

Michał Nowosielski

Polish Organisations in Germany

Their Present Status and Needs

Polish Studies - Transdisciplinary Perspectives

Edited by Krzysztof Zajas / Jarosław Fazan



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Introduction

In the wealth of literature on the subject of migration, a great deal of importance has been attached to the subject of the political and social participation of immigrants.¹ Among the main forms of immigrant participation described are, for example, involvement in the political system of the country of origin, membership in special organisations for immigrants, cooperation with institutions in the host country (such as political parties and trade unions), and participation in various forms of noninstitutional activity (for example, public protest).² Although as late as the latter half of the 1980s, Grzegorz Babiński observed that there was a visible “scarcity of analyses carried out to date regarding both the areas of transformation of ethnic organisations and their role in ethnic collectives”,³ today involvement in immigrant organisations is quite well documented,⁴ mostly due to

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- 1 See for example, M. Jones-Correa, *Different paths: gender, immigration and political participation*, “International Migration Review”, 32(2), 1998; H. Entzinger, *Immigrants’ political and social participation in the integration process*, in *Political and Social Participation of Immigrants through Consultative Bodies*, Strasbourg 1999; M. Fennema, J. Tillie, *Political participation and political trust in Amsterdam: civic communities and ethnic networks*, “Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies”, 25(4), 1999; L. Togeby, *It depends... How organisational participation affects political participation and social trust among second-generation immigrants in Denmark*, “Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies”, 30(3), 2004; A. van Heelsum, *Political participation and civic community of ethnic minorities in four cities in the Netherlands*, “Politics”, 25(1), 2005; W. K. T. Cho, *Naturalization, socialization, participation: Immigrants and non-voting*, “Journal of Politics”, 61(4), 1999; N. Kasfir, *Explaining ethnic political participation*, “World Politics”, 31(3), 1979; R. Koopmans, P. Statham, *Migration and ethnic relations as a field of political contention: an opportunity structure approach*, in: R. Koopmans, P. Statham, (ed.) *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics. Comparative European Perspectives*, Oxford 2000; J. Tillie, *Explaining migrant voting behaviour in the Netherlands: combining the electoral research and the ethnic studies perspective*, “Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales”, 14(2), 1998.
 - 2 “Introduction: Political Participation and Civil Rights of Immigrants, a Research Agenda”, 1985, *International Migration Review*, 19(3), p. 403.
 - 3 G. Babiński, *Więź etniczna a procesy asymilacji. Przemiany organizacji etnicznych. Zagadnienia teoretyczne i metodologiczne*, Kraków 1986, p. 10.
 - 4 M. A. Stoll, *Race, Neighborhood Poverty and Participation in Voluntary Associations*, “Sociological Forum” 16(3), 2001; J. Rex, D. Joly, and C. Wilpert (ed.), *Immigrant Associations in Europe*, Aldershot 1987; F. Vermeulen, *The Immigrant Organising Process. Turkish Organisations in Amsterdam and Berlin and Surinamese Organisations in Amsterdam 1960–2000*, Amsterdam 2006; E. Østergaard-Nielsen, *Transnational politics. Turks and Kurds in Germany*, London 2003; A special example of this interest is

the fact that their activities are reflected in all of the forms of involvement mentioned above. Also, as Floris Vermeulen notes, immigrant associations play an extraordinarily important role both for immigrant communities themselves, and for the host society.⁵

From the point of view of immigrants, there are all sorts of functions that can be fulfilled by such organisations. Firstly, they can represent the rights and interests of immigrants. Secondly, they can provide community support—this is particularly important for those immigrants who find it hard to adapt to their new circumstances. Thirdly, associations play a significant role in preserving the national identity of immigrants, for example by assuring them contact with their native language and culture; and finally, organisations can also act as platforms for forming and maintaining social contact with their compatriots.

The functions that organisations fulfil for immigrants can be used as a basis for a typology that tries to place the multitude of types of associations in existence into some kind of order.⁶ Jose C. Moya lists the following types:⁷ secret associations, loan associations, mutual assistance associations, religious groups, hometown associations, and political and lobby groups. Chi-Kan Richard Hung names four basic varieties of association;⁸ firstly, religious organisations, mainly churches and temples; secondly, cultural organisations responsible for preserving the cultural identity of a group, which is made up of aspects such as the native language, traditional art, dance, music, etc.; thirdly service-providing organisations whose main purpose is to provide assistance to immigrants, including organisations providing healthcare, welfare, community aid, etc. The final type of association he mentions is public interest organisations, whose aim is to represent immigrant communities. These include lobby groups, civil organisations, professional organisations, etc.

Immigrant organisations can also perform important functions for the society of the host country. Above all, they help to bring about integration of immigrants. In literature on this subject, there are opposing views, however, with regard to the area in which this contribution is made. With respect to a portion of

the special edition issued in 2004 of the “Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies”, concerning immigrant associations, issue 30(3), 2004.

5 F. Vermeulen, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

6 One of the most comprehensive typologies of organisations, consisting of 16 types, was proposed by Grzegorz Babiński. He also presents a review of older typologies; see G. Babiński, *op. cit.* pp. 71–75 and 84–87.

7 J. C. Moya, *Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective*, “Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies”, 31(5), 2005.

8 C.R. Hung, *Immigrant Nonprofit Organizations in U.S. Metropolitan Areas*, “Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly” 36(4), 2007, p. 709.

society and some organisations, it is acknowledged that the involvement of immigrants in the activity of associations has a beneficial effect on the processes of integration with the host society. This is because involvement in these processes is deemed to increase (particularly in the case of secular organisations) the level of participation by immigrants in the political system of the host society,⁹ and by the same token to speed up integration.

In other cases, involvement in organisations can have the opposite effect. Studies of transnational organisations reveal that maintaining close relations with the country of origin, and so-called “dual loyalty”, can mean that members of immigrant associations will come to possess a highly developed sense of national identity, which in some cases may slow down or even prevent full integration.¹⁰ Additionally, “when there is an entire network of ‘parallel institutions’, such as schools, media, and cultural organisations, a specific ethnic group can fall prey to segregation and exclusion processes”.¹¹ This is of course possible only in cases where there is so-called “institutional completeness”, a state which exists when the immigrant community has created its own institutions parallel to the host country’s institutions, which meet all or at least most of the immigrants’ needs.¹²

In performing even the most perfunctory review of literature regarding immigrant organisations, it should be noted that most of the work on the subject is descriptive, and deals with historic aspects. As a result, it is mostly atheoretical. This scenario was documented in the 1990s by Suzan Olzak and Elizabeth West: “up until now no theory has provided a satisfactory explanation of what conditions stimulate their [the organisations—M.N.] creation or what factors assist

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- 9 M. Fennema, J. Tillie, *Civic community, political participation and political trust of ethnic groups*, “Connections” 24(1), 2001; M. Stoll, op. cit.; also see, B. Lai, *Perspectives on Ethnicity: Old Wine in New Bottles*, “Ethnic and Racial Studies”, 6(2), 1983, G. Elwert, *Probleme der Ausländerintegration. Gesellschaftliche Interaktion durch Binnenintegration*, “Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie”, 34(4), 1982.
 - 10 E. Østergaard-Nielsen, *Turkish Diaspora: Trans-state Politics and Loyalties of Turks and Kurds in Western Europe*, “SAIS Review” 20(1), 2000.
 - 11 U. Schoeneberg, *Participation in Ethnic Associations: The Case of Immigrants in West Germany*, “International Migration Review”, 19(3), 1985, p. 419.
 - 12 R. Brenton, *Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants*, “The American Journal of Sociology”, 70(2), 1964; see also review of the latest discussions regarding institutional completeness in S. Goldenberg, V. A. Haines, *Social Networks and Institutional Completeness: From Territory to Ties*, “The Canadian Journal of Sociology”, 17(3), 1992.

with or hamper their further existence".¹³ Fortunately, more and more comparative studies are being carried out that describe the organisations of various immigrant communities in various countries,¹⁴ and therefore there is reason to hope that it will be possible to form such a theory.

Issues relating to Polish migrants in Germany and the organisational processes of this group should hold an important place in the literature on the subject of migration, both in Poland and in the Federal Republic of Germany, on account of the long history and scale of the migration from Poland to Germany. Unfortunately, this has only been implemented to a certain level. There is no doubt that the Polish migrations of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century are the best documented, both in Polish and in German writings. These are, however, mostly historical and descriptive works.

It seems that Polish academic research is currently lacking works that would fully describe the issues relating to the migration of Poles to Germany, as well as to their situation in Germany. The works that do exist are predominantly fragmentary, and deal with selected and often narrow issues, such as contemporary economic migration to Germany,¹⁵ the contemporary Polish seasonal migration to Germany,¹⁶ the transformation of the identity of Polish immigrants,¹⁷ or the Polish media in Germany.¹⁸ Some issues, for example the Polish settlements in eastern parts of Germany, have not yet been comprehensively documented, due to the fact they are relatively new issues which to date have mainly been dealt with by journalists and current affairs commentators.

Additionally, the issues addressed in collective works on the subjects of Poles in Germany and Polish-German relations¹⁹ are diverse. There are, howev-

13 S. Olzak, E. West, *Ethnic Conflicts and the Rise and Fall of Ethnic Newspapers*, "American Sociological Review" 56(4), 1991, p. 458.

14 See, for example, F. Vermeulen, op. cit., or the "Transnational Migrant Organisations" (TRAMO) project carried out by an international team headed by Ludger Pries at Ruhr-University Bochum, which researched immigrant organisations in Poland, Germany, the UK, and Spain, during the years 2007–2010. See <http://www.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/tramo/> (accessed: 12 July, 2010).

15 For example, E. Nowińska-Łaźniewska, J. Kotus, *Przepływ siły roboczej na pograniczu polskoniemieckim w perspektywie integracji europejskiej*, Poznań 2003; J. Korczyńska, *Sezonowe wyjazdy Polaków do Niemiec*, Warsaw 2003, E. Marek, op. cit., Warsaw 2008.

16 For example, E. Kępińska, *Migracje sezonowe z Polski do Niemiec*, Warsaw 2008.

17 For example, J. Schmidt, *Nowe tożsamości w czasach transformacji europejskich. Imigranci z Polski w Niemczech*, Poznań 2009; L. Dyczewski, *Polacy w Bawarii: tożsamość etniczno-kulturowa i wchodzenie w społeczeństwo niemieckie*, Lublin 1993.

18 M. Kalczyńska, L. Paszek, *Niemieckie polonica prasowe*, Opole 2004.

19 For example, Z. Kurcz, W. Misiak (ed.), *Mniejszość niemiecka w Polsce i Polacy w Niemczech*, Wrocław 1990; M. Lis, A. Trzcielińska-Polus, *Polacy i Niemcy. Płaszczyny*

er, no up-to-date works that describe fully and exhaustively the situation of Poles in Germany. In 2000, the Institute for Western Affairs published the work *Być Polakiem w Niemczech* [Being a Pole in Germany] edited by Anna Wolff-Powęska and Eberhard Schulz,²⁰ which was the first attempt to summarise what is currently known about Poles in Germany. It does not, however, cover all of the research issues relating to the situation of the Polish community in Germany, and is now out of date with respect to many issues.

In the German literature, issues relating to the Polish community in Germany are rarely brought up, particularly compared to the rich and diverse writings about other immigrant groups, especially Turks. Studies on the integration of the so-called resettlers (*Aussiedler*),²¹ works on the history of Polish migration to Germany (particularly before the Second World War),²² and fragmentary works describing various aspects of Polish migration to Germany dominate.²³ More comprehensive studies appear less often—and usually as collective works.²⁴

Works on Polish organisations in Germany consist above all of historically oriented academic theses describing the development of the Polish movement in Germany.²⁵ Sometimes comments on organisations and their situations appear in works that otherwise address the topic of the Polish community in Germany in a general way. There is a distinct lack in the literature of texts that deal exclusively with contemporary Polish associations in Germany. There are exceptions, namely the works of Marek Kostrzewa, *Procesy integracyjne i konsolidacyjne*

i drogi normalizacji, Opole 1997; *Polonia w Niemczech. Historia i współczesność*, Warsaw 2001.

20 A. Wolff-Powęska, E. Schulz (ed.), *Być Polakiem w Niemczech*, Poznań 2000.

21 For example D.M. Meister, *Zwischenwelten der Migration, Biographische Übergänge jugendlicher Aussiedler aus Polen*, Weinheim-München 1997.

22 For example. V. M. Stefański, *Zum Prozess der Emanzipation und Integration von Außenseitern: Polnische Arbeitsemigranten in Ruhrgebiet*, Dortmund 1984; C. Kleßmann, *Polnische Bergarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet 1870–1945*, Göttingen, 1978.

23 B. Glorius, *Transnationale Perspektiven. Eine Studium zur Migration zwischen Polen und Deutschland*, Bielefeld 2007; D. Blecking, *Polen – Türken – Sozialisten. Sport und soziale Bewegungen in Deutschland*, Münster 2001; C. Crampen, *Zuwanderung aus Polen und die katholische Kirche in Bremen. Migration und Religion in der modernen Gesellschaft*, Hamburg 2005.

24 For example C. Pallasse (ed.), *Die Migration von Polen nach Deutschland: zu Geschichte und Gegenwart eines europäischen Migrationssystems*, Baden-Baden 2001.

25 For example W. Wrzesiński, *Polski ruch narodowy w Niemczech w latach 1922–1939*, Toruń 2005; J. Kozłowski, *Rozwój organizacji społeczno-narodowych wychodźstwa Polskiego w Niemczech w latach 1870–1914*, Wrocław 1987.

*Polonii w Niemczech w latach 1990–2000*²⁶ [The processes of integration and consolidation of the Polish community, 1990–2000] and Sebastian Nagel *Zwischen zwei Welten*²⁷ [Between two worlds]. The former is a comprehensive description of the difficult process through which the Polish umbrella organisations came into being in the 1990s. Although this book provides much important information on the subject of the Polish movement in Germany, it does have a fundamental flaw from the sociological point of view: it limits itself to the mere description of the course of events, and does not take a closer look at the circumstances. The work of the German author is aimed at describing the condition of today's Polish organisations. Unfortunately, it only partially achieves its goal, mainly due to the method of analysis employed with the data presented. Despite these flaws, both should be judged important works for researchers studying Polish organisations in Germany.

Polish Organisations in Germany: Their Present Status and Needs is intended to fill, to a certain extent, the gaps in the sociological literature on Polish organisations in Germany. It is intended to describe the situations in which non-governmental organisations that associate Poles residing in Germany find themselves: their number, their number of members, the fields and range covered by their activities, their financial standing, their level of organisation, their relations with the Polish and German authorities, etc.

The empirical evidence that is analysed here was collected during a research project entitled “Polskie organizacje pozarządowe w Niemczech” [Polish non-governmental organisations in Germany], funded by the Fundacja Współpracy Polsko-Niemieckiej [The foundation for Polish-German cooperation], which was carried out at the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009.²⁸ Two research

26 M. Kostrzewa, *Procesy integracyjne i konsolidacyjne Polonii w Niemczech w latach 1990–2000*, Warsaw 2005.

27 S. Nagel, *Zwischen zwei Welten. Kulturelle Strukturen der polnischsprachigen Bevölkerung in Deutschland*, ifa//Dokumente/1/2009, Stuttgart 2009.

28 The research findings published in this book as well as some part of it have been used to prepare several articles published in journals and collections: M. Nowosielski, *Polish migration to Germany: past, present and future*, in: J. Isanski (ed) *Selling the Favourite Piano to Emigrate. Mobility patterns in Central Europe at the beginning of 21st century*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011; M. Nowosielski, *Growth and decline—the situation of Polish immigrant organizations in Germany*, in: M. Nowak, M. Nowosielski (eds.), *(Post)transformational Migration. Inequalities, Welfare State, and Horizontal Mobility*, Frankfurt/M, 2011; M. Nowosielski, *Profil działalności polskich organizacji w Niemczech*, “Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny”, 35(3), 2011; M. Nowosielski, *Polskie organizacje w RFN a niemiecka administracja publiczna*, “Przegląd Zachodni”, 339(2), 2011; M. Nowosielski, *The trap of transnationalism—Polish organizations in Germany*, “Polish Sociological Review”, 175(3), 2011; M. Nowosielski, *Human*

techniques were used: in-depth interviews and an institutional survey. The project had two main goals: First, documentary and diagnostic, to providing a scholarly description of the phenomenon. It also had a practical goal: to provide information regarding the strong and weak points of the Polish movement in Germany, with the intention of assisting decision-makers and representatives of associations to their strengthening organisations. The description of dynamics of Polish migration to Germany and the development of Polish organizations in Germany were prepared during a research project “Poles in Germany. Social, political, economic and legal aspects” founded by the National Science Centre²⁹.

In addition to the introduction, the paper consists of eight sections. Chapter I describes the history of Polish migration to Germany from the nineteenth century to the present day, and secondly the history of development of the Polish movement in Germany. The following chapters describe the basic principles and methodology of the research, as well as the various features that describe the condition of Polish organisations in Germany: their general features, activities, cooperation with other entities, human resources (association management, personnel, and members), finances and material situation, and an assessment of how the association functions. A summary appears at the end of the paper. Additionally, the annex contains the data collection tools used during the research (a list of issues for the in-depth interviews and the questionnaire used for the institutional survey) as well as a list of the selected Polish organizations in Germany with their short descriptions.

resources in Polish organisations in Germany, “Studi Emigrazione – Migration Studies” (forthcoming 2012).

29 Project number NN116 31639.

Chapter I

The origin and development of the organisations in Germany

1. Polish migration to Germany

Polish migration to Germany has been almost continuous for two hundred years. The first waves of this emigration occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many of Polish insurgents either chose or were forced to migrate following the partitions of Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia at the end of the eighteenth century, and again after the series of unsuccessful uprisings that followed (in 1794, 1830, 1848, and 1863). For geographic reasons, the German states were chiefly transfer territories, but some Polish political immigrants settled there. On account of historic ties, Saxony was particularly popular.³⁰ As Panikos Panayi observes, some German communities were glad to receive Polish immigrants, as they saw certain similarities between the Polish struggle for freedom and self-determination and German attempts at unification.³¹

The partitions also meant that Poles residing in the Prussian partition unwittingly became the Polish minority in Prussia. From 1772–1795, the Kingdom of Prussia expanded both its territory and population considerably. Of the approximately eight million inhabitants of the Kingdom of Prussia, three million were Poles.³² Following the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna, the Polish population in Prussia decreased to one and a half million.³³ In 1871, the population of Poles was concentrated mainly in the eastern provinces, and was estimated to be two and a half million people.³⁴ In most cases, these were autochthonic Poles living in the countryside, villages, and small towns.³⁵

30 G. Janusz, *Polonia w Niemczech*, in: *Polonia w Niemczech. Historia i współczesność*, Warsaw 2001, p. 21.

31 P. Panayi, *Ethnic Minorities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Germany. Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Turks and Others*, Harlow 2000, p. 56.

32 Ibidem, p. 54.

33 Ibidem.

34 W. Lesiuk, *Polska emigracja wewnątrzniemiecka i do Niemiec okresu industrializacji*, in: M. Lis (ed.), *Polacy w Niemczech*, Opole 1996, p. 11.

35 Ibidem.

Although the economic migration of Poles to Germany started as early as the first half of the nineteenth century,³⁶ it was not until the unification of Germany and the creation of the German Empire in 1871 that the process of rapid industrial and economic development of Germany began, leading to a greater need for labour in both industry and agriculture.³⁷ Poles were one of the main sources of the labour force needed to meet the increased demand. This was due most of all to the fact that the social and economic processes emerging in the Polish community, such as the abolition of serfdom, rapid population growth, and overpopulation, combined with the lack of industrial development in the partitioned areas, led to poverty among the population, and created a large migratory potential in the Polish population.³⁸ Initially Polish migration was above all internal: Poles living in the Prussian partition moved deeper into the German Empire to developing industrial centres. In time, the ever-greater need for labour also led to a flow of Polish population into the German Empire from the Russian and Austrian partitions.³⁹ It should however be noted that in many cases Poles from the east settled mainly in Prussia and were a labour supply for German agriculture.

Polish migration to the industrial areas of the German Empire mostly took a network form. Frequently, people from the same regions, or even from the same local communities, settled in the same areas of Germany. The Polish communities were resilient enough to create Polish districts in which there was not only the option of communicating openly in the Polish language, but also the possibility of making use of Polish services and workshops.⁴⁰ This severely slowed the process of integration with the German population, because the migrants reconstructed the social networks necessary to meet their basic social, religious, and economic needs.⁴¹

36 See A. Pilch, *Emigracja z ziem zaboru austriackiego (od połowy XIX w. do 1918 r.)*, in: A. Pilch, *Emigracja z ziem polskich w czasach nowożytnych i najnowszych (XVIII–XX w.)*, Warsaw 1984.

37 W. Lesiuk, op. cit., p. 11.

38 E. Marek, *Praca Polaków w Niemczech. Półtora wieku emigracji zarobkowej*, Warsaw 2008, p. 17–21.

39 A. Plich, *Ogólne prawidłowości emigracji z ziem polskich. Próba typologii i syntezy*, in: H. Kubiak, A. Pilch (ed.), *Stan i potrzeby badań nad zbiorowościami polonijnymi*, Wrocław 1976, p. 35–49.

40 See, for example, the description of Polish communities in the Ruhrgebiet: V. M. Stefanski, op. cit., in particular p. 30–72.

41 Paradoxically the chain nature of migration might have had a negative effect on the development of Polish organizations, due to the fact that the ties linking migrants often were local and selective, relations between them were rather those of a community, related to similarities and their common experiences. This meant that the first

Between 1870 and 1914, an estimated 3.5 million Poles emigrated to Germany. Approximately 1.2 million people moved from the Prussia partition further into the German Empire, a further 1.2 million Poles emigrated from the Russian partition, while less than 1.1 million Polish immigrants in Germany originated from the Austrian partition.⁴² The most popular area for settlement by Polish immigrants was the territory of the modern North Rhine-Westphalia, which at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was inhabited by between 300,000⁴³ and 500,000⁴⁴ Poles. The towns of the Ruhrgebiet in which Polish labourers most frequently settled were Bochum, Bottrop, Dortmund, Recklinghausen, and Düsseldorf. In addition, the Polish population settled in other industrial centres, for example in Saxony (e.g. Dresden, Magdeburg, the Mansfeld Copper Region, and others—approximately 45,000–90,000 people⁴⁵), in the Hanover region, and in Hamburg. The rapidly growing capital of the Empire, Berlin, also attracted large numbers of Poles, of which there were more than 100,000⁴⁶ at the start of the twentieth century.

The First World War and the creation of an independent Polish state in 1918 changed this situation. The foundation of the Republic of Poland meant that some of the lands of the former German Empire that were inhabited by Poles were now incorporated into the new Polish territory. This was true above all of Wielkopolska, West Prussia, Upper Silesia, South and East Prussia, and part of Pomerania. This led to a substantial decrease in the population of Poles living in the Weimar Republic, although levels continued to be considerable at around 1.5 million.⁴⁷ The largest population clusters were Upper Silesia (600,000–800,000), East Prussia (400,000–550,000), Central Germany (120,000–150,000), and Western Germany (95,000–120,000).⁴⁸

organisational forms could help to support and maintain ties with the homeland, with a local, rather than with a general and often abstract ideological idea of their native land of Poland. This might have stalled the development of the Polish movement using national rhetoric, see M. Kostrzewa, op. cit., p. 16.

42 A. Galos, *Stan liczebny emigracji polskich w XIX wieku*, in: *Liczba i rozmieszczenie Polaków w świecie*, część 1, Wrocław 1981, p. 31–35; see A. Plich, *Ogólne prawidłowości emigracji z ziem polskich*, p. 35–49.

43 G. Janusz, *Polonia w Niemczech...*, p. 21.

44 W. Lesiuk, op. cit., p. 15–16.

45 Ibidem.

46 A. Cimała, *Polacy w Berlinie w XIX i XX wieku*, in: M. Lis (ed.), *Polacy w Niemczech*, Opole 1996, p. 30.

47 M. Lis, *Polska mniejszość narodowa w Niemczech po odzyskaniu niepodległości przez Polskę*, in: M. Lis (ed.), *Polacy w Niemczech*, Opole 1996, p. 19.

48 Ibidem.