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The Social and Educational Situation of Circular Migrants' Children in Poland

Abstract

This article is an attempt to fill in the missing knowledge about children called 'Euro-orphans' in the context of relations between the circular migration of their parents, its motives, duration, frequency and forms of contacts with children and the life and school situation of their children. Theoretical frames that identify phenomena in this area have been defined. Educational, social and emotional consequences of Euro-orphanhood for children affecting their presence and future life have been identified and described. These consequences have been analyzed in the light of processes that take place in three environments which are the most important for a child's socialization, namely the family, school and peer group. Special emphasis has been put on the factors that mediate the relationship between a child's temporary orphanhood and his/her achievements in various fields of life.

Key words: Euro-orphans, circular migration, economic migration, peer group, migrant family

Migration of Polish Citizens to Countries of the European Economic Area

Economic migration of Poles dates back to the turn of the 20th century. Target countries for the then mostly economic migration were Germany (due to its proximity) and the United States of America. The emigration was not only permanent, but in fact it was temporary, too.

During the period preceding Poland's accession to the European Union Polish emigration was chiefly circular with Germany as its main direction. The situation radically changed after May 2004 when Poland became a member of the European Union. In spite of labour restrictions introduced by countries like Germany or Austria, a migration wave began targeting the United Kingdom and Ireland. Having opened their labour markets upon Poland's accession to the European Union, those countries automatically became attractive to Polish emigrants. Germany was ranked third among the countries hit by the Polish migration wave. In this case we are dealing with tradition and already existing migration networks. Other countries that accepted Polish emigrants were Spain, the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries, especially Norway (Frelek et al. 2009, p. 18).

It can be argued that the directions for new emigrations depend on the legal situation in the labour market in individual countries of the European Union. By allowing Poles in 2004 to legally work in countries such as the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden and 2 years later in Spain, Portugal, Finland, Greece and Italy, the European Union made these countries new targets for another growing wave of Polish emigration.

Statistic data concerning the size of migration from Poland are not clear due to the different methodologies of statistical research adopted in the countries of the European Economic Area, the different areas of researchers' interest, the undefined notions used in the research or the various sources of information used by the authors.

There is no doubt that after 1 May 2004 the pace and rate of circular migration significantly increased as a result of opportunities to work legally abroad. In consequence, a significant number of persons decided to leave 'for some time'. Migrating persons assumed that they would come back, but they were not able to precisely determine when they would do so. At the same time official statistics show that the year 2004 was the first year after 1992 when the number of persons leaving Poland permanently dropped. A decrease was recorded especially as regards emigration to Germany and North America (Duszczyk, Wiśniewski 2007, p. 15).

The opening of labour markets in certain countries of the European Economic Area resulted in a significant reduction of the grey market related to illegal employment of Poles in the UE countries, as a result of which legal migration became a foundation for population movements.

When analyzing the phenomenon of migration of Polish citizens, one cannot forget the factors that determine it. The World Bank indicates that international migration is often explained by means of the push-and-pull model (Migration and Remittances 2006, p. 9). These factors are economic conditions, demographic factors and unemployment (push factors) in the country of origin and high salaries, demand for employees and family reunification in the receiving country (pull factors).

Circular Migration and Its Characteristics

We can look for the origin of the circular migration in the internal spatial mobility caused by unbalanced development of Poland, which was reflected on the one hand in rapid industrial development in individual regions and on the other hand in slow urbanization processes, especially in residential construction delays, which prevented workers and their families from living near their place of work.

During the last decade of the 20th century, circular migration began to assume the form of growing external migration. Such migration was evident in the whole of Europe and covered many countries both receiving ones and those providing the labour force. The latter group included Poland.

An evident growth in the popularity of international circular migration seems to be a response to cultural changes that take place as a result of globalization processes. The changes that occur in the global world are characterized by permanent and unpredictable changeability in respect of which we can only say that it will surely

happen. In consequence, individuals face an unprecedented multiplicity of choices. The circular migration 'enables assuming a flexible attitude towards the changes and allows one to make autonomous decisions about future life. It means that an individual has an opportunity to both remain abroad and return to his country of origin' (Niedźwiedzki 2010, p. 40).

Circular migration has an irregular character, which means that periods of stay in a home country and in a country of immigration may vary. It differs from the seasonal migration which is characterized by a regularity of both the duration of leave and the target place.

A change in the economic situation of migrants' families entails social costs related to the functioning of those families. In the case of circular migration we often deal with a situation where one of the spouses leaves their home country while the other one stays there. As a result the change affects the scope and character of duties incumbent on each of them. The migration transforms the situation of children and other family members involved in the process.

The structure of political-economic, social and cultural transformations taking place in Poland and globally calls for a change of perspective in viewing the rules that govern family functioning. In determining the socially (and academically) accepted norms for the optimal model of family life, the dominating approach is that of biological and emotional bonds between heterosexual parents and their children, permanently inhabiting a shared (home) space. Nowadays, the approach should be modified to include some new aspects, consequential of the changes in external factors, i.e. those relatively independent from the family members, yet directly affecting the quality of their lives.

One of these aspects is the life of families separated due to one/both of the parents functioning temporarily in two countries. This transnationality of families (Krzyżowski 2008) necessitates and justifies broadening of the situational analysis of all members of the emigrant's family. It should incorporate a perspective which reveals that the family bonds still exert their positive effect, despite family members' separation. According to S. Urbańska, 'by assumption, physical distance is not equated with temporary «suspension» of the parental relation; neither is it treated as a barrier for its maintenance. Rather, what is emphasized is the continuity of conditions determining the possibility and the course of interaction, communication, building intimacy [...]' (Urbańska 2009, p. 78). This (modernized) approach in the perception of family functioning is free from the assumption that separation of family members brings unequivocally negative effects – a supposition found frequently both in the social press and in numerous academic works. Thus, this new approach enables a perception of the geographical distance of a close family member as just one of the modern contexts of family functioning (Urbańska 2009, p. 79).

A Study of the Euro-orphanhood Phenomenon – Theoretical Framework for Own Research

The relationships between the circular migration of parents and the life and educational fate of their children termed as 'Euro-orphans' have not yet been deeply analyzed.

In order to proceed with the study it was necessary to define a framework to identify the phenomena present in the area of interest. A special emphasis was put on the educational and socio-emotional consequences of Euro-orphanhood which can be analyzed in the light of processes that take place in the three environments which are the most important for a child's socialization, namely in the family, school and peer group. We were also interested in the phenomena and processes that may affect the 'environment' closest to the child, that is its self-schemata – a mastery pattern of achievements vs. a learned helplessness pattern and self-esteem as factors that significantly mediate in the relationship between the child's orphanhood and its achievements in various fields of life (Dweck 2002; Dweck, Master 2008).

Family

A parent's departure to work abroad and protracted separation with him/her may destabilize the family. Its consequences may become visible both in the structure of the family as well as in social behaviour and cognitive processes of their members. The appearing phenomena may result in change in a child's educational achievements (Seligman et al. 2003; Bee 2004; Vasta et al. 1995).

The strength and direction of the impact of a parent's/parents' absence on the child's development and the level of the family's integrity depend on several potential moderators (Walczak 2008a and 2008b): the child's age, its socio-emotional maturity, level of satiation with positive emotions of a bond between family members, migration structure, intensity of contacts with the child after departure.

School

In the light of the results of studies concerning the effect of the proliferation of terms' meaning and affect on the semantic network (relations between the notions: orphan – Euro-orphan) (Bargh et al. 1996; Fiske, Tylor 2007) and the image of Euro-migrants' children created by Polish researchers (Walczak 2008a and 2008b), it seems justified to assume that the notion of 'Euro-orphanhood' is a strongly stigmatizing category. Using it may trigger a number of psycholinguistic phenomena characteristic for the process of stereotypization (Maass, Arcuri 1999) and the related effect of a self-fulfilling prophecy in a school class (Jussim 1986; Trusz 2010). 'Euro-orphanhood' is a term that may evoke among teachers different and inaccurate educational expectations towards certain students.

Peers

The growing importance of the peer group in personal and social development of a child and the fact that this group is considered to be a reference group and a judge in choosing values (Vasta et al. 1995; Dembo 1997) has led us to ask questions about the importance of the position and role of Euro-migrants' children in the peer group. We also wanted to find out to what extent the changed social position of Euro-orphans in the social structure of their peer group (at the place of residence, school class) may affect their educational achievements.

Summing up, we have decided that it is cognitively interesting to analyze the educational effects of a disturbance in the relations between Euro-orphans and their peers in a peer group.

Self-schemata and Self-esteem of Euro-migrants' Children

Limited support from any of the aforementioned environments may affect the child's self-schemata or internally coherent ways of understanding itself and its own relations with outside environment as well as its affective dimension, or self-esteem (Jussim 1986; Babad 2009). Such a situation may result in increasing symptoms of psychosomatic disorders like anxiety, neurosis and depression (Seligman et al. 2003) as well as feelings of hopelessness and helplessness.

In terms of motivation and behaviour, Euro-migrants' children, by relying on the learned helplessness pattern (Dweck 2002), may create a negative image of their own abilities according to which high achievements are beyond their abilities, which in turn reduces the level of their motivation to learn. Lack of self-confidence and low level of involvement in learning may after some time result in children starting to think that they are relatively less competent. They feel guilty of their low achievements, unsatisfied with the outcomes, present lower involvement and avoid new challenges (Levesque, Lowe 1992).

Results of the research conducted among Euro-orphans seem to confirm the legitimacy of the assumptions presented (Walczak 2008a and 2008b).

Methodology of Research

When preparing our own research on Euro-orphans it was decided that the research would not be conducted on a large sample. Thus, the study is not representative. The decision was prompted by two reasons: on the one hand, by the lack of possibility to precisely determine the size of the Euro-orphan population, and on the other hand by the fact that the researchers concentrated on the social and educational consequences of economic emigration of Polish parents disclosed in the respondents' opinions. As theoretical grounds for their study the researchers assumed symbolic interactionism, which in Denzin's opinion (1989, p. 5) is based on three basic assumptions:

1. social reality is felt, learned and understood as a social product;
2. people assume that they are able to involve in self-reflexive and minded behaviour; they are thus able to manage their own behaviour and the behaviours of other people;
3. while shaping their own personal points of view and adapting them to the behaviour of other people, people enter into interactions with each other. Interactions are perceived as generated, negotiated and determined by interests which are impossible to predict. Interactions have a symbolic character because they include the manipulating of symbols, words, meanings and language.

A qualitative approach was used in the research procedure, based on the following assumptions:

- reality has a subjective, personal and socially constructed character;
- human behaviour is liquid, dynamic, situational, social, contextual and personal;
- a study of behaviour is conducted in a natural environment taking many factors into consideration;
- research data have a qualitative character while a researcher is a basic instrument for sourcing data;
- data analysis consists in looking for patterns, topics and holistic features;
- a research report is a presentation of respondents' internal points of view.

As a basic method of research the researchers adopted an interview understood as 'a verbal face to face exchange where one person or an interviewer tries to obtain information, opinions or replies concerning the other person's or persons' beliefs' (Macoby, Macoby 1954, p. 499).

Due to the fact that the interviews were highly differentiated in comparison to the standards, the researchers decided to use an unstructured interview. That type of an interview reflects the assumptions taken by the researchers representing an interpretative orientation according to which the most important thing is to learn how people understand their world, how they create it and what meaning they assign to their life. Scientific investigation undertaken in this area is not categorized nor classified, but it is an attempt to understand what certain events mean, how people adapt to them, how they perceive the things that happen around and to them.

Therefore we have not adopted in advance any assumptions concerning the content to be elicited in the course of the interview. We started the research with a set of issues in mind: the motives behind the decision of economic emigration, which guided the people involved in taking this decision; the child's situation at home, at school and in the peer-group after a parent's departure; and the effect the emigration has on the child's educational prospects. This set of problems was not altered throughout the research.

Another problem that required solving was the selection of respondents. Although it was obvious that the selection would be restricted and the criterion for such selection would be the departure of at least one parent from Poland for economic reasons and their consent to take part in the study, the biggest problem was how to reach the people who met the given criteria. Thus, the researchers decided to seek respondents by contacting teachers at schools located in Krakow and in the surrounding area. At the same time the researchers assumed that the

study would cover children that can be called 'Euro-orphans', their parents who remained with them in Poland and one of the teachers. The age range was between 10 and 15 years.

As a result of the actions undertaken, 24 people (8 children, 8 parents and 8 teachers) were involved in the research. One needs to emphasize here the enormous difficulty with reaching the respondents due to the lack of cooperation on the part of school principals who were requested to take part in the study because of their fear relating to the consequences of disclosure of personal data (in the light of the Personal Data Protection Act). On the other hand, the researchers encountered an unwillingness on the part of the families with the Euro-orphanhood problem to take part in the study. In spite of the fact that a bigger number of families that met the adopted selection criteria had been identified, the researchers only managed to invite 8 of them.

Discussion of the Results

Decision to Go Abroad Temporarily: Motives and Participation of Children in Preparation for Departure

A parent's/parents' decision to migrate always significantly affects the family. It carries the odium of ambivalence: on the one hand it is accompanied by the belief that migration is necessary for economic reasons, while on the other hand by the fear that the separation will result in high (non-material) costs to all the family. The economic motive for going abroad, irrespective of dominant factors, was perceived as a consequence of poverty and dominated in each case. It was associated with unemployment and the willingness to improve the living conditions of the family, ones considered as insufficient.

One may argue here that a decision to go abroad is taken into consideration by people who feel that they are capable of coping with a new life situation because they do not accept the deficits they see in their present life. They are ready for radical changes because they feel the potential to meet new challenges. They are active in pursuing a better life for themselves and their families, bearing in mind the possible risks of going abroad. One may think that communicating such an attitude to a child, although initially it may arouse opposition from the child due to the fact that it does not understand the situation and experiences sad consequences of the departure, may trigger energy in its future life to combat unfavourable living conditions and to take actions to improve its life like its father or mother did. This is not obvious, though. Parents' departure may cause different attitudes: no material benefits, better living standards or improvement in housing conditions are worthy of such a devotion that limits contacts, terminates emotional family bonds or results in total family collapse in critical cases. Due to difficult experiences in childhood, such departure in the future will not be even taken into account, but surprisingly such experiences may become a stimulus to trigger a reaction and undertake constructive actions.

In the analyzed histories of the families, the goal for going abroad was always clear and precise. It was based on economic reasons. Direct reasons for going abroad included:

1. unemployment (loss of work, difficulty with finding a job in Poland);
2. precisely defined goal (purchase of an apartment, construction/repair/finishing of a house, repayment of loans and debts, earning funds sufficient to maintain a family);
3. better relations between an employer and employee than in Poland.

The decision to go abroad was taken relatively quickly, a week or two after an opportunity to leave appeared. It seems therefore that the ambivalent feelings of parents translated themselves into the manner of involving their children into the process of creating and implementing migration plans.

As a result of the analysis the researchers divided children into two groups according to their participation in the decision making process:

1. the first group included respondents who knew about the planned trip and who participated in the decision making process thereby obtaining a possibility of asking questions or negotiating conditions and rules for the functioning of the family in the new situation, by taking part in shopping and other preparations for the trip;
2. the second group included children who were only told that their parents had decided to leave them and go abroad for work.

In spite of the significant differences between individual situations one can find certain regularities in them. It can be argued that the stronger the bonds and the healthier the interpersonal relations within the family were, the more difficult the parent's decision to migrate was. At the same time one can see that where the children actively participated in the decision making process from the very beginning, their opposition to their parent's migration was weaker. The most difficult situation for the child was when the parents informed him/her about their decision, one made without letting the child know earlier about their plans, demanding absolute understanding, acceptance or even content. Not wanting to pose problems for their parents the children blocked their emotions pretending to be reconciled with the situation. They often stopped having conversations about migration by distancing themselves from the parent who took care of them at home.

The parent who remained in the home country was not always able to cope with the numerous duties loaded upon him/her after the spouse's departure and with the increasing problems of the child. In such situation, which was difficult for all the family members, few families took another important decision, namely to come back and reunite.

The problem for the family of how to function in a migration situation was dealt with in the following manner:

1. the majority of the analyzed families did not take the departure of all members into account at all;
2. a few families considered moving to the country of migration together (both parents and children), but they gave it up – they presented a conservative

attitude by rejecting the idea after considering the factors that may make their life in a foreign country difficult;

3. an attitude that can be called 'transnational' was seen in a situation where a decision to leave embraced all family members. Those families presented a perspective way of thinking, considering the educational status of the child in a new culture, including language. Before departing the families made inquiries about the conditions of everyday life by contacting their relatives living in the country of planned migration and by taking steps to facilitate their children to enter a new school system, especially in terms of the new language. Future oriented thinking is evident here, which lets us believe that thanks to migration the children will have an easier way to use educational and development opportunities.

School Towards the Children after Their Parents' Departure: Educational Actions and Forms of Support Granted

There are many factors, including those which have not been identified here, that determine the way a child's family situation affects its path of life and the choices made. Uplifting is the fact that in spite of the lack of any systemic support for migrants' children as a specific group, both teachers, parents and children agreed that in each difficult situation for a child, regardless of its causes, they could always count on the school as an institution and on individual teachers. However, there is one thing that needs to be taken into account, namely the fact that schools did not always have sufficient knowledge about the child's family situation and only a few of them tried to find out such information. In most cases it was the so-called 'unofficial knowledge'. Its levels varied ranging from hardly any information to detailed knowledge, which was much desirable, because it enabled the on-going monitoring of the child's situation and allowed one to activate support when it became necessary.

The school is a very important factor in analysing an educational path. Apart from providing knowledge and the ability to use it in an operative manner, the school introduces the youth to culture where one of the most important elements is an ability to use new opportunities and to cope with any problems encountered. By implementing the hidden curriculum, the school can provide positive and pro-developmental patterns or promote resignation from specific actions or can support actions that hinder any constructive activity.

Proper diagnosis and providing adequate support depending on specific needs give a greater chance to stop an escalation of problems and to alleviate their consequences. The first condition that must be met here is that the school must be open to the child's problems and willing to provide support. Furthermore, teachers must have sufficient knowledge about the possibilities and tools available to the school and other support institutions.

A proper family environment is irreplaceable in creating the most suitable conditions for the child's development, but when any irregularities are disclosed such as problems caused by a parent's/parents' migration, it seems necessary to

involve professionals from the school environment. When parents are forced to concentrate on satisfying basic needs, it is possible that they will not think about the educational aspirations of their children and about stimulating them, because all the income earned will be spent on the most fundamental needs among which education is not always top.

Factors that Affect the Child's Way of Coping with Parent's Migration

After the analysis of the information provided by the respondents it must be said that all children experienced negative emotions after parent's departure including sadness and longing expressed by crying. It seems, however, that under the influence of 'rational' arguments from their parents, they somehow accepted such a new and enforced situation. In order not to complicate a difficult material and emotional situation of the family, the children did not question that decision and agreed to the new rules. However, a negative effect of such situation was the fact that after some time it was difficult for children to imagine their functioning in a full family. As a result, the situation of separation became normal and natural to them. A parent's absence ceased to be a problem or cause of pain; it was not a difficult situation at all. But there were also cases where children dreamt of their parents coming back all the time, realizing that this may never happen and they would be left alone for ever.

There were also situations where children strongly rationalized their parents' departure and it seems that they accepted it entirely by emphasizing the benefits or at least the necessity of such migration and by marginalizing the emotional discomfort caused by separation.

Although longing and sadness related to the separation after parent's departure are the feelings which are inscribed in the migration situation, the respondents tried to cope with this difficult emotional reaction in different ways. They most often referred to various forms and frequencies of contacts. It seems that the more frequent the telephone, Internet or personal contacts are, the lower the level of negative emotions caused by separation is. The interviews did not confirm that, though. Certain ambivalence can be noticed here. In the families where contacts were very frequent, the level of longing both in children and in parents was higher due to permanent stimulation of the bond that intensified the feeling of lack. But at the same time that contact was a way for alleviating or releasing painful emotional experiences.

It is correct to say that the factor that facilitated coping with parent's departure was the possibility of talking with other people about migration. Similar experiences and biographies alleviated negative emotional consequences. As the analysis disclosed, some children were very eager to talk about their feelings, while others did not want to admit that their father or mother had migrated.

Strategies for Solving Problems at School, Home and Peer Group

Problems and difficulties are inscribed in a man's everyday life. According to R. Lazarus and S. Folkman (see Borecka-Biernat 2006, p. 50) there are two basic ways of coping with a situation that is perceived by an individual as difficult, harmful or threatening. The first one is a task-based, confrontational strategy that aims at gaining control over the stress causing factors. People who use this strategy consider the situation as a problem to solve that mobilizes them to make effort and to look for new ways of conduct. The other one is the strategy oriented towards one's own emotional condition and aims at alleviating or releasing painful emotional experiences by distancing oneself, avoiding, self-controlling, self-blaming, seeking social support or positive reevaluation. The analysis of the interviews held with children disclosed that practically the only way of solving problems at school, home or peer group is conversation. It is interesting that none of the children talked with a parent who remained in the home country. Furthermore, it seems that the parents who remained at home did not always manage to cope with educational, emotional or organizational problems. By assuming the role of an absent mother or father, they ceased to properly fulfil their own role or, trying to cope with double duties, they found themselves in a situation of permanent stress.

The attitude of the parent who remained with the child was of crucial importance here. The determining of clear rules of conduct and their meticulous enforcement brought positive results and enabled the family to cope with the situation well in spite of the enormous burden of duties.

But certain biographies reveal examples of failure to cope with life problems in the migration situation. In these cases departure abroad caused divorce and family collapse. It is right to argue here that those of the parents who remained at home and who did not cope with the impossible enormity of duties and problems, decided to go abroad to escape from them.

The factors which were identified during the analysis of educational environments have been classified into larger groups taking into account the criterion of the similarity of their functions. As regards the home environment, these factors can be dealt with on the following levels:

1. Caring for family bonds (e.g. everyday contacts of the migrant parent with the partner and child at the country of origin) vs. lack of caring (e.g. lack of interest in the child's problems; family collapse).
2. Common goals (e.g. parents' and children's awareness that the trips abroad are aimed at improving the quality of the family's life; spending part of the money earned on children's education) vs. egoism of the parents (e.g. treating the child's care taken by the parent who remained in the country of origin as an obstacle in the realization of his/her own plans).
3. Positive relations of a child with an absent parent (e.g. intensive contacts of the child with the parent after his/her return home; child's longing for the absent parent; treating the absent parent as an authority figure; child's faith in the possibility of receiving support from its parents; skilful combination of the roles of a mother and a father by the parent who remained at home) vs. lack of or

negative relations (e.g. feeling of rejection, being an unwanted child; lack of life stabilization; permanent feeling of uncertainty; involving the child in parents' conflicts; child's disbelief in its parents' truthfulness).

4. Caring for the correct socialization/education of the child (e.g. by involving the child in roles played at school and at home; systematic contact of parents with the school; helping the child in doing homework) vs. disturbed socialization/education of the child (e.g. demoralization, the child's unwillingness to play the roles at home and at school).
5. Adequacy of educational practices in the family (e.g. contingent, unified and methodical system of educational treatment) vs. their inadequacy (e.g. parents cheating their children).

As regards the school environment, the following levels (classes) have been identified:

1. Positive social and emotional climate at school (e.g. friendliness and openness of teachers to the child's problems) vs. a cold climate (e.g. teachers uninterested in children's problems and concentrated on didactic functions; diminishing the value of educational and caring functions).
2. High great input and output of a teacher/school (e.g. large informational content of classes; motivating students to learn skilfully by emphasizing the pragmatic value of knowledge; creating suitable conditions for presenting knowledge and skills, including those acquired abroad) vs. small input and output (e.g. ignoring the children whose results are disproportionate to the teacher's time and effort spent on teaching them; lack of an open care centre or opening hours of the care centre inadequate to the single parent's needs).

As regards the peer environment, two other dimensions have been identified, namely:

1. Positive relations with peers (e.g. having trustworthy friends, emotional support from them in difficult times, talking about migration) vs. lack or negative relations (treating Euro-migrants' children as worse; abusing the better academic position of Euro-migrants' children by other students for their own purposes).
2. Common experiences (e.g. children's belief that it is common that parents go abroad for economic reasons) vs. lack of common migration experiences (e.g. treating Euromigrants' children as different, thus worse).

Finally, as regards the children's self-schemata and their self-esteem the following classes (dimensions) of factors have been identified:

1. High vs. low level of the educational aspirations and cognitive needs of children.
2. Personality traits that correlate with high educational achievements (e.g. high independence, conscientiousness, openness) vs. personality traits that correlate with low educational achievements (e.g. disbelief in the sense of learning).
3. Constructive developing activities (e.g. participating in extra classes; developing one's interests) vs. destructive conduct (e.g. educational failures resulting in negative selection).
4. Acceptance (e.g. rationalization of separation) vs. opposition against a parent's migration (e.g. resistance expressed in withdrawal, socially unacceptable behaviours).

5. Adaptive patterns of attribution of successes and failures (e.g. ascribing successes to high cognitive abilities and failures to inadequate efforts put into learning) vs. non-adaptive patterns (e.g. explaining successes as luck, while failures as lack of abilities).
6. Functional autonomy of motivation (e.g. enjoying learning, feeling of responsibility for results) vs. lack of autonomy (learning out of fear that a parent or teacher will be angry).
7. 'European awareness' that there are no borders (e.g. great curiosity of the world) vs. feeling of being worse (e.g. low self-esteem, escape into own internal world).

In a wider perspective it is possible to reduce the dimensions (classes) of the attributes into two contradictory types, namely protective (salutogenic) factors vs. risk (pathogenic) factors. Environments with the prevalence of the former factors can be called 'proactive', while environments with the latter factors prevailing can be termed 'over-reactive'. Proactive environments strive to respond to children's needs by stimulating their development in cognitive, social and emotional areas, while reactive environments, by responding inadequately to such needs, hindering children's development in these areas (Brophy 1983; Good 1987; Good, Brophy 2000).

Conclusion

The theoretical models proposed in the discussed results of the study are probabilistic constructs, which means that the trends described by means of them do not cover all the cases included in the analysis. Despite that, they formed an interpretative framework, in the light of which it was possible to explain the noticed regularities – universals, or factors that most frequently recur in a specific educational environment, and to match them with non-recurring elements or exceptions that emphasize the meaning of the rule.

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Streszczenie

W artykule podjęto próbę opisu sytuacji dzieci nazywanych „eurosierotami” w kontekście zależności pomiędzy migracją cyrkulacyjną rodziców – jej motywami, czasem trwania, częstotliwością i formą kontaktów z dziećmi, a losami życiowymi i edukacyjnymi ich dzieci. W niniejszym artykule określono teoretyczne ramy identyfikujące zjawiska występujące w podjętym obszarze. Zidentyfikowano i opisano edukacyjne i społeczno-emocjonalne konsekwencje euro-sieroctwa dzieci, rzutujące na ich teraźniejszość i przyszłość. Konsekwencje te rozpatrywano w świetle procesów zachodzących w trzech zasadniczych dla socjalizacji dziecka środowiskach: rodzinie, szkole oraz grupie rówieśniczej. Wskazano czynniki, które w istotny sposób pośredniczą w relacji między stanem czasowego osierocenia dziecka a jego osiągnięciami w różnych dziedzinach życia.