Unwanted People and Desired Citizens

Contemporary Attitudes, Challenges and Perceptions
of Migration and Integration

Edited by
**Cezary Smuniewski, Andrea Zanini,
Cyprian Aleksander Kozera, Błażej Bado**

Unwanted People and Desired Citizens

Contemporary Attitudes, Challenges and Perceptions
of Migration and Integration

Unwanted People and Desired Citizens

Contemporary Attitudes, Challenges and Perceptions of Migration and Integration

Edited by

Cezary Smuniewski, Andrea Zanini,
Cyprian Aleksander Kozera, Błażej Bado

Peer review
Prof. Radosław Bielawski
Prof. Bogusław Jagusiak

Translator/Language editor
Adam Petrėtis
Elżbieta Puławska

Cover design
Agnieszka Miłaszewicz

Contents

Alina Betlej
Krzysztof Jurek
Iwona Niewiadomska

Integration of Ukrainian Immigrants in Poland.
Analysis of Selected Problems

Abstract

Numerous factors are deemed crucial in facilitating the integration of immigrants into the host society. In the literature, one can find discussions on the various factors that influence immigrants' attitudes. Research reports on social integration of immigrants encompass a wide range of topics, including the utilization of different forms of institutional support, motives for migration, and future plans. This article aims to analyze selected social surveys conducted in Poland since 2022 among Ukrainian immigrants fleeing the war. The analysis will encompass aspects such as individual motivations, knowledge, and emotions associated with their arrival in and settlement in Poland, as well as systemic factors pertaining to the institutional conditions of the social integration process. Theoretical frameworks predominantly rely on two approaches: critical literature review and analytical-comparative methods.

Keywords: social integration, Ukrainian immigrants, integration models, social research

1. Introduction

The integration of foreigners in Poland has been a recurring theme in sociological research for quite some time. This issue has been extensively analyzed in numerous studies (Duszczyk, Kaczmarczyk 2022: 1–12). Empirical and theoretical investigations have covered a broad spectrum of topics, with particular attention given to the challenges faced by foreign arrivals as they enter Polish society. Within the literature, there are numerous accounts of research conducted among Ukrainian immigrants. Poland has served as a significant destination for Ukrainian migration over

many years. Establishing a precise definition for international migration is challenging, as there is no universally agreed-upon standard. In its broadest sense, international migration encompasses all forms of human mobility excluding tourism and business travel. Therefore, the analysis of these processes encompasses the movement of refugees, migrants, as well as individuals traveling for various other purposes. When examining the challenges of immigrant integration, it is crucial to adopt a specific definition, as it establishes the criteria by which individuals are classified as immigrants, refugees, or foreigners.

The most commonly used criterion for classification is based on factors such as foreign citizenship, country of birth, and previous place of residence. This definition primarily relies on the criterion of time. In certain contexts, these criteria are combined to specify who qualifies as a migrant and/or to which category of migration they belong. In UN documents, international migrants are defined as individuals who reside outside their country of origin for a period of at least 12 months (Pachocka, Misiuna 2015: 293–312). However, this definition is quite broad and does not encompass short-term migrants who stay outside their country for three to twelve months. Consequently, it can be subject to debate whether the term "immigrant" is applicable, particularly when analyzing the challenges faced by asylum seekers. Understanding the motivations behind mobility is crucial in social research. The distinct status of refugees is defined by international law and entails specific obligations towards this group of newcomers. While the Geneva Convention offers a narrow definition of a refugee, typically excluding victims of war, it has become common practice to refer to those fleeing conflict as refugees. These individuals are often compelled to leave their homeland due to persecution, warfare, or violence. It is likely that refugees cannot return home or are apprehensive about doing so for various reasons. Their departure is primarily motivated by concerns for their safety and the perception of objective dangers arising from wartime activities beyond their influence. The Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) advocates for the interchangeable use of terms such as immigrants and refugees in everyday language. This approach aims to underscore the rights of all migrants, irrespective of their circumstances.

The focus of this article primarily revolves around short-term migration, spanning from 3 to 12 months. Throughout the analysis, the authors will use the terms immigrants and refugees interchangeably. While only a small percentage of Ukrainians arriving in Poland since 2022 apply for official refugee status, their unique social circumstances warrant the inclusion of

the term "war refugees" in the analysis. The challenges faced by refugees constitute a significant aspect of understanding the phenomenon of migration or mass movements of people. Introducing this term highlights the crucial context of the analysis, particularly the potentially temporary and, in many cases, involuntary nature of settling in a new location. The Ukrainian refugees who arrived in 2022 represent a distinct category of immigrants, given the reasons behind their departure. Since the outbreak of the war in Ukraine on February 24, 2022, more than 11.7 million individuals have crossed the Polish-Ukrainian border (*Ilu ukraińskich uchodźców jest w Polsce* 2023). According to the Polish Border Guard, as of May 9, 2023, a total of 9.953 million people have returned to Ukraine since the beginning of the war (*Ilu ukraińskich uchodźców jest w Polsce* 2023).

Since the onset of the war, the challenges surrounding the integration of Ukrainian immigrants in Poland have attracted considerable interdisciplinary research attention. Scholars have revisited classic inquiries regarding immigrants' strategies for adapting to a new culture, prompting renewed efforts to rethink established theoretical models of integration. Field studies conducted by researchers have often shared similar research objectives, leading to comparable conclusions and providing insightful responses to recurring questions about the dynamics of Ukrainians' integration into Polish society amidst the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. The questions posed to immigrants addressed both individual motivations, knowledge, and emotions regarding their arrival and stay in Poland, as well as systemic issues related to the institutional conditions of the social integration process. In this article, the authors aim to delineate selected integration challenges faced by Ukrainian refugees, drawing on statistical data from social surveys conducted in Poland since 2022. Employing the analytical--synthetic method and critical literature review, the authors will undertake a comprehensive analysis. The next chapter will outline the theoretical and interpretive framework guiding their deliberations.

2. Integration of immigrants – theoretical issues

The process of immigrants' adaptation to a new socio-cultural reality is inherently intricate and can be examined through various analytical lenses. Drawing from existing literature, particular attention is directed towards delineating different coping strategies employed in navigating the new environment (Hein 1993: 43–59). Fundamental to the process of integration

into the host society are both the individual's inherent characteristics and social determinants associated with the immigrant. These encompass factors such as age, gender, marital status, and level of education. Personal attributes such as resilience, ambition, risk-taking propensity, perseverance, and patience undoubtedly play pivotal roles in enabling individuals to overcome the challenges inherent in the migration experience (Zawadzki, et al. 1995: 189–225). Social researchers frequently draw upon the "Big Five" personality dimensions outlined in Paul Costa and Robert McCrae's theory (McCrae, Costa 2005: 12–35):

1. Neuroticism: This dimension reflects the propensity to experience negative emotions and exhibit anxieties in both thought and action.
2. Extroversion: Extroversion pertains to one's engagement in interpersonal relationships and levels of energy.
3. Openness to experience: This dimension captures an individual's curiosity about the world and their inclination towards exploring a variety of experiences.
4. Agreeableness: Agreeableness measures traits such as concern for maintaining social harmony, willingness to cooperate with others, and a selfless interest in others.
5. Conscientiousness: Conscientiousness encompasses attributes such as self-control, discipline, organizational skills, and perseverance.

Marvin Zuckerman (1994: 219–255) has highlighted another crucial aspect of personality known as sensation seeking. Studies affirm that individuals with a high level of extraversion and openness to new experiences tend to establish social relationships more readily. They adapt more swiftly to changing life circumstances (Zuckerman 1994: 219–255). A positive outlook on the world fosters social integration in a new cultural milieu. It's worth noting the significance of identity in this context. Individuals who possess a strong sense of identity, rooted in their heritage and values, tend to navigate transitions more effectively. Previous experiences of migrants also play a vital role (Wessendorf, Phillimore 2019: 123–138). Positive experiences facilitate their integration into a foreign society, while challenging experiences may engender negative attitudes towards the new socio-cultural reality, leading to passivity, lack of motivation for education, or hostility towards support systems. Demographic factors, such as the age of the immigrant, are also deemed significant in prior research. Younger immigrants often find it easier to integrate as they have already accrued numerous experiences in the host country, making tasks such as finding employment and starting a family feel more natural.

Peter Adler's theory (1975: 13–23) offers a compelling interpretive framework for examining the social integration of immigrants, in terms of a contemporary approach to understanding culture shock. Transitioning into a new culture necessitates immigrants to undergo a comprehensive spectrum of experiences to acclimatize to their new environment. According to Adler, culture shock unfolds through a five-stage educational and developmental process. It can potentially culminate in the formation of an immigrant's bicultural or multicultural identity (Adler 1975: 13–23). Intercultural education plays a pivotal role in this multifaceted process. Its "aim is to delve into the essence of cultures and engage in mutual comparison and correlation, which strengthens one's own identity and enables the development of skills for responsible creation and shaping of one's own culture while simultaneously acquiring an attitude of tolerance and appreciation for other cultures." (Nikitorowicz 1995: 122) Consequently, the personal or psychological determinants of immigrant identity formation emerge as crucial mediating factors at each stage of this process.

Numerous authors highlight a set of social and ethno-cultural factors that shape the context of immigrants' functioning in the host country and influence their subsequent migration decisions: whether to return, settle permanently, or continue migrating (Deardorff 2006: 241–266). Adapting to changed circumstances is often easier for immigrants hailing from cultures similar to that of the host society (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Piekut 2007: 77–99). Proficiency in the language of the new country, assimilation of the host society's culture (including norms, values, symbols, and customs), preservation and practice of one's own culture, and the ability to engage in religious practices all contribute to the acceptance of the new environment (Lazear 1999: 95–126). Language proficiency is of paramount importance, as it is often the primary barrier for individuals navigating their way in a new society. Proficiency in the language enables immigrants to secure employment, pursue education, forge new social connections, and navigate institutional settings. Conversely, maintaining one's identity is often contingent upon access to education and cultural resources in one's native language. An immigrant's identity is closely intertwined with the cultural and social capital they bring with them. Many elements of this capital are forged within the new culture. Immigrants often face social expectations regarding their ability to navigate the cultural codes of their new environment (Biernath 2008: 196). The migratory experiences of individuals do not leave their identity unaffected. Immigrants also impact the receiving society, and this process can lead to many ambivalent

effects. Immigrants bring with them both material and spiritual values. The former includes clothing, cuisine, architectural elements, while the latter encompasses beliefs, religious rituals, customs, lifestyle, and perception of social norms.

Entering a new society can be viewed from different perspectives. Some argue that individuals living in two cultures shed one and adopt the other, while others maintain that individuals can fully participate in multiple cultures. Leon Dyczewski (2006: 251–258) lists three models for entering a new society. In the distance model, emigrants are seen as strangers who are only temporary participants in the host society. Moreover, they are not fully accepted, which results in their being excluded from various forms of social participation, such as full engagement in the political, economic, and cultural systems. Immigrants are viewed as low-status individuals with no history or culture, from whom much is demanded and little is given. Prejudice against foreigners is prevalent in such host societies, often leading them to become targets of persecution. On the other hand, newcomers often feel like borderlanders, unaccepted and separate, and they frequently face the dilemma of choosing an identity. Two distinct groups form among immigrants: some continue to embrace their culture, entering the new society superficially while distancing themselves from it; the second group begins to embrace a new culture, swiftly severing ties with their ethno-cultural roots. The model of integration toward assimilation and homogeneity, cited as the second, is based on the assumption of equality among all people. This approach posits that one condition must be met to facilitate successful social integration: those entering the new society must divest themselves of their native culture and abandon their ethnicity, with their new homeland becoming the host country. A change in ethnic-cultural identity is deemed necessary for full participation in the new culture. The third approach, called the model of integration toward multiculturalism and multiethnicity, envisions a politically, economically, culturally, and ethnically pluralistic state. This model views the state as a unity whose strength lies in its diversity and differences. Integration is seen not as a goal but as a path. Integration is therefore not the goal, but the path. Immigrants are not treated as strangers, but as a fellow, albeit different, people. The model of integration towards multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity opposes the concept of the nation-state. It guarantees the development of a diverse and rich culture. Assimilation involves immigrants adopting patterns and values of life characteristic of the host country and abandoning those associated with their country of origin.

As a result of entering a new society, the sense of belonging to an ethnic group undergoes a complete transformation. Alienation, on the other hand, affects immigrants who feel estranged in the new society while lacking a deep bond with their country of origin or feeling that this bond has been severed. This state often characterizes refugees who have felt mistreated or betrayed by authorities in their home country, viewing the host country as the lesser evil. Adaptation entails external adjustment to the requirements of social life in a new society. Immigrants accept the applicable laws, the organization of public life, norms, and lifestyle in the new society, learning the language to such an extent that they can meet their needs. The sense of connection with the country of origin and bond with the culture may vary in strength. The relationship between emigrants and the new society is arranged on a continuum, ranging from alienation to assimilation and from adaptation to integration.

According to Frederick Boal (1999: 585–600), social interactions between immigrants and the host society can evolve in four distinct directions. First, assimilation involves the gradual disappearance of cultural and economic disparities between groups over time, accompanied by a reduction in spatial segregation. Second, pluralism acknowledges the persistence of cultural differences while immigrants engage in certain aspects of social life (particularly economic activities), often within relatively insulated communities. Third, segmentation occurs as ethnic groups occupy separate spatial areas due to tensions between minority and majority groups. Lastly, polarization represents an extreme form of segmentation, where the minority group is marginalized from various spheres of social life, leading to the formation of closed ghettos. Biculturalism is rarely symmetrical, with the two cultures not holding equal value for the individual. Nonetheless, migrants often seek identification with the heritage and culture of their group for a sense of inner security. Jack Rothman (2007: 11–37) suggests that the sense of identity among ethnic group members can be influenced by three factors: internal ethnic acceptance, internal denial of the ethnic group, and marginalization.

Immigrants demonstrate a stronger inclination towards embracing the material aspects of the host society, as well as elements related to practical activities such as work. However, they often face more challenges in social and familial realms (Grzymała-Kazłowska, Piekut 2007: 77–99). The most complex aspect of integration lies in matters touching on ideology, encompassing worldviews, values, and religion. In this domain, immigrants tend to maintain a stronger connection and identification

with their home country's culture (Navas, et al. 2005: 21–37). The social integration of immigrants and their adjustment to a new society are closely tied to the reasons for their migration, which can be voluntary or involuntary. Examination of migration motives directs our focus towards various economic, environmental, and social concerns. Push factors drive individuals to leave their homeland, while attraction factors draw them to specific destinations. Scholarly literature commonly identifies three primary categories of push and pull factors. Firstly, socio-political factors, such as ethnic, religious, racial, political, and cultural persecution, compel individuals to flee their country of origin. Conflict or the threat of it, along with governmental persecution, are significant determinants. Individuals fleeing armed conflicts, human rights violations, or persecution are more likely to be classified as humanitarian refugees. These individuals typically relocate to the nearest safe country that accepts asylum seekers. The second category is constituted of demographic and economic factors, influencing the movement and migration of people (Shacknove 1985: 274–284). Changes in demographics, such as growing, declining, or aging populations in a country, impact economic growth and employment opportunities in countries of origin. These factors also influence destination countries' migration policies.

Demographic and economic migration primarily correlates with inadequate labor standards, elevated unemployment rates, and the overall economic state of a country (Shacknove 1985: 274–284). Pull factors encompass higher wages, improved job prospects, enhanced living standards, and educational opportunities. The third category, environmental and climatic migration, typically pertains to individuals who opt to relocate due to environmental shifts – whether sudden or gradual – that detrimentally impact their quality of life and living conditions. Natural disasters such as floods, hurricanes, and earthquakes are frequent catalysts prompting people to flee.

An intriguing perspective to consider when examining the study's findings is the concept of anchoring, defined as an individual's quest for significant points of reference and support (Grzymala-Kazłowska 2016: 1123–1139). These serve as crucial pillars of stability and support amid a constantly evolving world. Using metaphorical anchors, individuals establish their place within a complex space. According to Aleksandra Grzymala-Kazłowska (2016: 1123–1139), the pursuit of anchors is particularly pronounced during times of change and crisis. International migration serves as a prime example of such borderline experiences.

3. Ukrainian immigrants in Poland – statistical data

The Interdisciplinary Laboratory for the Study of War in Ukraine team conducted one of the initial surveys concerning the integration of Ukrainian refugees in Poland in 2022, encompassing a sample of 737 respondents (Długosz, et al. 2022: 1–4). The survey aimed to gain insights into their socio-psychological circumstances, future aspirations, and challenges encountered during their integration into Polish society. Based on the findings, it can be inferred that Ukrainian war refugees predominantly comprise young women (97%) who migrated to Poland accompanied by their children. The average age of the surveyed women was 36.

Table 1
Socio-demographic characteristics of the Ukrainian women surveyed

Age categories					
up to 24 years	25–34 years	35–44 years	45–54 years	55–64 years	65 or more
10%	32%	40%	15%	4%	1%

Source: own compilation based on Długosz, et al. 2022: 1–4.

In the current study, 76% of respondents reported having attained higher education, with 64% holding a master's degree or higher, while 2% possessed a bachelor's degree. 25% of the respondents rated their standard of living in Ukraine before the onset of the war as very good. Notably, 91% of respondents had previously resided in Ukrainian cities before relocating to Poland. Among the women surveyed, 46% originated from central Ukraine, 22% hailed from the western region, 19% from the southern, and 13% from the eastern part of the country. Regarding housing arrangements, the majority (28%) indicated renting accommodation independently, while 16% lived in housing covered by someone else. Additionally, 17% of immigrants resided with Polish families, while 11% occupied housing provided by locals. Furthermore, 12% of refugees stayed with relatives who were already residing in Poland, while 8% were accommodated in rooms provided free of charge in hotels, hostels, or guesthouses. Only a minority (3%) stayed in other types of facilities, with a mere 4 individuals opting for gymnasiums or halls furnished with mattresses and beds as their place of residence (Długosz, et al. 2022: 1–4).

Refugees were driven by various motivations when selecting Poland as their destination of residence (Długosz, et al. 2022: 1–4). The most common justification cited was the opportunity to reunite with family

members who had already migrated to Poland (44%). Additionally, 42% of immigrants identified Poland's cultural and religious similarities as a significant factor in their decision-making process. 25% of refugees cited the convenient border crossing conditions as a motivating factor, while 24% emphasized the close proximity of Poland to their previous residence in Ukraine. Moreover, 20% of respondents were aware of the assistance available to Ukrainians in Poland, when planning their departure. Security considerations, such as Poland's NATO membership, also influenced the decision for 15% of refugees when selecting a destination country from a list of options in a multiple-choice question (Długosz, et al. 2022: 1–4).

In the survey, refugees were asked to rate, on a scale of 1 to 5, the assistance provided to them during their stay in Poland by volunteers, Polish law enforcement services, service at reception points at the border and at railway stations, and check-in on the Polish side of the border. The majority of the listed forms of support received ratings above 4 on the indicated scale. Service in Polish offices, health services, and at the Ukrainian side of the border were rated in the range of 3.65 to 3.91. Ukrainian refugees struggle with various issues. A striking 76% of them suffer from various disorders stemming from the trauma of war. Psychological distress was observed in 50% of the respondents (Długosz, et al. 2022: 1–4).

The survey also sought to identify the primary challenges faced by immigrants upon their entry into Polish society. Refugees most frequently cited personal issues, such as being separated from their families and fearing for the safety of loved ones remaining in Ukraine. The abrupt and unplanned change of residence also brought about various complications. No knowledge of the Polish language and insufficient financial resources to begin anew were significant hurdles. Additionally, the lack of access to essential personal items, including clothing and daily necessities, posed a major obstacle to their daily lives. Most refugees lacked concrete plans for their stay in Poland. Finding suitable housing or establishing contacts with various institutions in the country proved challenging for adaptation to the new environment. 1% of respondents highlighted instances of poor treatment of Ukrainians by Poles. Moreover, 18% of immigrants reported securing employment in Poland, while 71% expressed intentions to do so in the near future. Interestingly, 20% continued remote work for Ukrainian employers while residing in Poland. Furthermore, 41% indicated their intention to return to Ukraine after the end of the war. Only 17% expressed a desire for permanent residency in Poland, while a significant 16% had yet to formulate clear plans for their future.

Table 2
Knowledge of the Polish language

Knowledge of the Polish language	Responses (%)
I understand the Polish language, but do not speak it	34
I know basic phrases and can communicate in a store, on the street	32
I do not speak Polish	18
I speak Polish freely, but often lack words	13
I know the Polish language well and communicate without any obstacles	3

Source: own compilation based on Długosz, et al. 2022: 1–4.

A study conducted by a team from Adam Mickiewicz University, in collaboration with the Board of Education in Poznań and the Department of Social Policy of the Greater Poland Voivodship Office in Poznań, shed light on similar issues within a slightly broader analytical framework (Isański, et al. 2022: 1–10). The findings echoed those of previous research. Regardless of their chosen destination country, immigrants highlighted common concerns such as financial constraints, limited proficiency in the Polish language, uncertainty regarding the well-being of loved ones in Ukraine, concern about the possibility of returning home, and apprehension about the future of Ukraine (Isański, et al. 2022: 1–10). Markedly less frequently, respondents expressed worries about their reception by locals in their new place of residence. However, all respondents, irrespective of their country of residence, cited challenges associated with feelings of transience, uncertainty, and anxiety about the future (Isański, et al. 2022: 1–10). Among their most urgent needs in their new environment, they commonly identified finding employment, material assistance including food, clothing, and shoes, securing long-term rental housing, accessing medical care, enrolling in language courses, and arranging nursery / daycare for children (Isański, et al. 2022: 1–10). Notably, only 12% of respondents were proficient in Polish, with a mere 3% being fluent in the language.

An essential aspect is the public perception of refugees within the host society. The topic has been extensively studied in Poland (Baszczak, et al. 2023: 4–36). Research findings reveal that 67.5% of Poles have encountered negative opinions from their friends and neighbors regarding Ukrainian refugees (Baszczak, et al. 2023: 4–36). Furthermore, 41% of respondents

agreed with the notion that Ukrainian refugees can often exhibit entitled behavior (Baszczak, et al. 2023: 4–36). Interestingly, a survey conducted by CBOS (Public Opinion Research Center) in mid-March 2022 indicated that as many as 94% of respondents supported the acceptance of refugees into Polish society (CBOS 2022). This marks a significant increase of nearly 40% compared to a similar survey conducted in 2018 (CBOS 2022). Robert Staniszewski's research (2023: 3–34) highlights shifting attitudes among Poles towards Ukrainian refugees. While positive attitudes towards providing military aid to Ukraine remain unchanged since the onset of the war, as many as a quarter of respondents acknowledged a shift in their attitudes towards Ukrainian refugees over the past 6 months, with 68% indicating a negative change. Poles express concerns primarily about the potential adverse effects of Ukrainian immigration on the labor market and economic issues such as inflation and crime. These phenomena warrant further investigation.

4. Conclusions

Based on the analysis of various research findings, several challenges concerning the integration of Ukrainian immigrants into Polish society become apparent. Of particular significance are issues related to socio--cultural differences. The language barrier presents a significant obstacle to the daily functioning of immigrants. Despite the linguistic similarities between Polish and Ukrainian, many Ukrainians encounter difficulties communicating when handling administrative tasks in offices, navigating schools, or seeking employment. A considerable number of adults have yet to embark on systematic language learning due to insufficient motivation. Moreover, the mental health of Ukrainian refugees in Poland emerges as an exceedingly important concern. Some immigrants exhibit signs of apathy and social withdrawal, consequences of the trauma of war and the stress of abrupt displacement from Ukraine. Worries for relatives and friends unable or unwilling to leave, coupled with feelings of insecurity and apprehension about the future, influence immigrants' perceptions of the host society. Integration is a process that also involves the host society. It is noteworthy that few Poles possess communicative proficiency in Ukrainian and Russian. Consequently, the language barrier significantly impedes communication and mutual understanding between Poles and Ukrainians.

Many immigrants grapple with financial and housing challenges. Half of them find themselves employed in positions below their qualifications and educational background. The reality they encounter often falls short of the expectations refugees had for everyday life in Poland. This sense of disillusionment frequently manifests in behavior perceived by Poles as entitled. Seeking connection with culturally similar individuals, refugees often retreat into Ukrainian communities. This trend can lead to a form of ghettoization and hinder integration into the host society. The initial public response to the influx of refugees in 2022 in Poland was overwhelmingly positive, reflecting a profound potential for human solidarity, kindness, and empathy. However, attitudes of the host society towards immigrants are evolving. The duration of the war, its socio-economic repercussions affecting Ukraine's immediate neighbors, media discourse about the conflict, online propaganda, and shifts in local labor markets are factors that will shape public perceptions of Ukrainian immigrants in host societies. These ongoing processes warrant further investigation.

Referring to the literature cited on the subject, several common challenges faced by Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Poland during the war can be identified. Isolating basic models of refugee integration proves analytical difficulties due to the absence of systemic solutions implemented in Poland. Instead, numerous institutions and organizations have devised their own plans and strategies to support refugee integration. Addressing these issues necessitates cross-sectional studies and comparisons. Many immigrants regard their stay in Poland as temporary. While much of the research conducted thus far has been exploratory in nature, characterized by a broad range of questions directed towards refugees, it has laid the groundwork for further analysis. From this foundation, it becomes evident that the concept of anchoring presents intriguing avenues for research into the challenges faced by refugees in contemporary society.

References

Adler, P. (1975), *The Transitional Experience: an Alternative View of Culture Shock*, "Journal of Humanistic Psychology", 15 (4): 13–23.

Baszczak, Ł., Wincewicz, A., Zyzik, R. (2023), *Polacy i Ukraińcy – wyzwania integracji uchodźców*, Warsaw: Polski Instytut Ekonomiczny.

Biernath, M. (2008), *Wymiary i mechanizmy procesu integracji*, in A. Dąbrowska-Korzus, S. Łodziński (eds.), *Problemy integracji imigrantów. Koncepcje, badania, polityki*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego: 180–260.

Boal, F.W. (1999), *From Undivided Cities to Undivided Cities: Assimilation to Ethnic Cleansing*, "Housing Studies", 14 (5): 585–600, https://doi.org/10.1080/02673039982623.

CBOS, (2022), *Polacy wobec rosyjskiej inwazji na Ukrainę*, Research communique no. 38, https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2022/K_038_22.PDF, (05.01.2023).

Deardorff, D.K. (2006), I*dentification and assessment of intercultural competence as a student outcome of internalization*, "Journal of Studies in Intercultural Education", 10 (3): 241–266, https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315306287002.

Długosz, P., Kryvachuk, L., Izdebska-Długosz, D. (2022), *Problemy ukraińskich uchodźców przebywających w Polsce*: 1–4, https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/rj2hk.

Duszczyk, M., Kaczmarczyk, P. (2022), *War and migration: the recent influx from Ukraine into Poland and possible scenarios for the future*, "CMR Spotlight", 4 (39): 1–12, https://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Spotlight-APRIL-2022.pdf, (10.02.2023).

Dyczewski, L. (1993), *Polacy w Bawarii. Tożsamość etniczno-kulturowa. Wchodzenie w społeczeństwo niemieckie*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego.

Grzymala-Kazłowska, A. (2016), *Social Anchoring: Immigrant Identity, Security and Integration Reconnected*?, "Sociology", 50 (6): 1123–1139, https://doi.org/10.1177/00380385155940.

Grzymała-Kazłowska, A., Piekut, A. (2007), *„Mała Ukraina" czy polskie Viettown? Społeczno-przestrzenne wzory zamieszkiwania imigrantów w metropolii warszawskiej*, "Studia Regionalne i Lokalne", 4 (30): 77–99.

Hein, J. (1993), *Refugees, immigrants, and the state*, "Annual Review of Sociology", 19: 43–59.

Ilu ukraińskich uchodźców jest w Polsce (2023), https://300gospodarka.pl/news/uchodzcy-z-ukrainy-w-polsce-liczba, (12.05.2023).

Isański, J., Nowak, M., Sereda, V., Vakhitova, H. (2022), *Odbiór społeczny i integracja uchodźców z Ukrainy*, Research report UKREF 1: 1–10, https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.28450.91845.

Lazear, E. (1999), *Language and Culture*, "Journal of Political Economy", 107 (S6): 95–126.

McCrae, R.R., Costa, P.T. (2005), *Osobowość dorosłego człowieka: perspektywa teorii pięcioczynnikowej*, transl. B. Majczyna, Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM.

Navas, M., García, M.C., Sánchez, J., Rojas, A.J., Pumares, P., Fernández, J.S. (2005), *Relative Acculturation Extended Model (RAEM): New contributions with regard to the study of acculturation*, "International Journal of Intercultural Relations", 29 (1): 21–37.

Nikitorowicz, J. (1995), *Pogranicze, tożsamość, edukacja międzykulturowa*, Białystok: Wydawnictwo Trans Humana.

Pachocka, M., Misiuna, J. (2015), *Migracje międzynarodowe – dylematy definicyjne i poznawcze. Przykłady z Unii Europejskiej i Stanów Zjednoczonych*, in J. Osiński (ed.), *Współczesny Matrix? Fikcja w życiu gospodarczym, politycznym i społeczny*, Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza SGH: 293–312.

Rothman, J. (2007), *Multi Modes of intervention at the macro level*, "Journal of Community Practice", 15 (4): 11–37.

Shacknove, A.E. (1985), *Who Is a Refugee?*, "Ethics", 95 (2): 274–284.

Staniszewski, R. (2023), *Społeczna percepcja uchodźców z Ukrainy oraz działań podejmowanych przez polskie państwo na podstawie wyników badań opinii publicznej 2022–2023*, Research report, Warsaw: Wydział Nauk Politycznych i Studiów Międzynarodowych.

Wessendorf, S., Phillimore, J. (2019), *New Migrants' Social Integration, Embedding and Emplacement in Superdiversed Contexts*, "Sociology", 53 (1): 123–138, https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038518771843.

Zawadzki, B., Strelau, J., Szczepaniak, P. (1995), *Diagnoza psychometryczna pięciu wielkich czynników osobowości – adaptacja kwestionariusza NEO–FFI Costy i McCrae do warunków polskich*, "Studia Psychologiczne", 33: 189–225.

Zuckerman, M. (1994), *Impulsive unsocialized sensation seeking: The biological foundations of a basic dimension of personality*, in J.E. Bates, T.D. Wachs (eds.), *Temperament: Individual differences at the interface of biology and behavior*, Washington: American Psychological Association: 219–255.

Alina Betlej

Assistant Professor in the Department of Economic and Digital Sociology at the Institute of Sociological Sciences of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (2010), head of the Center of Sociological research on the Economy and the Internet (KUL). Her scientific interests include: social inequalities, network society, sustainable development, social innovations, future studies. Her most recent publications are: Betlej, A. (2019), *Społeczeństwo sieciowe – potencjały zmian i ambiwalentne efekty*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL; Jurek, K., Betlej, A., Niewiadomska, I. (2023), *Proces integracji społecznej dzieci ukraińskich w polskim systemie oświaty*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek; Betlej, A. (2023), *Social Networks, New Technologies, and Wellbeing – An Interview Study on Factors Influencing Older Adults' Successful Ageing*, "International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health", 20, 5279, https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20075279.

E-mail: alina.betlej@kul.pl, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2729-6564.

Krzysztof Jurek

Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology of Culture, Religion and Social Participation at the Institute of Sociological Sciences of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin. His scientific interests include: migrations, social identity, culture studies, social research methodology, social inclusion, social integration. His most recent publications are: Jurek, K., Betlej, A., Niewiadomska, I. (2023), *Proces integracji społecznej dzieci ukraińskich w polskim systemie oświaty*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek; Fel, S., Jurek, K., Lenart-Kłoś, K. (2023), *The*

relationship between socio-demographic factors and depression: a cross sectional study among civilian participants in hostilities in Ukraine, "Sci Rep", 13, 21897, https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-023-49289-6; Jurek, K., Niewiadomska, I., Szot, L. (2023), *Turning to religion as a mediator of the relationship between hopelessness and job satisfaction during the COVID-19 pandemic among individuals representing the uniformed services or working in professions of public trust in Poland*, PLoS ONE 18 (12): e0291196, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0291196.

E-mail: krzysztof.jurek@kul.pl, https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2641-0510.

Iwona Niewiadomska

Professor in the Department of Social Psychoprevention at the Institute of Psychology of the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, provincial consultant in the field of addiction psychotherapy (Lubelskie voivodeship, 2024). Her scientific interests include: search for psychosocial risk factors for social pathologies, psychoprevention of social pathologies, criminology, victimology, forensic psychology, criminal executive law, penitentiary psychology, chemical and functional addiction therapy. Her most recent publications are: Niewiadomska, I., Jurek, K. (2023), *A Model of the Optimal Fit of Resource Distribution to the Equilibrium of Life Attitudes among Participants of Hostilities in Ukraine*, "Teka Komisji Prawniczej PAN Oddział W Lublinie", 16 (2): 507–518. https://doi.org/10.32084/tkp.8086; Jurek, K., Betlej, A., Niewiadomska, I. (2023), *Proces integracji społecznej dzieci ukraińskich w polskim systemie oświaty*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek; Niewiadomska, I., Jurek, K., Chwaszcz, J., Korżyńska-Piętas, M., Peciakowski, T. (2023), *PTSD as a Moderator of the Relationship Between the Distribution of Personal Resources and Spiritual Change Among Participants of Hostilities in Ukraine*, "Journal of Religion and Health", 62: 479–499, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-022-01547-z.

E-mail: iwona.niewiadomska@kul.pl, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0244-2748.