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IRREGULAR MIGRANTS IN THE SWEDISH SHADOW LABOUR MARKET

-A study on Polish migrants working in the informal labour market in
Stockholm

Abstract

This thesis is a study on Polish irregular migrants living and working in the Stockholm metropolitan region. The aim of the paper is to find out why Poles choose irregular migration to Stockholm as a strategy, and how the Swedish labour market structure and control authorities influence them. This study shows that most Poles had contacts with Polish networks already established in Sweden before contemplating irregular migration as a strategy. Strong links could be found between these networks in Stockholm and two regions in northern Poland. Clear links were also found to three regions in southern Poland. Swedish labour market structure has helped to make domestic cleaning a niche for undocumented Poles in Stockholm although many were also working in the gardening and building/renovation sectors. Results from this paper show that strong Swedish control functions make a number of survival strategies necessary to enter and live undocumented in Sweden. Transiting through Germany was a common way for undocumented Poles to bypass strong Swedish migration controls before Poland joined the EU. Internal control functions such as the Swedish personal ID number make renting apartments difficult for undocumented Poles, which make renting rooms a better option. A majority of undocumented Poles do not believe that Poland's membership will affect their work and lives in Stockholm and they will therefore continue to work undocumented.

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1. Introduction

Today the EU countries are trying to reduce irregular (illegal) migration and migrants working illegally in the informal labour market and its effects on the formal and informal labour market, by using external and internal immigration controls. But migrants working in the informal labour market are found in every EU country which raises the question of whether today's immigration controls are effective and how they can become more effective. The European countries have different views on politics concerning immigration and the labour market which makes their systems very heterogeneous even if their immigration control policies are becoming more homogenized. In this paper, I will study why Poles choose Sweden as a destination country for migration and how Polish irregular migrants survive and live in Stockholm. We know very little about whom these undocumented migrant workers are, their backgrounds in their home country and their motivation to migrate to the host country and work undocumented. This lack of information has led to many debates in Sweden with the result of a very negative association about migrants working illegally which have made them something threatening to society in people's minds, even though informal work is accepted by many people in the host society. For example, the Swedish television network (SVT) presented statistics compiled by Sifo (Research International Group), which showed that 41% of Stockholm respondents answered that they could, if offered, employ and pay for undocumented domestic cleaning services, which demonstrate a widespread acceptance of undocumented work.¹ The negative association people have with migrants working illegally can be partially explained by the negative picture immigration has received during the 1980s and 1990s during which a large number of asylum seekers entered the EU, putting more pressure on the states' welfare systems and the weak socio-economic integration of many immigrants. This makes an immigrant working in the informal sector something negative while Swedes working informally is more readily accepted. Is this negative association of documented and undocumented immigrants working in the informal labour market really fair?

The debate in Sweden became more heated just prior to EU enlargement on the first of May 2004, this debate particularly concerned the issue of implementing temporary rules limiting

¹ Channel 1 SVT , Rapport news program 7:30 pm, on the 15th November 2004

the mobility of citizens of the new EU countries to Sweden. The Swedish government and the national organization of trade unions (LO), warned that a huge influx of workers from Eastern Europe was imminent if temporary rules hindering their mobility to Sweden were not implemented. LO often used Polish and Baltic workers as an example and warned that these immigrant workers would be underpaid and unfairly treated by employers in Sweden. They sponsored a commercial campaign in the form of large posters in which semi-naked Polish male workers lay in poses which lingerie models usually use, to spread their fear that these workers were victims and would be exploited. I found this debate missed one fundamental element, knowledge of the social and economic situation and most importantly the views of labour migrants from the countries in question already here in Sweden working in an irregular “exploited” situation.

At the time, I was reading a book written by Bill Jordan and Franck Duvell (2002). This book compiled the author’s research on how irregular migrants enter the UK, work and even flourish in London. Jordan and Duvell’s research also goes into the backgrounds and strategies of the irregular migrants in the study which further deepens the readers understanding of the dynamics of irregular migration. The current Swedish debate and Jordan/Duvells study, which I found very interesting, inspired me to do a similar research study based in Stockholm. Using my contacts in the Polish community in Stockholm, I was able to gather valuable information in the field of irregular migration. Hopefully my thesis will help fill the gap in the debate concerning labour migration from the new EU countries.

1.1 Aim and research questions

The aim of this paper is to understand why people choose irregular migration as a strategy and how people survive and even flourish in an illegal situation in a foreign country. It aims to uncover how the host country’s labour market structure and controlling authorities influence the undocumented migrants’ lives and strategies. This aim can be formulated into a number of research questions when applied to Stockholm:

1. Who are these Polish undocumented immigrants in Stockholm and why have they come?
2. How do they make a living and access the labour market and how does the Swedish labour market structure affect them?

3. How do Swedish migration controls affect these Polish undocumented immigrants?

1.2 Relevance of placing the study in Stockholm

My thesis will try to answer these questions by conducting a study of Polish migrants working in the informal labour market in the Stockholm metropolitan region. The migrants' experiences will produce results, which will show how the unique Swedish labour market structure and migration controls have affected undocumented migrants working in Stockholm. Stockholm, as the largest and most international city in Sweden and a regional centre of business in the Baltic Sea region, will make possible a relevant and interesting study of how the specific Swedish immigration policies and labour market structure affects irregular migrants living and working there. Stockholm is also an interesting case as Sweden has one of Europe's most regulated labour markets and a very strong internal control which should theoretically make living and working undocumented there very difficult for irregular migrants. This information could change the attitudes and stereotype of undocumented foreign workers which exist in society today.

1.3 Method and outline of the paper

This paper's theoretical framework and background will be built on literature on migration and irregular migration, which will act as a framework for the empirical research. The empirical information will be gathered by a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, which will provide results that could not be achieved by using only one methodology. Melvyn Read and David March write that these methods can complement each other very well. A quantitative method describes and helps explain behaviour while a qualitative method helps the researcher understand the meaning of such behaviour.² These authors describe two reasons for mixing these methods in social science research, which I find both important and directly applicable to my research:

1. *“First, it may be that using one method does not allow the researcher to address all aspects of the research question.*
2. *Second, many researchers argue that combining methods increases the validity of research, because using a variety of methods means that one method serves as a check on another.”³*

² Read 2002:232

³ Read 2002:237

A major part of my study will include the empirical results gained by quantitative means which 20-30 questionnaires answered by Polish nationals working undocumented in Stockholm will produce. The questionnaires will be simple and well formulated in Polish to make it easier for the Polish migrants in the study to answer the questions. The questionnaire can be found in English in Appendix 1, while the Polish version, which was used in the field can be found in Appendix 2. Secondly my research will use the results gained by qualitative means that were produced by 2 deeper interviews, which gave me the opportunity to delve more deeply into the questions asked on the questionnaires. A third shorter interview was also conducted with two Swedish medical students concerning undocumented migrants receiving medical attention in Sweden. The interviews will help to clarify and understand some of the responses in the questionnaires. My research will conclude with a summarising conclusion of the most important results of the study.

1.4 Field research

To obtain the empirical information, I needed to gain access to the irregular migrants whom are the subject of my research. In April 2004, I mobilized my Polish contacts in Stockholm and explained the importance of my research. One of my contacts had a network of friends who were irregular migrants and possible interview candidates. She thought my research interesting and important for the public debate concerning labour migration and quickly mobilized two interviewees. We set the date of the interview to the first week of May, which gave me enough time to produce and get the help needed to translate the questionnaires to Polish. My friendship with my Polish contacts who in turn knew the interviewees turned out to be the legitimacy I needed to gain their trust, thereby gaining access. Respondent 1, was a friend of one of my Polish contacts while respondent 2 was a close friend of a friend of my contact.

Both respondents were females in their twenties who had lived in Stockholm as irregular migrants for over three years. They barely knew each other and belonged to different networks. The respondents had three years of experiences to share and large contact networks with other Polish nationals in an irregular situation in Stockholm. The interview with respondent 1, was conducted in Swedish while the interview with respondent 2, was conducted in English with the help of an interpreter. The interviews lasted nearly two hours

each, during which the respondents gave detailed accounts of their working and living experiences in Stockholm, which produced a wealth of information. Both these respondents agreed to deliver questionnaires to others in their networks and to other Polish irregular migrants they came in contact with. I explained the importance of delivering the questionnaires to people in different networks and not only personal friends. The small number of Poles used in this study made it very important to reach different networks of Polish undocumented workers; otherwise the answers would properly have been too similar. The results would then not be a proper representation of the Polish undocumented workers in Stockholm. As will be presented in the analysis, the respondents described how they shared Stockholm with a larger network of tens or even hundreds of other Poles in a similar position. These women had many contacts in different networks of Polish irregular migrants around Stockholm, which proved invaluable in delivering the questionnaires to different networks. A third Polish contact also helped in delivering the questionnaires. This contact had lived in Stockholm for over twenty years in a legal documented manner but knew people who hired undocumented Polish workers. The questionnaires being handed out included a postmarked envelope to make the process as easy as possible for the people answering. All they had to do was to answer the question, seal the envelope and post it in the nearest post box. All the envelopes had stamps and the address to a consultation firm who had given their permission to use their post box. This was to guarantee both their and my own confidentiality. Thirty questionnaires were handed out and 27 returned which shows that 90 percent of the Poles receiving questionnaires replied.

1.5 Ethical considerations

When writing a paper on illegal activities a number of ethical issues will arise. Information gained put people in this study at risk in three major ways. Failure to uphold the subjects' confidentiality, or revealing information on their survival strategies, could jeopardise their existence in Sweden if not handled carefully. Information gained through the research could be distorted and misused for political purposes. I will be careful not to disclose the identities of the Polish undocumented workers used in the study, as this could jeopardise the subjects' security, to the Swedish control agencies. This should not be a problem as there is no way to trace the questionnaires and I have not used the real names of the people being interviewed. The only personal information on the questionnaires is age, work categories and last residence

region in Poland. Therefore the Poles working in the informal market in this study are guaranteed confidentiality.

One potential problem with the study is the potential for subjects' strategies for keeping their activities concealed from the authorities to be compromised by its reproduction in the study. This could well become a problem where important research findings about strategies such as those for finding work could be at risk in this paper. The EU expansion on the first of May 2004 could be a solution to this problem. It will be easier for the subjects to disguise the fact that they are working undocumented and therefore not feel jeopardised by information produced in this paper. For example by disguising the fact that they are working illegally, they could be working a few hours documented or use other such strategies to placate control authorities. When they were here illegally their existence in Sweden could have been jeopardised by control authorities simply asking them to present legal documentation.

The question of migrants working illegally could attract people with xenophobic views who might try to use this information for political purposes. I will have to be very careful to write my research findings in a clear way to minimize the potential for the research to be distorted and misused. As stated earlier in the paper, the debate in Sweden has suffered from a lack of information. Therefore, it is my aim to contribute through my research to a more informed and modulated debate, which should reduce the potential of the subject to be used for a distorted political agenda. Jordan writes on the topic for his UK study that the research material can be misused, but it is the absence of research evidence that has distorted the debate on immigration, therefore more research evidence is needed for a more informed debate.⁴

1.6 Defining concepts

The following is a list of concepts and how they are used in this paper.

1.6.1 International migration.

Andrew Geddes gives a useful description of international migration. He writes that *While at a basic level, international migration can be defined as permanent or semi-permanent*

⁴ Jordan 2002:95

*movement by people across state borders, the growth of short-term rotation or contract migration shows how the distinction between permanent and temporary becomes blurred.*⁵

Geddes' description shows how international migration can vary between permanent and semi-permanent and the crossing of state borders. He also divides international migration into two categories; economic migration that is presumably voluntary and asylum, which in turn is presumed to be involuntary.⁶ Defining international migration this way puts Polish people immigrating temporarily or permanently to Sweden into the voluntary category; that is, they are economic migrants.

1.6.2 Illegality and irregular migration

Irregular migration means illegal migration, which brings up the question, what are illegal migration and illegal migrants? We need to establish what is meant by 'illegal migrants' this being the subject of this paper. Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, stated that "*A human being can be tall, short, rich or poor but there is no such thing as an illegal human being.*"⁷ This quotation reminds us that it is human beings we are studying and that there are no illegal human beings. It is not the migrant who is illegal but the circumstances they are in and this can change quickly. For instance until the first of May 2004, many Poles living and working in the informal market in Stockholm were here illegally. After the first of May when Poland joined the EU they had free mobility to Sweden though they still needed to apply for legal documentation to legally work in the country. This shows how the country's legal framework decides who is here legally or illegally, and this can change quickly.

August Gächter, Harald Waldrauch and Dilek Cinar present three possible situations of illegality for an undocumented migrant, which gives them an illegal status. These three sources of illegality are A. *entry*, B. *residence* and C. *employment*.⁸ A migrant could be living temporarily in the host country with a tourist visa but working illegally undocumented. A+B=legal, C=illegal, or entered the country illegally but received a temporary residence permit through an asylum claim and working illegally at the same time. A+C=illegal and

⁵ Geddes 2003:8

⁶ Geddes 2003:8

⁷ Cinar 2000:11

⁸ Cinar 2000:11

B=legal. My thesis will concentrate on Polish migrants working in Sweden undocumented which means C=illegal and possibly A+B as well.

2. Theoretical background

This research paper's theoretical foundation will explain why people emigrate to seek undocumented employment in foreign countries through an economic theoretical context. Theory concerning immigration controls will also be used, which helps explain the state's need to form migration policies that entail different forms of migration controls.

2.1 Economic globalization and irregular migration

Bill Jordan and Franck Duvell establish a good theoretical framework for understanding why irregular migration and undocumented employment occur through the larger world economic system. This part of chapter 2 will build a discussion on Jordan/Duvell's theorising framework, which will be complemented by two papers written by Bimal Ghosh (2000) and Barry Chiswick (2000). Duvell and Jordan's book is also fundamental in the discussion on Polish migration presented in this chapter. Information is also obtained from a book by Andrew Geddes (2003).

2.1.1 Mobility and irregular migration in economic theory

Liberal economic theory explains how openness increases efficiency, which therefore promotes economic growth and gives poorer countries a chance to catch up. This liberal economic system creates greater mobility of capital, labour and local surpluses, which can be transferred more easily and used, were they are scarce. So the surplus of resources in one local area can be transferred more easily to a place where the goods are scarce, which benefits both parties. This has been the leading model for changes in the world economy for the past two decades. Therefore one would expect that barriers like migration controls would come down as well. But in practice the European countries have erected more restrictive policy measures against immigration in direct contrast to what liberal economic theory would dictate, which would theoretically lead to more irregular migration. More mobility and at the same time more restrictions means more breaches of migration law. This would answer why

irregular migration has increased in Europe today.⁹ Bimal Ghosh writes that there are around three million immigrants in an irregular situation in Western Europe in the year 2000, which is about one in every three immigrants.¹⁰ This shows the enormity of the current question of mobility and restrictions in the wider European perspective.

Gains from increases in mobility are not equally distributed, which means some people win and others lose. States try to gain and reserve the benefits of mobility for their own citizens while trying to avoid the cost, which is why immigration policy is so important. The goal is to maximize the gains and diminish the costs of mobility. Some states managed to create successful strategies of attracting productive resources and skills while at the same time protecting its public infrastructures.¹¹ A good example of this is the integration of different European states in the European Union. The EU free market was created to ease the mobility of goods, capital and labour between the different European states while hindering outsiders and therefore giving the European actors an advantage inside the union. Through establishing such a union the EU is trying to gain the advantages of free movement and globalization while protecting itself against its potentially negative effects. This shows how the European Union is trying to restructure and steer global capitalism to its own advantage.¹²

Migration, including irregular migration, stems from individuals who move, in order to obtain the benefits which mobility can provide. Jordan explains that irregular migration is a form of labour migration which follows the same pathways as global capital in today's open global market. The controllers of global capital seek cheap labour by investing capital where labour is cheap or by moving temporary workers to wealthy countries through legal or illegal means.¹³ Labour is like any other commodity on the national/international market which means that it is controlled by demand. When demand diminishes, wages often follow the decline which means workers try to move to other employment. Jordan writes that mobility is a defining characteristic of the present day social world, in which individuals shift away from the communal, political, and class loyalties and see themselves as individuals choosing their own strategies in steering their lives. One important aspect of this is for the individual to make rational economic decisions to further best returns for their assets, which includes material

⁹ Jordan 2002:2f

¹⁰ Ghosh 2000:141

¹¹ Jordan 2002:3

¹² Jordan 2002:51

¹³ Jordan 2002:16

resources and/or skills. If moving is the best strategy to achieve this, then migration could become a viable option.¹⁴ One defining feature of irregular migration is its temporary nature. Barry Chiswick writes that the concern of discovery and possible deportation keeps the irregular migrant from making permanent plans in the host country. This also explains why irregular immigrants often travel alone, leaving family members and other dependents in the country of origin. This is because to do otherwise would increase the risk of being apprehended by authorities. The separation of the irregular immigrant and his/her family would also explain the regularity of travel between the host and country of origin, which also creates interrupted work periods.¹⁵

Andrew Geddes writes that most immigration in Europe originates from certain countries and even certain regions, cities and towns. These patterns of migration between sending and receiving countries become migration networks over time, establishing links between different geographical regions. Information about potential work opportunities in the formal and informal market, housing and an established social and family network can be provided by these networks. This explains how important these migration networks are for the choice of destination and for the decision making process a potential migrant goes through while contemplating migration as a strategy.¹⁶

2.1.2 Irregular migration and the labour market

The level of mobility in today's liberal, global economy gives the owners of capital considerable power. Capital owners have the ability to move capital to where profits are greater and with it work opportunities. This gives owners of capital a strong power position in relation to those elements of the labour force whose mobility is limited. In the European Union, unemployed people generally receive high social insurance unemployment benefits from the government, which stops employers from reducing wages; otherwise people would have less incentive to work. If wages and unemployment benefits were the same, the incentive to work would be greatly reduced. This means that employers generally keep their best employees by paying high wages. This system of less but higher paying jobs makes it difficult for outsiders to find work in the formal labour market which means that job opportunities are found in the informal labour market instead. For the employer who has to pay high minimum

¹⁴ Jordan 2002:17f

¹⁵ Chiswick 2000:169f

¹⁶ Geddes 2003:14f

wages will have a stronger incentive to hire cheaper irregular migrant workers.¹⁷ This shows how the European structural labour system is formed in such a way as to give migrants and employers an incentive to participate in the informal labour market. Jordan writes that both flexible and highly regulated labour markets steer labour towards the informal labour market. Unregulated labour markets make it easier and increase opportunities for undocumented workers to work as unskilled labour or entrepreneurs. The United Kingdom with its unregulated labour market will be attractive for irregular migrants as they can easily live and work unobserved by the authorities in the country. However regulated labour markets increase the incentives for employers to hire cheaper irregular workers that can easily be laid off, which increases the employer's flexibility.¹⁸ Tomas Hammar writes that in Sweden the employer pays 40% of the employee's salary in employer fees while the employee pays 30% of their salary in tax.¹⁹ This shows that there is an economic incentive to employ workers - and for employees to work - in the informal market in Sweden.

Jordan writes that different labour markets with minimum wage levels and other social protection policies can provide niches for irregular migrants, who can function as a safety valve in some areas in the labour market that would otherwise be unavailable in that location or too expensive for regular employers.²⁰ Grete Brochmann explains this as inconsistencies in the labour market despite recurrent unemployment. Certain sectors in the labour market have labour shortages seasonally or permanently which the informal market can fill. Certain sectors such as agriculture, construction, hotel and catering and maintenance and cleaning often fit into this category in the EU labour markets today.²¹ Brochmann's discussion helps explain Jordan's reasoning concerning the safety valve function of irregular migrants. For example, the cost of hiring domestic cleaners in Sweden is very high due to the tax rate, which has almost made this formal labour market sector non-existent. Many Swedes hire undocumented domestic cleaners through the informal market instead, revealing an inconsistency in the Swedish labour market. Many of these employers, who employ workers for domestic cleaning in the informal labour market, would not have bought these services if the cheaper undocumented alternative was not available. These employers could not afford to hire documented cleaners and would therefore not buy these services.

¹⁷ Jordan 2002:55f

¹⁸ Jordan 2002:75f

¹⁹ Hammar 1999:188

²⁰ Jordan 2002:34

²¹ Brochmann 1999:326

Ghosh writes that irregular migrant workers' effect on employment and wages in the host country depend on whether they complement or compete with documented workers in the labour market. For instance Ghosh explains that if irregular immigrants take jobs, which are shunned by nationals, it can reduce labour shortages because they do not compete with local workers.²² This can also be linked to the Swedish domestic cleaning example above, in which domestic cleaning in the formal sector is rendered almost non-existent by its heavy taxation, the irregular migrant's functions in this case can be seen as a sort of safety valve. Chiswick writes that a large supply of low-skilled workers, legal or not, increases the wages of high-skilled workers and the return on capital. He explains this as the principle of complementary production, which states that greater supply of one factor of production increases the production of the other.²³ Ghosh explains this by stating that if irregular workers are complementary to skilled national workers and fill low-skilled jobs, the more high skilled workers could benefit from a higher productivity level. He explains that this could compensate for the burden of heavy taxation.²⁴

Ghosh writes that in the case of competition between irregular immigrants and other documented immigrant and national groups, this could result in the depression of wages, which could force documented workers into unemployment, especially if the host country does not face labour market shortages in the labour sector in question.²⁵ Even if the irregular immigrants themselves do not contribute to or receive welfare or health benefits they could force competing documented workers into unemployment, therefore adding to the economic burden on the legally employed. Ghosh uses the German construction sector as an example. He writes that there are an estimated half million undocumented workers in the German construction sector, of which the majority are immigrants. The willingness to accept a lower wage compared with the documented workers has pushed wages down and thus endangered the job opportunities for German workers. Ghosh further explains that the low mobility of the German workers forces them into competition with irregular workers. He compares the German example with the United States, which also has a large irregular segment in the construction sector. The American workers have greater mobility, than the German workers,

²² Ghosh 2000:142

²³ Chiswick 2000:171

²⁴ Ghosh 2000:143f

²⁵ Ghosh 2000:142

limiting the impact that irregular immigrants have on the American labour market.²⁶ Chiswick explains why mainly the low skilled section of the labour market attracts irregular immigrants; this is partly due to the formalities of the high skilled labour market. The employers of high skilled labour usually require educational credentials, occupational licenses and even union membership which can prove difficult for an irregular immigrant which could reveal that they are working illegally.²⁷ This shows why work in the high-skilled labour market is less attractive for irregular immigrants.

2.1.3 Polish Migration

Jordan writes that Poland has been a country of emigration since the mid-nineteenth century. An estimated 3.5 million Poles emigrated from Poland during the period 1850-1914 and around 1.5 million Poles emigrated between the two world wars. During the Second World War, Poland's population decreased by around 5 million people due to deaths in concentration camps, war losses, slave labour and large scale emigration. The communist regimes efficient emigration controls effectively countered emigration for a time after the Second World War, but emigration on a large scale started again in the 1980s and mainly comprised highly educated citizens.²⁸ Since the liberalisation of border regulations in 1989, Poland has the highest net emigration rates in Europe of both a permanent and a temporary nature. Jordan explains that around 1 million Poles travel abroad legally to work temporarily for 11 months per year. This temporary migration increases family earnings in Poland by remittances sustained through family members working abroad. Family members who emigrated illegally in the 1980s often sustain the temporary workers. Most of these workers travel to Germany (76 per cent), USA (13 per cent) and Canada (9 per cent). Jordan estimates that there are around 12 million people of Polish descent abroad including 1.5 million in Germany and 1 million in France.²⁹

Jordan writes, "*However, in addition to these flows of migrants with work permits, there are also large numbers (properly more) travelling to Western Europe to work without proper status.*"³⁰ This information raises the question of why so many Poles have left Poland to find

²⁶ Ghosh 2000:143

²⁷ Chiswick 2000:169

²⁸ Jordan 2002:88

²⁹ Jordan 2002:88f

³⁰ Jordan 2002:89

undocumented work in Western Europe. To answer this question, Jordan explains that the new, democratically elected government in Poland started a shock therapy approach to reform the old planned economy towards a market economy after the fall of communism. This economic reform was called the Balcerowicz Plan and was introduced in 1990. This large structural transformation and implementation of a market economy in Poland resulted in a reduction in national income and a rise in unemployment, increasing economic hardship for many Poles. Poland's economy has grown strongly since the mid-1990s largely due to these reforms but has also seen the establishment of illegal migration patterns. A general pattern of westward migration of irregular workers can be observed, in which Poles travel further into Western Europe and Scandinavia and Eastern Europeans travel to work undocumented in Poland. This explains how increasing economic hardship created during the economic reforms and structural transformation after the fall of communism in Poland has made irregular migration a strategy for many Poles.

2.2 Immigration control

This part of chapter 2 will build a discussion of Immigration control based on a book by Grete Brochmann and Tomas Hammar (1999). Their book gives an excellent theoretical account of immigration control in Europe. This book will also be the information source for the discussion on the Swedish migration control case. Information is also gained from a paper written by Lucile Barros and Garson Jean-Pierre (2000).

Grete Brochmann formulates a dilemma exemplifying western countries immigration policies in the book *Mechanism of Immigration Control*. "*To formulate and implement immigration control policies that correspond to normative obligations, while at the same time taking care of the interest of the state*".³¹ Immigration controls are the immigration policies and control functions that steer which foreign nationals shall receive permission to enter, visit, work or naturalise in the country in question. Additionally, immigration controls decide what legal rights the foreign national will have in the country. The role of immigration control is to balance the interest of the state by maintaining the security of the state, taking in account economic and social needs and public feelings concerning immigration. Without breaking the people's moral values, international conventions and human rights. Free immigration could weaken state regulation concerning labour and housing markets, which would weaken the

³¹ Brochmann 1999:4

state's ability to control and plan. Inadequate immigration control can increase unemployment, people working in the informal labour market, crime, and increased xenophobic reactions from the host population and lessen the chance of migrants integrating into the host society.³² On the subject of irregular immigrants and crime, Ghosh writes that there is no evidence that irregular immigrants are more prone to criminal activities than the rest of the population in the host country. Contrary to the assumption of high criminality of irregular immigrants, Ghosh states that they are more reluctant to commit criminal activity due to the need to keep a low profile for fear of being apprehended and possibly deported.³³

To successfully implement immigration control there must be control functions. These control functions will be analysed as two groups; internal and external controls. The direct and indirect functions of immigration policies will also be analysed.

2.2.1 External control

External control functions seek to control immigration before migrants enter the country. For example border controls, visa restrictions for entering the country and information campaigns in sending countries as a deterrent to potential migrants not to immigrate to the country in question. These are all ways to enforce external immigration controls. During the 1990s new control mechanisms have been established through using countries between sending and receiving countries as buffer zones. Receiving countries make deals with neighbouring and other transit countries to not let migrants transit to their end destination. This has become an effective control function for many European countries, which help stop refugees and other illegal migrants entering the countries.³⁴

2.2.2 Internal control

Internal controls come into play when the migrants have first entered the country. Those inquiries help to establish whether the migrant has a right to asylum and/or a work permit. ID cards, housing or work inspections by government officials or trade unions and a personal ID number as they have in Sweden or national security numbers as are used in the UK are also forms of internal control. Government authorities are not the only actors implementing

³² Brochmann 1999:1ff

³³ Ghosh 2000:148

³⁴ Brochmann 1999:12

internal controls, employers and trade unions can also have an important role.³⁵ For example, when one seeks employment in Sweden the employer usually asks for a personal ID number. If the employee is not a Swedish citizen the employer will need a copy of a work or permanent residence permit. Providing information to suspected undocumented migrant workers and employers considered at high risk of employing workers illegally are internal preventive measures gaining popularity in the EU today. The information given includes employee rights and the employer's obligations to the employees. Lucile Barros gives an example of how a large information campaign takes place in Japan about illegal foreign labour and its consequences on the regular labour market and society to make the general public shun illegal foreign labour.³⁶ This shows how information campaigns can be an effective internal control mechanism where the general public, foreign nationals working legally and employers shun illegal workers and therefore feel more compelled to give information to the authorities when they suspect the use of undocumented foreign workers.

2.2.3 Explicit/direct and implicit/indirect migration control

Both external and internal control functions can be divided into two different categories depending on their effect. The explicit category is the direct and public effects of control policies like border controls and visa schemes for external control and internal surveillance and a regulated access to ID cards for internal controls. The implicit category is the indirect hidden effects of control functions such as preventative measures abroad, typical examples being foreign investment and the reduction of trade barriers for sending countries to try to reduce the incentive for potential migrants to migrate. Policies and opinion building that lead to social segregation and discrimination which could act as a deterrent for future potential migrants.³⁷

2.2.4 Swedish immigration control

Tomas Hammar writes that the context of Swedish Immigration control changed in the 1980s. The disintegration of the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1990s made Sweden's geographical location less of an advantage in terms of being a country in the periphery of international immigration. Sweden's geographical location became less advantageous as the

³⁵ Brochmann 1999:12

³⁶ Barros 2000:227f

³⁷ Brochmann 1999:14f

Soviet Union's efficient emigration control was gone. Suddenly, Sweden was on the border of the new free Europe, where the living standards were much lower and the unemployment rate, much higher. Fearing a huge influx of irregular migrants from the new Europe, the Swedish government worked out plans to tighten and expand immigration control in conjunction with the European Union through international coordination. Sweden went through a process of labour market deregulation during this period which caused the informal market to grow. The growing informal market had the effect of weakening social control, which had previously prevented irregular migration.³⁸

After a short recession following the 1970s oil crisis, recruitment of foreign labour was stopped by a radical policy change without the consent of the Riksdag (Swedish parliament). The labour recruitment stop was proclaimed by the national organization of trade unions LO, by using its veto against foreign labour.³⁹ Therefore since 1972 only two categories of migrants have been accepted; refugees and family members. The unions have been successful in exercising institutional social control in Sweden, especially where they had a large membership, such as in big industries. The union's control meant that employers could not employ irregular workers without repercussions and foreign workers could not get documented work without proper permits. During the 1990s deregulations, trade union control has weakened, potentially opening the Swedish informal labour market to higher irregular migration.⁴⁰ This shows the importance and power of the Swedish trade unions in labour market politics. Therefore, Sweden has seen immigration from four sources during the 1990s, those being citizens from other EU countries, refugees if they successfully reach the country, family members and irregular migration.

Sweden has extensive external and internal migration control functions. Explicitly external control has taken the form of border controls and a visa system, which has been used for a long time in Sweden. Visas are required from typical sending countries of refugees, which is an effective way to restrict legal entrance by these migrant groups.⁴¹ An anti-trafficking policy has been established to work as a deterrent to human traffickers, with imprisonment and fines as possible punishments. Responsibility has also been placed on transport companies who can be liable to fines if they carry irregular migrants into Sweden, which is a

³⁸ Hammar 1999:169

³⁹ Hammar 1999:174

⁴⁰ Hammar 1999:176

⁴¹ Hammar 1999:180ff

new strategy. Asylum seekers whose asylum claim is rejected can be forcibly deported to transit countries or their countries of origin.⁴² Implicitly, Swedish external control can take the form of information campaigns in sending countries which inform potential migrants of the low probability of being accepted as an asylum seeker in Sweden. Active foreign aid and cooperation with border countries such as the Baltic countries to help them co-ordinate their immigration controls with those of the West, limiting the likelihood of migrants successfully transiting to Sweden is another form of implicit external control.⁴³

Explicit internal control in Sweden has many forms. Internal control for immigrants is quite intensive for the first years but is reduced after a short period of legal residence in the country. The police as a control authority have the power to ask foreign citizens on the street for passports. But directives state that the police should have grounds of suspicion that the foreigner is staying or working illegally in the country to use this power.⁴⁴ The personal ID number is another form of internal control used in Sweden. A personal ID number is granted after being in the population register for at least a year. In Sweden one needs a personal ID number to open bank accounts, seek legal employment and be treated by a doctor or seek medical help at a hospital.⁴⁵ Internal and external controls have an implicit effect when they are specifically aimed at certain national groups, for instance groups of which a large number are asylum seekers. This strategy of aiming controls at certain immigrant groups can affect the host society's feelings negatively towards those groups. Expenses of immigration controls and other costs tied to the asylum seeking process have made immigration something of a burden in the minds of many people of the host society.⁴⁶

The regulated labour market, strong internal control and corporatisation of Swedish society have resulted in a very small informal labour market according to Hammar. But as stated earlier, deregulation during the 1990s has seen the growth of the informal labour market in Sweden. Hammar makes a very uncertain estimate of the size of the informal labour market in 1997 where he states that around 4-5% GNP is located in the informal market.⁴⁷ Sanctions against employers using irregular workers are only fully effective in workplaces with high union membership and where union control is strong. Workplaces with low union

⁴² Hammar 1999:182f

⁴³ Hammar 1999:193

⁴⁴ Hammar 1999:184

⁴⁵ Hammar 1999:188

⁴⁶ Hammar 1999:198

⁴⁷ Hammar 1999:188

membership don't give the unions the same insight into what takes place at that specific workplace which makes it naturally harder to ensure that labour laws are implemented. Before Poland joined the EU, Poles were allowed to visit Sweden for three months with a tourist visa if they had an invitation or enough money to pass as a tourist for the stated time. Therefore, it was common for Poles to enter Sweden legally and work undocumented for three months and then go back to Poland. Afterwards they could return for another three months.⁴⁸ To limit the number of irregular migrants working in the informal labour market, the immigration police mainly conduct sporadic, random investigations or in response to complaints or tip-offs about irregular migrant workers.⁴⁹ The main job for the immigration police has been to search for overstayers and migrants who have gone underground to avoid deportation so limiting irregular migrants working in the informal labour market is apparently considered to be of secondary importance.⁵⁰

3. Undocumented Polish workers in Stockholm

This chapter will present the answers of questions 1-4 and 10 on the questionnaire (see Appendix I.), which will be complemented by the answers from interview respondents 1 and 2. The information will help answer research question 1. Who are these Polish undocumented immigrants in Stockholm and why have they come? This chapter will be divided into a background section and a section detailing why the respondents have chosen Sweden as destination country.

3.1 Background of Poles in the Stockholm study

1. The first question on the questionnaire was: Are you male or female?

⁴⁸ Hammar 1999:188

⁴⁹ Hammar 1999:188

⁵⁰ Hammar 1999:191

<i>Sex</i>	
Male:	15
Female:	11
Unclear:	1

The data show that a majority in the study were male 15 respondents compared to 11 female respondents.

2. Second question was: Your age and time spent in Sweden?

<i>Age</i>	<i>Time spent in Sweden</i>
21-25: 8	0-1 year: 7
26-30: 6	1-2 year: 8
31-40: 3	3-5 year: 5
41-50: 3	5 or more years: 6
51-60: 6	
Unclear: 1	Unclear: 1

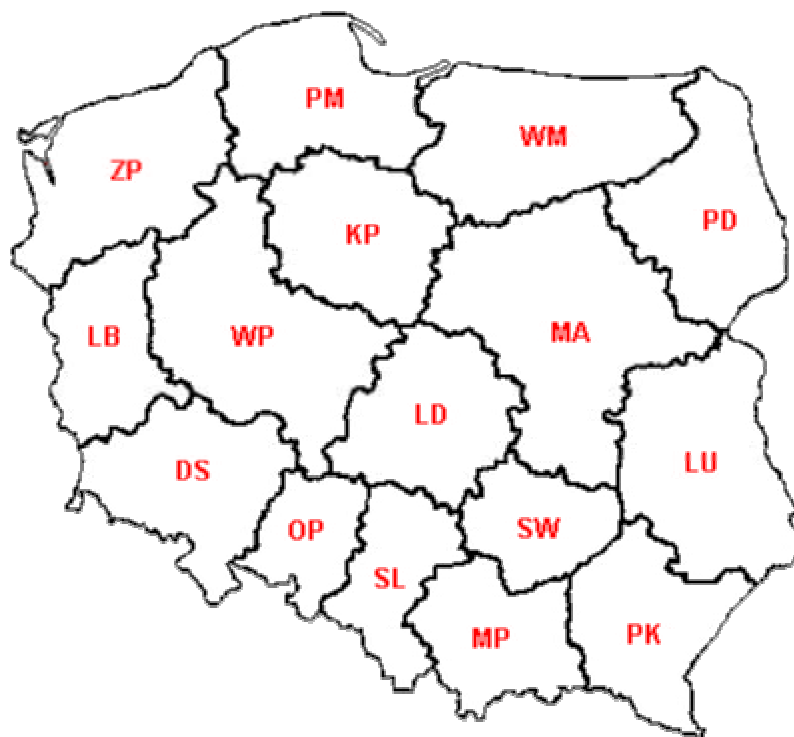
The largest number of Poles was in the 21-25-age category, numbering 8 respondents, followed by the 26-30 and 51-60 age categories both with 6 respondents each. It is interesting to note that a large group of 6 questionnaire respondents were between 50-60 years old, which is equal to the 31-40 and 41-50 age groups combined. The time spent in Sweden was varied and quite evenly distributed between 0-5 years though the largest group of 8 respondents answered that they had lived for 1-2 years in the country.

3. Third question was: Last place of residence (województwo)⁵¹ in Poland?

<i>Last województwo region</i>	
Pomorskie:	7
Zachodniopomorskie	6
Slaskie:	3
Malopolskie:	3
Mazowieckie:	2
Dolnoslaskie:	2

⁵¹ Poland is divided into sixteen regions called województwo.

Swietokrzyskie:	1
Wielkopolskie:	1
Unclear:	2



Województwo
DS - dolnoslaskie
KP - kujawsko-pomorskie
LU - lubuskie
LD - łódzkie
LU - lubelskie
MA - mazowieckie
MP - malopolskie
OP - opolskie
PD - podlaskie
PK - podkarpackie
PM - pomorskie
SL - slaskie
SW - swietokrzyskie
WM - warminsko-mazurskie
WP - wielkopolskie
ZP - zachodniopomorskie

Map of Poland showing the 16 województwo regions.⁵²

A small majority of the questionnaire respondents answered that their last place of residence was in the two regions in northern Poland which are geographically closest to Sweden; Pomorskie had 7 respondents and Zachodniopomorskie, 6 respondents. The second largest respondent group hailed from the three southern regions of Slaskie (3 respondents), Malopolskie (3 respondents) and Dolnoslaskie (2 respondents). And only a few respondents answered that their last place of residence was in the central regions of Mazowieckie (2 respondents), Swietokrzyskie (1 respondent) and Wielkopolskie also only (1 respondent).

4. The fourth question was: Your level of education and previous employment in Poland?

⁵² <http://www.staff.amu.edu.pl/~zbczw/ph/pro/plwoj.html> (2004-12-08 kl. 14:35)

<i>Education</i>			
Elementary school:	1		
High school with a trade orientation:	9		
High school:	11		
Tertiary education:	6		
<i>Previous employment in Poland</i>	<i>Other answers</i>		
Businessman/white collar job:	7	Archivist and pub owner	1
Skilled manual (Example. skilled mechanic):	8	Teacher	1
Other manual:	8		
Unspecified/ no previous work experience:	4		

The majority of the respondents had high school (11 respondents) or high school with a trade orientation (9 respondents) education while (6 respondents) answered that they had some form of tertiary education. Only 1 respondent answered that they had only an elementary school education; they belonged to the 50-60 year age group. The majority of respondents had previous work experience and were evenly divided between the white collar (7 respondents); skilled manual (8 respondents) and unskilled manual group also (8 respondents). Only 4 respondents answered that they did not have any previous work experience before coming to Sweden.

10. The tenth question was: Why choose Sweden as a working destination? Mark as many as necessary.

<i>Why choosing Sweden as a place for employment</i>	
Family or/and other contacts in Sweden:	8
Known job opportunities:	17
Sweden has reputation for having good working opportunities:	7
Sweden is known to be easy to enter for Poles:	1

Most Poles in the study 17 respondents answered that they chose Sweden as a working destination because of known working opportunities. Another 8 respondents indicated that they had family and/or other connections to Sweden. It is interesting to note that only 3 of these also marked that known work opportunities helped them in their decision to choose

Sweden. This shows that for 5 respondents' family and/or other connections were the only important reason in making their decision. 7 respondents marked that Sweden had a reputation for having good work opportunities. And only 1 respondent marked that Sweden was known to be easy to enter for Poles as a reason to choose Sweden as a working destination.

3.2 Why have they come?

Interview respondent 1 is a 26-year-old woman from Zachodniopomorskie who gave a typical worker's account why she travelled to Sweden to work undocumented. She had lived in Stockholm for the past three years working undocumented. She has a high school education with a trade orientation and had previously worked in a pub in Poland. She did not give a very detailed account of her life in Poland but said that she moved to Stockholm to be able to work and save money to be able to start her own business in the future. Respondent 1 explained that this was a common strategy for Poles in Stockholm, which involves travelling overseas and working for several years with the goal of returning to Poland and opening up their own business. She explained that the working situation in Poland was hard and it would have been very difficult to succeed in her endeavour while in Poland. Respondent 1 explained that she had contacts working in an irregular situation in Stockholm who told her of the good working opportunities in Stockholm. They had explained to her that many Poles have companies in the cleaning business and that work was abundant. They enticed her with information that there was much undocumented work for women in cleaning firms and restaurants while men could always find work in the construction business and bakeries. This information convinced the respondent to choose irregular migration to Sweden as a strategy to be able to save money to succeed in her goal to later open her own business in the future.

Interview Respondent 2 is a 24-year-old woman from Pomorskie who gave a similar though more detailed worker's account of why she travelled to Sweden. She has lived in Sweden for the past three years working undocumented. Respondent 2 had finished one year of tertiary education when she was forced to discontinue her studies for financial reasons. After her year of university studies she spent 6-7 months looking for work, which resulted in an undocumented 3-4 month job in promotions. She described the Polish labour market as very hard if you do not have good connections in the right places. These experiences correspond with Jordan's assertion, discussed earlier in this thesis, that the shock therapy approach to

economic reform increased hardship for many Poles. Both respondents faced problems finding employment in the Polish labour market and decided to emigrate. Jordan's discussion earlier showed how diminishing demand reduces wages and employment opportunities which mean that employees have to move to find employment. This shows how both respondents' limited employment opportunities in Poland makes irregular migration to Sweden a viable and understandable option. As found in Jordan's discussion earlier, both respondents use mobility to gain better returns for their skills, as both respondents gave mainly economic reasons for moving to Sweden and to start work undocumented. Respondent 2 explained that Sweden has a reputation of having an abundance of cleaning jobs and that there is a lot of money to be made working in the irregular cleaning business in Stockholm. She also gave family reasons for choosing Sweden as her destination country. She explained that she has a cousin with a family living in Stockholm and a number of friends. She also shared a certain bond to Sweden from her parents' stories about the country. Her parents used to travel and take vacations in Sweden during her childhood and often brought back presents, which have made Sweden a special place for her even before she contemplated migration to the country.

Both respondents answered that you would find Poles from all regions of Poland living and working in Stockholm in an irregular situation, though Poles from the two northern regions of Pomorskie and Zachodniopomorskie were most commonly encountered in Stockholm.

Respondent 2 added that Poles from the southern regions were also commonly encountered in Stockholm though not as often as Poles from the northern regions. Their answers are confirmed by the questionnaire results, which raise the question of why so many Poles in an irregular situation in Stockholm are from southern Poland. That a majority had their last residence in the two northern regions is understandable from a geographical point of view but why from the south, which is geographically furthest from Sweden? This can be explained by Geddes' observation, presented earlier in this thesis that most migration originates from certain countries, regions or even towns. Poles from the northern and southern regions that moved to Sweden earlier established links between the Polish community in Stockholm and these regions, establishing networks, which became very important for those contemplating migration as a strategy. The questionnaire results show that 17 respondents marked that they knew of good working opportunities in Sweden while three also marked that they shared family and/or other connections to Sweden. Another 5 only marked that family and/or other connections to Sweden were important for their decision, which shows that 17+5=22 out of 27 respondents had some kind of connection to established networks in Sweden that provided

information on work opportunities in the country. Both interview respondents' explanations of their choice of Sweden as destination country strengthen this result. They both give accounts of already having established networks of connections, friends and even family, in the case of respondent 2 in Sweden before choosing irregular migration as a strategy. This helps explain why many Poles from these regions choose Stockholm and Sweden as the destination for migration.

4. Work and survival in the Stockholm metropolitan region

This chapter will present the answers of questions 5-7 and 11-12 on the questionnaire (see appendix 1.), which will be complemented by the answers from respondents 1 and 2 in the interviews. The information will help answer research question 2. How do they make a living and access the labour market and how does the Swedish labour market structure affect them? This chapter will be divided into a section detailing the questionnaire results and an analysis section including both the questionnaire and interview results.

4.1 Work and survival in Stockholm

11. The eleventh question was: How do you make a living and survive in Sweden? Mark as many as necessary.

<i>Working in Stockholm</i>	
Undocumented work:	27
Documented work:	1
<i>Assistance from family and friends</i>	
Financial:	2
Housing:	9
Polish social benefits:	1

The criteria for participating in this study were that the respondent was Polish and had worked undocumented in Sweden, therefore it is not surprising that 27 respondents answered that they have worked undocumented in Stockholm. Only 1 respondent answered that they also had

worked documented in Sweden. Housing assistance from family and friends was not that unusual, and recorded 9 answers while only 2 respondents answered that they had received financial assistance from family and friends. Only 1 respondent answered that they received social benefits from Poland.

5. The fifth question was: How did you find employment in Sweden? Mark as many as necessary.

<i>Finding employment in Sweden</i>	
Recruited directly by employers when in Poland:	1
Through friends or family connections:	19
Through your own search:	9
Advertisement in Centre or shop:	9
<i>Through a job centre or agency</i>	
Polish:	1
Other:	5

The data show that a large majority of 19 questionnaire respondents have found work in Stockholm through friends or family connections. Another 9 of the respondents answered that they had found work through advertisement in shops or shopping centres, which were the same amount that marked that they found work through their own search. Only 1 respondent answered that an employer directly recruited them in Poland. Only one respondent had found work through a Polish job centre or agency while 5 answered that they had found work through other means, presumably a Swedish job centre or agency.

6. The sixth question was: Your work episodes in Sweden, Mark as many as necessary.

<i>Work episodes in Sweden</i>	
Gardening:	11
Club, waiter/waitress:	2
Berry/fruit/vegetable picker:	3
Dry cleaning:	1
Au pair work:	1
Taxi driver, non-established company:	2

Bakery:	2
Massager:	1
Building/renovation	12
Polish company:	8
Other:	7
Cleaning	20
Office:	11
Private homes:	18
Hotel:	3
Restaurant/cafe work	6
Swedish:	4
Foreign owned:	3

A large majority of 20 questionnaire respondents answered that they had worked in the cleaning sector. 18 of these respondents answered that they have worked in domestic cleaning, a category that dominated the answers. Cleaning offices was also common, receiving 11 answers while cleaning hotels was not very common and only received 3 answers. All females and 9 of the males in the study had worked in the cleaning sector. Building and renovation was the second most common sector, with 12 respondents indicating they had worked in the sector in Sweden. Of these 12 respondents, 8 had worked undocumented for a Polish company while 7 answered that they had worked independently or for another, presumably Swedish company. 11 of the men and 1 of the women had episodes of employment in the building and renovation sector. Gardening work was the third most common sector for undocumented Poles in the study; 11 answered that they had worked in the gardening sector in Sweden. Of these, 8 respondents were male and 3 female. Restaurant and café work was also fairly common and received 6 answers. Of these, 4 answered that they had worked for a Swedish-owned establishment while 3 had worked for a foreign-owned establishment. Other work episodes that the respondents in the study answered that they had performed were club waiter/waitress 2, Berry/fruit/vegetable picker 3, Dry cleaning 1, Au pair work 1, Bakery 2, Massager 1 and 2 males answered that they had worked as a taxi driver for a non-established company, presumably as undocumented, independent taxi drivers.

12. The twelfth question was: Have your income increased since you started working in Sweden?

<i>Increase in income for Polish workers</i>	
Yes:	25
No:	2

Nearly all the questionnaire respondents, 25, answered that their income had increased since starting work in Sweden. Only 2 respondents had not seen a positive trend in their income level since their work started in Sweden.

7. The seventh question was: Accommodation in the Stockholm region.

<i>Accommodation in Stockholm</i>	
Shared flat/house:	5
Own flat:	7
Room (alone)	9
Room (shared)	6

The largest group in the study, comprising 9 Poles live in their own rooms in Stockholm while 7 respondents live in their own flat or apartment. Sharing a room with others received 6 answers while 5 Poles answered, that they share a flat/house.

4.2 How Poles find work and survive in Stockholm

Interview respondent 1 explained that finding work in Stockholm is easy if you have friends and connections. These networks function as an unofficial contact/job agency enabling Poles to help each other find work. On the question of whether there is competition between Poles seeking employment, Respondent 1 did not give a clear answer but seemed to believe that there was no real competition between Poles as there is much employment for them in Stockholm. She also explained that notice boards in Polish institutions were used to advertise employment and housing. Poles seeking work could find job offers and means to contact employers while employers could find information on Poles seeking work. This advertisement strategy was also used in finding housing, with Poles both seeking and offering rooms and apartments to rent. The questionnaire results gave similar answers as 19 Poles answered that

they have found work through connections with family and friends and 9 answered that they have found work from advertisements in centres or shops. She also stressed the importance of these institutions in building social networks in Stockholm, which were needed both for finding employment and developing a good social life. Respondent 1 explained that previous employers would often relay information on other potential employers, thus expanding her employment opportunities. Her first job was for a Polish lady who employed her in a cleaning firm, which turned out to do mainly undocumented work. The lady, as respondent 1 called her, had a network of customers to whom she would send irregular Polish workers to do cleaning work and would then take a large portion of their earnings. She left her irregular employer after three weeks when she managed to establish her own network of costumers. Respondent 1 explained that most regular employers with cleaning firms in Stockholm who employ irregular immigrant labour had a Polish or Middle Eastern background. One question asked was whether the relationship between employer and employee in the Stockholm informal market was satisfactory according to her experience. She explained that this could vary and gave one example; some of her friends worked in a bakery where their employer would help his irregular employees in many ways. For example, the employer would lend the company's pickup vehicle if they needed transportation or were planning to move. The employer would also lend out personal details such as personal ID number if needed. On the question of what sort of work Polish irregular immigrants generally performed in Stockholm, she answered that males usually worked in the building and renovation sector while females usually worked with cleaning jobs, in restaurants and in bakeries. Gardening work was also common for Poles of both genders, according to Respondent 1. According to the questionnaire results, her information is accurate, with the exception of working in bakeries, which only received 2 answers. Her wage level has risen since starting to work in Sweden. In the beginning she received 80 kr (Swedish kronor) per hour, which has risen to 90 kr an hour. For a usual month she would earn more then 12 000 kr undocumented and therefore free of tax. Respondent 1 lived in a room rented to her by a Polish woman, whom she found through her own contact network. She has previously rented her own apartment from a Swedish student, a so called second hand, time limited contract. On the question of who usually rent out apartments to Poles in an irregular situation she answered that Poles or migrants with a Middle Eastern background were often willing to rent apartments or rooms. Swedes would normally ask for a personal ID number, which she did not have, thus limiting her choices.

When interview respondent 2 first came to Stockholm she lived at the home of her father that was living in the city at the time. Her experience of finding work in Stockholm held both similarities and differences to that of respondent 1. Friends and other close connections that made up her personal network and Poles thought of as friends in other networks would help each other find employment, but strangers would never help each other. Here respondent 2's experiences differ from those of respondent 1.

Respondent 2 described how Poles in an irregular situation could often be jealous of each other, even trying to cheat each other of employment opportunities, showing that there is a certain competition finding work. She gave an example in which her friend's handbag was stolen while she was out dancing at a nightclub only frequented by Poles. This Polish friend also worked as an undocumented domestic cleaner and kept a diary with her costumer's telephone numbers and working dates, which was carried in the stolen handbag. The next week when her friend called her costumers' they answered that she was not needed anymore, someone else had called and offered a cheaper rate. Respondent 2 stressed that there is much work in Stockholm especially in the cleaning sector but that one needs contacts and time to build a costumer base. This shows that the described competition involves finding the work and costumers- not competition over scarce jobs in Stockholm. Respondent 2 further explained that Poles will sometimes buy work from each other, which is more common with men working in the building and renovation sector. Men sometimes pay 2000-5000 kr for certain employment opportunities. In cleaning, this was rarer; and would usually occur when someone who had worked for a time in Stockholm establishing a network of costumers was obliged to move back to Poland. Buying someone's complete set of costumers could cost up to 15 000 kr. She emphasised that bringing some starting capital was a good strategy when entering Sweden with the intention of employment.

On the first week in Stockholm, respondent 2 called an employer whose details she found on a notice board in a Polish institution. An old Polish lady hired her for undocumented domestic cleaning and thus she found undocumented employment on her first week in Stockholm. Like respondent 1, she explained that notice boards at Polish institutions serve as an efficient place to find employment and housing. She also stated that a new internet web site had been formed to facilitate contacts between employers and employees. This demonstrates that irregular Polish immigrants are becoming better organized, relaying information about undocumented employment to each other. Respondent 2's first work experiences in Stockholm did not turn

out very well as her employer would relay work to her and keep a large portion of her earnings. She would receive 70 kr an hour which would give her around 11 000 kr a month, of which her employer would keep 4000 kr. Her employer did not treat her with respect and would call her on the telephone on her days off and tell her to stay at home and stay hidden. Respondent 2 did not appreciate the control her employer tried to keep over her and started working for herself after three months. After about three weeks working on her own she was working full time in undocumented domestic cleaning, keeping all her earnings herself. She also worked in catering and performed a limited amount of restaurant work. Respondents 1 and 2 have enjoyed rising earnings after striking out alone and not being dependent on their earlier employers. This corresponds with the results of the questionnaire results, where 25 out of 27 respondents have seen their earning rise.

At the time of the interview, respondent 2 lived at her cousin's apartment for free, as she would help take care of her cousin's young child. This shows how a family connection helps her with housing. The strategy for finding housing was the same as finding work according to respondent 2. Many of her friends would find rooms or apartments to rent through contacts or notice boards at certain Polish institutions. Renting an apartment from Swedes was nearly impossible without a personal ID number, which corresponds to respondent 1's experience. This is an example of Swedish explicit internal control, of which the personal ID number is an important element and hinders many Poles in an irregular situation from renting apartments from Swedes. Swedes usually do not ask for a personal ID number when renting out rooms, which makes this a common way for many irregular Poles to find housing according to respondent 2. The questionnaire results similarly show that for Poles in an irregular situation, the most common way to rent housing in Stockholm is by renting rooms. Renting rooms is a way to circumvent the explicit internal control mechanism, which the personal ID number generates when finding housing.

The questionnaire and interview results show that Poles have found a niche in undocumented cleaning in Stockholm especially in the domestic area even though they found work in many sectors. The results show that gardening, building and renovation are also common work episodes for Poles working undocumented especially for men, but do not reach the prevalence of employment in the domestic cleaning sector. Both interview respondents answered that there is much work in undocumented domestic cleaning in Stockholm, showing that their services are welcomed and needed. All the women (11 respondents) and a majority of men (9

respondents) had work episodes in the cleaning sector and this can be linked to Jordan, Brochmann, Ghosh and Chiswick's discussions earlier.

As the discussion of Jordan's work earlier showed, the high costs to employers in the formal labour market give them an incentive to hire undocumented workers and this can be directly applied to Sweden. These undocumented workers function as a sort of safety valve for the legal domestic cleaning sector in Sweden. That is made nearly non-existent due to the high costs generated by the tax rate for documented domestic cleaners. The results show that the undocumented Poles' services are needed and wanted by employers in Stockholm, who hire their services through the informal labour market. Brochmann would call this an inconsistency in the formal labour market. Sweden is known in Poland for its good undocumented working opportunities, which is a major reason Poles choose Sweden as destination country for labour migration. This was established in chapter three and further explains how inconsistencies in the Swedish labour market are making Sweden an attractive destination country for irregular migration for Poles.

The results show that undocumented work in building and gardening is not as common as in the cleaning sector, which can be explained by the structure of the Swedish labour market. There is an established regular labour market sector in the building and gardening industry in Stockholm, which makes undocumented workers in these sectors direct or indirect competitors. This can be further explained by Ghosh's earlier discussion, which can help explain why these sectors are not as common for undocumented Poles to work in. Ghosh writes that irregular migrants, who take jobs that are shunned by locals or made nearly non-existent by taxation, will reduce labour shortages in these sectors and do not compete with local workers. This can be directly applied to the Stockholm case, in which irregular Polish workers in domestic cleaning provides a service for many households that would not have been bought otherwise, and that does not compete with local documented workers. Ghosh's discussion also concluded that competition between irregular immigrants and other documented workers could result in the depression of wages, which could force documented workers into unemployment. This would antagonize the legally employed and their labour unions, making competing irregular workers a threat and the subject of controls, thus making these labour sectors more risky for undocumented workers to work in. This can be applied to the irregular Poles in the gardening and building sector in Sweden where the competition makes these Polish workers a threat to the documented employees in these sectors. This

means that undocumented Poles in the gardening and building sectors face competition from local documented workers and the added risk of controls from control agencies. Poles in domestic cleaning sector therefore face less legal competition and risk, which help to explain why more Poles work in the cleaning sector. Applying Chiswick's discussion on complementary production to the Stockholm case can further explain these results. The undocumented Polish cleaners function as complementary production towards the high skilled local workers in Stockholm, which theoretically increases production in the high skilled sector. According to Chiswick's reasoning, the undocumented low-skilled Polish cleaners in Stockholm complement the work of the local high skilled labour force who employ them, which increases production overall.

5. Migration controls and EU enlargement

This chapter will present the answers to questions 8, 9, 11, 12 and 15 on the questionnaire (see appendix 1), which will be complemented by the answers from Respondents 1 and 2 in the interviews. The information will help answer research question **3**. How do Swedish migration controls affect these Polish undocumented immigrants? Chapter five will also describe how the Poles in the study perceive Polish EU membership and how they expect it to affect their work and lives in Sweden. This chapter will be divided into a section detailing the questionnaire results and an analysing section including both the questionnaire and interview results.

5.1 Migration controls and risks perceived by Poles in Stockholm

8. The eighth question was: How did you gain entry to Sweden the last time you entered the country, if before the Polish EU membership?

<i>Entry to Sweden</i>	
Legally:	18
Tourist visa through an invitation:	6
Tourist visa:	8
Temporary residence permit:	2
Student visa:	2

Entered illegally:	9
Using Germany as a transit country:	5

The data shows that a majority, 18 respondents entered Sweden legally the last time they entered the country. Entering legally with a tourist visa received 8 answers while 6 respondents received a tourist visa and entered the country with the help of an invitation from someone already in Sweden. 2 respondents said they entered by having a valid resident permit and 2 respondents entered by having a valid student visa. 9 respondents answered that they entered illegally. It is interesting to see that 5 respondents who answered that they entered illegally wrote on the side of the question on the questionnaires that they entered Sweden by transiting through Germany. This will be discussed in the next analysis section as the interview respondents gave interesting and similar answers concerning this result.

9. The ninth question was: How did you travel to Sweden the last time you entered the country?

<i>Travelling to Sweden</i>	
Ferry:	7
Bus/Ferry:	8
Flight:	3
Car/Ferry:	9

Nearly all questionnaire respondents arrived in Sweden by ferry, which received 24 answers although only 7 came by ferry without any other transport such as by buss or a car. The largest of this group arrived by car and ferry 9 answers whilst 8 respondents came by bus and ferry. Only 3 respondents arrived in Sweden by air.

13. The thirteenth question was: Have you ever felt at risk whilst working undocumented in Sweden? If yes, by whom please state?

<i>Felt at risk whilst working undocumented</i>	
No:	17

Yes:	10
Police:	5
Immigration authority:	5

A majority of questionnaire respondents have not felt at risk while working undocumented in Sweden receiving 17 answers. 10 respondents answered that they have felt at risk when working undocumented in Sweden. Of the respondents that have felt at risk, 5 answered that they felt at risk of being apprehended by the polis, while 5 felt at risk of being apprehended by migration authorities.

14. The fourteenth question was: Have you ever been apprehended while working undocumented in Sweden?

<i>Apprehended in Sweden</i>	
No:	26
Yes, by immigration authority:	1

The Swedish migration authorities had apprehended one respondent in Sweden.

15. The fifteenth question was a hypothetical one that asked how Poles in an irregular situation in Sweden believed a Polish EU membership would affect their lives in Sweden. The question was: Do you think that the Polish EU membership will affect the way you live and work in Sweden? If yes, in what way?

<i>If the Polish EU membership will affect their lives in Sweden</i>	
No:	16
Yes:	11
Problem free border passage:	5
Possibility to work documented:	5

On the last questionnaire question a majority of 16 questionnaire respondents answered that they did not believe that the Polish EU membership would affect their work and the way they live in Sweden. 11 respondents did answer that they believe that the EU membership will affect their lives in Sweden. 5 of these respondents answered that the membership would ease

entry into Sweden with the free border passage being established, while 5 answered that they would now have the ability to work documented.

5.2 How migration controls affect undocumented Poles in Stockholm

Interview respondent 1 explained that the first time she entered Sweden was through legal means by ferry to the Swedish port of Nynäshamn, which is close to Stockholm. Her first experience with the Swedish border authorities was that they were very tough and questioned her thoroughly for a long time even when she had proper documentation. She found this experience with the Swedish border authority very uncomformable and did not want to go through this again if possible. This shows how the Swedish explicit external controls towards non EU countries like Poland is very strong according to respondent 1. She knows Poles that have been stopped and refused entry on the Swedish border because they did not have a proper visa or enough money and/or an invitation. Next time she travelled between Sweden and Poland, she would use Germany as a transit country. Respondent 1 explained that Germany's external control on the Polish border was not strong and Sweden's external control towards Germany was quite weak. Both Germany and Sweden have signed the Schengen agreement, meaning that they formally see their common borders as internal ones when it comes to the mobility of money, trade products and people. This made Germany a great transit country when travelling to Sweden. Respondent 1 explained that Poles would tell the German border authority that they were going to visit a friend for 4-5 days and receive a stamp in their passport. On the Swedish border to Germany the border guards would see the German stamp and wave them by. She would travel by a chartered bus from Poland, which would transit through Germany, and this was according to her, a very common way for Poles travelling documented or undocumented to Sweden. Using transit this way would help them bypass the strong Swedish explicit external controls.

The questionnaire results show that 9 respondents entered Sweden illegally, which means that this is a common way for undocumented Poles to enter the country. Of those that entered illegally, the questionnaire results show that 4 came by bus and ferry, another 4 travelled by car and ferry and 1 travelled by taking a flight. Both a number of the car and ferry and bus and ferry respondents wrote on the side that they transited through Germany which means that interview respondent 1's transiting strategy is not unusual for undocumented Poles. The questionnaire did not have transiting through Germany as an option but 5 questionnaire

respondents that entered illegally wrote that they had entered Sweden this way on the side of the question on their questionnaires. It is quite possible that more respondents would have answered that they transited through Germany if that option was possible on the questionnaire. On the question of how internal controls affect her life in Stockholm she shared some interesting information on how the personal ID number functions for immigrants staying undocumented in Sweden.

Hammar's discussion earlier explained that the personal ID number is an effective explicit internal control in Sweden. As a personal ID number is needed to open bank accounts, seek legal employment and be treated by a Doctor at a clinic or hospital. Interview respondent 1 explained that not having a personal ID number could be a problem but there is always a way around them. She cannot open a bank account but can borrow a friend's account when needed. On the question of needing an ID number to gain medical attention she answered that this was no problem. She explained that when you need medical attention at a hospital the personnel would create a temporary ID number for you. Respondent 1 stated that she has never had any problems when seeking medical treatment and neither has her friends who live undocumented in Stockholm. This result is strengthened by the results of 2 fourth year medical students doing internship at a major hospital in Stockholm whom were also shortly interviewed. They both stated that creating temporary ID numbers for sick or injured people without an ID number is routine in the Swedish medical system and nothing unusual, especially in large cities where many immigrants live. One of these medical students added that they do not report suspected undocumented immigrants even if crime is a suspected cause of their injuries without the immigrant's permission. This shows how undocumented Poles can receive medical attention even without their own personal ID number in Sweden and without risk of being denounced by the personnel which is contrary to what Hammar wrote concerning the importance of the personal ID number needed for medical attention.

On the question of ever feeling at risk working and living undocumented in Sweden respondent 1 answered, no. She was slightly nervous for the first year in Sweden that a police officer would stop her and ask for documentation but this never happened. She knows of only one Pole who has been apprehended and deported which is extremely rare according to her. Respondent 1 welcomed the Polish EU membership as this would mean that she would not need to transit through Germany when travelling between Poland and Sweden. The possibility to find documented work was also very tempting as she planned to create her own legal

cleaning firm, which would operate in Sweden but would use Poland as a base to lower the costs.

The first time respondent 2 entered Sweden was with a tourist visa. She entered legally through the port of Nynäshamn just like respondent 1. She also shared respondent 1's experience with the Swedish border authority, which was tough. They questioned her thoroughly and wanted to see how much money she had. Her first work period lasted for a year; she therefore overstayed her tourist visa by nine months. She did not want to risk going through the border authority again as they might see her old tourist visa, which would show that she had overstayed. To bypass the strong Swedish border control she decided to transit through Germany to make sure that her passport remained clean. Respondent 2's explanation shows how transiting through Germany when travelling home to Poland was a good strategy to hide the fact for someone that they had overstayed their time limited visa. Respondent 2 also explained that transiting through Germany was a good and common strategy to bypass the Swedish border controls, thus strengthening respondent 1's explanation earlier. Many of her friends regularly travelled back and forth by bus transiting through Germany and thus evading Sweden's strong explicit external migration controls. On the question of internal controls she felt that not having a personal ID number limited her possibilities. She explained that she could not buy on credit since a bank account was needed, which meant having an ID number. Both interview respondents thought that this internal control limited their possibilities when renting housing as Swedes would usually not hire out apartments to people without a personal ID number, which was presented in more detail in chapter four. This shows how this internal control function is integrated in Swedish society. When seeking medical treatment she would go to a Polish doctor in Stockholm. The doctor would charge very little payment and helped mainly out of good will. She explained that the doctor would sign prescriptions for medicine complete with a temporary personal ID number when necessary.

On the question if she ever felt at risk working in Stockholm she answered no. Later she explained that she would feel slightly nervous of neighbours being suspicious and denouncing her for the first week, when moving to a new address. The questionnaire results show that a large majority of 17 Poles in the study have not felt at risk while working undocumented in Stockholm. This complements the interview respondent's answers who neither felt at risk while working undocumented. Respondent 2 had a friend who was apprehended and deported while working undocumented in Stockholm. Her friend was a man who worked at a building

site in Stockholm when he was in an accident that nearly cost him his hand. He severely cut his hand on a wood chopping machine and ambulance was called. Both ambulance and the police came and he was transported to a hospital for immediate surgery. After two days at the hospital he was deported as Swedish police suspected him of working undocumented and did not believe his story that he accidentally touched the chopping machine while visiting a friend on the building site. Being apprehended for working undocumented in Sweden is very rare for Poles which this study shows. Only 1 of the questionnaire respondents had been apprehended while working undocumented in Sweden. This complements the interview respondents who both said that being apprehended was very rare. These results strengthen Hammar's discussion earlier, in which he explains that the Swedish alien police mainly focus their resources on asylum seekers that overstay and not on irregular migrant undocumented workers. Migrant irregular workers are not a priority for the Swedish alien police, which make apprehension of irregular migrant workers less likely.

Respondent 2 hoped that the Polish EU membership would make documented work a possibility in the future. The questionnaire results show that a majority of 16 Poles do not think that the Polish EU membership will change their work and lives in Sweden meaning that a majority will continue to work undocumented in Stockholm even though they have the ability to seek proper documentation for documented work. 5 of the 11 respondents who answered that they believe that the Polish EU membership will affect their work in Sweden formulated it as a possibility not a certainty. This result and the interview results show that even the positive respondents will continue to work undocumented until they find documented work in the future.

6. Summarising conclusion

My aim with this paper was to find out why people choose irregular migration as a strategy and how the host countries labour market structure and migration controls affect them. This was formulated into three research questions applied to Stockholm. Both interviews and a questionnaire study were used to gain results, which was filtered through a theoretical framework on international migration and migration controls. The theoretical framework showed how individuals choose international migration to gain benefits, which mobility can

provide when individuals make rational economic decisions to further best returns for their material resources and skills. If migration is the best strategy to achieve this, it could become a viable option. Labour markets with minimum wage levels and social protection programs can produce niches for irregular migrants who can function as a safety valve in areas with labour shortages. Labour shortages can be caused by several factors, in which one can be the high costs for documented legal labour produced by these minimum wages and social protection programs. Migration control is a necessary function that determines which foreign nationals receive permission to enter, work or naturalise in the country. Free immigration would weaken states ability to control and plan ahead. Inadequate migration controls can increase unemployment, people working in the informal market and criminal activity could increase. This could increase xenophobic reactions from the host population and lessen the chance for migrant integration into the host society.

Here are the most important results, which answer the research questions. The first question was: Who are these Polish undocumented immigrants in Stockholm and why have they come? The tough economic situation in Poland for many of her citizens has made irregular migration a strategy, which can give them better returns for their skills. The age of Poles in an irregular situation in Stockholm is quite varied with people in their twenties most common. Time spent in Sweden was also varied though most of the respondents had lived in Sweden for 0-2 years. Their backgrounds were also varied with most having experience in manual and skilled manual work in Poland. A large majority choose irregular migration to Sweden for economic reasons but a few gave family reasons as the main reason for choosing Sweden as a destination country. Inconsistencies in the Swedish labour market have made Sweden an attractive destination for irregular migration for Poles, in which information has spread through networks already established in Stockholm. These established networks in Stockholm can be mainly linked to the two northern Polish regions of Pomorskie and Zachodniopomorskie which are closest to Sweden. There are also close links to the three southern Polish regions of Slaskie, Malopolskie and Dolnoslaskie were many of the respondents hailed from.

The second question was: How do they make a living, get access to the labour market and how does the Swedish labour market structure affect them? Poles have found a niche in undocumented cleaning especially in the domestic cleaning sector in Stockholm. Poles working undocumented in the gardening, building and renovation sectors are also common

especially for men but does not compare to the numbers working in the cleaning sector. The Swedish labour market structure can explain this as the legal domestic cleaning sector is made nearly non-existent in the formal market due to the costs generated by the tax rate. This leaves a gap in the formal labour market, which the informal labour market fills. The undocumented Polish employees face almost no competition from local documented employees, which minimizes the risks working in this sector. The gardening and building/renovation labour market sectors in Sweden are a functioning part in the formal labour market. This makes undocumented workers in these sectors in the informal labour market, direct or indirect competitors. This competition can antagonize local documented employees and their labour unions, which therefore increases the risk of controls from control agencies.

The third question was: How do Swedish migration controls affect these Polish undocumented immigrants? Sweden has strong explicit external migration controls towards non-EU countries. The explicit external migration controls in Germany another EU country are not as strong making transiting through this country a good and common strategy for many undocumented Poles. Transiting through Germany is also a good strategy for Poles returning home who wants to hide the fact that they have overstayed their time limited visas in Sweden. Most Poles do not feel at risk working undocumented in Stockholm and being apprehended by the authorities is extremely rare. The personal ID number is an effective explicit internal control function, which reduces the possibilities of undocumented Poles in Sweden. The ID number makes it nearly impossible to rent an apartment from Swedes who nearly always ask for an ID number, which shows how integrated this control function is in Swedish society. Poles in the study would bypass this control function by renting a room from Swedes who rarely asked for ID numbers when renting out rooms. Renting an apartment from Poles or migrants from the Middle East was also a common strategy because these migrants would rarely asked for a personal ID number. Not having a personal ID number was no problem when needing medical attention as the personnel at hospitals would create a temporary ID number for them. Another strategy was visiting a Polish doctor in Stockholm, who would also write out prescriptions and only ask for a small payment. A majority of undocumented Poles in Stockholm do not believe that Poland's membership in the EU will affect their work and lives in Sweden and will continue to work undocumented.

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Channel 1 SVT , Rapport news program 7:30 pm, on the 15th November 2004

Internet Reference

Map of Poland showing the 16 Wojewódstwo Regions:
<http://www.staff.amu.edu.pl/~zbow/ph/pro/plwoj.html> (2004-12-08 Time: 14:35)

Interview references

Interview 1. Was conducted on the 3rd of May 2004, with a 26 year old woman from Zachodniopomorskie in Poland who has lived in Sweden for over three years.

Interview 2. Was conducted on the 4th of May 2004, with a 24 year old woman from Pomorskie in Poland who has lived in Sweden for over three years.

Interview 3. Was conducted on the 24th April 2004, with a 28 and a 29 year old Swedish 4th year practicing medical students both working at different emergency clinics at two major hospitals in Stockholm.

Appendix I

Questionnaire for Masters thesis in International Migration and Ethnic Relations

My name is Michael Berger I'm a Masters student at Malmö University. For my Masters thesis I'm comparing the experiences of Polish migrants working in the informal sector in Stockholm with a study already conducted in London. Very little is known about foreigners working in the informal market in northern Europe today. This lack of information has led to many debates in Sweden with the result of a very negative association about foreigners working illegally which have made them something threatening to society in many people's minds. My aim is through my research bring knowledge about foreign workers in the informal market which could change the negative attitudes and prejudice against them in Swedish society and the Swedish authorities that try to counteract them.

I guarantee your anonymity, all information collected will only be used by me. After answering the questions in this questionnaire please put it in the addressed and stamped envelope (no postage stamp is needed!) After sealing the envelope, please place it in the nearest postal box.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer all the questions, if there is a question that you don't understand please mark an (X) on the side of the question.

1. Are you:

Male

Female

2. Your age and time spent in Sweden?

Age:

Total time in Sweden:

0 to 1 year

1 to 2 years

3-5 years

Over 5 years

3. Last place of residence in Poland (Wojewódstwo)?

Please state

4. Your level of education and previous employment in Poland?

Student or recent graduate:

- Elementary school
- High School with a trade orientation
- High School
- Tertiary education

Previous employment:

- Businessman/white collar job
- Skilled manual (Example. skilled mechanic)
- Other manual
- Unspecified/ no previous work experience
- Other, please state

5. How did you find employment in Sweden? Mark as many as necessary.

- Recruited directly by employers when in Poland
- Recruited directly by employers in Sweden
- Through friends or family connections
- Through your own search
- Advertisement in Centre or shop
- I still have not found work in Sweden

Agency, jobb Centre:

- Polish
- Other

6. Your work episodes in Sweden, Mark as many as necessary.

- Gardening
- Club waitress/waiter
- Fish or meat factory/wholesaler
- Berry/fruit/vegetable picker
- Dry cleaning
- Au pair work

Building/renovation

- Through Polish subcontractors
- Other

Restaurant/cafe work

- Swedish
- Foreign owned

Cleaning

- Office
- Private homes
- Hotel

Taxi driver

- For an established Taxi company
- Other

Other please state

7. Accommodation in the Stockholm region

- Shared flat/house
- Own flat
- Room (alone)
- Room (shared)
- Hotel/hostel
- Au pair family
- Camping or Caravan Park

Other please state

8. How did you gain entrance to Sweden the last time you entered the country, if before the Polish EU membership?

Entered legally through

- Tourist visa through an invitation
- Tourist visa
- Temporary residence permit
- Temporary workers permit
- Student visa
- Swedish or EU passport
- Entered illegally**

9. How did you travel to Sweden the last time you entered the country?

- Ferry
- Buss/Ferry
- Flight
- Car/Ferry

10. Why choose Sweden as working destination? Mark as many as necessary

- Family or/and other contacts in Sweden
- Known job opportunities
- Sweden has reputation for having good working opportunities
- Sweden is known to be easy to enter for Poles (Only necessary to answer if before the EU membership)

Other please state

11. How do you make a living and survive in Sweden? Mark as many as necessary

- Undocumented work
- Documented work

Assistance from family and friends:

- Finance
- Housing

Social benefits from:

- Sweden
- Poland

12. Do you earn more money today, compared to when you first started working in Sweden?

- No
- Yes

13. Have you ever felt at risk whilst working undocumented in Sweden?

No

Yes

If yes, by whom please state?

14. Have you ever been apprehended whilst working undocumented in Sweden?

No

Yes

If yes, by whom?

Police

Migration authorities

Tax authorities

Labour union officials

Other please state

15. Do you think that the Polish EU membership will affect the way you live and work in Sweden?

No

Yes

If yes, in what way?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you very much for your participation.

After filling in this questionnaire, please put it in the addressed and stamped envelope (no postage stamp is needed!) After sealing the envelope, please place it in the nearest postal box.

Appendix II

Questionnaire for Masters thesis in International Migration and Ethnic Relations

Nazywam się Michael Berger i jestem w trakcie pisania mojej pracy magisterskiej na uniwersytecie w Malmö. Dysertacja ta ma być porównaniem doświadczeń Polaków pracujących na czarno w Sztokholmie z rezultatami podobnych badań przeprowadzonych w Londynie. Dzisiaj nie wiele się wie o cudzoziemcach pracujących na czarnym rynku w krajach nordyckich. Niedostatek informacji doprowadził do gorących sporów i negatywnych skojarzeń w społeczeństwie szwedzkim na ten temat. W pojęciu wielu ludzi nielegalnie pracujący tu cudzoziemcy są poważnym dla nich zagrożeniem. Pragnę, przy pomocy moich badań, zapoznać społeczeństwo i urzędy szwedzkie z problematyką cudzoziemców na czarnym rynku pracy oraz zmienić negatywne nastawienie i przesady Szwedów.

Ja Gwarantuję Twoją anonimowość, wszystkie uzyskane informacje będą opracowywane wyłącznie przeze mnie. Po wypełnieniu poniższego kwestionariusza proszę włożyć go do załączonej zaadresowanej koperty (znaczek pocztowy jest nie potrzebny!). Po zaklejeniu koperty włóż ją do skrzynki pocztowej.

KWESTIONARIUSZ

Proszę odpowiedzieć na wszystkie postawione pytania zaznaczając odpowiednią alternatywę. Jeśli nie rozumiesz któregoś z pytań, proszę zaznaczyć je na marginesie krzyżykiem (X).

1. Czy jesteś:

- Kobieta
- Mężczyzna

2. Twój wiek i okres pobytu w Szwecji

Wiek

Czas w sumie spędzony w Szwecji:

- 0 do 1 roku
- 1 do 2 lat
- 3 do 5 lat
- ponad 5 lat

3. Ostatnie miejsce zamieszkania w Polsce. Proszę podać województwo

.....

4. Twój poziom wykształcenia i poprzednie prace w Polsce:

Uczen lub Student / ukończona/ukończone:

- Szkoła podstawowa
- Szkoła zawodowa
- Wykształcenie licealne lub techniczne
- Wyższej uczelni

Poprzednie prace:

- Bizneswomen/biznesmen lub urzędnik.
- Kwalifikowany pracownik fizyczny (n.p. kwalifikowany mechanik)
- Inny pracownik fizyczny
- Niekwalifikowany pracownik / Bez stazu pracy

Inne, prosze podac

5. Jak znalazlas/znalazles prace w Szwecji? Zaznacz niezbędne odpowiedzi.

- Zwerbowana/zwerbowany bezpośrednio przez pracodawców jeszcze w Polsce
- Zwerbowana/zwerbowany bezpośrednio przez pracodawców w Szwecji
- Poprzez kontakty wśród krewnych i przyjaciół
- Poprzez własne poszukiwania
- Ogłoszenia w centrach handlowych i w sklepach
- Jeszcze nie mam pracy w Szwecji

Agencje, Posrednictwa pracy:

- Polskie
- Inne

6. Twoje tymczasowe prace w Szwecji. Zaznacz niezbędne odpowiedzi.

- Prace ogrodowe

- Kelnerka/kelner w klubie
- Praca w fabryce przetworów rybnych lub miesnych / w hurtowni
- Zbiór jagód, owoców, jarzyn
- Chemiczne pranie
- Praca jako au pair

Budowla / Odnawianie domów

- Przez polskich subkontrahentów
- Inni

Praca w restauracji / kawiarni

- Szwedzki właściciel
- Właściciel cudzoziemiec

Sprzątanie

- Biur
- Domów prywatnych
- Hoteli

Taksówkarstwo

- W istniejącym przedsiębiorstwie taksówek
- Inne

Jesli inne, prosze podac

7. Zakwaterowanie w rejonie sztokholmskim

- Wspólne mieszkanie / willa
- Własne mieszkanie
- Pokój (samodzielny)
- Pokój (wspólny)

- Hotel / schronisko turystyczne
- Rodzina au pair
- Camping lub Caravan Park

Inne, prosze podac

8. Jak sie ostatnim razem, jeszcze przed wstapieniem Polski do Unii Europejskiej, dostalas/dostales sie do Szwecji?

Przyjechalam/przyjechałem legalnie

- Na zaproszenie z wiza turystyczna
- Z wiza turystyczna
- Z tymczasowym zezwoleniem pobytu
- Z tymczasowym zezwoleniem na prace
- Z wiza dla studentów
- Z paszportem szwedzkim lub z paszportem Unii Europejskiej
- Przyjechalam/przyjechałem nielegalnie**

9. Jak ostatnim razem jechalas/jechales do Szwecji?

- Promem
- Autokarem / Promem
- Samolotem
- Samochodem / Promem

10. Dlaczego wybierasz Szwecje na miejsce pracy? Zaznacz niezbedne odpowiedzi.

- Rodzinne albo / i inne powiazania w Szwecji
- Znane mi juz mozliwosci pracy
- Szwecja slynie z dobrych mozliwosci znalezienia pracy
- Szwecja jest znana z ulatwien wjazdowych dla polskich obywateli (zaznacz ta odpowiedz, jesli bylas/byles w Szwecji przed wstapieniem Polski do Unii Europejskiej)

Z innych powodów, podaj jakie

11. Jak zdobywasz srodki na wyzywienie i utrzymanie w Szwecji? Zaznacz niezbedne odpowiedzi.

Z nielegalnej pracy

Z legalnej pracy

Pomoc rodziny i przyjaciół:

Finansowa

Mieszkaniowa

Z zasilku:

W Szwecji

Z Polski

12. Czy twoje dochody zrosły od momentu rozpoczęcia pracy zarobkowej w Szwecji?

Nie

Tak

13. Czy kiedykolwiek czulas/czules, że ryzykujesz pracując nielegalnie w Szwecji?

Nie

Tak

Jesli tak, to przez kogo?.....

14. Czy bylas/byles kiedy pojmana/pojmany przy nielegalnej pracy w Szwecji?

Nie

Tak

Jesli tak, to przez kogo?

Policje

Władze emigracyjne

Władze podatkowe

Reprezentantów związków zawodowych

Innych, prosze podac

15. Myślisz, że członkostwo Polski w EU będzie miało wpływ na twoje życie i pracę w Szwecji?

Nie

Tak

Jesli tak, to w jaki sposób?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Bardzo Ci dziękuje za udział.

Po wypełnieniu kwestionariusza prosze wlozyc go do zalaczonej zaadresowanej koperty (znaczek pocztowy jest nie potrzebny!). Po zaklejeniu koperty włóż ja do skrzynki pocztowej.