

Institutionalization of the occurrence of immigrants.

The case of the Ukrainians and Armenians in Poland.

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As the consequence of the democratic transition in the Central and Eastern Europe the structure of the Polish social order underwent major changes. Among diverse transformations, recognition and allowance for the heterogeneity of the society was one of the most important changes. For this reason, the core concern of this paper rests in the newly-appearing ethnic diversity in Poland and the cases of the Ukrainian and Armenian migrants have been selected for close study.

Hence, since the phenomena of the immigration to Poland is quite new, the majority of the hitherto explanations have been devoted to the analysis of the individual strategies of migration. However, it is also worth considering it from the other angle and examine collective strategies of dealings with migration and migrants' occurrence in Poland. This particular subject constitutes the area that is still not satisfactorily researched on and, at the same time, one that has potential of providing an important insight into the matter of the prospects of the potential inflows from the East to Poland.

Therefore, the main concern of this paper is with presenting theoretical framework that will allow for the analysis of the process of institutionalization of the migrants occurrence in Poland since 1989. The objectives of the creation of this framework is to shed light on the following research questions:

1. what are the forms of the collective dealings with the occurrence of the Ukrainian and Armenian migrants in Poland and what kind of needs and expectations do they fulfil?,
2. what are the imperatives and bonds that manage their lives while in Poland? and,
3. what are the consequences of such conduct for the occurrence of migrants as well as for Poland as a receiving country?

The taken approach will allow for the analysis of the process of the institutionalization of the migrants' occurrence in Poland at the individual, group, and community levels.

1. Context

1.1. Poland as a country of ethnic diversity

Polish tradition of the multicultural state goes back to the 17th century. Yet in 20th century, after the Second War World, the ethnic boundaries of Poland were strongly affected by the establishment of the new Polish borders, as well as by deportations and displacements (Rabagliati 2001). Over and above this, those who did not claim Polish

ethnicity were compelled to polonaise (Rabagliati 2001). These procedures led to almost monoethnic composition of Poland in the second half of 20th century. This situation was treated as one of the major successes of the communist state (Łodziński 2000: 41). These unfavourable circumstances had profound effects on the collective activities of people of different ethnic origins in Poland.

From 1950s onwards mobility of people in the entire communist block was highly restricted and immigration to Poland was almost non-existing. Hence, one cannot confer about migrant organizations during that period in Poland¹. After transition in 1989, the circumstances changed and immigration appeared. Still, migratory patterns that we observe in current Poland seem to exercise significant – though negative – impact on migrants' collective activities, especially those formal ones, like established organizations.

As Cyrus notices (2005: 37), whether organizations are officially registered strongly depends on origin and status of the groups they represent. According to many estimates, irregular migrants are the largest category of migrants to Poland (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Okólski 2003)². If they decide to undertake an employment they do so in the shadow economy and hence do not want to flaunt with their associational activities. Nowadays in Poland, according to the official data, the most numerous are temporal, or even seasonal, workers. Such temporality of residence, even if repeated, may depress stronger ties with the host country and it does not favour abiding involvement into ethnic community. Another category of migrants are asylum seekers and refugees who are, in general, believed to take active stance towards their homelands (see: Portes 1999: 465). However, in case of Poland refugees and asylum seekers treat this country only as a transit country in their way to the West (Iglicka 2000). In any case, they do not constitute in Poland an organized community. Immigrants to Poland who intend to stay there for longer period of time, and who would seem to be the most interested in engagement and development of the well-functioning ethnic communities, still represent insignificant group.

In general, the small migrant communities and the above mentioned diversity of migratory patterns are not conducive factors for organized, visible and influential activities. Besides, such needs are rarely pronounced by the migrants themselves. Still, some options became also more accessible for them after the transition in 1989. Among many other important changes, transformation of the political regime resulted in lifting restrictions on setting up associations and on political and social activities of citizens (Mucha 1992). Article 4 of the Act on Associations states 'foreigners who have residence permit on the territory of Poland may associate according to the provisions binding Polish citizens' and 'foreigners who do not reside on the territory of Poland may join these associations whose statutes anticipate such possibility'. Firstly these

¹ With very few exceptions, e.g. 'Socio-Cultural Society of Vietnamese in Poland' that was set up in 1986 in Warsaw.

² Although this is not possible to say exactly how many unregistered migrants reside in Poland, estimates vary from 100 000 to several hundred thousands people annually. It is believed that the largest stream comes from Ukraine.

conditions seem to be quite liberal for immigrants' civil participation, however, as immigrants complain, the bylaws turn out to be restrictive. This situation is not likely to be changed soon since the question of civic participation of non-citizens in Poland has not been discussed either by policy makers at any level, NGOs or rarely by immigrants themselves (Iglińska 2005). In addition, the issue of voting rights at local level for foreigners is not on the political agenda of any major institutions. Moreover, foreigners cannot join political parties in Poland. The analysis of the recent parliamentary debates and political parties programs concerning political rights of migrants revealed only initial phase of such discourse in Poland (Kurczewska *et al.* 2005). In the result, the civil participation of non-citizens in Poland is not supported and encouraged at all and there are no structures enabling immigrants to influence political decisions at any level (Iglińska 2005).

1.2. Immigration to Poland: Ukrainians and Armenians

Following Sackmann's (2004: 43) conviction that the size of ethnic communities to considerable extent determines the scope of their institution-building, it is advisable to analyze the data concerning the migratory patterns of Ukrainians and Armenian in Poland. The choice of these two migrant³ groups is justified by the fact that Ukrainians constitute the biggest migrant group in Poland, while Armenians represent the nation that has one of the oldest traditions of immigration to Poland that dates back to 12th /13th century.

According to the official figures, at the end of 2006 there were 54,883 foreigners in Poland amounting to a mere 0.14% of the total population of Poland (Kępińska 2007). Nationals of Ukraine constituted nine per cent of this share and nationals of Armenia one per cent. In addition, there were 40 695 temporal foreigners in Poland where Ukraine constituted 27 per cent and Armenia three per cent of the total stock (Kępińska 2007). One has to bear in mind, that real numbers of the foreigners arriving and residing in Poland are much higher, since irregular immigration of the nationals of Ukraine and Armenia seems to be profound and difficult to estimate (e.g. Grzymała-Kazłowska & Okólski 2003). The above mentioned data, as well as many other resources (e.g. Grzymała-Kazłowska & Okólski 2003, Górny *et al.* 2007) are clear though that immigration from Ukraine is mainly based on temporal (quite often seasonal) basis, while immigration from Armenia in the 1990s was mainly irregular and intended for a longer stay but in the recent years has significantly decreased. For Ukrainian immigrants Poland is attractive due to its geographical and cultural proximity, relatively easy access and quite dense networks of contacts, while immigration from Armenia in the 1990s was motivated by the existence of the old historical Armenian community in Poland. These differences in migratory patterns and life perspectives seem to have noteworthy effect on the organizational behaviours of the nationals of these countries in Poland.

³ A migrant is a person who has arrived in Poland from abroad, decided to settle in Poland after having lived permanently in another country, and has to register in an administrative unit. This applies to foreign and Polish citizens who previously had been living permanently abroad.

It should be added, that despite the current low relative numbers of migrants in Poland, scholars are convinced that Poland will become a destination country for migrants in future⁴ (e.g. Wojakowski 2007). Therefore, the significance of the phenomena of migration in Poland cannot be measured solely in relative terms but rather these are the migration mechanisms that should be identified and analysed.

2. State of the art

The stream of the sociological institutional thought consists of such prominent names as: Cooley, Park Hughes, or in Europe: Durkheim and Weber. The institutions that were analyzed by them were mainly great institutions, such as: language, government, church, laws, family. Therefore, that was their continuity and persistence that was underlined.

Although also Poland has important traditions in terms of developing institutional theory (e.g. Rychard 1996, Marody & Wilkin 2006) this theme was undertaken mainly with regard to the democratic transition that took place in 1989. However, this subject has not been considered with regard to the migration in general and immigrants in particular. The question of the migrants organizations has been systematically risen by far in only one research (Iglicka 2005), however the analysis were not referring to the wider contextual setting of migrants' occurrence in Poland. Additionally, indeed the collective strategies of dealing with migration have been mentioned in diverse researches (e.g. Górný *et al.* 2007), however without the attempt of finding their common denominator and analysing these diverse manifestations as one phenomena. The below presented theoretical framework aims at filling in this lacuna.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Institutionalization, institutions and organizations

Since the main concern of this paper is with institutionalization of the occurrence of the immigrants in Poland, these arguments intentionally focus on solely one social field⁵ that can be distinguished from the wider institutional relations (Kostera 2003). Hence, the following social field in question is associated with the analysis of the 'organizational field' created by the representatives of migrants in Poland. Although, this term was originally coined by DiMaggio & Powell (1983), definition which is the most appropriate to the following research is provided by Richard Scott (1995), who defines organizational field as an 'interorganizational systems exercising some controls over individual organizations but themselves liked to wider institutional frameworks' (Scott 1995: 14). Henceforth, the main interest of this paper rests in the analysis of the

⁴ Under the condition that it will achieve economic success.

⁵ Understood as 'the whole of interactions, values, meanings and resources shared by actors involved in the given social process' (Turner 2005).

occurrence, performance and relations among the institutions established by migrants in Poland. The analysis of the other social fields are excluded from the systematic analysis and they will be referred to only if indispensable for understanding wider social context factors influencing ethnic institutions. Clearly the boundaries of 'organizational field' are by no means objective or ultimate and this is rather an analytical category that will allow for the further empirical studies of the selected research problems.

Consequently, the difference between institution and organization should be explained, as these terms are commonly used alternatively, but are clearly differentiated in the following paper.

1. On the one hand, there is capacious sociological definition of institution. Despite the fact it has been enthusiastically applicable to the various researches, there is no consent to the one definition acceptable by all scholars (Hechter 1990). Researchers quite often neglect the necessitate of providing an explicit definition of this term and constrain their theoretical endeavours to the descriptive explanations of what institution is or might be. Most frequently this is the regulative and normative dimensions that are highlighted – then institutions are defined as widespread and stable rules of conduct (e.g. Veblen 1919, Commons 1924, Giddens 1984) and/or social norms (e.g. March & Olsen 1984, Offe 1995, Sztompka 2003) that are internalized by the members of the society or community (e.g. March & Olsen 1984, Okoń-Horodyńska 1996), constrain (e.g. Rychard 1996, North 1994) and govern (Goss & Lindquist 1995: 334) their behaviour and by this, provide stability (e.g. Giddens 1984, Offe 1995) and rationality of the actions undertaken within institution (e.g. Shotter 1981, Coleman 1990). According to Michael Hechter the ambiguity of this term obliges each scholar to adapt and explain his 'favorite definition' (Hechter 1990:14). Hence, in this paper capacious definition is being applied which states that **institutionalization is a process of the emergence and state of existence of rules, norms and common frames of reference that are embodied in the existence of the formal and informal organizations within the community**. In this context, institution is an abstract entity.
2. On the other hand, there is more tangible understanding of institution, which in the common language is a synonym for organization. In this context, the convincing approach is represented by Douglass North who explains that 'institutions are the rules of the game' (North 1994: 361), while organizations are 'players' (North 1992: 7), or more formally 'organizations are made up of groups of individuals bound together by some common purpose to achieve certain objectives' whose creation mirror the opportunities granted by the 'institutional matrix' (North 1994: 361). Therefore, the existence of the organizations is more concrete – they can be observed and measured. Although, this paper does not accept purely regulative approach represented by North, this depiction describes this dependency between institution and organization quite clearly. Hereby, social organization is perceived as an **integrated set of the social positions and networks bonding social relation that realizes socially important goals and can be easily differentiated from the other entities** (Sztompka 2003: 125).

In brief, institution is more capacious term than organization which is perceived as a part of the wider social system – namely, institutional system (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, in: Kostera 2003). Similarly, Scott (1995) claims that all organizations are institutionalized, what means that they are embedded in the wider institutional system that influence and shape their occurrence, performance and development. Zucker notices that ‘institutionalization is both a process and a property variable’ (1977:728). This means that one can look at institutions as a process developing over time (‘series of occurrences of events’, Mohr 1982: 54) or as an entity *per se* (‘a set of relations among variables’, Mohr 1982: 54). This paper accepts simultaneously both approaches. Despite the fact that the following study focus on the analysis of the institutions in the current time and the context factors that influence their occurrence and performance, it takes the endeavour of grasping the dynamics of the process and changes of the institutions in the recent years. Additionally, at the end of the analysis it will attempted to forecast the probable paths of the ethnic institutions’ development and their impact on migration in future. In consequence, institutionalization as such is perceived as process and only while describing it in a given moment in time – as a state.

3.1.1. Bonds of the institutionalization process

According to the definition of the institutionalization process provided above three elements: rules, norms and common frames of reference constitute its essential parts and reflect the three imperatives of bonds that tie people together and influence institutionalization process: regulative, normative and cognitive. Each of them refers to the different understanding of the institutionalization and emphasizes different mode of ties that bind members of the community and lead to the diverse conclusions about the consequences of the process in question. These elements may overlap (and they frequently do) but analytically are mutually exclusive. Additionally, it should be emphasized, these various pillars have not only received different scope of attention among scholars but also different importance was attached to them. In this paper the equal weight is ascribed to each approach and all three will be considered important. Below each of these bonds is characterized.

Regulative approach is most frequently mentioned by the scholars (e.g. North 1990, Hechter *et al.* 1990) and this approach is associated with the most conventional point of view – it emphasizes rule-setting, monitoring, and sanctioning activities. In consequence, institution understood only in this term stresses the importance of rules (both, written and unwritten) and compliance to them. This view implies the rationality of institution and self-interest of the individuals to conform. Therefore, it is easier to explain why people obey the rules than why these rules are created.

Normative systems (e.g. March & Olsen 1984) define objectives as well as right ways to pursue them and in consequence it states what people are (or are not) supposed to do. Normative element, by introducing values and norms, adds evaluative dimension into social life. These normative system is often perceived at the same time as constraining and enabling social actions. The expectations linked to norms are held not only by the focal actors but they also become internalized by involved individuals.

Cognitive element (e.g. Goffman 1974, Gonos 1977, Maines 1977, Swidler 1986, Zucker 1977) emphasize that rules are the frames through which meaning is made; individuals interpret the surrounding actions and answer to them according to their own understanding of those actions. Therefore, in order to explain human actions objective conditions have to be taken into account as well as subjective meanings attached to them. Actors construct social reality but they do so within wider context of pre-existing symbolic frameworks that is external and internal at the same time.

Additionally, in order to function each institution must be legitimized by the community where it is embedded in. However, referring to the pillars presented above, each approach requires different type of legitimacy. Legitimacy of normative institutions means that they are in accord with (quasi-) legal requirements. Normative legitimacy means that institution is morally validated. Cognitive legitimacy requires common frame of reference (Scott 1995).

In this paper definition of institutionalization is expanding and each of those bonds will be taken into account and, if applicable, analyzed. Such approach will allow further assessments concerning the identification and examination of those elements that govern the relations within the Ukrainian and Armenian community. Such conclusions will be possible to be drawn after conducting the analysis designed and presented in the subsequent sections.

3.1.2. Units of the research

As Fukuyama puts it, 'Some [societies] show a markedly greater proclivity for association than others, and the preferred form of association differ. In some, family and kinship constitute the primary form of association; in others, voluntary associations are much stronger and serve to draw people out of their families' (Fukuyama 1995: 28). Hence, the following research will focus on two types of the organizations which will be treated as manifestations of the process of the institutionalization of the migrants' occurrence in Poland:

- **formal** organizations defined by enduring, stable and visible vertical and horizontal structure, and
- **informal** organizations understood as unofficial manners of uniting people who want to achieve a specific goal.

In this paper formal and informal organizations working in the current time are 'units of reference', institution's activities and people involved are mainly used as 'unit of measurement', whereas the categories of the process of institutionalization of the occurrence of migrants in Poland present the 'units of analysis' of the following paper.

3.2. Categories of the institutionalization of the occurrence of the migrants in Poland

In order to answer the research questions that guide the following analysis the focus will be put on two aspects of institutionalization of the occurrence of migrants in Poland: the existence of ties (rules, norms and/or common frames of reference) that bond members of the migrant community, and the existence of the formal and informal organizations

within the particular migrant community. Such understanding of the term allows for the creation of the broad-spectrum typology of the process of institutionalization. Four categories of institutionalization are distinguished that are likely to differ in terms of the type of ties (regulative, normative or cognitive) that bond members of the group together and sort of organizations each group develop. On the basis of the definition of the institutionalization process accepted in this paper, two requisite criteria are constructed for the typology that prompt the following two questions:

1. Do rules, norms and/or common frames of reference manage the existence and performance of the migrant community?
2. What type of organizations prevails in the performance of the given migrant group?

In answering these questions, categories of the institutionalization of the migrants' occurrence in Poland are identified, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Categories of institutionalization

Existence of rules, norms and common frames of reference	Yes	No
Organizations		
Formal	acknowledged	external
Informal	familiar	deficient

Source: own elaboration.

Acknowledged institutionalization signifies the manifestation of the rules, norms and/or common frames of reference within formal institution e.g. registered organization. Depending on the type of ties (rules, norms and/or common frames of reference) that are in power, the regulative, normative or cognitive acknowledged institutionalization can be differentiated.

Familiar institutionalization indicates that ties (rules, norms and/or common frames of reference) that bond the members of the migrant group do exist but are contained within informal relations, such as: friendship or family networks. Depending on the type of ties (rules, norms and/or common frames of reference) that are in power, the regulative, normative or cognitive familiar institutionalization can be identified.

External institutionalization is understood as an outer manifestation of the migrant community – these are formal institutions that are expected to encompass members of

the migrant groups, however they do not accomplish any role for the migrant group, e.g. paper organizations⁶.

Deficient institutionalization means that migrant group has created only few (or even none) forms of organized ethnic occurrence – if informal organizations do appear they do not find any grounding in the internal ties within the group what lead to the uncertainty and instability of their occurrence.

Since the institutionalization is perceived as a process, it should be emphasized that ethnic groups may evolve over time and the type of their institutionalization may change. In the following research the analysis of the Ukrainian and Armenian migrant group performances within current time will be taken into account and hence, the most prevailing forms of their activities within given time will be considered.

4. The approach taken

4.1. Hypothesis

1. *Context factors related to Poland do not encourage the maintenance of ethnic belonging of migrants.*
2. *In consequence, the occurrence of the Ukrainian and Armenian migrants depends mostly on the informal organizations.*
3. *Within those informal organizations rules, norms and/or shared frames of reference manage the conduct of the studied migrants in Poland.*
4. *This type of the process of institutionalization fulfil those needs and expectations of studied migrants that institutions of country of arrival are not capable or willing to fulfil.*

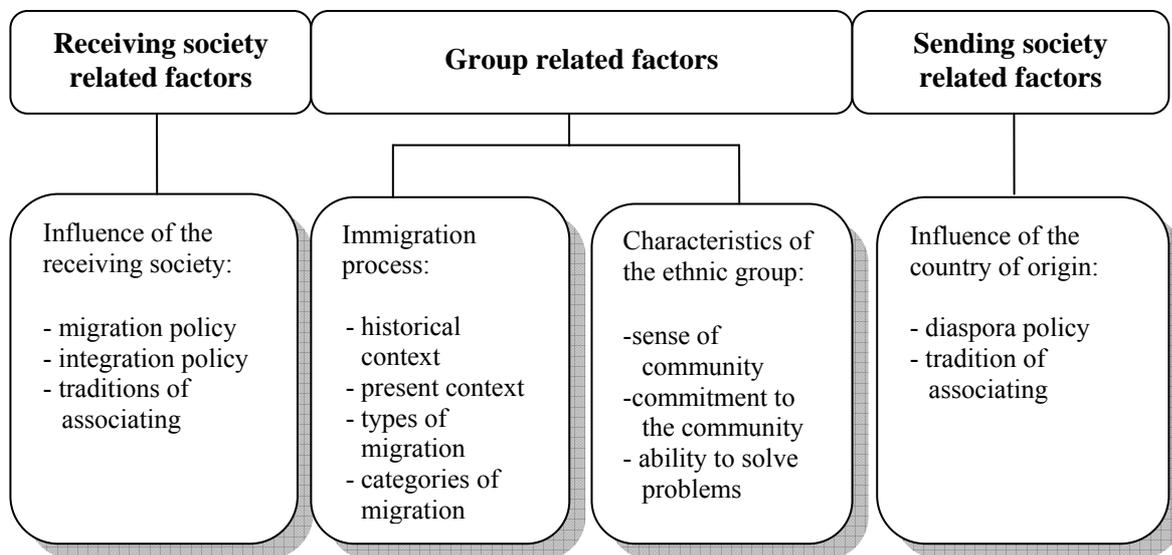
4.2. A definitional framework - institutionalization process

Richard Scott (1995) emphasizes that institutions consist of the above mentioned regulative, normative, and cognitive structures that introduce meaning and provide stability into social behaviour. Furthermore, Scott rightly draws the attention to the fact that institutions, in order to develop and diffuse, are transported by various carriers. He differentiates three types of such carriers: cultures, structures, and routines (Scott 1995: 33). In my opinion, within the framework of analysis of the migrant groups embedded in different backgrounds and context factors, those elements seem to be too narrow and hence, insufficient. Still, the distinction proposed by Scott exerts significant role in the analysis conducted within this paper, and it is going to be adapted to the requirements of the following research.

⁶ An organization that only exists on paper and does not produce genuine organizational activities (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001: 270).

Referring to the work of Floris Vermeulen (2005), three broader types of carriers of the institutionalization process of the migrants' occurrence in Poland are differentiated and analyzed in this paper: (1) **receiving society related factors**, (2) **sending society related factors**, (3) **group related factors**. All three sets of factors are expected to have a specific influence on the institutionalization of the occurrence of the migrant groups, however their real impact will be verified by the further empirical analysis. Henceforth, such differentiation of the carriers allows for more consistent and cohesive approach towards the phenomena of the process of institutionalization and permits to take into account diverse causes influencing its development and performance among migrant groups in the receiving country.

Figure 1. Institutionalization carriers



Source: own elaboration.

Below analysis aim to provide and analyze received and empirical data concerning the institutionalized occurrence of the migrants in Poland. Henceforth, firstly the context factors referring to the 'receiving society related factors' and 'sending society related factors' will provide a background information necessary to understand the environment in which migrants are embedded. Secondly, the presentation of the 'group related factors' will require a empirical work that will reveal essential characteristics of the particular group that influence migrant organizing process in Poland.

4.2.1. Context factors

The present text covers the research problem by giving a general insight into various context factors influencing migrants' institutionalization process, than arguing at this stage of the research about their factual impact on the development of migrant institutions. Hence, the beneath structure of study follows the ideal of an inductive

method which rather considers irrelevant factors than overlooks potentially important ones.

Receiving society related factors

Host society exercises a significant influence on the organizational behaviours of immigrants. Hereby, it is assumed that the extend to which host authorities and society are receptive to demands of immigrants determines the scope of the self-organization of the migrant groups in a host society (Vermeulen 2005). Furthermore, it is believed that if native institutions are willing to address the needs of newcomers, they will be less inclined to bond together (Vermeulen 2005). Moreover, the possibilities accessible to migrants may to large extent influence whether they are capable of being formally (or informally) organized. Therefore, within this particular part of the research the following aspects will be examined:

1. Polish **migration** and **integration policy** the analysis of which will permit to define the attitude of the authorities towards the migrants (with special attention paid to the Ukrainians and Armenians) and the opportunities accessible to them (such as economic, social, civil⁷ and political prospects that represent the possibility of constructing instrumental links with wider system and to access various types of resources located in- and outside the migrant group). As Chaskin (2001) rightly states that 'ethnic groups are embedded in the broader socioeconomic systems and the ability of achieving goals depends largely on policy being made and implemented beyond their borders' (Chaskin *et al.* 2001: 16). The policies will be analysed at the state level as well as the initiatives taken by the regional governments will be examined.

2. Since the main concern are institutions and organizations functioning in the receiving society, it is believed to be insightful to describe Polish **traditions of associating**. The overview of the historical development of this process will be provided as well as its current significance and patterns will be presented and evaluated. Additionally, attention will be paid to the ethnic associations and their functioning in Poland in the past.

Sending society related factors

In the nowadays ethnically diversified world, many countries of origin try to become an active actors supporting the maintenance of the ties with their migrant nationals. The explanations why and what is the form of those relations maintained by migrants with their country of origin may constitute an important explaining factor for the types (formal vs. informal) of the institutionalization process of migrants in the receiving society. Since in case of immigrants the importance of the sending country is usually underestimated in this research it will not be omitted and two groups of factors will be analyzed:

⁷ With attention paid to the overview of the current possibilities of associating available to the representatives migrants in Poland.

1. **diaspora policy** conducted by the authorities of the country of origin. This component aims at identifying the general attitude of the country of origin towards their migrant nationals, e.g. support for the ethnic organizations established by migrants, facilitation of remitting or educational programmes addressed to Sunday schools gathering children in the countries of arrival.

2. Social and legal **traditions of associating** in the country of origin. This component gains importance, since it has been proved that immigrants coming from well-developed civic societies create numerous organizations in the new setting (e.g. Panayi 1995). It might be fruitful to analyse whether similar relations are maintained with regard to the Ukrainian and Armenian migrants in Poland.

4.2.2. *Group related factors*

It should be emphasized that great diversity of potential variables influencing organizational process of ethnic groups hamper any *a priori* generalization concerning their far-reaching influence on migrants' institutionalization process. Therefore, since different factors may have different impact on various groups, exceptions from the general rule are likely to appear. Therefore, such attitude may jeopardize following research. In consequence, it is assumed that it will not be possible to detect, examine and assess the influence of all possible factors. Due to the restricted scope of the research, only the most prominent factors, whose role for the group organizing process is proved, are included into further analysis. The analysis will be conducted separately for each ethnic group: Ukrainians and Armenians.

Immigration process

It has been proved that the process of immigration shapes collective character of immigrant groups by forcing immigrants to reconsider their identity what in turn may increase the demand for separate organizations (Vermeulen 2005: 32). Perceived difficulties as well as factual problems and worries can stimulate a sense of group identity among immigrants that may give an impetus for the establishment of immigrant organizations (Vermeulen 2005). The well documented effect of so-called 'cushioning' function of immigrant organizations is among the most important reasons why certain immigrant groups establish their own organizations (e.g. Thomas & Znaniecki 1976, Jones-Correa 1998). Furthermore, Ethnic organizations aims at offering a secure environment in which already settled immigrants may find feeling of protection from the outside environment and feel at home (Vermeulen 2005).

For the above mentioned reasons, in this part of the research the following aspects of the immigration process will be examined:

1. the overview of the **historical** development of the occurrence of the of the Ukrainian and Armenian communities in Poland.

2. Moreover, emphasis will be given to the **present** context of their occurrence in Poland. Within these analysis attention will be paid to the following

variables: (1) *size of the group* (the total size of the ethnic group is frequently used as a first indicator of the degree to which the immigrant group may reveal organizational needs, Vermeulen 2005) and (2) *demographic composition* of the given ethnic group (age, sex, education and occupational structure which also influence the groups' organizational needs, Vermeulen 2005).

3. Description of the **types of immigration** and **categories of migrants** from Ukraine and Armenia in Poland, based on the received literature and data with particular attention paid to the economic, social and cultural dimensions of the process of their integration to the receiving society. If immigration is seasonal, or even temporal, the inclination towards getting engaged into immigrant organizations will be less profound. Similarly, irregular migrants will rather become a clientele of the organizations, but their active involvement in the organizational activities will be substantially hampered.

Character of the ethnic group

The second dimension of the institutions within this carrier is the character of the ethnic group. Despite the recent critique concerning the usage of the category of the 'ethnic group' as a relevant unit of analysis as the increasing importance of the socio-economic characteristics have been revealed by the scholars, it seems that in Poland ethnic identification still plays an essential role in migrants' perception of their performance in the receiving country (e.g. Wojakowski 2007). Therefore, the overall capacity of the ethnic group to become organized will be also a function of the individual characteristics of the migrant groups in question: Ukrainians and Armenians. In order to acquire these information, the empirical fieldwork will be required.

The capacity of a group towards process of organizing will be influenced by the following subjective characteristics that, as Chaskin claims, 'exist along a continuum from less to more' and existence of which 'is a matter of degree, threshold levels of some are probably necessary if the group is to accomplish particular objectives' (Chaskin *et al.* 2001: 14):

1. **sense of community** reveals a degree of connectedness among members of the ethnic group and a recognition of mutuality of situation, including shared values, norms, and frames of reference (McMilan & Chavis 1986). Though frequently described in affective terms (Chaskin *et al.* 2001), the existence of a sense of community may also be based on instrumental values – for example, the development of the cooperation aimed at achieving common good (Guest & Lee 1983). It should be highlighted that sense of community might vary by type, degree (Chaskin *et al.* 2001: 14) and circumstances.

2. **commitment to the community** among its members means the responsibility that individuals, informal assemblies, or organizations take for the performance of the certain group. Such commitment has two vital aspects: the first one refers to the fact that community members see themselves as 'stakeholders' in the welfare of the entire group (Chaskin *et al.* 2001: 15). The second one concerns the

readiness of those members to participate actively as ‘stakeholders’ (Chaskin *et al.* 2001: 15). This element will allow for the identification of activists who keenly undertake diverse endeavours for the group.

3. **ability to solve problems** describes the aptitude to transform commitment into action. Individuals performing their work may leave, while institutions created will remain (Chaskin *et al.* 2001: 16). Those institutions must be capable of lasting or adapting, responding to or compensating for the impact of the group transformation (Chaskin *et al.* 2001: 16).

This part constitutes an important element of the analysis since it will allow to distinguish collective as well as individual components of the perception of belonging to the certain ethnic groups and the capability of undertaking organized actions. Hence, at this stage of the research, the unit of interest is not ethnic culture *per se* but rather interpretations constructed by the individuals and groups. Such approach will allow not only for capturing the dynamics and the diversity of the process but also will facilitate identification of: central symbols, boundaries and networks of meaning created by migrants (Wojakowski 2007). This part of the research assumes some degree of reflexivity of investigated individuals and accepts the social constructs created by them.

4.3. Institutionalization of the occurrence of migrants in Poland – case studies

Organizations - both formal and informal - are not static entities but can be rather characterized by their own internal dynamics and alterations over time that lead to the diversity of forms organizations may reveal. Hence, the aim of the below analysis is to present, explore and explain variety of structures institutionalization may expose. Consequently, the following investigation will refer to the two migrant groups (Ukrainians and Armenians) in Poland and the data concerning the current time of their occurrence in Poland will be studied separately for each of them.

There are three levels that allow for the analysis of the institutionalization process of the ethnic groups in Poland; these are levels of migrants’: **individuals**, **networks** and **organizations** (Chaskin *et al.* 2001). It is hereby claimed that these levels are not mutually exclusive, and in various situations all of them might be simultaneously working. Such statement finds grounding in the work of Caporael (1995), according to who social life should be perceived as a ‘nested hierarchical organization’. It consists of different levels of functioning that are linked with each other - the ‘lower’ level entities constitute a ‘nest’, while the ‘higher’ entities outgrow and create a social environment for the individuals. Entities at one level can function as ‘environment’ or context for entities at another level. Consequently, the way individuals function at the lower level depends on how the entire entity functions. It also operates reversely, but under certain condition – the changes at the lower level influence the entire entity only when they become assimilated by the higher level. In consequence, each of the above mentioned levels constitute a vital element of the institutionalization process which are closely interrelated with each other.

Hereby, levels of *individuals* and *networks* will be perceived as manifestations of the existence of the informal organizations, while *organizations* as embodiments of formal ones. Among informal ones (1) friendship or family networks and (2) individual assistance will be researched on, while among formal ones: (1) ethnic organizations⁸ and (2) labour broking concerning labour mobility from Ukraine and Armenia to Poland.

Additionally, analysis will go beyond the examination of solely migrant groups and will refer to the matters concerning how the established communities of the ethnic **minorities** in Poland influence the organizational process of the migrants representing the same ethnic group. Even though there is fairly large literature concerning minorities and migrant minorities in Poland, no attention has been paid to the consequences of the existence of the organized minority communities and their institutions for migration in general and for the immigrants of the same ethnic origin in particular. Henceforth, the case of the Ukrainian migrants and Ukrainian minority as well as Armenian migrants and Armenian minority in Poland will be selected for close study. The existence of the minority organizations as such will not be treated as a manifestation of the institutionalization of the migrant group, rather this will be the involvement of the representatives of migrant groups that will be assessed. Therefore, this is the actual contribution of migrants into organizations' performance and the fulfilment of concrete migrants' needs that minority organizations provide that will be treated as the expression of the migrants institutional performances.

Those forms of the assistance, which far exceeds the accidental contacts between individuals, are necessary embedded in the diverse types of bonds (rules, norms and/or common frames of reference) that initiate and rule the conduct of involved actors. Therefore, one of the aims of the following part of the analysis will be to identify, name and examine the operation of the main components of the bonds to which involved actors refer and which manage their occurrence. Additionally, despite the analysis concentrated at the country of arrival, attention will be also paid to social relations maintained by immigrants with their country of origin (e.g. with family, friends, neighbours, etc.) in order to detect the ties that potentially create a institutional field that spans across the boundaries of the country of arrival and origin.

4.3.1. Individual assistance

There are diverse forms that that level of the institutionalization may exhibit, however there are two which seem to have profound impact on the overall performance of the ethnic groups.

Firstly, the individual level concerns human capital and leadership – the skills, knowledge, and resources of individual members and their participation in community-improving activities (Chaskin *et al.* 2001). One individual may motivate community for

⁸ Ethnic organization is understood as “organizations established by the representatives of the ethnic collectiveness and that associate mainly or to the large proportion the members of those collectiveness” (Babiński 1986).

undertaking certain actions or organize and influence certain endeavours that otherwise would not take place (Chaskin *et al.* 2001). Charismatic leader is of particular importance at the initial stage of the development of the institutionalization process, when group has not yet managed to develop its own, stable rules of conduct (Chaskin *et al.* 2001).

Secondly, these are individual relations between two representatives of the group that can be described as constant and recurring and henceforth influence the creation of the coordinated actions. Caporael (1995) terms this as ‘microcoordination’ denoting that human action are performed within the repeated social context.

4.3.2. Migrant networks

Several studies have shown that informal immigrant networks can exercise important role in the lives of immigrant groups. The network level operates through relations among individuals, informal assemblies, and, to certain extent, formal organizations (Chaskin *et al.* 2001). Networks of social relations provide a context of trust and support that facilitate access to diverse resources (such as: information, connections, money). As mentioned above, such relationships provide individuals also with a socially defined context (norms, rules and/or shared frames of reference) that help arrange relations among them (DiMaggio & Powell 1983).

This approach, represented by the network theory (see: Bott 1957, Scott 1991), ‘seeks to derive simple types of associations between persons from different types of exchange of different types of rewards, and from these associations to derive social integration, differentiation, opposition, and legitimacy as dimensions of complex social structures’ (Wallace 1969: 30). To sum up, such approach leaves the room for relational ties and ‘regularities’ between actors functioning in the society and not only focuses on the individuals themselves, therefore the emphasis is given to ties between ‘social groups and the pattern that is set’ (Roberts 2006: 120). Clearly, network ties differ in scope, strength, function and use, and they are not evenly distributed among actors (Mitchell 1969). This brings into consideration the question of ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ ties where weak ties are perceived as a linkages between stronger networks (Granovetter 1973).

4.3.3. Organizations

Institutionalization of the migrant groups at this level is reflected in the ability of such groups to carry out their functions responsively, effectively and efficiently, connecting to larger systems, both within and beyond the migrant community (Chaskin *et al.* 2001). Criteria for evaluating their ‘organizational capacity’ may vary significantly from organization to organization, depending on the nature of the work involved (Scott 1992). Criteria of organizational effectiveness are likely to go beyond an accounting of services provided or goods produced to incorporate issues of representation, political influence, and the ability of organizations to collaborate with each other (e.g. Glickmann & Servion 1998). Additionally, organizations can extent the entire spectrum of formality (Chaskin *et al.* 2001).

With regard to migrant organizations it will be researched on what are the conditions of establishing organizations, what function do they fulfil, how do they function and what is their role in the migrant community. Within this paper, the highlight will be put on the ethnic organizations - non-for-profit as well profit organizations - created by or/and for migrants from Ukraine and Armenia in Poland.

4.3.4. Migrants and minority

In a number of writings the term 'ethnic minority' is a synonym for 'immigrant group'. In Poland, these terms are clearly differentiated: these two groups enjoy different status, rights and obligations and are treated differently by the authorities⁹. According to the National Population Census 2002, as many as 1,2% (471 500) Polish citizens reported a ethnicity other than Polish (GUS 2003). They enjoy all political, economic and social rights available to Polish citizens and in addition, as members of the minority group individuals are also given supplementary privileges, such as exemption of candidates of the electoral commissions created by minorities' organizations¹⁰ from the requirement of exceeding 5% of the electoral threshold (Łodziński 2005). As mentioned above, the situation for migrants is utterly different.

Even though there is fairly large literature concerning minorities and migrant minorities in Poland, no attention has been paid to the consequences of the existence of the minority communities and their institutions for migration in general and for the immigrants of the same ethnic origin in particular. Since there are historic communities of the Ukrainians and Armenians in Poland, in this part of the paper, it will be examined whether shared ethnic consciousness encourages contacts with those who have the same ethnic affiliation and what are the forms, aims and consequences of such relations.

The analysis of the relations between the representatives of the minority and migrants who share the same ethnic consciousness will be examined referring solely to the one of the above differentiated levels, namely to the ethnic minority organizations and their role and function in the migrants' occurrence in Poland. The reason behind the limitation of that part of the study solely to the level of organizations rests in a fact that minority organizations, that exercise larger access to the resources and lesser legal hindrances face, may to the great extent influence the institutional occurrence of the

⁹ In the light of the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and on the Regional Languages (2005) minorities are divided into national and ethnic minorities in Poland. They are defined as groups of Polish citizens who jointly fulfill the following conditions:

- 1) are numerically smaller than the rest of the population of the Republic of Poland;
 - 2) significantly differ from the remaining citizens in their language, culture or tradition;
 - 3) strive to preserve their language, culture or tradition;
 - 4) are aware of their own historical, national community, and are oriented towards their expression and protection;
 - 5) their ancestors have been living on the present territory of the Republic of Poland for at least 100 years;
- National minorities should also identify themselves with a nation organized in its own state while ethnic minorities do not.

National minorities are: Germans, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Russians, Slovaks, Jews, Czechs, Armenians. While, ethnic minority constitute: the Roma, the Lemko, the Tartar, the Karaim.

¹⁰ National minorities in the understanding of the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and on the Regional Languages (2005)

migrants in Poland. Hence, it is assumed that the occurrence of 'historical minorities' has the capacity of affecting the situation for 'new' immigrant groups. Additionally, in case of the Ukrainians and Armenians, there are premises to state that in the recent years Ukrainian and Armenian immigrants started to associate with the 'old' Ukrainian and Armenian minority organizations respectively (Iglicka 2005).

4.4. Comparisons and conclusions

As the result of the above presented research procedure the data concerning the content of the institutionalization process of the two migrant groups in question will be achieved. Such knowledge will allow for accomplishing two concluding goals of this research:

1. The above described analysis will provide necessary information for undertaking an endeavour of examining and categorising researched groups according to the typology of the institutionalization process presented in the section 3.2. (acknowledged, familiar, external and deficient type of institutionalization). The analysis and the summary of the organized activities undertaken by the representatives of the each of the researched ethnic group will be provided. This attempt will lead to the attempt of categorizing the institutionalization process for each studied group. Additionally if applicable, based on the testimonies of the respondents, it will be identified and described which type of the bond (regulative, normative and cognitive) prevails among the members of the migrant group. In consequence, such approach will allow for the description and assessment the nature of the institutionalization of the occurrence of the Ukrainian and Armenian communities in Poland.
2. Henceforth, having knowledge referring to the categories of the institutionalization process and knowing what is the tangible content of those categories relevant to each of the researched groups, it will render possible conducting comparisons of the two migrant groups in question. The following comparisons will be carried out simultaneously for two groups in question with regard to the carriers differentiated at the previous stage of the research: (1) influence of the context factors (country of arrival and country of origin related factors), and (2) character of the migrant group. These factors will be analysed with regard to their actual influence on the institutionalization process of the both migrant groups. Hence, arguments concerning the scope of the impact of given factors and their determination of the development of migrant institutions will be presented. Due to this procedure, it will become more probable to identify those variables that have the greatest inductive and/or hindering effect on migrant group organizing process. Finally, the conclusions will be drawn with regard to the possible and probable prospects of the development of the migrant communities in Poland and their potential impact on the future migratory flows.

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