMR's image in the world. This is because these people are an important part of a company in a given locality, and thus in the whole group. It should be stressed here that creative knowledge specialists that come to the PMR from abroad sometimes feel isolated from the local community. It is not enough for them to participate in events organised by their companies on their days off work, or those organised by regional branches of chambers of commerce, where conversations usually relate to business and are formal. Such people expect informal contacts in various groups, both foreigners and local inhabitants.

"One of the most interesting ideas that the city could implement is to organise informal meetings between Poles and foreigners. In our company, for example, we have receptions from time to time, when employees of various departments meet one another, share their experiences, talk about anything and build closer relationships that help them understand better how the company operates. It concerns employees of all levels and nationalities. The city should act in a similar way. It's true that the German-Polish Chamber of Commerce organise similar meetings, but they are still quite formal and it's often the case that the Germans talk to the Germans, and the Polish speak to the Polish, only about business. It would be great if foreigners could talk to the Polish about the city's problems, business, anything in an open and informal manner. It's not a matter of money, it's going to be found, but a matter of organization and, first of all, initiative. Poles sometimes lack openness and the willingness to do business with foreigners."

(ACRE_WP7_17)

Taking into consideration the problems that foreign executive managers and highly specialised experts see as important in the PMR may raise the city's attractiveness for people working in the creative knowledge sector. If they start to perceive the area as attractive and start settling in it, there will be other companies which will follow in their footsteps, because companies in today's economies usually go where their employees do (Landry 2005). In this way, the metropolitan region will become more and more competitive not only when it comes to job offers, but also as a multinational and international region in which it will be possible to take creative and innovative initiatives.

On the basis of the interviews with creative knowledge specialists who have come to the PMR because of a scholarship they received or a job they obtained in one of Poznań's universities, it can be inferred that the role of non-economic factors seems to be slightly more important than economic factors in their decision to move to the PMR. Of course, the so called "economic" factor is also extremely important to them, however, the so called "soft" factors are gaining more and more importance – these social factors are more often than not difficult to be measured. They are related to the atmosphere and the quality of life in the city and they encouraged them to choose to remain longer in the PMR.

Poznań, the seat of the metropolitan region, has one of the best universities in Poland and it is not only a place which attracts highly qualified academic staff from Poland, but also is able to

attract them from all over the world. Interviews conducted with talented and creative transnational migrants show unambiguously that Poznań universities offer individuals chances of self-development and academic careers.

Creative sector foreign representatives often stress the importance of the quality of life in the region, especially in the context of factors that determine how long they are going to stay in the region. They seem to be taking more and more interest in their surroundings.

They stress that what is able to raise the quality of their lives is the availability of cultural and scientific institutions, and also concerts, and open-air events in which they actively take part. Very often, their participation in cultural activities is their passion and they are not usually paid for this. They stress at the same time that many types of such events are organised without any help from the outside (e.g. Made in Poznań), so they expect more support from the city's authorities. They often fulfil their creativity by organising additional activities for their students or other people who are interested, and this is another way of generating additional income.

"I teach students at the university and that means that of course I teach Spanish literature and culture and work with them to organise different events. For example, I have been working at the university for maybe 10 years, yes 10 years, and almost since the beginning, for 9 years, I've been doing what I would call "The Art of Storytelling", and at first I did it as "Let's Learn Spanish in a Different Way". We start moving, doing something, rather than sit the whole time during a class. It's just a suggestion, I don't want to speak all the time whereas students are just sitting and listening. This way of learning a language is inconceivable to me. (...)"

"I'm here because there are such initiatives as Made in Poznań. If mad enthusiasts keep on doing what they want, it doesn't matter if they do it for money or not, because this is what they have a passion for, and I like it an awful lot. It seems to me it's a beautiful thing to do. Well, I know it's going to last for a short period of time, because one day you turn 40, or if you're lucky to live to 50 leading this way of life. How is it possible that you keep on doing something and you get nothing in return? You keep on promoting the city and what do you get?"

(ACRE_WP7_05)

"I teach calligraphy as a hobby. It's a different type of activity. There are usually 15-20 people who are interested. And I do it additionally, because as a child I learnt calligraphy and once I ran workshops, and if someone told me that if he or she wants to come ... I made up my mind and found a place to do it".

(ACRE_WP7_12)

The last group who decided to come to the PMR and settle here is composed of those who thought that the area would be a good place to start a new business. In many cases, they were influenced by the fact that they were entering a new market in which the product or merchandise that they were going to offer was unknown. They started the simplest forms of economic activity, but as time passed they enlarged their business into bigger ones, which in many cases were successful and well known at the PMR's market. At the same time they are able to adapt to the Polish law and its advantages, when it comes to running their own businesses.

Among foreign entrepreneurs there is a high proportion from Eastern European countries that have set-up their own companies in the PMR. From what experts say, these people are highly motivated and determined to succeed and do not want to return to their own countries. They often put great effort into being the best in their fields. The same is also true of their children who work hard and become high achievers at school.

“A foreigner who wishes to stay here, who has completed their studies here and doesn’t want to work washing dishes is really determined to be good at what they do. He or she knows there is no point in coming back to their countries. If he or she is not able to make it here the way they want, they can reproach themselves they haven’t achieved anything. So they are really determined. (...)

It can be seen on the example of migrants’ children at schools, primary, I’d stress. In most cases these are very good students, better than Polish ones. They take part in Polish language competitions and they usually win.”

(ACRE_WP7_13-expert)

There are quite a lot of Germans who have set up their own companies in the creative sector in the PMR. On the one hand, their decisions to find a job and settle in the area were made on the basis of historical conditions related to social and economic relationships that date back to the times of the Prussian partition. Because of that, German entrepreneurs trust the PMR’s inhabitants and value them for their spirit, reliability and honesty. On the other hand, what plays a significant role is the area’s geographical location, which has convenient links to Berlin (especially trains which enable an easy transport of goods and people).

“Germany is the closest, so there are lots of Germans here. Out of all members of the EU, they are the most numerous. But it does not only stem from the geographical location. It’s all about principles. You must remember that they think we used to be part of their territory – the Prussian territory. But they are here not only for sentimental reasons, but also for business. Second, they can communicate here more easily. I don’t mean German. It used to be the Prussian territory, so inhabitants of Wielkopolska were not persecuted so much during the Second World War and earlier. Besides, although I’m not from Poznań myself, I can say that its inhabitants have some kind of thrift in them.”

(ACRE_WP7_13)

“This is another factor that I noticed that I was impressed because Poznań is really well linked. It is between Berlin and Warsaw so you can get to a European capital, as it is Berlin in three hours, and you can also go to Warsaw at the same time and on the other hand you can go to Gdańsk.”

(ACRE_WP7_07)

The results of the survey shows that for the creative and talented transnational migrants important role in the decision process where to live play not only a good job offer or a quality of living, but also a good location of the PMR, on the main transportation corridor between Berlin and Warsaw. This aspect of location is especially important for interviewees who are mostly very mobile.

8.2 Personal or social networks

Apart from material factors which are usually related to obtaining employment, what influences people's decision to change their place of residence is often related to personal circumstances? This is linked to the willingness to get to know new places, experience something new or to change their life style. Very often, such decisions are taken with the help from close personal contacts – family or friends. Similarly, among creative knowledge employees who have come to the PMR, there are also people who have been motivated by non-economic factors. Some are people who have moved here because of their personal experiences. For some of them, loss of a close person made them change their current lifestyles and move to a new place. They may stress that in the beginning it is a sort of therapy related to a change of environment and a temporary stay, but then it may lead to them settling here permanently and starting a family.

“And there was psychological element which I could mention. I don't have to mention, but never mind. I lost family, my parents have died. So I wanted the psychological training.”

(ACRE_WP7_08)

Among those who have come to settle in the PMR there are also those who have done so because of their strong commitment to the region and their willingness to change it for the better. They came to Poland in the 1980s and set up initiatives which aimed at improving the quality of life and developing a civic society in the city. What they did was usually accepted with trust, because they came here in the 1980s in the times of the communist system and were a source of hope that things were going to change in Poland. With time, their activities turned into companies with a legal status.

“It's a long story. The first time I was in Poland, I thought of it as an exotic holiday with a group of American students behind the iron curtain and it was in 1958. (...) Over 20 years ago, after the martial law, I came to Poland again. The Communist government let me organise a movement of anonymous alcoholics, since I was a priest. I read somewhere that the government generated the most revenue from taxes on alcohol (the second source was the petrochemical industry). So I thought that I had to start the movement, and if I drank less alcohol, Communism would be abolished faster. (...) My creative actions were about communicating people with one another. (...) Then I started making amateur TV programmes for a cable television station in Boston and other cities in Poland. (...) Finally, I decided to settle in Poznań and I started sponsoring Radio Obywatelskie (Civic Radio) for a couple of years.”

(ACRE_WP7_14)

It often happens that that foreigners come to the PMR because of their relationships and friends. Usually these are spouses who had come to the area earlier and have already found employment. However, relationships were also formed with people who helped them adapt to their new environment.

“I came to Poznań with my wife who had worked as a piano teacher in Teatr Wielki [Grand Theatre] for the previous three years. She found the job when she found out in Lviv that the theatre needed new employees. Before I actually got the job, I had come to play concerts here.”

(ACRE_WP7_16)

“I rented a flat thanks to my friends, then I lived with my husband. I had problems with communication because of the language and because the inability to obtain Polish citizenship. I had a lot of support from my future husband and his family.”

(ACRE_WP7_06)

It is usually a job offer made by friends, both Polish and foreign, their support in finding it, and an offer of temporary accommodation that helped interviewees decide to come to the PMR. These friends themselves belonged to the creative knowledge sector and their contacts and achievements guaranteed their ability to find employment for the newcomers as well as helping them adapt to their new environment. This type of friendship was particularly useful in institutions granting work permits and cards of permanent residence. Some of the interviewees who came to the PMR at the end of the 1980s or at the beginning of the social and economic transformation, stressed the important role that their friends played in helping them settle in the area. At the time when the systemic changes took place, respondents gained the most support from Adam Mickiewicz University, which provided additional bonuses to accompany the basic salary and accommodation. On the basis of trans-national migrants who had settled in the region and who had been living in it for a couple of years, one can infer that at first the number of their friends was quite high, but then it started to decline and there were only the most reliable friends left.

“There was Rector of the university. I contacted him personally and he gave me the job.”

(ACRE_WP7_08)

“I was offered the job by the Manager of Studies of Adam Mickiewicz University in Shubice.”

(ACRE_WP7_01)

“In Kyoto I met a professor from Poznań and I asked him if you actually could work as a teacher of Japanese in Poznań. That’s why I came here.”

(ACRE_WP7_12)

“The people I met at first are not in Poznań any more, and there is another group which is as if in between, and it didn’t last very long. I decided myself that I didn’t want to. Then there’s another group of people I’ve met and I have some friends among them. There aren’t many of them, but they are good friends. (...) But I think it happens everywhere – having lots of acquaintances and not many friends.”

(ACRE_WP7_05)

At the same time, creative and imaginative foreign employees who have to use their knowledge every day stress that during their stay in the PMR new perspectives emerged, which more often than not had a non-economic nature, and which made him or her feel closer

to the region. It was usually connected with finding a partner, getting married and having children.

“I met my wife here, in this country and I have two children.”

(ACRE_WP7_08)

“We met here in Poznań, and simply had jobs here, so we didn't feel compelled.”

(ACRE_WP7_10)

There are different reasons for moving from one place to another. Creative, highly skilled and talented transnational migrants represent a part of the Poznań society for which ‘soft’ factors play a relatively important role in the decision where to settle down, in comparison with the other part of the society.

9 PLACE-RELATED FACTORS ATTRACTING FOREIGN MIGRANTS OF THE CREATIVE KNOWLEDGE SECTOR TO THE POZNAN METROPOLITAN REGION

An emigrant is mainly motivated to move to a new country due to poor or worsening conditions of economic or social development in his or her home country compared to those he or she encounters in the foreign country. This motivation is determined by so called ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. Apart from the aspects that are characterised in the previous chapter, what is especially significant is to be able to meet one’s basic needs in the emigration country, therefore, before an individual takes the decision to emigrate, he or she takes into account characteristics of a given city or region, its general social and economic conditions as well as its spatial structure. On the other hand, one of the most frequently mentioned keys to successful development as a ‘creative knowledge region’ is openness for trans-national migrants. The type of migrants most wanted for stimulating an attractive breeding ground for creativity and knowledge-based activities is the skilled international migrant. Therefore, this chapter characterises place-related factors attracting transnational migrants to PMP and factors which make them to stay in the region. Four groups of factors have been characterised: (1) economic, (2) social, (3) those relating to city milieu, (4) those relating to a city’s policies and its development prospects.

9.1 Economic factors

One of the most important aspects of living in a city is the ability to meet one’s basic needs. These include economic and labour market conditions, which are related to finding employment in the city, as well as the availability, affordability and quality of housing. These basic factors were rated very highly in the PMR, according to the trans-national migrants interviewed from the creative sector. All were able to find employment and an adequate place to live. In their opinion, the labour market has the most benefits:

“When it comes to job opportunities in Poznań, I rate them fairly highly. There are too few Poznań inhabitants in proportion to the number of jobs available in the local market, so the city needs people from outside. Consequently, everybody stands quite a chance of being employed. The only problem for a foreigner is the Polish language. In practice, it’s quite a challenge to learn.

(ACRE_WP7_02)

The property market is also assessed positively. The rise in demand for new flats and the construction boom in the previous years has made the accommodation offer much more diversified. Nevertheless, the quality of older buildings in the central, older part of the city, is still quite poor and respondents commented that the availability of new flats in this area is more limited.

Migrants' preferred area of the city in which to live is usually the centre. This preference is linked, on the one hand, to the availability of public transport and the closeness to their places of work which are usually located in the centre of Poznan. It is also easier for them to get around the city, when they do not know its topography. On the other hand, the centre is attractive for ambience of the city's older historic areas:

"I think that the downtown area should have better housing conditions, because it is obvious that creative people need a creative environment. Do such places exist? Well, the Old Brewery may be one example. Of course, there are also the Old Market Square and its surroundings. Yet Poznań has so many places of this type which are still unused. (...) It is a shame that you can't live in one of those ancient tenement houses. Most of them are so neglected that they do not have much to offer. The structure of the city's development and architecture is interesting, but, more often than not, it's difficult to live in decent conditions considering the state the houses are in. That just means looking for a new flat with a developer."

(ACRE_WP7_01)

As the survey shows, the city centre of Poznań plays important role in increasing of city attractiveness. This is mostly due to the spectacular investments, such as the Old Brewery – centre of art, business and commerce or Old Market Square, which are the main attractions of the city.

9.2 Social factors

9.2.1 Adaptation

Foreigners who come to Poland either to take up temporary employment or to settle permanently face a number of challenges in relation to adapting to life in the country. They have to deal with both formal and informal issues that have to be handled for their stay to go as planned. Poland is a country that has undergone significant institutional changes since 1989. A state-governed economy transformed into a free-market economy, and with this new rules of action have been formulated. Changes in the rules may have taken place quite rapidly, but adapting real patterns of behaviour and habits to them have taken a lot more time. As a result, what is 'old' coexists with what is 'new', which may hardly be understandable and certainly troublesome to outsiders. Foreigners from the creative sectors point out the bureaucracy and 'red tape' and the unwillingness of officials to solve basic and formal problems.

"(...) experiences with officials and clerks? – Awful. Even if you reformulated the question and asked, "which office do you hate most or which one is it that you do not go to?", I would say the passport office. You feel like they don't want you. A friend of mine who had been staying in Poland for five years was 3 days late with his visa. He had the police sent to him – he was treated as he was a terrorist or a criminal. They wanted to deport him. (...). Poles hate the Social Insurance Institution the most, and it is the passport office that foreigners do."

(ACRE_WP7_02)

“(...) contacts with clerks and the bureaucracy? Oh... That was horrendous, horrendous. Always had to be going... Nobody had spoken English? Not especially. There were also all the technicalities like I had to go to the passport office to get a visa. But before you got the visa you had to have zameldowanie, but you couldn’t have zameldowanie without something else. (...). And in addition the attitude of the people who worked there was not the best.

(ACRE_WP7_08)

Problems with formalities usually occur at the beginning of a stay, when it is necessary to carry out specific procedures. As this is usually interviewees’ first contact with everyday life in Poland, this intensifies the negative feelings associated with moving to a new country which is unfamiliar. However, these problems also affect companies which have to be in contact with the public administration, and difficulties arising from dealing with matters were considered substantial, as confirmed by the statement below:

“I’ve had quite a few conversations with other foreigner investors and we agreed that it was difficult to resolve a matter easily in Poland. It is also the case for Poznań, in which red tape hinders all action and officials and clerks are so unwilling to help. The city does not come up with any initiative and does not offer solutions which would make it easier for investors to go about their daily businesses in the city. Simply it is increasingly difficult to handle all the necessary documents without a proxy speaking Polish and having loads of patience. After all I can see it myself with my employees having to do loads of official paper work just to prove that we have not exceeded any limits and are still eligible for tax exemptions. We could certainly do with some help from the authorities, just a tiny bit of good will to simplify all the procedures. I am convinced that Poznań would benefit as a result. At this particular moment I don’t really understand the city’s authorities’ attitude and the attitude of local governments. I have the impression that they care more about sports events, congresses and universities than the economy and support for entrepreneurship. It seems to me that other Polish cities are much more interested in raising their attractiveness for foreign investors.”

(ACRE_WP7_17)

More serious matters, for example, those related to difficulties of obtaining Polish citizenship and the consequences this such as obtaining bank loans to purchase a flat were pointed out by respondents:

“I can give you my own example – for almost 20 years I haven’t been able to obtain Polish citizenship. I have not been able to get a loan to buy a flat, although I am a permanent resident here, which, at least in theory, entitles me to obtain such a loan. My bank, however, doesn’t trust me because I’m not Polish. For this reason I still live in a council flat, because I can’t get a loan. How can you possibly want to invest in the country, if you have problems as a foreigner?”

(ACRE_WP7_02)

Interviewees stress the need for the new regulations which would make the process of registration and obtaining Polish citizenship easier. This would allow the PMR to be more open and multicultural.

9.2.2 Tolerance

One of the major aspects of living in a country other than one's country of origin is being able to adapt oneself to the environment. Also important is how the environment reacts to foreigners. In this context, acceptance and tolerance of otherness on part of local people may influence foreigners' quality of life and decisions taken by trans-national migrants to move to or remain in a certain country. Tolerance is a social and personal attitude which means being respectful to different views, patterns of behaviour and personal traits of other people, and them themselves. It is worth stressing that tolerance does not mean agreeing with someone else's behaviour or opinions. On the contrary, tolerance is respect for someone else's behaviour or views, even if we do not like them. Tolerance is an attitude which enables open discussion and is regarded as the basis of an open and democratic society. Foreign respondents confirm that Poles are characterised by this type of openness, even in relation to people with whom Poland was at war, e.g. Germans:

"It seems to me that Poznań inhabitants are extremely tolerant and open towards foreigners. Very often when I come back to Germany, I'm asked whether the old grudges from the times of the war are still harboured or whether Poles are hostile towards Germans. I've never experienced that and neither my employees, who feel safe and comfortable in Poland and who have never experienced any aggression towards them. The city's inhabitants are very open and friendly. It also concerns our company. I have friends here myself and German employees have friends, too, both in the company and outside of it. I have a feeling we are very welcome here (...)."

(ACRE_WP7_17)

It can be inferred from trans-national migrants' experiences that Poland stands out as far as openness and tolerance are concerned. Nonetheless, Poland is a very homogeneous country in which the proportion of foreigners is still very low, and foreigners are not encountered frequently in everyday social life. Because of this, the attitude to others is changing relatively slowly:

"In general, intolerance still exists in the country, but I would call it "gentle intolerance". It mostly stems from the lack of knowledge about other nationalities (...). It is still decreasing, but it still does exist, even in law and regulations, although the government has changed the Polish law once the country joined the EU. Regulations that concern foreigners do not conform to what you would call tolerance. To give you an example, how would you explain the fact that someone like me – a foreigner – marries a Polish woman and has no right to employment? This is inconceivable. Foreigners feel that they are rejected because of such regulations. By the way, how many foreigners are employed in state offices? It's impossible to find a foreigner in a single one. This is seen as a lack of tolerance – and I'm speaking on behalf of other foreigners whom I meet. (...) Poznań is different from other cities – it is more tolerant. It is confirmed by other foreigners whom I meet again after a couple of years. They tell me about unpleasant incidents from other cities. Poznań does not have many such situations."

(ACRE_WP7_02)

Respondents commented on the specific nature of Polish society which is relatively homogeneous. The absence of foreigners in social and everyday life, together with a lack of knowledge of foreigners, leads to an intensification of the feeling of otherness to foreigners.

However, Polish society, especially Poznań's community is adapting rapidly to new situations related to the presence of trans-national migrants in Poznań, as stressed by respondents. They also paid attention to the fact that it was difficult to communicate due to language barriers as well as some features of the local community.

“There's some kind of indifference in the society – both to foreigners and interpersonal relations as such, but this is obviously felt more strongly when you are in a foreign country, especially when you don't know the language. Then it's more difficult because you can't really explain what you actually mean. It's not so easy to get help, and others are not so willing to give you a hand. (...) This indifference also has benefits, on the other hand. (...) No one interferes with your matters.

(ACRE_WP7_10)

9.2.3 Embeddedness in the local community

An important aspect of foreigners' lives abroad is their adjustment to local customs and habits and local culture, and their inclusion in existing networks. Polish society is diversified in terms of organisational culture from region to region. In particular, the east differs considerably from the west (Hryniewicz 2004). This was also stressed by foreign respondents, especially those who run their own businesses here:

“Poznań inhabitants are much more reliable in terms of business than other companies in Poland. I've had the chance to see it for myself a couple of times.”

(ACRE_WP7_14)

A spirit of entrepreneurship and a pragmatic attitude to business were given as being characteristic of the Poznań region. What was also stressed was the creativity of Poznań business people and their use of innovative solutions as well as the ability to adapt to changing economic conditions. These features are considered especially useful when running a business of any type.

“I've met a lot of people in Poznań who have the knack of doing business. They are intelligent, creative, innovative and aware of their expectations when it comes to signing agreements. You can see it in the streets looking at the cars they drive. I must say since I started living here, Poznań has changed radically. People get rich very fast and their wealth has a sound basis. In my opinion Poznań entrepreneurs should feel comfortable and they shouldn't be too much afraid of the crisis.”

(ACRE_WP7_17)

Interviewees also said that apart from entrepreneurship and pragmatism, materialism was characteristic of Poznań inhabitants, which resulted from striving for efficiency and thriftiness:

Poznań inhabitants are materialistic, which may be a downside, on the one hand, but it is also a benefit for the community, because the city is developing thanks to this (...).

(ACRE_WP7_02)

9.3 General quality of life

One of the major factors what encouraged trans-national migrants to come to Poznań was personal affairs or a job offer in a particular company in the region. However, other factors had a considerable influence on their lives in the city and decisions to either prolong their stay or to settle in the city region permanently. Respondents especially stressed the general quality of life in the region and the ability to meet their own needs, both basic and higher ones:

“I think Poznań is a very nice and quite comfortable city to live in. I like the fact that it’s not too big and at the same time it’s not too small. And also there are a lot of theatres, concert halls and other cultural institutions. (...) I would say Poznań would compare very well with many other cities.”

(ACRE_WP7_09)

Many times respondents commented that the city provides them with opportunities to live at a decent level. In their opinion, it is not difficult to obtain employment, so it is also easy to earn enough to secure a high standard of living:

“Working in Poznań, I can afford what I want. I mean basic things, first of all a flat. (...) Other things are affordable as well. I think that everybody can find a flat which will be a good value for money. There are both luxurious flats and average flats for people who earn less. There are inexpensive milk bars, quite a few supermarkets, and luxurious shops. Poznań is developed enough to provide its inhabitants a decent level of living.”

“My wife is from Poznań, but it’s not the only reason why we live here. For example my friends have tried running their businesses outside Poznań and they’ve always come back. I’ve had a similar experience myself – we started a business in Płock, but we couldn’t make it there, because it’s not only making money that counts, but also a standard of living, so we came back to Poznań after 2 years. In Płock, work occupied all of our time.”

(ACRE_WP7_02)

One of the most important aspects of comfortable living in the city is safety. The Poznań metropolitan region is considered by the transnational migrants representing creative class as a region where they feel safe.

“I live here and I don’t have big problems. If I do, that’s usually related to some family matters, but when it comes to organising the whole of our lives, the city provides us with good opportunities. There are no attacks against foreigners, or anything like that, so it’s ok. It’s a safe city.”

(ACRE_WP7_11)

Meeting basic needs related to living, working and feeling secure abroad raises a general standard of living, as assessed by foreigners living in the city. Apart from this, possibilities of using one’s free time are also valued in a positive way, especially in the context of rapid changes that are taking place in the city, both spatial and social as well as economic:

“I must say that in this respect Poznań is incredibly developed. The diversity of offers for people looking for entertainment is really impressive. The city can easily compete with

other metropolitan cities of the old Europe. Take the Old Brewery, Malta Ski or the shopping centre that's being built near the lake. Such changes usually take place very slowly, and here everything is changing so fast, and it's so fascinating. Once I had German guests in and the city impressed them a lot. We took a stroll in the Old Market, I showed them the Old Brewery and the Malta Lake, we also visited the suburbs, and I could see that instantly their image of Poland, all stereotypes and anything that they had expected before they arrived ceased to have any importance whatsoever. In the summer last year I also invited my uncle and his friends to see Poznań. They visited the factory, the casting shop in the Wilda district, and the effect was exactly the same as in the case of my previous German guests. The reality took them by surprise."

(ACRE_WP7_17)

Despite the positive remarks about the possibility of spending free time and recreation, there were also some negative comments, relating mainly to the lack of tranquil areas downtown and the unused opportunities that the river offers:

"Personally, I miss an area in the city centre that would be free of noise. Wrocław, for example, has beautiful areas on the Oder River, which can be found in the very centre. You just take a side street and you can enjoy some peace and quiet. True, Poznań has a park in front of the Opera House, but it's surrounded by the noise of heavy traffic. Although it's nice to sit there in summer, for example, it's quite noisy. (...) I wish areas near the Warta River would be developed in a similar way to Wrocław. You could say that the River doesn't flow through Poznań, and Poznań doesn't lie on the Warta River. Wrocław lies on the Oder, because it's part of the city's space, you can reach it and use it. In Poznań the river is separated, there are a lot of wilder areas which you can't actually use."

(ACRE_WP7_10)

The Warta river has played an important role in the socio-economic development of Poznań for ages. It was important for transportation and recreation, but also as a source of fresh water. Creative and talented transnational migrants, very well recognise that the primary function of the river should be restored.

9.4 City milieu

9.4.1 The social climate of the city

Although less important than the hard factors related mainly to economic conditions, the social climate plays a notable role in the functioning of workers in the creative knowledge sector. Since their work considers creativity, they often search for inspiration in their surroundings. In general, the social atmosphere of the city suited the majority of the respondents. Interestingly, a certain difference may be noticed in the appraisal made by migrants coming from Western countries and from Eastern, mainly Arab or former Soviet countries. The migrants from the East were more impressed with the city. They underlined, that it had European climate noticeably influenced by Western culture. Also, they often claimed, that the city offers a good quality of life.

'When I came to Poznań, my goal was to study and then go back to my home country. But I got married in Poznań and stayed here with my family. Apart from that, I also stayed for emotional reasons – I got attached to Poznań. I made friends with the town. Most often the first place a foreigner visits in every country influences him most. The first city in Poland I came to was Łódź, but this city didn't make a good impression on me. I visited Wrocław, Cracow and Warsaw, and other cities in Poland and I sometimes miss these cities but somehow I have never missed Łódź. And when I leave Poznań and then come back here I feel like home, like it's my place. (...) When I compare Poznań with other cities it is always the most pretty, developed one. The mentality of the people is different here than in the other cities. It is very notable when you meet people from other regions – the behaviour and even the manners of speaking are different.'

(ACRE_WP7_02)

All interviewees noted the 'moderate climate' of Poznań, and that there are no extremes in many aspects. Both the size of the city and the opportunities it offers suit many people. Some bigger cities like Warsaw may have more potential for making a career or have a more varied urban environment, however, Poznań in the opinion of the respondents, gives its inhabitants a chance to live a quieter life:

'When I visit Warsaw, I can't feel the spirit of the city as I do in Poznań. Here, the very architecture of the city, without those tall buildings, creates a more family-like climate.'

(ACRE_WP7_11)

A quieter and more family-like climate makes the city more homogenous. However, the lack of variety also has a negative influence on creativity:

'I get the impression, that Poznań is not similar to cities like Cracow for example, where you can hear a different language, French, Italian, and others, anywhere you go. Poznań, is, in my opinion, a more homogenous, a less mixed city. I think, that the foreigners are still a minority here. Here you don't meet a foreigner every day.'

(ACRE_WP7_10)

In this respect, Poznań suffers from the lack of diversity. Even though there is some positive meaning to the 'calmness' of the city, especially when it comes to the overall quality of life, for people who search for some creative inspiration it may turn out to be insufficient. The respondents noted that when it came to diversity, the city did not stand out in comparison with other urban centres of the same rank. On the contrary, some opinions quite explicitly pointed out that there was no unique climate in the city:

'When I get our guests from the airport and go with them to the city centre, I am a little bit ashamed. No, Poznań is not, except for a few places, Poznań is not architectonically attractive. (...). There is no climate in this city.'

(ACRE_WP7_03_expert)

9.4.2 *The transportation infrastructure*

The problems concerning transportation and communication in the city and in the region are the most controversial ones. The general opinion of both the city's inhabitants and the respondents from abroad is that these aspects are generally poor. The major problem is the volume of cars in the city centre, although this is by and large a problem with which most big cities contend. The problem related to commuting in the city, most frequently indicated by the migrants, was the difficulty of cycling in the city. The insufficient infrastructure in this respect, lack of bicycle lanes, the danger of using streets crowded with cars, makes this means of transportation very impractical in the city:

'I have my bike in Poznań and I love riding it around the Malta Lake. I live near the Old Market, only 1-2 km from the lake, and I can't say I'm not afraid to ride my bike from this part of the city to the lake. Most often I get the bike into the car and start to ride it when I'm already by the lake. There are no bicycle lanes on the way and the roads are too dangerous. If Poznań doesn't do something about it, it will lose its attractiveness.'

(ACRE_WP7_17)

'I have a big dream not to risk my life, meaning not to risk it in such an obvious way – because you always risk your life, that's clear – but not to risk it in such an obvious way, riding a bike to work. I don't do it for safety reasons. I'm not fit to being exposed to so much stress in the streets every day. That's just beyond me.'

(ACRE_WP7_10)

In the case of international migrants the regional and the national accessibility is essential. Poznań's geographic location is favourable and for many of interviewed migrants this location was one of the reasons for staying in the region. However, sometimes they complain that it is not fully exploited:

'When it comes to good international communications Poznań is not the best example. Even though, there are direct rail links to Berlin, they are, in my opinion useless. Poznań promotes itself as a city located halfway between Warsaw and Berlin. But that's just promotion. It should be added, that generally, it is halfway between those cities, but just try to get out of Poznań at a reasonable time. For now we have a connection to Berlin at 6am in the morning, but you have to change the trains three times. The journey lasts five hours. And the first direct connection is not until 10.20 a.m., and in my opinion, that's three hours too late. I guess that a good solution would be a connection to Berlin at 6 a.m. or 7 a.m. Then, three hours later you would be in Berlin and in the evening, let's say at 7 p.m. or 8 p.m. you could come back. Meanwhile, the last train from Berlin to Poznań leaves at 4 p.m. There is also a connection when you have to change the train in Frankfurt on the Oder, but then you take a regional train at the boarder and the travel in Poland lasts five hours. I think, that such a connection between these two big cities, one of which is the capital of Germany – that's not a good situation. It's the same with planes – the air links are poor. Especially when compared with Cracow or Wrocław, it's not good. (...)'

(ACRE_WP7_10)

Similarly the road connections do not help communications and they lower the quality of living in the PMR:

'Travelling by car is absolutely the worst. The route from Hannover to Poznań takes about five hours. There is also the before mentioned problem, that there are no schools where kids could learn German and that makes moving to Poland with one's family impossible. On the other hand, it is also impossible for an employee to go back home every Friday and to be on the road again on Sunday coming back to work, to Poland. Such a lifestyle, dictated only by the will to make a career, is unacceptable. Personally, I am in a comfortable situation, because I can afford constant travelling home by the company plane. When it comes to getting to Poznań by a train, the situation is much better, than when you want to travel by car. The trains offer a decent standard, you can work or read a bit. On the other hand, you still lose five to six hours. I also regret that the air link between Hannover and Poznań was suspended because of problems with profitability. That's a great loss to the employees of my company. Another problem is that there is no highway from Poznań to the German boarder. Even though the distance in Germany is longer it takes less time to cover it than the distance from the border to Poznań. It's a real shame, because I'm convinced, that many of my friends from Germany would gladly stay in Poland for the weekend to visit Gdansk, Sopot or Mazury. Unfortunately, they cannot do it, because there are no appropriate roads. Driving a car on Friday evening after work for five or six hours is too exhausting.'

(ACRE_WP7_17)

The results of the interviews present that there is a lack of the transportation policy which would improve the accessibility of many attractive regions of Poland for people living in Poznań. Many transnational migrants who took part in the interviews highly evaluated Polish green areas, however they complain that they are not easily accessible by any mode of transportation.

9.5 Urban policy and promotion of culture

The creative sector, often related to artistic activities not directly aimed at profit, requires support from the authorities. Even though the financial support of individual undertakings is not always possible, huge possibilities for various projects exist through partnership working. To these partnerships each party brings their strengths, most importantly their knowledge and competence, and the advantages through network relations. In the opinion of the foreign respondents and the experts the city could support the creative sector by promoting their creative actions, and most importantly promoting culture. Nevertheless, not many such actions were initiated to date which was assessed quite critically:

'The information about the cultural events is not wide-spread. You have to find it yourself. I can see that there is that tendency for the word-of-mouth marketing. (...) I think that this isn't good. That's what is done, but that's not good. We do not give the chance to the visitors to immediately find the information about what is worth seeing in Poznań. (...) That stems from the fact, that culture is not subsidised. It's hard to make it in the world of high advertisement costs with activities that are strictly artistic, that are just not profitable.'

(ACRE_WP7_03)

'... I can only tell you that when I got off in Leipzig in March, by the end of March, when there was a book fair, the whole city was decorated with huge billboards. I remember how astonished I was, when I got off at the railway station in Leipzig and saw that huge billboard saying Leipzig liest. That was amazing. I haven't seen it here. Have you? Have you heard, that there is a children's book fair in Poznań? (...) When you compare these two places, which I can do for the publishing business, or the books industry, then I tell you that in Leipzig, when you leave the railway station you bump into a huge billboard saying Leipzig liest and when you leave the railway station in Poznań, when the fair is on, there is nothing. There is so much to do.'

(ACRE_WP7_14)

'An absolute minimum is done, only the minimum. There are some proposals, there are some programs which may be applied with various effects. I get the impression, that the same people are winning, the people that paved their way and now are trustworthy to the city, so there is no point risking. That's not good. The city is not doing anything above that. There is no program, that would help artists, that would co-finance their activities. I know how it's done abroad, mainly in the Scandinavia, and there are absolutely no such opportunities here. I am very critical about it.'

(ACRE_WP7_03_expert)

In the case of spatial policy, the respondents pointed out the dynamic development of the city as an element depicting its potential. However, the directions of its development, especially the commercialisation of the space and allotting it to consumerist aims was criticised repeatedly:

'It seems to me, that there are a lot of shopping centres now and I'm not sure, if that's the best way to let's say promote the city, saying that there are more shopping centres being opened. Because, in my opinion, such promotion, on that scale and of that sort of things – the shopping centres and so on, brings to my mind the 60's and 70's. It's a kind of megalomania, at least in the West, since then we had a completely different political structure here, and we didn't have such things at all. However, I know it a little from my childhood. Then it just exploded so suddenly, the huge supermarkets in the suburbs. And now, when I look back on it years later, I think it would be a good idea to go back to such local structures and build the strong foundations there. I mean that the Rynek Jeżycki (Jeżycki Market) or the Rynek Wielkopolski (Wielkopolski Market) are places which should stay where they are. Even if there are some problems, in my opinion, the city should support such places and not drag here another Portuguese investor to built another supermarket in Poznań. (...) Now, near Malta, there is a huge construction site, there, on one side of the shore. I have some doubts if this is a good idea.'

(ACRE_WP7_10)

'I have to say, that it seems a bit like the 60's and 70's. It's an anachronistic thinking, I guess. If the city wants to promote itself as a modern city it should now think differently, I mean that a modern city today is not a city, which always gives way to technology and matters related to knowledge and science.'

(ACRE_WP7_10)

In the opinion of transnational migrants the concepts of spatial development proposed by the local policy makers are not future-oriented, but they are copies of the Western European solutions from 1960s and 1970s which in many cases were not successful.

10 CONCLUSIONS

The concluding remarks can be split into two groups. The first one is related to the problem of migration policy and migration statistics. The second concerns the results of interviews with creative, talented and highly skilled migrants in the Poznan metropolitan region.

The liberalisation of border movement regulations in recent years has created an unprecedented situation in which Poles can not only leave their country, but also return to it with no fear of negative political consequences. Following the signing of international bilateral agreements on employment in the 1990s and Poland's accession to the European Union, Poles have been able to enjoy greater access to and freedom of employment abroad. Short-time migrations have become more significant because of purely economic reasons, especially the relationship between costs and migration-related benefits as well as demand in the labour market of receiver countries. At the same time, as early as the 1990s Poland became an attractive target country for more and more immigrants. By joining the European Union, Poland has contributed to a massive rise in economic migration and has led to growing attractiveness of Polish citizenship. A new quality in migration movements was undoubtedly defined by Poland's accession to the Schengen area at the beginning of 2008. Since Poland's accession to the European Union, people have gone not only to Germany, the US or Italy, but also to the UK and Ireland. In the structure of migrants young people between 20 and 34 were the most prevalent. The most frequent reasons for people emigrating are family affairs, employment and education. The reasons why migrants come to Poland are the same, as confirmed by the ACRE survey in Poznan.

A relatively new phenomenon in the Poznan metropolitan region is migration due to educational reasons. Student mobility is an essential element of their creativity, which translates into the creativity of places in which they live and study. The city as such is becoming more and more attractive as a place of long-term studies. In the case of Poznan, students come not only from less developed countries such as in Eastern Europe, but also from highly developed countries (USA, Canada, Scandinavian countries – heavily represented in medical faculties). In the nearest future, it is expected that a vast number of students from Asia, mainly China, Taiwan and India, will come to study to Poland thanks to a well-prepared education offer.

Thanks to globalisation and European integration, higher education has become a spur to local and regional development, a source of creativity and innovation for a metropolis on an unprecedented scale. With their long academic tradition and a great deal of research and educational potential, Poznan and other Polish cities are starting to seize these opportunities. Foreign migration, both student and staff, helps create an intellectual character of a metropolis, improve its economy and shape not only its economic life, but also its social and cultural values.

The most important results of the survey carried out among transnational migrants in the Poznan metropolitan region can be summarised in the following way:

1. The major factor determining the decision of creative knowledge sector employees to come to the Poznan metropolitan region has an economic character and involves a profitable job. The remaining factors, related to personal life (e.g. finding a partner, changing their life style) or referring to the quality of city life played a major role in reaching a decision to come to the Poznan metropolitan region. A second group of factors of noneconomic character influenced decisions to prolong one's stay or apply for permanent residence.
2. People who were delegated to the Poznan metropolitan region by their companies think that there is an opportunity to make a career in the region on condition that it is a branch of a multinational company where a foreign language is spoken.
3. A full service, concerning adapting to new conditions, is provided for managers and highly qualified specialists from abroad who start a job in the sector of creative knowledge in Poznan. The support concerns all kinds of help in settling such matters as registration of residence, arranging a work permit and finding a place to live.
4. As the capital of the metropolitan region and the seat of one of the best universities in Poland, Poznan attracts employees of the creative knowledge sectors who are involved in activities which widely exploit their knowledge. Thanks to possibilities of conducting their own research and the availability of various scholarships, these people have an opportunity to self-develop and make a scientific career. Simultaneously, the group of these people attach importance to the quality of life in the city (e.g. concerning the cultural offer).
5. The transnational migrants in Poznan belonging to the creative knowledge sector, includes a large group of Germans. One of the most important factors in choosing a place to run a one's own business and living are the historical circumstances that refer to strong socio-economic bonds from the times of the Prussian partition in the 19th and 20th century. These historical facts are the foundations on which trust in the thrift, solidity and honesty of the citizens of the Poznan metropolitan region have been built on.
6. Some representatives of the creative knowledge sector decided to come to the Poznan metropolitan region with the intention of changing the environment and regarded this as a mission to fulfil. They came here in the 1980s, at the time of communism, with the intention of helping to improve the quality of life in the region and later on build a civic society.
7. Problems with adaptation to new life and work conditions appear at the beginning of one's stay and first of all they are connected with formal matters. The necessity to have a visa or a work permit, for example, makes the stay difficult, especially in the beginning. The difficulties are aggravated by a language barrier, because it is impossible to deal with a matter in a language other than Polish. The problem with formalities was seen as the major one connected with adaptation to living in the Poznan metropolitan region.
8. One of the most important aspects of living in a different country is, on the one hand, the adaptation to the environment, and, on the other hand, locals' reaction to people coming from different countries. In this context, acceptance and tolerance of the difference of foreigners by locals may influence the quality of life and decisions taken by trans-national

- migrants. In the view of respondents, Poznan is characterised by openness and tolerance towards foreigners. In this respect, the city stands out from other regions in the country.
9. Foreigners see the local environment as conducive to action – especially when it comes to entrepreneurship. The local community has features which make interpersonal relations easier, i.e. a spirit of entrepreneurship and pragmatism. At the same time the environment stimulates creativity, which creates prospects for this particular sector.
 10. One of the most important aspects of living in a city is the possibilities of satisfying basic existential needs. It basically regards economic conditions and housing situation. In the opinion of transnational migrants, these needs can easily be satisfied in the Poznan metropolitan region. All the respondents were able to find a job as well as a suitable place to live. A preferred location in the city by foreigners is the city centre as a result of its convenient transport accessibility and their poor knowledge of other parts of the city.
 11. A crucial factor that determined the choice of the Poznan metropolitan region by transnational migrants were personal reasons and a job offer from a particular company located in the region. Nevertheless, other factors also had an influence on living here and making a decision whether to prolong one's stay or apply for permanent residence. Particularly, the respondents pointed at the general quality of life in the region and the possibilities to satisfy basic needs as well as needs of a higher level. The city provides an opportunity to live decently and thanks to a job, which is not difficult to find in Poznan, it is possible to benefit from these opportunities. The general assessment is also influenced by the sense of security in Poznan which, according to the respondents, is high.
 12. For the employees of the creative knowledge sector, apart from hard factors related particularly to life and economic conditions, a key role is also played by less measurable aspects that have to do with, for example, the social climate in which the foreigners function. Since their type of work is creative, they very often look for inspiration in the environment in which they are present. The respondent foreigners also emphasised the role of the climate of the city, though it was not a key factor. In general, the majority of the respondents like the local atmosphere. Nevertheless, Poznan is considered to have a quite and a family climate which makes the city lack of uniqueness and diversity to a certain extent. In this aspect, other cities, for example Cracow, have a better climate that favours creativeness.
 13. Problems concerning communication and transport within the city and the region are one of the most controversial issues. The cars in the city centre are a particular problem. One of the problems related to moving around the city pointed out by the researched migrants was the limited possibility of cycling. International and regional transport was so not highly ranked either. Relatively small network of flights from and to Poznan airport and infrequent train connections with Berlin were the problems most frequently pointed out.

Local policy, particularly concerning culture and the city's spatial development, is quite critically assessed. The majority of foreigners consider that the creative knowledge sector requires support from the local authorities. This support does not necessarily have to be financial, but it can take the form of promotion of creative activities, especially culture. Nevertheless, the opinion of migrants as well as experts is that this sphere is underdeveloped in the region. The most significant problem pointed out by the respondents was poor access to information on cultural events. As far as spatial planning policy is concerned, the respondents indicated dynamic urban development as an element illustrating a great potential

of the city. Nevertheless, the policy of this development, particularly an excessive commercialisation of the city space and its allocation for consumption purposes, was repeatedly criticised.

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Interview questionnaire

Start of the interview:

- Short introduction of ACRE
- Permission to record the interview

First question:

How did you come to live in the in the Poznan metropolitan region region now?

- Did you study here?
- Are you here with your family?
- Where do you live? (city / suburban commune)
- For how long?
- Where did you live before?
- How much did you know about the Poznan metropolitan region before you came here for your present stay?

Education:

Could you please tell me something about your education?

- Where (else) did you go to school / university?
- What did you study?
- From where did you obtain your degree?

Professional experience / Career:

Could you please tell me something about the main steps in your career after finishing study?

How did you find your first job in the Poznan metropolitan region?

- I was offered the job (by whom?)
- Own search
- Own internet search

- Sent by the company
- Advertisement (newspaper / internet)
- Open application
- Family / Friends
- Other, what?

Where do you work? Could you please describe your actual working situations?

- Position, job description
- What do you like about your job situation / what do you not like?
- How satisfied are you with your situation?
- Would you like to change something?

Motivation to come to the Poznan metropolitan region:

What was your main motivation to come to the Poznan metropolitan region? (pull and push-factors)

- Role of hard factors:
 - study
 - job offer, career opportunities now and later in your home country, interesting work task, higher income, better working conditions (working hours, permanent / temporary contract, executive level),
 - good international accessibility of the Poznan metropolitan region region, transport infrastructure and public transport facilities,
 - public social infrastructure (availability of kindergartens, (international) schools, higher education),
 - technical infrastructure,
 - price of housing
 - price of living
 - availability of subsidies (e.g. for artists),
 - tax incentives,
 - other?
- Role of soft factors
 - followed partner
 - came here with my parents
 - tolerance, acceptance of cultural diversity, equality, openness or too strong social cohesion, civil society
 - quality of life (spare time activities, subcultural scene)
 - quality of the environment (landscape, culture and tourism sights etc.)
 - attractive residential environment, attractive architecture, housing conditions

Social networks

- What is your family background and social ties?
- What role have other family members (wife / husband) or Polish colleagues played in the decision process?
- How many people did you know in the Poznan metropolitan region before?

Actual living and working situation:

Could you please describe your actual living situation?

- What do you like about the Poznan metropolitan region / what do you not like about the Poznan metropolitan region? (quality of life, housing situation, tolerance, diversity, spare time activities, landscape etc.)
- What problems and chances do you experience at the moment in the Poznan metropolitan region?
- How satisfied are you with your living situation?

Past:

When you think back to your first months in the Poznan metropolitan region, how did you experience the first time after you came from abroad?

- Did you get support? (e.g. by your company, the city, friends in the Poznan metropolitan region...)
- How did you find your accommodation (relocation service, own search,...)?
- How were contacts with clerks, the bureaucracy?
- How much did you pay yourself for the international move?
- Did you miss a certain type of support?

Future:

What are your future plans?

End of the interview:

- What do you think can be done to improve the situation of highly skilled migrants in the creative knowledge industry in the Poznan metropolitan region?
- How does the Poznan metropolitan region compare with other metropolitan regions in terms of conditions for the development of the creative knowledge sector?
- Which places /persons in the Poznan metropolitan region would you consider crucial in shaping the climate of a city favourable to the inflow of the creative class and the development of the creative knowledge sector?

- How do you assess the policy of the city and region authorities in this respect?
- Would you like to add something?

Personal background (following information should be obtained; see also short questionnaire)

- male/female
- age
- family situation
- nationality/ies
- country living before coming to this country
- duration of stay in the Poznan metropolitan region region (month/year)
- income
- highest educational degree/country obtained