

Dorota Szaban*

University of Zielona Góra, Zielona Góra, Poland
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5892-4095>

Piotr Michalak**

Independent researcher, Poznań, Poland
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4751-5100>

When Ukrainian migrant meets a Polish official. Implementing migration policy in the opinions of temporary economic migrants from Ukraine in Poland in a neo-institutional perspective

Introduction

Migration processes have intensified in recent decades. Their causes, legal conditions and social changes resulting from them are becoming more frequently the subject of scientific analysis. The presence of migrants generates crucial impact on the functioning of various institutions and requires creating special public policies. In the area of migration research, the efforts of researchers to link migration issues with social research beyond the area of migration conditions and their consequences become more popular. In this study, the subject of the conditions for the daily functioning of migrants is woven into neo-institutional analyzes. Neo-institutionalism has been developed for several decades as one of the fundamental theoretical perspective in social sciences. Originated in the 1930s in the United States, it had various paths of continuation. In Polish science, however, it is a relatively new issue, quite rarely used in research practice.

The institutions are both formal (manifesting in the legal regulations governing migration policy), as well as informal (manifesting in the everyday practices of officials and migrants). The interaction of both embedded in the institutional framework of laws and regulations are socially determined and adopted into social, political and economic contexts. The institutions involved in regulating the migration processes determine also the scope of individual choices, regulate possible risk and uncertainty, and help to determine the costs of undertaken actions. However, these are not permanent activities. They change under the influence of acquired experience and the intensifying wave of migration. Migration, due to its spontaneous nature, is not easy to control, especially with the use of institutionalized, formal tools.

The institutional dimension considers primarily public policy implementation mechanisms – in this case, migration policy mechanisms. The definition scope of the concept

* Correspondence address: Instytut Socjologii, Al. Wojska Polskiego 69, 65-762 Zielona Góra, Polska, e-mail: d.szaban@is.uz.zgora.pl.

** Correspondence address: WORKGLOB sp. z o.o., ul. Niedziałkowskiego 1, 61-578 Poznań, Polska, e-mail: piotr.michalak@workglob.pl.

includes a structured set of tools (measures) that shape development in a specific area of social life in order to solve emerging social problems in an intentional way (Bekkers, Fenger, Scholten, 2017: 9). The addressees of migration policy for the aim of this study are voluntary migrants who came to Poland from Ukraine for a short time, mainly for economic purposes.

The aim of the paper is to analyze the economic Ukrainian migrants' experience with contact with Polish institutions and personnel representing them. A particular interest for us is to answer the question of how the subjective attitudes of migrants towards officials completing the migration policy are shaped. We want to answer the question about the extent to which formal patterns adopted by officials allow migrants to minimize a sense of uncertainty and foster adaptation processes. On the other hand, to what extent contacts with officials and institutions become a barrier which limits the possibility of making a migrants' decision to stay in Poland longer or to return here again. Studying the subjective interpretations of migrants is an important element of analysis that will allow us to check how the elements of migration policy are implemented 'in action'.

The analysis of interactions between first-contact officials and migrants, as addressees of migration policy, allows to reveal imperfections and contradictions inscribed in this area of public policy and show their consequences for the daily functioning of this social category.

Neo-institutional theory as a theoretical framework

Neo-institutionalism is very deeply rooted in social sciences as a research area with a highly interdisciplinary character linking sociology, economics, political sciences, management sciences, etc. (Sadowski, 2014: 90). Researchers, based on this frame concern, on the one hand, diagnose the possibilities and limitations of rational reconstruction of social life, and on the other, discover barriers to spontaneous creation of social order. The central concept of our reflection is institution (cf. North, 1995). This term usually refers to the elements of our social life that are part of its permanent structure, sets of daily practices, as well as to more formal elements. Although there is no single definition of institution adopted as binding, the most frequently repeated definition focus on indicating their formative nature in relation to the rules of cooperation: "Institutions are the rules of the game in force in society, or more formally, they are restrictions created by people that shape their mutual relations. Thus, institutions shape the structure of human exchange, regardless of whether it is political, social or economic" (North, 1993: 3).

Similarly to Douglass C. North, institutions are defined by two other leading representatives of the neo-institutionalism, James G. March and Johan Olsen, who are focusing on rule systems and treat them as routine activities, procedures, conventions, roles, strategies, organizational forms and technologies around which political activity is shaped. This concept also includes beliefs, paradigms, codes, culture and knowl-

edge that surround, support, complement or challenge these roles and routine activities (March, Olsen, 1989, 2004).

The neo-institutional scope covers various aspects of the functioning of rule systems – from their ontology to behavioural impact (Sadowski, 2014). Therefore, the field of analysis includes the study of human activities, which are shaped by institutions on the one hand, and shape those institutions, on the other. Therefore, it is crucial to increase the important and efficient role of institutions, the limited institutional design possibilities and strong inertia in this area. Owing to the transfer of responsibility to the institutional level, units bear lower transaction costs than if they had decided to interact without the help of an intermediary. Institutions are, therefore, beings that provide the individual with security, regularity and low cost of interaction.

In the neo-institutional approach, the individual is treated not so much as a *homo oeconomicus* seeking to maximize profits, but as a seeker of order and a person adapting to the new rules they learn. The drive to maximize profits is, however, only one of the motives for human behaviour – no less important is the fact that the individual has adopted the institutional order of norms and values. Piotr Chmielewski formulated his own proposal to treat actors operating in the complex sphere of the institution – *homo agens-institutionalist*. *Homo agens-institutionalist* always works in the context of institutions (formal and informal restrictions). This concept assumes that individuals, first of all, are inseparable from their social environment, i.e. institutions. Secondly, they are the creators of these institutions. Thirdly, individuals create these institutions rationally, although this rationality is always limited (Chmielewski, 2011).

Institutions and the system of rules they create are, by their nature, open and variable. The analysis of these rules imposes the game metaphor. Such a theoretical convention allows to broaden the boundaries of the meaning of the concept itself by its behavioural component (cf. Sadowski, 2014: 93). This game is, on the one hand, a set of rules, on the other hand, game is a group of people who participates in the joint action described in these principles. It is assumed that the actors participating in an exchange space have their own specific action projects, but the way they implement those projects is the result of a game between them and often unexpected effects of adaptation to existing rules (North, 1991). Social adaptation to previously unknown rules of a formal nature often takes place using informal methods of action. Departure from accepted rules of the game may result in either cessation of participation in the interaction or practical modification of the existing system of rules (game evolution). Everything is decided in direct cooperation. It is important for actors, based on their subjective agency, to be able to pursue their strategic, adopted interests. It can also be assumed that when such rules are established, the nature of the institutions themselves may change.

The neo-institutional trend in social sciences includes a multitude of approaches and narrow theories that have provided new tools – concepts, theorems and models that are used in analyzing how the life of society is structured (cf. Skąpska, 1999).

One of the key concepts in the field of neo-institutionalism are the concepts of field and institutional logic. The field can be treated as a product of sectoral homogenization (a kind of organizational isomorphism), the social scope of the shared definition of the situation and the circumstances of applying specific rules. The field is the effect of duplication of certain interactive practices until they are institutionalized (see DiMaggio, 2006; Scott, 2014). In research practice, field means the context in which the rules of a particular institution are applied. Fields highlighted for the purposes of analysis are often abstracted from wider contexts artificially. An integral feature of social life is the continuous overlap of individual fields, the crossing of their ranges, which creates a multi-level collage of different logics (Sadowski, 2014: 96). In this study, special attention has been devoted to the organizational field of migration policy in Poland. The actors of this field are, on the one hand, employees of institutions and offices servicing migrants, on the other hand, the economic migrants themselves.

Institutions are aimed at organizing everyday reality. Logic are rules that combine elements of the social roles of actors interacting with social expectations in relation to the consequences of this actions taken. The concept of logic makes it possible to distinguish detailed formal rules from those algorithms that actors use in practice, usually quite routinely. (Sadowski 2014: 97).

Institutional framework – migration policy

For many years, Poland has conducted its migration policy based on many different regulations that have not been codified in one document. There has been no strategy in the Polish legal system, which also characterizes other areas of the functioning of the national public sphere (Szymańska-Zybertowicz, 2011: 238). On July 31, 2012, the Council of Ministers adopted the document titled *Poland's migration policy – current state and postulated actions*, a strategy defining the assumptions of our country's migration policy. The document discusses all areas of migration policy. The discussion around the problems of migration and changes in the provisions of the migration policy intensified after 2015, what was connected with the so-called refugee crisis. In 2016, the document defining the directions of the migration policy was canceled, and efforts were made to create a new migration policy. It hasn't succeeded since today. One of the important elements of migration policy is the issue of accepting foreigners and legalizing their stay in our country. For several years, Poland has been conducting an active migration policy especially towards our eastern neighbours, Ukrainian citizens.

For over half a decade, the number of Ukrainian migrants in Poland has been growing systematically. There is no comprehensive data source for the number of Ukrainians residing in Poland. The claims monitoring system and the employer's obligation to register the claims used, introduced in 2018, still do not allow accurate verification of the number of migrants from Ukraine in Poland. More optimal tools for measuring the scale

of the phenomenon are being sought (cf. Janicki, 2006). According to data from Selectiv reports, in 2019 there were 1.2 million Ukrainian citizens in Poland (*Czy Ukraińcy wiążą swoją przyszłość z naszym krajem?*, 2019).

The increase in the number of Ukrainian migrants in Poland is also the result of changes in applicable law. Employment of foreigners is based on work permits issued by Voivods, seasonal work permits issued by Starosts at Poviats Labour Offices and declarations on entrusting work to a foreigner, submitted by the employer at the Poviats Labour Office. Pursuant to the regulation of December 8, 2017, a list of countries whose citizens may apply for a seasonal work permit and a statement on entrusting work to a foreigner was defined. Ukraine is also on this list (Council of the European Union, 2001). In January 2018, the categories of work performed on the basis of a declaration on the intention to employ a foreigner were narrowed down (all work that is not seasonal, performed by the citizens of the six countries up to 6 months in the next 12 months). At the same time, the key factor influencing the migration decisions of Ukrainian citizens was the decision to liberalize the visa system for Ukraine of May 11, 2017. On May 17, 2017, the European Parliament and the Council of the EU issued an appropriate regulation allowing citizens, among others from Ukraine, to stay in the Schengen area without a visa requirement for no more than 90 days during each 180-day period (Council of the European Union, 2001, Art. 1(2)). These regulations have greatly facilitated the migration movement. According to data from the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, in 2018, 1,446,304 statements on entrusting work to Ukrainian citizens were issued, and only in the first half of 2019, there were 764,759 statements.

Actors of the organizational field of migration policy

The functioning of migrants in the public sphere is conditioned in many ways and on many levels (fields). For the purposes of this article, the perspective of the organizational field of migration policy is important, the core of which is largely formalized legal regulations shaping the migration policy. Elements of migration policy are (re)created by numerous actors who contribute to the system of meanings (Scott, 2014: 106). The scope of their impact is strongly diversified, which on the one hand can be conducive to establishing cooperation and supplementing the area of competence, on the other hand, generating many conflict situations. Therefore, the organizational field consists of agencies representing central authorities, organizations subordinate to local governments, non-governmental organizations, as well as representations of international organizations, migrant organizations, and research institutions (Pawlak, 2011: 66; 2018).

The central actor shaping the migration policy in Poland is the Minister of the Interior and Administration, responsible for the work of the Department of Analysis and Migration Policy and the Office for Foreigners, as well as the Border Guard. The Ministry of the Interior and Administration also supervises the activities of Voivodship Of-

fices implementing tasks related to the legalization of stay of foreigners. The activities of the Ministry of Interior and Administration are supplemented by the competences of the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy (in the field of the labour market and social integration processes) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (visa policy), as well as to a limited extent other government departments (higher education, education, health, etc.).

Migration policy at the local government level is implemented by Poviats Labour Offices, responsible for documentation related to short-term employment of foreigners. An important role in the system is attributed to Poviats Family Assistance Centres supporting the processes of individual integration (especially people under international protection). Due to the nature of contemporary migrations and the need to strengthen adaptation and integration processes, the increasingly important role in shaping migration policy is attributed to the authorities of cities and municipalities, which become the centre of everyday life of migrants (see Matusz-Protasiewicz, 2013).

Another category of actors involved in the analyzed field are non-governmental organizations, which supplement government and self-government activities towards foreigners, and are also often their auditors or/and antagonists. In this category, a special role can be assigned to employer organizations, industry organizations and migrant associations.

In the micro-social perspective, everyday relations between foreigners, migrants and representatives of the public sphere, i.e. officials and other representatives of the institutions indicated above, are of great importance. The sphere of direct contacts, daily interactions on the migrant-official axis is the arena of such practices that take place within the institutional framework and are organizationally regulated, but may take on a different dimension resulting from interpersonal relations (Sztandar-Sztanderska, 2016: 37). This is the area where the actors' asymmetry appears most often and in the most intense way. The combination of social interactions with legal order intensifies the specific mismatch of the resources held to the needs of both parties (see Skowrońska, 2017).

Officials as a special category of actors in the field of organizational migration policy

Focusing cognitive efforts on analyzing migrants' contacts with the institutions and officials representing them allows diagnosis of migration policy 'in action'. Officials and other representatives of the institutions are an emanation of the state or local governments. However, the range of their social role is wider. By following the rules assigned to the institutionalized role, they socialize people coming to the institution for specific social roles (Sztandar-Sztanderska, 2016). In addition, they inform their clients what behaviour is right or not, and what obligations and rights the person have. As Vincent Dubois emphasizes, their practices are an indispensable part of "the ongoing process of producing a public activity and can play a significant role in it" (Dubois, 2009: 84). The

repetitive actions of officials constitute and allow to experience public policy (cf. Lipsky, 2010). The perception of their behaviour and mutual interactions converts into the attitude of actors to state regulations, the functioning of the public sphere or, indirectly, also to generalized social trust (Rothestein, Stolle, 2001).

(Re)creating institutional rules resulting from legal conditions of migration policy does not always have to follow one pattern. Officials have the option of remaining quite flexible and 'playing' the rules (Bourdieu, 1990). Such discretion is made possible by the multiplicity of rules and their ambiguity (Sztandar-Sztanderska, 2016: 37). Interpretation of decisions made can, therefore, be conditioned in relation to the individual situation of the client. The conviction that public administration should be more modeled on managing enterprises rather than strengthening its position as a rigid formal and legal institution is gaining importance. Decisions issued by officials, although they seem neutral and technical, affect the scope of distribution of goods, and even change into socialization for various public and social roles. The granting of a given status to an individual at a given time determines their access to benefits or public services, at the same time determining their quality of life. It should be assumed that administrative practices, including especially clerical practices, are not possible to be reproduced only on the basis of an analysis of law and existing documents. Therefore, field research is needed which addresses the problems of individuals' contacts with personnel of public institutions.

In many areas of public policy (included migration policy), we observe a departure from models of universal services and standardized services in favour of services implemented as optimized and adapted to the needs of specific groups or social categories (cf. Van Berkel, Valkenburg, 2007). Public institutions change in accordance with the principles of efficiency, individualization and the fight against bureaucracy (Van Berkel, Valkenburg, 2007; Hood, 1991).

Empirical basis

The empirical basis of the considerations are the results of the qualitative research carried out using the in-depth, partially structured interview technique. In December 2019 and January 2020, 36 interviews were carried out in Wielkopolska in this way. Interviews were carried out with Ukrainian citizens residing in Poland, employed under various types of contracts, for a different, but definite time. Interviews were conducted in Ukrainian, by bilingual, trained interviewers, and then translated into Polish.

The contact of migrants with representatives of public institutions is varied. It converts into subjective interpretations of the interactive situation on the clerk-migrant axis, which favours taking of rationalized actions by migrants. The analysis of the respondents' statements reveals how they subjectively construct the roles of an official and the attitude towards him and, on this basis, can behave in a specific way. Two dominant

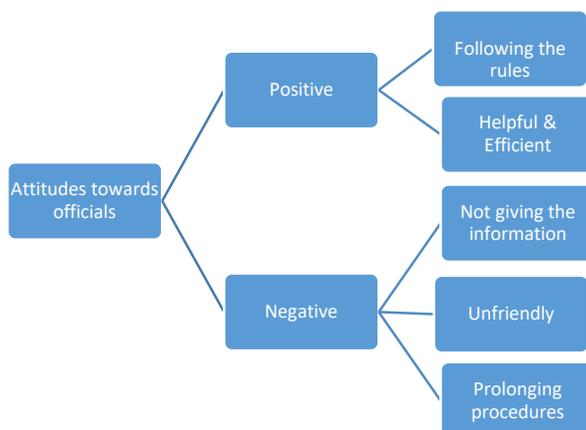


Figure 1. The logic of perception of officials by temporary migrants from Ukraine

Source: own study

types of assessment of this contact can be indicated – positive and negative. However, these categories are not internally homogeneous.

People who are satisfied with their contacts with officials so far point out that they were treated as expected in an institutional perspective – in accordance with accepted public rules, where the migrant is treated as an ordinary customer, served correctly and effectively. Interactions between officials and migrants in this area come down to a smooth settlement, without having to impose any emotional tracing on this relationship. This is often treated as the result of repetitive situations that allow the development of appropriate modes of action.

Today I was in the labour inspection, I didn't feel any problem at all, I didn't feel that they didn't want to help. There, probably I was treated just like a person who is dealing with a problem. They didn't pay attention whether I was a Ukrainian or not. (10L).

The Voivodship Office [...] submitted an application for a residence card. I had no problems. I already had the full set of documents. I went to the office 3 times. I gave all the documents for the first time. I submitted fingerprints for the second time. [...] It is difficult to answer because I already had everything. I had no problems. I have already arrived with originals and copies. They checked everything, put stamps and said goodbye. I didn't have to communicate because I didn't need to give any additional information. There were no conflicts. I had everything ready. Officials saw that I could answer all my questions (I10).

With the Voivodship Office on obtaining a residence card, permit, statement. With the Tax Office regarding a refund of part of the tax for the previous year. I didn't contact any official anymore. They knew how to help me in these matters. In my case, there was good preparation. For others I cannot say what the preparation was (I12).

City Hall. I got the PESEL number. Personally, at the institution. I had no problems. Well prepared employees. It makes no difference whether I'm from Ukraine or Poland (I4).

It helped, as they said it would. In general, they didn't pay too much attention to me, they just did their job (J11).

Yes, I contacted the offices three times and always managed to arrange everything. I was in person twice, once electronically. I received everything I needed. Everyone is competent. Everyone knows their job. Everything was at a high level (I9).

In the office, they are competent because they work with foreigners and as if they already know most of the questions that they are to ask them, they already know the answers to these questions (J7).

Some of the surveyed migrants demonstrate their satisfaction with the contacts by expressing gratitude to officials for the help they have been given. In the statements of the respondents, there are elements that show that interactions with officials go beyond the usual implementation of established procedures; they are kind and can understand the difficult and often complex situation of migrants.

And they helped me a lot at the office, because these documents were briefly rewritten. I liked the fact that I didn't have to pay anything and again the employees of the office actually helped. They saw that I was cheated and they just helped (I0L).

The respondents also acknowledge that the interactions between them and officials are not clearly classifiable. Referring to their own experiences, or those of people from a close migrant environment, allows us to recognize that in their consciousness the friendly attitude of officials, the effectiveness of their work and the resulting satisfaction concern only part of such contacts and are treated as an exception.

[...] there are cool people who want to help you and you can get along with them and they even suggest to help you and even fulfill your documents instead of you, if they see that you are not filling them in correctly and propose their help and do it themselves. I am pleased that there are people here who relate to Ukrainians in this way. But it's a pity that there is a very few of them (J12).

I probably haven't encountered such situations where, for example, I didn't get a document or an answer, if I have any questions and I couldn't do something by myself. I can call the information point again [...], but I didn't have such issues (I5).

Well, that is, all for good and bad. But if you take a scale of 1 to 10, it will be 5 somewhere. Five I give to good people, but not to the bad ones (J12).

Dissatisfaction turning into a negative assessment of the relationship of migrants with officials is, on the one hand, the result of difficulties in communication between both groups. Insufficient communication and the resulting misunderstanding convert into ineffective implementation of tasks. This is often the result of a language barrier.

Yes, they were, but there was a problem because of the language barrier. They want to help you and tell you something in the way so you could understand them, but they don't know how to talk to you. It was a little easier for me because I spoke Polish a little (I1L).

No, the tax office did not succeed, they did not understand what I wanted from them and did not try to help. We were helped by my husband's colleague, he is Polish, he explained, he said how to fill in, how to send a document (J9).

Everything is good, but when I was in the office with these papers, documents, I would like them to improve [...] it is not about the service, and [...] how can I say it? It's about their work and that they can deal with documents better and help me. I have Ukrainians in mind, me and others [...] that all documents should be available in Ukrainian, so that one can understand how

to fill them in, because there is no such instruction. I would like them to be improved, [...] the conditions for it (J10).

Dissatisfaction also results from the lack of sufficient information provided to migrants by officials. This, in turn, forces migrants to take actions that in their adopted schemes go beyond expectations regarding institutional contacts. The need to search for information on their own strengthens migrants' dissatisfaction with the work of officials and turn into a negative attitude towards them.

On the door they wrote: 'We do not give information'. I came and asked and heard 'We do not give information' also, that is officials attitude towards Ukrainians (J5).

[...] I found out everything via the Internet and through friends who had already worked, arranged residence cards. In fact, I rate it on 3, because they have been doing it for a very long time. And if you need a document, they'll call later to report instead to tell you what's missing. There is a slightly complicated situation regarding this (L3).

I asked where, to which room should I go to put a stamp? 'Go there, sir'. Where is there? There are like million doors. It wasn't that someone told me where to go. I started to open the doors one by one, until I've finally found the right one (L5).

In my opinion, they generally have a big problem with providing information. There is always a queue of 15-20 people, where you have to wait for 40 minutes to an hour, and where a tired old lady finally will answer you as quickly as possible. There is a problem at this stage. I don't know if employees change in this position or not. I was applying for a residence card based on the Pole's Card. I had to find out if I should prepare a standard list of documents or, if I had a Pole's Card, I would have to prepare another list. And this lady silently gave me a printout of standard documents, which she issued to everyone in the queue before and she said goodbye. I can't say that I was happy at the moment or that I received full information. I had to address people in fora that had already done so and were already in this situation. I received a lot more information about that from them (I5).

We managed to settle the matter, but unfortunately not the first time. Because when I arrived there for the first time to fill in the papers, there is PIT-11 if I'm not mistaken. They gave me a form and said: 'Fill in!'. Nobody explained how to do it correctly, they didn't give me an example. I had to do this by myself. The first time I failed, so I went there for a second time. Then I had to do this via email. I had to search on the Internet for all the necessary information. Many Ukrainians who live in Poland longer, they have already known how to do it, send me video to the Internet and thanks to these video I started to grasp it, translate everything word for word, make notes. For the third time, I managed to do it by myself (J10).

In every office where you come, they transfer responsibilities from one to another and you just walk and knock on the door and you can't find the answer. There are simply cases when they have regulations written where they are obligated to issue a specific document to you if you have a supporting document, and they'll refuse you. They refuse without explanation, they just simply refuse. If they think that I won't go anywhere else and even not to go to court, they are wrong. There are lawyers for this. I will do it that way (J12).

Negative attitudes towards officials also result from the feelings of migrants who attribute to officials the unfriendliness and ill-treatment. According to the interviewed migrants, the attitude of some officials is almost discriminatory. This manifests itself in unequal treatment, which often results in a feeling of inferiority of the discriminated person. Discriminatory behaviour of officials manifests itself in many ways, but most

often, according to the respondents, it changes into unpleasant relationship and inefficiency in dealing with the case.

Well, probably there are people of 'old school' [...] you can clearly see that the man does not like 'mulches' of Ukrainians, for him it does not matter whether it is a Russian or a mulch, they are still prejudiced, maybe after the war (L8).

I got my PESEL number. [...] Treating me by the employees of the city hall – they certainly knew how, but they didn't want to help (I2).

I think they would have to be a little bit more friendly. Because I even complete a big application. And there are such headings. I don't think I'm stupid, but I didn't know what to write there and what information must be there. And you will not find such information anywhere as to how this application must be completed and so on. I came to the office and I had several empty columns. I was hoping that here they would help me fill them in. But the clerk was very annoyed by this. I understand that I am not only one person in such situation and that many people have similar problems. But this is his job (I5).

So that maybe, I don't know, treat Ukrainians better; after all, we – how to say it right? – we come from the same mold, we are all Slavs, and Poles don't live much better than Ukrainians. Well, somethings are simpler for them but maybe they should take a little simpler approach to us, we are Ukrainians, that's how I understand it. I'm far from thinking that when someone comes to Ukraine and can't speak Ukrainian when he comes to the store, it's annoying (J1).

The problem is big because before I get a residence card or lengthen 'provincial' I cannot plan anything. When to go home? What to do? Well, like a slave, a slave in this plan. It humiliates me, I do not feel human (J3).

The essential problem for migrants is the time needed for completing legalization of extended stay. There are many voices emphasizing the lengthiness of proceedings conducted by offices in matters of legalization of stay of foreigners. Waiting for the appropriate permit for temporary residence, permanent residence or residence and work lasts at least several months. This generates problems in the everyday functioning of such migrants and strengthens the feeling of lack of life stability. Migrants face difficulties and severe restrictions on access to legalization procedures before the administrative procedure is initiated due to the nature of the procedures. This area of migration policy implementation in the most tangible way in the relations of migrants converts into their perception of institutions and their personnel.

Provincial office. In what matters? Residence card. I had big problems. There is going to be a massacre at the office now. In a moment, they will fight in the office. These are the conditions – Ukrainians, Belarussians, Russians, Chinese – there will be war for the queue. Recently, I wanted to bring additional documents, and there were 3 queues. I didn't know where to stand. In short, a mess. There are two or three good officials, and others just don't want to have anything to do with Ukrainians. The office is the biggest problem for Ukrainians. It doesn't matter if it is located in Poznań or in Warsaw. Poles should think how to facilitate the whole system. Then it will be better. Most of migrants wait for over a year for residence card. They receive a card, and in a moment, they have to apply for the next one. As you understand, this is a big problem. Some do not know that you can make a statement, return to Ukraine and make a visa and come again. And they have to wait a year and a half in Poland. And it will never end until you change the process (I11).

I got a PESEL number at the City Hall and a residence card at the Voivodship Office. I was doing provincial permits, I brought a flat rental agreement for registration. There are not enough office workers, so they do everything very slowly (I3).

There are not enough employees in the Office. They don't know what to do with the documents. Because they have too many to deal with (I3).

I personally did not have to go to the office, but I know the situation from the experience of my friends. They waited for a long time for 'provincial' and made documents for a residence card and waited for them also. Well, they are not able to say that they are very satisfied with the work of the officials (J1).

Of course, the sweetest moment – getting a residence card properly. I planned to go on permanent stay because of Polish regulation – if I am a specialist (and I am a specialist), I can apply for permanent stay in 2 years. But the official told me that I must have a residence card, but of course I didn't have one. The office had to deal with documents much faster, 3 months, but at the moment it has already taken 1.5 a year and there are no changes in this matter. The tax office also generated problems. They don't even want to hear about your problems. For example, you can't get a PESEL number, and other things because you don't have a residence card (J12).

Conclusions

Analyzes with a neo-institutional perspective not only serve to record facts, but also directly translate the language of observation into the language of rules. Thus, they allow conclusions to be drawn regarding specific systems of norms and procedures. Apart from purely cognitive values, the research results may prove useful for social practice, providing knowledge on how rationally design social innovations, even in the context of implementing migration policy.

In practice, the organizational culture of particular office is very varied. Depending on quality of this culture, it allows to implement the process of official service for migrants in a better or worse way. The immanent feature of the office and officials is the implementation of official orders and procedures set by superiors/managers, leaving a little space for flexibility. The institutional administration operates according to uniform, consistent procedures, as a result of which the addressee of such services can predict how the process of settling his or her case will look like. They also can learn the rules of the institution's functioning in a given area. According to internationalized rules, an official is treated neutrally, as an administrative employee who applies a uniform interpretation of regulations in every situation, who is competent, but at the same time kind and helpful. In this public perception of an official, the addressee of his actions is treated as a welcome customer, not as an onerous petitioner. This picture concerns the perception of officials by all categories of recipients of their services.

Economic migrants from Ukraine are specific clients of institutions and offices. This specificity is primarily due to the fact that, being in Poland for a short time, they do not know the institutional procedures fully and, based on the necessary experience, are only constructing their own logic of this type of interaction. It can be emphasized at this point

that migration policy is processual, negotiated and produced precisely during the interaction between the official and the migrant.

The image of an official is not constructed in the opinions of migrants in clear terms. The rules of the institutional game in relation to the implementation of migration policy experienced by migrants allow to indicate two paths of perception of officials – positive and negative. The characteristics of each of them indicate areas that are worth studying when trying to design changes in policy implementation. Shaping administrative procedures adapted to the needs of migration policy addressees requires the development of institutional rules of the game that will go beyond the previously adopted schemes. Considering the findings resulting from the study, it can be assumed that the functioning of efficient administration should not be limited only to compliance with legal rules, but to go beyond them within morally allowed limits to increase the effectiveness of implemented activities. Officials using the available resources should fill the knowledge gap on problematic issues related to migrants, should develop their social sensitivity and prevent situations where they manifest their prejudices. Their work should be supported by appropriate technical and legal solutions, related to improving communication with migrants (document translation, interpreter services, etc.). Changing the rules of the game in implementing migration policy also requires changes in the way of providing necessary knowledge to migrants. Information pamphlets or websites containing information on the path in a given situation and a set of answers to frequently asked questions can be helpful in this area.

Bibliography

- Bekkers V., Fenger M., Scholten P. (2017), *Public Policy in Action: Perspectives on the Policy Process*, Cheltenham.
- Bourdieu P. (1990), *Droit et passe-droit. Le champ des pouvoirs territoriaux et la mise en œuvre des règlements*, "Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales", No. 81(1), pp. 86-96.
- Chmielewski P. (2011), *Homo agens. Instytucjonalizm w naukach społecznych*, Warszawa.
- Council of the European Union (2001), *Council Regulation (EC) No 539/2001 of 15 March 2001 listing the third countries whose nationals must be in possession of visas when crossing the external borders and those whose nationals are exempt from that requirement*, <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=celex%3A32001R0539> [access: 23.03.2020].
- Czy Ukraińcy wiążą swoją przyszłość z naszym krajem?* (2019), "Selectivv", 7.03.2019, <https://selectivv.com/czy-ukraincy-wiazza-swoja-przyszlosc-z-naszym-krajem-najnowsze-badanie-selectivv/> [access: 23.03.2020].
- DiMaggio P. (2006), *Nowe spojrzenie na "żelazną klatkę": instytucjonalny izomorfizm i racjonalność zbiorowa w polach organizacyjnych*, [in:] *Współczesne teorie socjologiczne*, tom I, edit. A. Jasińska-Kania, L.M. Nijakowski, J. Szacki, M. Ziółkowski, Warszawa, pp. 600-618.
- Dubois V. (2009), *Towards a critical policy ethnography: Lessons from fieldwork on welfare control in France*, "Critical Policy Studies", No. 3(2), pp. 221-239, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460170903385684>.
- Hood C. (1991), *A public management for all seasons?*, *Public Administration*, Vol. 69 Spring

- 1991 (3-19), download;jsessionid=9B51BE53E22EDDA2496C00550AA41E8F (psu.edu) [access on 23.03.2020]
- Skąpska G. (1999), *Neoinstytucjonalizm*, [in:] *Encyklopedia socjologii*, tom II, edit. W. Kwaśniewicz et al., Warszawa, pp. 323-326.
- Janicki W. (2016), *Wiarygodność danych o migracjach ludności w niektórych państwach Europy Zachodniej*, "Wiadomości Statystyczne", No. 3, pp. 80-92.
- Lipsky M. (2010), *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*, New York, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/003232928001000113>.
- March J.G., J.P. Olsen (1989), *Rediscovering Institutions*, New York: Free Press.
- March J. G., Olsen J. P. (2004), *The logic of appropriateness*, ARENA Working Papers WP 04/09, University of Oslo.
- Matusz-Protasiewicz P. (2013), *Rosnąca rola poziomu lokalnego w kreowaniu polityki integracji imigrantów w Unii Europejskiej*, "Central and Eastern European Migration Review", Vol. 2 No. 2 December, ed. D. Stola, <http://www.ceemr.uw.edu.pl/issues/vol-2-no-2-december-2013> [access on 23.03.2020].
- Meyer J.W., Rowan B. (2006), *Organizacje zinstytucjonalizowane: struktura formalna jako mit i ceremonia*, [in:] *Współczesne teorie socjologiczne*, tom I, edit. A. Jasińska-Kania, L.M. Nijkowski, J. Szacki, M. Ziółkowski, Warszawa, pp. 583-599.
- Minister Rodziny, Pracy i Polityki Społecznej (2017), *Rozporządzenie z dnia 8 grudnia 2017 r. w sprawie państw, do których obywateli stosuje się niektóre przepisy dotyczące zezwolenia na pracę sezonową oraz przepisy dotyczące oświadczenia o powierzeniu wykonywania pracy cudzoziemcowi*, <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20170002349> [access on: 23.03.2020].
- North D.C. (1991), *Institutions*, "Journal of Economic Perspectives", No. 5, pp. 97-112.
- North D.C. (1995), *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, New York.
- Pawlak M. (2011), *Termin "integracja" jako narzędzie legitymizacji. Neoinstytucjonalna analiza uprawomocniania działań w polu organizacyjnym obsługi i pomocy imigrantom w Polsce*, "Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny", No. 37(2), pp. 59-80.
- Pawlak M. (2018), *Polityki publiczne wobec migracji*, [in:] *Nauki o polityce publicznej: Monografia dyscypliny*, edit. J. Kwaśniewski, Warszawa, pp. 288-311.
- Rothstein B., Stolle D. (2001), *Social Capital and Street-Level Bureaucracy: An Institutional Theory of Generalized Trust*, presented on November 30, 2001 at the Trust in Government Conference at Princeton University.
- Sadowski I. (2014), *Współczesne spojrzenie na instytucje. Ewolucja pojęć, problem modelu aktora i poziomy analizy instytucjonalnej*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny", No. 63, pp. 89-114.
- Scott W.R. (2014), *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas, Interests, and Identities*, Los Angeles, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3917/mana.172.0136>.
- Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (2017), *Ustawa z dnia 26 maja 2017 r. o promocji zatrudnienia i instytucjach rynku pracy*, Dz. U. 2017, poz. 1065.
- Skowrońska K. (2017), *Niejednoznaczna władza, wspólne normy i niedopowiedziane cele: Działanie Wydziału Spraw Cudzoziemców Mazowieckiego Urzędu Wojewódzkiego jako studium przypadku pola organizacyjnego polityki migracyjnej w Polsce*, "Studia Polityczne", No. 45(2), pp. 217-239, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7366/KIR.2018.1.6.01>.
- Sztandar-Sztanderska K. (2016), *Obywatel spotyka państwo. O urzędach pracy jako biurokracji pierwszego kontaktu*, Warszawa.
- Sztandar-Sztanderska K. (2017), *Czego nie widać? Literatura o polityce rynku pracy a praktyki urzędników pierwszego kontaktu*, "Studia z Polityki Publicznej", No. 2(14), pp. 117-146, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33119/KSzPP.2017.2.6>.

Szymańska-Zybertowicz K. (2011), *Nieobecne wyzwanie? Integracja jako zadanie polityki społecznej wobec cudzoziemców w Polsce po roku 1989*, Toruń.

Van Berkel R., Valkenburg B. (2007), *Making it personal: Individualising activation services in the EU* Policy Press Scholarship Online: March, DOI: 10.1332/policypress/9781861347978.001.0001

Abstract: Migration processes affect the functioning mechanisms of many institutions and public spheres, on which the state create particular public policies. Migration policy is one of them. The success of its implementation depends on many factors, but institutional actors (officials) play a crucial role in this process. The decisions and projections of migrants with respect to extending their stay in Poland depend on the interpretation of legal, institutional and formal regulations. The aim of the article is to analyze the subjective experiences of Ukrainian economic migrants with Polish institutions and the personnel representing them. Our considerations have been located within the neo-institutional theory. We want to answer the question to what extent the official behaviour patterns of officials in migrant cases adopted as part of formal conditions allow them to overcome a sense of uncertainty and foster adaptation processes. On the other hand, we would like to determine to what extent contacts of migrants with officials and institutions become a barrier that limits the possibilities of making migration decisions. Studying the subjective interpretations of migrants' experience is an important element of analysis that will allow us to check how the elements of migration policy are implemented in 'in action'. Considering the findings resulting from the study, it can be assumed that the functioning of efficient administration should not be limited only to compliance with legal rules, but to go beyond them within morally allowed limits, in order to increase the effectiveness of implemented activities in many dimensions.

Keywords: neo-institutionalism, migration policy, migration from Ukraine, determinants of migration decisions, the role of an official in the adaptation process of migrants

Article submitted: 7.04.2020; article accepted: 2.09.2020.