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## EU post-accession Polish migrants trajectories and their settlement practices in Scotland



Emilia Piętka-Nykaza<sup>a</sup> and Derek McGhee<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Sociology and Social Policy, University of West of Scotland, Paisley, UK; <sup>b</sup>Sociology, Social Policy, Criminology, University of Southampton, Southampton, UK

### ABSTRACT

The presence and the apparent permanence of post-accession EU migrants in the UK is of significant interest to both academics and politicians. Studies have debated whether migration from new accession countries to the UK mark a new type of migration often described as 'liquid' and 'open ended', or whether these migrants will settle in the new destination countries. Based on a qualitative study of Poles who have lived in Scotland for at least six years, we observed four typologies of what we call migrants' settling practices: (1) stayers, (2) over-stayers, (3) circular and transnational migrants and (4) economic migrants. The findings from this study demonstrate that Polish migrants do not have fixed ideas about the duration of their migration (in terms of a sense of permanence) but instead focus on diverse links, anchors or attachments in Scotland and Poland in describing their settling practices. Thus, the main contribution the article makes is to present an in-depth understanding of what settlement means from the perspective of migrants themselves. This paper concludes by providing a short comment on implications of the outcome of the Referendum on EU membership 'Brexit' in June 2016 on Polish migrants settling practices.

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### Introduction

The increase in the number of EU post-accession migrations<sup>1</sup> to the UK especially since the enlargement in 2004 has attracted a considerable amount of political, academic, media and general public attention. As a result, immigration is one of the most important political and public issues in the UK (National Centre for Social Research 2012). Similar to the whole of the UK, the arrival of EU migrants in Scotland has had a profound impact on population change in this region. Between 2001 and 2011, the number of the EU born individuals<sup>2</sup> living in Scotland increased by 222.5% (from 41,836 in 2001 to 134,910 in 2011) (Scottish Census 2001, 2011). A large proportion of this increase is attributed to arrival of Polish migrants, with 55,231 residents recorded to be of Polish nationality (Scottish Census 2011). As a result, Polish migrants comprise around 10% of Scotland overall population. While the studies into EU post-enlargement migration in the UK predominantly focus on England and Wales (Drinkwater and Garapich 2015; Ryan et al. 2009;

White 2011), there is relatively little research that has explored EU post-enlargement migration in Scotland exclusively with the exception of Moskal 2011; McGhee, Heath, and Trevena 2013 or Piętko-Nykaza and McGhee 2015. Scotland, which is the focus for this research, presents a particularly unique case due to its distinctive economic and demographic situation, political statements that are explicit about Scotland's need for migration, and the division of responsibilities between UK and Scottish parliaments and local authorities on policies relating to migration. This study will therefore add a regional perspective to the debate of EU post-enlargement migration in the UK by exploring the settling practices among Polish migrations in Scotland. It will also provide a short commentary on implications of the outcome of the UK Referendum on EU membership (known as 'Brexit') in June 2016 on Polish migrants settling practices.

The research exploring the movement from new Accession 8 (EU8) countries to the UK have been predominately defined as the economic migration as a consequence of the opening up of the UK labour market in 2004 (Pollard, Latorre, and Sriskandarajah 2008). The data from the Worker Registration Scheme<sup>3</sup> (Home Office 2009) showed that the majority of EU8 migrants were from Poland and are relatively young, highly educated but working in low-wage sectors. In addition to migrants' socio-demographic characteristics, migration networks (Ryan et al. 2008), family migration (Ryan 2011; Ryan et al. 2009; White 2011) and the role of the migration industry (Garapich 2008) have been identified as one of the main drivers facilitating and shaping patterns of the EU post-enlargement migration to the UK. While the drivers of Polish migration to the UK are fairly well evidenced, is relatively little research that has explored the longer term intentions or actual settling practices of Polish migrants with the exception of Ryan (2015), Kozłowska (2015) and Bygnes and Erdal (2016). This article will respond to this gap in knowledge by exploring Polish migrants' settling practices in Scotland. Our data shows that migrants articulate these settling practices in terms of their accumulation of attachments, experiences and understandings of settlement that build up over time.

There have been previous attempts to describe the characteristics of the migration patterns of EU post-enlargement migration to the UK. This new migration wave has often been described in terms of individualistic, agency oriented with open-ended strategies for migration and return (Drinkwater and Garapich 2015). In this paper, we further investigate the open-ended character of migration practices among EU post-enlargement migrants by focusing on settling practices of Polish migrants in Scotland, who are the largest ethnic minority group in this region. Taking into consideration the epistemological limitations that come from the open-ended character of these migration patterns, this study will focus on Polish migrants' actions (in opposition to their intentions in relation to the duration of their stay) to identify how Polish migrants actual experience and practice their 'settling' in Scotland. As such, this study will focus on Polish migrants' everyday acts, motives, interactions that accumulate and characterise their particular experiences of settling in Scotland. This paper therefore contributes to the migration literature by exploring Polish migrant's understandings of settlement (in terms of their prolonging stay in Scotland) and settling practices (that is their everyday routines and practices as residents in Scotland). By unpacking migrants' understandings of settlement, this article in a sense contributes to Brah's question: 'when does a place of residence become "home"?' (1996, 1). We examine this question through exploring the multi-layered nature of 'home' as

articulated through our participant's past and present lived experiences in particular locations (usually Poland and Scotland). As such, our participants' shifting sense of 'home' becomes the major point of connection that 'grounds' the array of concepts that we employ here to examine their articulation of their lives, relationships, attachments and decision-making processes with regard to the emotional and practical aspects of their settling practices.

### Drivers and patterns of mobility among EU post-accession Polish migrants

While there has been agreement on what drives migration to the UK, it is still unclear whether migration from Poland has a more short, mid or long-term character. While McCollum and Findlay (2011) showed that migration flows from EU8 countries slowed down since the end from 2007, the number of Polish migrants living in the UK, including Scotland, remains at a high level. The studies into Polish migration in the UK indicate that migrant's decisions about staying in the UK include a combination of individual and structural factors that have an impact on their perceptions of settling or returning. For example, Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich (2007) indicate that Polish migrant's decisions about settling or returning in the UK are related to individual and household migration strategies. According to Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich (2007) there are a wide variety of migration strategies on a continuum from seasonal/circular and permanent migration to which includes 'storks' (circular migrants), 'hamsters' (short-term migrants, those working and saving with intentions to return to Poland), 'searchers' (undecided migrants) and 'stayers' (long-term migrants, those with intentions to stay). Studies on Polish families in the UK (White 2011; White and Ryan 2008) emphasise the role of families in decisions about staying and settling in the UK and suggest that Polish families who migrated to the UK after EU accession tend to not to return to Poland. Indeed, McGhee, Heath, and Trevena (2012) indicate that many families extend their stay in the UK because they do not want to disrupt their children's education. In addition to family relations and migration strategies, the studies by Galasińska and Kozłowska (2009), (Lopez Rodriguez 2010) and McGhee, Heath, and Trevena (2012) indicate that the reason why Polish migrants decide to settle is also related to the notion that they can lead a 'normal life' in the UK. In this context, 'normal life' is understood by Polish migrants as everyday activities in the country of their residence that relate to work, food, housing, transport, entertainment but also decent living conditions (Galasińska and Kozłowska 2009). The factors that create 'normal life' in the UK relate to the economic aspect of migrant's lives including decent earnings, affordability of comfortable life on their modest earnings (McGhee, Heath, and Trevena 2012). Achieving a 'normal life' or 'normalcy' in the UK, in opposition to what they perceive as relatively abnormal life in Poland, brings security and stability to the fore when Polish migrants articulate their settling decisions (Lopez Rodriguez 2010). The importance of social anchoring in Polish migrants settlement practices was emphasised by Grzymala-Kazłowska (2015). In her research the concept of social anchoring refers to the processes whereby migrants find significant references or grounding points which allow them to restore their socio-psychological stability and which came to represent the means of their psycho-social adaptation in the new country of residence (Grzymala-Kazłowska 2015). This paper will add to the debates on the forms of mobility and also settlement practices of post-accession Polish migration by focusing on the experiences of Polish

migrants who have been living in Scotland for at least six years. By so doing this paper explores diverse experiences and actions amongst Polish migrants for the purpose of identifying different trajectories and types of settling practices they have experienced. As will be revealed below, settling in Scotland is not a uniform process for all Polish migrants.

140 Further to identifying factors that have an impact on Polish migrants' settlement practices, the studies into EU post-enlargement migration to the UK tend to emphasise fluidity  
AQ6 of these migration patterns. For example, Favell (2008, 703) in writing about EU post-  
145 accession migration emphasises the temporary nature of these migratory movements and describes these migrants as 'regional free movers' that are more likely to engage in temporary, circular or transnational mobility that is governed by economic demand, than in long-term, permanent migration. Similarly, Engbersen, Snel, and de Boom (2010) describe EU post-enlargement migration to the UK as a 'liquid migration', where migrants do not settle permanently, but move back and forth between their home and receiving countries. These temporary, circular and liquid mobilities have  
150 been attributed to young, single with no dependences migrant strategies that according to Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich (2007) are characterised by 'intentional unpredictability'. According to Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich this migration strategy relates to no fixed aspirations or ideas about migrant's future settlement either in the 'home' or receiving country. In addition to migrant's strategies, the fluidity of migration patterns among  
155 Polish migrants can be also explained by the ease of access to information about destination countries and cities through the web and social media, open borders among the enlarged EU member states, changing mobile technologies and reduced telecommunication and travel costs (Metykova 2010). These changes make it possible for Polish migrants to try their luck in multiple countries of destination and benefit from open borders and open labour markets. Development of communication technologies and reduced travel costs may also weaken the role of migration networks in shaping migration patterns or providing support in an initial phase of migration and as a result increase the instrumental and individualistic character of such mobility. For example, Toruńczyk-Ruiz's research on  
160 Polish migrants in the Netherlands suggests that contemporary Polish migrants in Europe appear to be 'a new category of individualistic migrants' (2008, 61) that have a tendency to be less reliant upon and actually avoid formal networks among Polish groups and institutions. Similar, studies in Glasgow (Pietka 2009), London (Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007; Ryan et al. 2008) in Lancashire (Gill and Bialski 2011), Southampton (McGhee, Trevena, and Heath 2015) and Norway (Friberg 2012) tend to indicate that Poles tend to be 'bonded' and tend to develop 'strong' ties but not within homogeneous 'ethnic communities' but instead live amongst small, close-knit networks or family groups.

The new migration movement of Poles to the UK after EU-enlargement in 2004 poses conceptual and theoretical challenges that stem from the assumed open-ended, fluid and individualistic nature of migrants' decisions to leave Poland. This study will add to the  
175 debate on patterns of mobility among Polish migrants by providing a more nuanced understanding of some of the key issues relating to migrants' settling practices and experiences. In comparison to previous research that explores migrants strategies including migration plans (Drinkwater and Garapich 2015; Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007), this study will take into account both the migrants' actions (rather than their stated intentions) and  
180 the ways in which they define and understand their on-going relationship to Scotland and Poland. As such we differentiate between stated intentions and actual settling practices

because the latter provides a more accurate, realistic and practical account of migrants' actual lives in Scotland. In this article, we focus on what migrants actually 'do'. As such, the data analysed in this paper has resulted in the introduction of a specific typology of migrants' settling practices. This typology takes into account migrant's actions, experiences and understandings in opposition to their stated intention with regard to staying or not and also the duration (long term or short term) of their mobility.

## Methodology

The data presented in this paper derives from the study funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (Grant number withheld). The findings presented in this paper are based on 24 in-depth interviews with post-accession Polish migrants in Edinburgh and Glasgow, who lived in the UK for at least six years. Polish migrants were selected for this study because as noted above they are the largest foreign-born minority group in Scotland (55,231 in 2011). Glasgow and Edinburgh were selected for this study as the two major cities in Scotland experienced high concentration of Polish migrants, with 13,000 Polish migrants living in Edinburgh and 8305 of Poles living in Glasgow (Scotland Census 2011). The fieldwork took place between May and August 2014. Participants included in this study were selected in response to an online survey that was distributed through diverse channels including Polish community organisations, Polish businesses and Polish online networks across Scotland. Our interview sample was selected from the list of volunteers who expressed their interest in taking part in the follow-up interviews and from participants contacted directly by the research team. Participants (12 interviews in each location) varied in terms of gender, age, education, marital and employment statuses. The interviews were conducted in the Polish language, the identities of participants have been anonymised. The interview questions were designed in a flexible and open way to allow participants to drive the interview focus. This dialogical approach (Sidorkin 2002) to conducting the interviews gave interviewees as much space as possible to describe their experiences in their own time. The interviews thus provided an opportunity to gather data on how Polish migrants give meaning to their experiences and how these meanings are illustrative of their settling practices in Scotland.

This article therefore aims to explore how migrants themselves live and experience their 'settlement'. Although all the participants lived in Scotland for at least six years, the ways in which they experienced their stay in Scotland was different. The purpose of our data analysis was therefore to understand how Polish migrants ended up staying in Scotland and how they experienced and justify their 'settlement'? In our thematic data analysis, we focused on the ways our participants' articulated how they lived their lives in Scotland, their relationship with Poland and their future plans. As a result of contrasting and comparing our participants' experiences, attitudes, motives and plans four types of settling practices were identified that are outlined in Table 1 and each of these four main types will be discussed in the following sections.

## Trajectories of open-ended settlement practices

The following sections will describe and discuss the typologies of settling practices among EU post-accession Polish migrants living in Scotland.

**Table 1.** Polish migrants settling practices.

	Settlers	Over-stayers	Circular, transnational migrants	Economic migrants	
230	Dominant orientation towards the place	Orientation towards destination country	Postpone their decision about migration (including returning)	Maintain active links both to destination and home country	Orientation towards 'home' country. Consider their stay as temporary until economic goals are achieved
235	Reasons for staying or mobility	Developed diverse links (economic, social, emotional, spatial) that anchor them to their country of residence	Developed the sense of leading a 'normal life' that is related to economic stability and convenience of their life in Scotland, however they are lacking emotional attachment	Actively maintain diverse links with both countries	Their stay in Scotland is conditioned by economic objectives, they will stay in Scotland as long as their economic needs are satisfied
240	Plans for mobility	No plans for migration	Are planning to return or migrate in future but keep postponing their plans	Undecided about their future country of settlement thus keep on trying different opportunities for short period of time	Are planning to return to Poland once their economic goal is completed
245	Experience of staying	Emotionally attached – 'feeling happy' about their life in Scotland	They have become used to their life in Scotland but are lacking emotional attachment	Circular migration is their strategy for obtaining the best of two worlds but this is also strategy of coping with nostalgia	Despite economic benefits they feel lonely and unhappy in Scotland
250	Links with home country or future country of destination	Decreasing links with Poland	Feeling nostalgic about 'home' country/ or restless in terms of finding a future destination country	Maintained diverse social, economic and emotional links with both 'home' and destination country. These links were facilitated through EU open borders, cheap international flights and technology (Skype, Facebook, Viber, etc)	Strong social links with Poland

### 1. Settlers

Similar to studies by Drinkwater and Garapich (2015) that emphasised the open-ended character of Polish migration in the UK, our participants were not able to give definitive answer about their future stay in Scotland but instead they tended to reflect on their present experiences and context. For example:

Like I said, for now I don't see any reason to leave. Rather than declaring that I will stay or leave I prefer to say that at the moment I have no reasons to leave. I cannot answer yes or no (...) There are many reasons why I feel best here but if I feel bad I will leave. (Szymon, arrived 2005, HR assistant, Edinburgh)

In describing his experience of settlement, Szymon found it irrelevant to state or even declare whether or not he will stay in Scotland permanently. Despite all participants having lived in Scotland for at least six years, when reflecting on questions relating to their future settlement, they were reluctant to specify whether or not their stay in Scotland is permanent or not. Instead, our participants considered it more important and perhaps

more relevant to talk about the attachments they had developed to their place of the current residence and whether they had plans or have considered migrating from Scotland. In justifying the reasons for staying in Scotland, Franciszek referred to number of links that he had developed while living in Scotland:

275 I like living here, I have a bunch of friends, I know people; Glasgow is small and apart from some things that drive me absolutely up the wall, I love this city for so many things, and I think this explains everything. I'm here because I like it here – it works both ways. I really appreciate the opportunity to live independently here, plus I work here, I own a flat here, for now my partner lives here also. (Franciszek, arrived in 2006, architect, Glasgow)

280 Franciszek identified a number of links to Glasgow including family and social ties (having a partner and friends in Scotland), economic stability (professional occupation, property owner), links to the place (sense of attachment to the city) that anchor him to Glasgow. According to Grzymala-Kazłowska (2015) diverse types of social anchors can form important footholds that come to represent migrant's psycho-social adaptation. Indeed, our participants indicated that the accumulation of 'things' for example properties, friends and family but also daily routines made them feel familiar to and thus anchored to the place they were living in. Szymon described his settling practices in relation to everyday routines below:

285  
290 Over the time you develop daily routine of your activities, like this is where I go shopping, this is where I go for a beer, this is where I go to work, we find spaces which are familiar to us and where we like returning, it gives a sense of peace and order. (Szymon, arrived in 2005, HR assistant, Edinburgh)

295 The daily routines or rhythms of life associated with our participant's daily activities provided them with assurances and a sense of belonging to the cities and neighbourhoods they live and work in. According to Szymon, repetitiveness of certain daily tasks like going to work, shopping or going out for a coffee also increased the feelings of feeling rooted and secure in the new place of residence. The feelings of security and happiness however were also related to the perception of Scotland as 'home'. Olek described this as follow:

300 I got off the plane and I was literally struck by this feeling – I took a deep breath and realized I was home. When I go home and sleep in my own bed, I know I'm home. These are my places. (Olek, arrived in 2004, researcher, Glasgow)

305 Those participants like Olek who consider Scotland to be their home, do not have any plans or express any intention of moving from Scotland. Lack of plans for migration or returning to Poland was also related to participants informing us that their links with and to their 'home country' were shrinking. For example, Joanna considers Scotland as home primary because most of her close family have also migrated to Scotland:

310 Because all people who are close to me are here, I haven't missed anything. I don't know what things are like in Poland now. (Joanna, arrived in 2008, self-employed (Business owner), Edinburgh)

315 For our participants who felt more settled or anchored in Scotland, the lack of intention (or plans) for migration was one of the ways that they evoked a sense of 'settlement' and permanency. This sense of being anchored in Scotland did not exist on their arrival in Scotland, but has developed over time. Our participants indicated that initially, upon

arrival, they did not expect to stay in Scotland for long periods of time. For example, Olek talked about the process of settling in:

All this meant that I was feeling increasingly settled in Scotland ... I was thinking to myself that I finally had a nice flat and a permanent job ... All that made me think that I was in the right place ... (Olek, arrived in 2004, researcher, Edinburgh)

Upon arrival in Scotland, Olek's initial plan was to complete his studies, but because a job opportunity emerged after he graduated from University, he decided to stay in Scotland for a longer period of time (for 12 years in fact). This however corresponds with White AQ7 (2014) and Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich (2007) argument that migrant decisions change with time and include a combination of individual and structural factors that have an impact about their plans for settling or returning. Indeed, our participants refer to their overall long-term stay in Scotland as a sum or combination of the accomplishment of different goals that include learning the language, completing studies, starting a new job, gaining work experience, buying a property or starting a family. These experiences in turn contribute to their extended stay, they become 'the stuff' of their lives in Scotland. Therefore, their settling practices could be described as set of steps that were not directed towards permanent stay in Scotland, but are more related to the fulfilment of a series of short-term goals or plans that in aggregation lead them to stay longer term. Despite our participant's settlement practices being open-ended and without a definitive, permanent declaration that they intend on staying in Scotland 'forever', their plans for the future were directly linked to Scotland. For example, Marta was planning to buy a property and Franciszek was in the process of applying for British citizenship.

## 2. Over-stayers

While settlers did not really consider the possibility of migrating from Scotland, over-stayers talked about long-term plans or possibilities of returning to Poland or migrating to other countries. Despite articulating such intentions, the over-stayers have not actively made any preparations or plans for their future migration and thus tended to postpone their decision with regard to future movement. This was described by Agata:

I sometimes say to my husband: 'And what now?' And he says that he wants to go back to Poland eventually anyway, that there is no other option, but when we start thinking about it and planning something a bit more concrete, he says that there's still time ... another two or three years ... (Agata, arrived in 2007, nursery teacher, Glasgow)

Agata's narrative expresses a degree of passivity in her decision about staying in Scotland but also discrepancies between her intentions and actual behaviours. While the settlers in justifying their length of residence in Scotland tended to highlight different links and forms of attachments to Scotland and relative lack of attachments in Poland, over-stayers were more prone to emphasise missing element in their life in Scotland. Despite living in Scotland for over six years, over-stayers did not consider Scotland as their 'home', but more as a place to which they have become accustomed to living, for example:

I don't really feel that I settled down in Scotland, no, I don't, I mean I don't have anything against it and I am used to it. I needed to compromise for my children. (Agnieszka, arrived in 2005, student, Glasgow)

Participants like Agata and Agnieszka have been able to achieve a desired sense of economic stability in Scotland that they were not able to accomplish in Poland. However, in Agnieszka's case what is keeping her in Scotland is her reluctance to not to disturb her children's education. Other studies, for example McGhee, Heath, and Trevena (2012) and Trevena, McGhee, and Heath (2016) also suggest a direct correlation between prolonged settlement in the UK and family having 'school-age' children. Through postponing their decision to migrate our participants not only extend the length of stay in Scotland but also over the years become a more and more used to living in Scotland in comparison to Poland that have become a more and more distance place. This process was described by Agata as follow:

It's about how we get used to and familiar with the place we live in – the area, shops, neighbors – all of that starts to become familiar and we attach ourselves to it. This is the attachment... and what would happen if we go back? ; we'd have no idea how things work ... Here instead I have the rhythm, the routine ... you have a daily, weekly and monthly routine; you know exactly what you're meant to do, and if you know exactly what you're doing, it's easier. You don't have to think: 'Gosh, I have moved back to Poland and I have to start looking for work again and I still haven't finished the bathroom, I haven't got a sofa in the living room, and I also have to send my child to school amongst many other things ...'. Here, I live quietly; everything is in its place. (Agata, arrived in 2007, nursery teacher, Glasgow)

The length of stay was positively correlated with the accumulation of the practical everyday knowledge and geographies of the place. It is throughout the development of everyday practice, rhythms and routines of life that participants like Agata achieve a sense of security and belonging. While settlers talked about the diversity of attachments that anchored them in Scotland, in contrast over-stayers tended to emphasis the convenience of their live in Scotland for example:

I don't need to worry about many things now and life is a little easier. That's the thing – one doesn't have to get so stressed out. In Poland people compete with one another; you have to constantly be on the ball. When you do anything in Poland, you always need to have some emergency back up (...). And here, my life is pretty relaxed. I get jobs, I go and do them. I get money coming in my account every week or month. It's cool, easy; (Mario, arrived in 2006, driver, Glasgow)

Mario has postponed his decision to migrate as he considers his life in Scotland as convenient and comfortable. The convenient life in Scotland was associated with routine, predictability and economic stability, modest earnings and ability to afford certain goods like clothes, food or trips. This understanding was developed in comparison to life in Poland where life was difficult and relates to what Galasińska and Kozłowska (2009) describe as migrants perceptions of achieving a 'normal life' in contrast to abnormal hardship they had experience in Poland (McGhee, Heath, and Trevena 2012). Over-stayer therefore tends to emphasise the importance of economic stability and their achievement of comfortable life in Scotland in describing and justifying their longer term stay in Scotland. Our interviewees' sense of financial security (or ease) in Scotland relative to Poland is not just a matter of 'wage differentials' (Dustmann 2003, 355); rather, it is more a matter of them being able to live 'comfortably' (or to use our participant's term 'normalcy') on their earnings. Thus, their assessment of relative ontological security in the financial aspects of their lives is in terms of the overall quality of their lives and the standard of living they have achieved in Scotland relative to the standard of living they recall

ensuring in Poland. There is a great deal of reflexivity in our interviewee's narratives. The reflexive attitude that we have noted in Mario's and Agata's narratives is presented in an emotional register and is characterised by the negative nostalgia associated with living a more precarious life (financially speaking) in Poland. Despite being tempting by a  
 410 desire to migrate, our participants like Agata recognised that it would require an enormous adjustment and investment but also would involve a great deal of risk in terms of losing their comfortable lifestyle in Scotland.

Moving to Poland will mean starting everything from scratch. When I was starting here I didn't have anything to lose. I was twenty six, without much experience; I had nothing to  
 415 lose. (...) At this moment I already accumulate a lot of things and experiences and so I have things to lose ... (Agata, arrived in 2007, nursery teacher, Glasgow)

Thus for all of our over-stayers, despite declaring an intention to leave Scotland their postponement of the decision to migrate was often related to the risk of losing their comfortable and familiar life in Scotland.  
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### 3. Circular and transnational migrants

Migrants involved in circular migration varied in terms of their age, social class and also in terms of their settling plans. However, they shared the common experience of having their household split between two or more places. In comparison to settlers or over-stayers, circular migrants actively maintained several links in both Poland and Scotland. For example, Joseph described the array of active links that he has established and actively maintained in Poland as well as in Edinburgh:  
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I feel at home in Edinburgh. I feel more a citizen of this city than a citizen of Scotland or the UK ... but I'm connected to Łódź because of my family and the past – I was born and grew up there, and still have a lot of friends. My partner is now living there as well. I'm connected to Warsaw because I studied there and still have friends there. . . . and I'm also connected with Edinburgh – I live and study here. (Joseph, arrived in 2005, PhD student, Edinburgh)  
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Joseph actively maintained transnational relations and tends to migrate back and forth between both countries. Despite Joseph feeling connected to Edinburgh due to his studies, friends and work, he still actively maintained several links with Poland through family ties and social links. As Joseph was not able to settle permanently, but move back and forth between Poland and Scotland his settling practices could be described as being liquid or fluid. According to Favell (2008), one of the main characteristics of post-EU accession migration is their temporary nature, with migrants described as a 'regional free movers' who are more likely to engage in temporary circular and transnational mobility, than in long-term, permanent migration. Circulation, on the other hand, can also be seen as a strategy for coping with nostalgia towards the 'home' country. For example, Marek told us:  
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I suddenly realised that it's not so bad that I have to choose ... I realised that I can do both. I also realised that there're many opportunities here, for instance, when it comes to international projects, I can draw on the fact that I live in Scotland and have some understanding of it, and I can combine it with work in Poland. (Marek, arrived in 2008, self-employed, Edinburgh)  
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For Marek circular migration was a strategy for living and working across two places where he could obtain the best of both worlds by working in relatively high-income  
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places (Scotland) and maintaining his social ties and spending his earnings in relatively low-cost places (Poland). Transnational living as articulated by our participants in terms of active attachments to and engagements in 'the home' and 'destination countries' provided them with an alternative to viewing migration as a dichotomous terms that is 'to stay' or 'to go'. Indeed, study by Bivand Erdal and Lewicki (2015) argues that Polish migrants settlement practices are framed but also facilitated by transnational interactions by enabling migrants to lead a fulfilling life in the new place of their settlement but also continuing to maintain a foothold in their country of origin. This was further emphasised by Marek:

When I sorted out some things in my head about 1.5 year ago, that I can do some things in Poland or here really, that it takes 2.5 hours on the plane, when there's money it won't be a problem to fly, it can be done in one day even ... I can see now that this was a good move and it also changed how I feel. (Marek, arrived in 2008, self-employed (Psychologist), Edinburgh)

Marek's residency in Scotland was interrupted by temporary and frequent returns to Poland for short periods of time. Studies by Okólski (2001) and Fihel and Grabowska-Lusińska (2014) suggest that this pattern of multiple returns is one of the most characteristic modes of migration from Eastern Europe and that this is typical for Polish labour migrants. While for Marek circular migration allowed him to live and actively maintain transnational social and professional links in both places, for other participants like Marcin circular migration was also a form of travelling and searching for place to settle for the longer term:

When I was coming to Edinburgh. Somehow I feel good here. I've never felt so good in Poland ... I went back because I had met a girl and we planned to move in together but that didn't work out, and so I came back here. And when I went to Spain, I also thought I would stay there but I came back here again after two months, because I just felt better here ... (Marcin, arrived in 2007, social worker, Edinburgh)

Marcin talked about different attempts to migrate back to Poland and also to Spain, however after three months of living in both places he had returned to Edinburgh. At the time of the interview Marcin was still undecided about his future place of settlement and as a consequence he will probably keep on trying out different opportunities for a short period of time. Our participants like Marcin and Marek indicated that it is not necessarily the case that migrant workers always want to settle in destination countries, instead they might through different circumstances be involved in repeated migration experiences between different countries thus involving more than one migration and return to multiple destination.

#### 4. Economic migrants

The fourth group, namely the economic migrants, articulated attitudes and behaviours that were primarily for the fulfilment of specific economic goals. In contrast to the circular migrants, the economic migrants involved an act of one-off migration for the purpose of accumulating financial capital in the host country to fulfil certain economic aims in country of origin. Thus economic migrants like Jan tend to highlight strong economic goals rather than social attachments:

I signed up the contract with an agency to work in factory and also signed to college and three years went by ... Then somebody told me that if I worked here for at least five years, I would

become eligible for the state pension. I thought that if I had already managed to stay here for three years, I should be able to do it for another two. I calculated that in order to complete those five years (minus the sick break I had), I had to stay here till April, no, sorry, till June – summertime was a perfect time to return to Poland, I thought. (Jan, arrived in 2007, factory worker, Glasgow)

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Jan's motives for migrating to Scotland were purely economic. Initially his plan was to stay in Scotland only for duration of his employment contract, but after his contract had been extended Jan decided to stay for the longer term to acquire additional economic benefit that include the pension rights but also maintaining economic stability and security. Jan current and future economic benefits of living and working in Scotland dominate his experiences of staying for nine years. Instead of Jan's economic success of his migration to Scotland illustrated by relatively well-paid job, his own flat a car and surplus income to indulge his hobbies he did not feel emotionally attached or happy in Scotland:

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I'm all right here – financially I'm doing all right. I would never make this kind of money in Poland. I can realize my plans. I'm crazy about electronics – I love testing things; I switch things on and off – I love it. I drive a car, which I wouldn't be able to afford in Poland ... but I'm not happy ... (Jan, arrived in 2007, factory worker, Glasgow)

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Economic migrants such as Jan tend to consider their migration to Scotland as a capital-raising activity and therefore tend to extend their stay in Scotland purely economic reasons. The success of migration for economic migrants was measured through the number of good, products or properties that they were able to buy or afford in Scotland in comparison to Poland. Therefore, economic migrants length of stay in Scotland was conditioned by economic benefits or calculations of possible future economic investments. This was explained by Jędrzej:

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I had a plan, I wanted to get a car, to go university, at the moment, because it has changed, I want to finish my studies at HND, pay off my mortgage as much as possible by flat-sharing with others, at the price of comfort, to pay off this flat and buy another one. (Jędrzej, arrived in 2008, driver, Glasgow)

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Despite perceived economic success in Scotland, participants like Jan or Jędrzej who focused on fulfilling their economic goal tend to highlight feeling of loneliness in Scotland and their strong attachment to their country of origin. Despite Jan living in Glasgow since 2007 he had not developed emotional attachment to the place of his current residence and therefore considered his stay in Scotland as temporary until the fulfilment of his economic goal. Although Jan could be described as transnational because of his involvement in both Scotland and Poland in terms of having a property in each country, Jan's 'heart' and sense of emotional attachment was clearly in Poland:

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I don't feel at home here entirely, even though this flat is mine. – I see this as a success ... but something is still missing ... I feel really sad when I'm here and my wife tells me that she's going to her sister's for her name-day celebrations ... and I cannot participate in any of it. (Jan, arrived in 2007, factory worker, Glasgow)

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In comparison to the practices associated with settlers, over-stayers and circular migrants, economic migrants tended to maintain a strong orientation towards their home country and thus consider their stay in Scotland as temporary. In comparison to circular migrants, the economic migrants stay in Scotland was relatively uninterrupted. Like other migrants

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they maintain strong and regular contacts with their home country through daily phone or Skype conversation and regular (but short) visits to Poland. However, economic migrants were strongly orientated towards their home country almost to the exclusion of having meaningful relationships in Scotland. They also acknowledged the fact that the long distance and lack of face-to-face and intimate relations with relatives and partners in Poland was having negative impact on their social relations:

We can only phone each other and ask if anything hurts ... But one always replies that everything is OK, even though things aren't really OK. One just doesn't want to worry the other person. We don't say everything to each other which means that the bond is becoming less strong ... (Jan, arrived in 2007, factory worker, Glasgow)

The lack of physical presence and intimate relationship with relatives back in Poland has weakened Jan's social networks with his home country. These networks however, were not subsidised by other social relations in the country of his current residence.

## Summary

Past research exploring migrant's mobility and settlement tends to focus on duration of migration (time of stay) to develop different typologies of migration including long-term, short-term or circular migration. However, migration is increasingly seen as not just a one-way move from the origin to the destination country but a fluid activity that engages both origin and destination societies. The studies focusing on EU post-accession migration from Poland to the UK tend to describe this new forms of migration wave as 'liquid migration' (Engbersen, Snel, and de Boom 2010) that is linked to migrant's intentional unpredictability (Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007) and indicate that that post-accession migrants are a diverse, unpredictable population that formulate different strategies of migration and return (see Drinkwater and Garapich 2015; Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich 2007; White and Ryan 2008). Indeed, what our participants had in common was their inability to give definitive answers with regard to their duration of their stay in Scotland. Instead, they tended to focus on articulating their experiences of living in Scotland. That is, instead of presenting a sense of 'permanency' related to the duration of their stay, our participants tended to focus on their attachments, relationships and familiarity with Scotland (in contrast to Poland) that have built up their experience of settlement in their new country of residence and were developed over time. In terms of settlers and over-stayers these forms of attachments were articulated through their past and present lived experiences in particular locations (usually Poland and Scotland) and were related to their understandings and shifting sense of 'home'. By unpacking migrants' understandings of their settlement, this article in a sense contributes to Brah's question: 'when does a place of residence become "home"?' (1996, 1). In the light of our interviewees' narratives, perhaps the appropriate response to Brah's question is that the concept of 'home' should be reconceptualised to be wherever one (and one's family) achieves the feelings of security, being rooted or anchored in the context of 'prolonged temporariness'. This was particularly the case of settlers and over-stayers who articulated the feeling of constancy and safety in their social and material environment that was established through diverse relationships and attachments including social ties (having a partner, family and friends in Scotland), economic links (stable job, property owner, accumulation of goods and

products), familiarity with the geography of the city (familiarity with services and facilities available in the neighbourhood, sense of attachment to particular places within the city), development of daily routines and rhythms related to work, housework, leisure and other emotional attachments. These relationships and attachments represent the means of settling and they also tend to act as multitude of small anchors that result in 'rooting' of our participants in Scotland.

In this paper four main settling practices: settlers, over-stayers, circular and economic migrants; were identified to illustrate the experiences of different groups of Polish migrants living in Scotland. Despite all the participants having lived in Scotland for at least six years, the ways in which they relate, attach and describe their stay in Scotland was varied and was determined by their orientation and links with the 'home' and/ or destination countries. These relationships set up different trajectories for migrants' settlement practices including: settlers; over-stayers; circular migrants and economic migrants. The settlers or settled migrants were those participants who developed diverse forms of attachments including economic and psycho-social links that anchored them to the place of their residence and therefore they were content to stay and rarely contemplated plans for moving. The over-stayers had achieved what they described as a 'normal life' which was related to a degree of economic stability and living a comfortable life in Scotland. However, they lacked an emotional attachment to the place of their residence and yearned to return Poland or migrate elsewhere. Although they articulated intentions to migrate from Scotland, due to the risk of losing their economic stability and security in Scotland they tend to postpone their migration plans. Postponing the decision to migrate and the lack of active plans to return expose for analysis discrepancies between their intentions and their actual behaviours. The third identified settlement practice was related to circular migration where migrants tended to maintain multiple relationships with their country of origin and the country (or countries) of work and residence. Their settling practices included regular migration to Poland or other locations for short periods of time, for example, three months. This arrangement allowed our participants to manage their nostalgia and to maintain the best of two worlds (Scotland and Poland). The final settling practice described in this paper was identified among economic migrants whose stay was characterised by the fulfilment of the participant's economic goals. These participants expressed strong attachments to their home country with little or no social links to their country of residence. In comparison to settlers, over-stayers and transnational migrants where participants class/skill-level and occupation status vary, economic migration as settling practice was dominant among participants with lower-skills occupations (driver and factory worker). This could suggest that class and occupation status do play a role in Polish migrants settling practice, however further research is needed to explore this relation further.

This article focuses on EU post-enlargement migration in Scotland. Similar to other studies in Wales and England (Drinkwater and Garapich 2015) or Norway (Bygnes and Erdal 2016), our participants expressed open-ended settlement practices but also articulated the importance of diverse factors that have an impact on the ways in which they practice their settling in Scotland. These include (1) attitudes to and with home and country of residence, (2) the feelings of constancy, security and familiarity with migrant social and material environment and (3) social (family and children) and economic forms of attachments to home and country of residence. Our findings could encourage researchers to re-think migrants' settlement as a relational practice that could be understood by focusing on the

ways in which migrants 'do' and 'experience' their stay in destination countries in opposition to their intentions or length of stay in destination country. Such conceptualisation therefore provides a useful tool for explaining what the agent does in practice and therefore could provide the useful framework for analysing and understanding fluid and open-ended, intra-European migration. This article adds to the debates on migrant settlement by illustrating how migrants' motives, intentions and goals but also experiences, links and attachments to the country of residence and also to their country of origin informs their length and 'type' of stay. As such, this article brings the voices of migrants and their own experiences and understandings into the debate on settling processes.

Finally, this study was conducted in May and August 2014 before the UK Referendum on EU membership (known as 'Brexit'), where majority of the UK citizens (51.9%) voted to leave the EU. The result of the referendum introduced some uncertainty with regard to the current status of EU citizens living in the UK (including Polish migrants) and therefore may affect their practices of settlement, belonging and mobility. The potential restrictions on EU free movement that could follow 'Brexit' may limit Polish migrants ability to benefit from open borders between the UK and EU and this may have further implications on fluidity of their migration patterns and open-ended character of their settlement. This article shows that the levels to which Polish migrants feel settled in Scotland and therefore did not intent to leave (settlers) or postpone their decision to migrate from Scotland (over-stayers) depended on their feelings of security, constancy and safety in their social and material environment that was established through diverse anchors that they had developed during their residence in Scotland. Therefore, the ability to sustain these relations and experiences following 'Brexit' will play an important role in shaping Polish migrants' settling practices in the UK. The findings from this article also show that transnational interactions facilitated through the freedom of movement between the UK and Poland played important role in allowing our participants (especially transnational and circular migrants) to lead fulfilling live in the new place of their settlement but also allowed them to continue to maintain a foothold in their home country. The restrictions to the free movement between EU and UK may force some of our participants to make a decision about 'staying' or 'going' (Moreh, McGhee, and Vlachantoni 2016). Finally, potential economic implications of 'Brexit' may have an impact on economic migrants strategies for whom migration to the UK may no longer be perceived as economically beneficial due higher cost of travelling or weaker exchange rates.

## Notes

1. EU post-accession migrants (also called as Accession Countries) are the citizens of the eight countries that joined the EU in 2004 (Czech, Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) and in 2007 (Romania and Bulgaria).
2. Excluding those born in Ireland.
3. Work Registration Scheme was a scheme introduced by UK Government between 1 May 2004 and 30 April 2011 for A8 countries. Workers from these countries were required to register on the WRS scheme within a month of joining a new employer.

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