



# CMR Working Papers

121/179

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**MAŁGORZATA WROTEK**

**BEYOND THE “BREAD WITH BUTTER”:  
CHANGING REALITIES OF ECONOMIC  
INTEGRATION AMONG THE CHINESE AND  
THE VIETNAMESE DIASPORA IN POLAND**

July 2020

[www.migracje.uw.edu.pl](http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl)

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#### **Declaration of conflicting interests**

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship and/or publication of this paper.

#### **Funding**

This research was funded by the National Science Centre (grant no. 2014/ 14/E/HS4/00387).

## **Abstrakt**

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**Słowa kluczowe:** Chiny, Wietnam, integracja, osiedlenie, migracja

## **Abstract**

Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants were long understood through their ethnic enclave activity, and considered as economic migrants focused on wealth generation, without much desire for deeper social or economic integration. We draw on results of a quantitative study to challenge these assumptions and to analyse the significance of both economic and non-economic factors in shaping intentions to stay. We first place our discussion within literature on economic migrations from East Asia, and discuss how in line with their growing diversification, the Chinese and Vietnamese economic integration in Poland might take place beyond traditional activity centred around the ethnic enclave economy. We then bring attention to the growing importance of non-economic factors, which play a significant role in professional and livelihood decision-making. Unlike earlier migration waves, both groups attach significant importance to non-economic aspects of life in Poland, including a good environment for rising children and access to public services, such as education or the healthcare system. For both groups, these factors make Poland an attractive destination and might compensate for the lower salaries or limited opportunities for professional development. Our research also shows that economic integration, as measured by work outside of the ethnic enclave economy and by economic success (job satisfaction or higher income) was not relevant for settlement plans among either the Chinese or the Vietnamese.

**Key words:** China, Vietnam, integration, settlement, migration

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## Introduction

As two largest Asian communities in Poland, Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants were long understood through their ethnic enclave activity, and considered as economic migrants focused on wealth generation, without much desire for deeper social or economic integration. We draw on the latest RDS survey results to challenge these assumptions and examine the way migrant economic activity is related to their changing aspirations and settlement plans. We argue that economic success and its role in integration are no longer a defining feature of either Chinese or Vietnamese communities, and that migrations of both groups are increasingly shaped by non-economic factors, in particular the attractiveness of Poland as a place to live and to raise a family.

This change is partly related to the narrowing opportunities and profits available in the established ethnic enclave economy (largely in wholesale trade and food production). We compare how each of the two communities responded to this challenge, and how the changing migrant demographic and evolving structural context have re-shaped migrant decision-making and integration strategies. In the process we tackle the early, but fairly entrenched idea of Asian immigrants in Central and Eastern Europe as an economically successful, but socially isolated middleman minority. We analyse both the idea of “economic success,” based on wealth and job satisfaction, and the progress made in economic integration, which we define as the desire and ability to move into the primary labour market. Our research thus aims to shed light on the evolving identity of the Chinese and Vietnamese in Poland by answering the following questions: Which factors shape the economic activity and professional development of the migrants? What is the role of non-economic factors in migrant integration and decision making? We hypothesise that Chinese and Vietnamese migrations are increasingly shaped by non-economic factors, which play a decisive role in migrant motivation and decision-making, ultimately shaping their integration outcomes.

We consider a comparison of Chinese and Vietnamese in Poland significant due to the similarities which shaped their migrations and presence in the region. China and Vietnam share many experiences related to their social and economic transformation taking place over the past four decades. Due to a century of common historic experiences of war, struggle against colonial powers, national unification under a socialist political regime and of transition to a neo-liberal economic regime, both countries share important formative experiences, which formed a backdrop of their migration. Their political and economic realities, together with cultural similarity, allow to compare and contrast such migration aspects as the functioning of the ethnic economy, the established migration model and aspirations, and their ongoing development.

For such exercise to be productive, however, the shared similarities can only be analysed while accounting for equally important differences, including the unique ways in which each of the communities developed their presence in Poland. Vietnamese have a much larger diaspora in Poland, with a grown-up second generation, significant social and cultural capital and (potentially at least), a greater opportunity to move beyond the ethnic enclave economy. Chinese, on the other hand, are a smaller population with a much shorter history in the country, but as a community they are notably more dynamic due to the global expansion of Chinese economy and a new wave of investment-related migrations. We thus examine how these two

communities with a varied opportunity structure, rooted in different capital and scale of economic activity, these two communities evolve under the present circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

We begin with an outline of our argument and an overview of the literature related to the changing profile of ethnic communities and their patterns of entrepreneurship. We then place the discussion regarding Chinese and Vietnamese economic integration in the context of their migration and development in Poland. This is followed by a discussion of research findings.

## **1. Ethnic entrepreneurs and economic integration in light of changing migrations: outline of the research problem**

While there is no universally agreed upon definition of integration, a frequent and pragmatic consensus aims to capture the relationship of migrants with the receiving society through the degree of functional participation and position (or achievement) in the labour market, education, and other institutions. It is a process summarized by Chiswick (1978) as that of ‘catching-up’ to resources and opportunities available to and enjoyed by the locals. While scholars frequently attempt to specify a range of aspects involved in integration - for example with typology of structural, cultural, interactive and identificational integration (Bosswick & Heckman, 2006) - they usually aim to streamline the phenomenon into a process of “attaining a similar position” to that of the members of the host society (Barrett and Duffy, 2007). This is usually understood as gaining unrestricted access to the labour market (Pennix, 2005) and full participation in social institutions of the receiving country (Engbersen, 2003). Integration, however, is complex and we additionally rely on the scholarship discussing integration as a process grounded in evolving migrant decision making and as an outcome of changing needs and aspirations. In particular we draw on studies conducted by de Haas (2011), Martiniello and Rea (2014), and van Meeteren (2014) which point to the importance of individual agency and a range of non-economic factors, such as family obligations, sending country socio-cultural context, or personal capital to migrant integration.

We also work with two major concepts that address migrant ethnic economy. The first is the idea of a “middleman minority” (Bonacich, 1973), which explores the phenomenon of immigrant overrepresentation in small family businesses, which it connects in particular with their systematic exclusion from mainstream employment. Positioned as merchants and as outsiders, the ethnic traders act as intermediaries between social elites and general populace, providing scarce and desired goods and services. Nyiri (2011) considers Chinese immigrants across Central and Eastern Europe as the middleman minority and as essential outsiders, who through a network of Chinese markets played a major role in provision of inexpensive consumer

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<sup>1</sup> While exact numbers on either Chinese or Vietnamese in any Central and Eastern Europe country are hard to come by, with official statistics on residence documents often contradicted by much higher informal estimates (see Nyiri, (2007) for discussion of the problem), current community-based calculations place the number of Vietnamese in Poland at about 30,000 people and of Chinese as 10-15,000. Vietnamese diaspora is smaller today than during its peak of economic migrations in the 1990s, but raised a generation of locally-educated children, who often identify with Poland as much as with Vietnam. The Chinese, until 2004 formed a small enclave under 1000 people, but started to rapidly expand their presence as a result of Poland’s EU membership and of China’s political and economic outreach involved in One Belt One Road (or the New Silk Road) initiative (Szymanska-Matusiewicz, 2019; Kardaszewicz, 2019).

goods. The second concept involves the “ethnic enclave economy” (Wilson and Portes, 1980; Portes and Bach, 1985) rooted in segmented labour market theory (Edwards, Reich and Gordon, 1975), in which ethnic businesses<sup>2</sup> provided an alternative for those unable to access the well-paid and secure jobs in the primary labour market. An ethnic enclave was characterised in particular by spatial concentration and sector specialization, which resulted in a clustering of particular types of businesses.

As a concept, the ethnic enclave economy has served as a primary analytical framework of migrant economic activity in Poland and across the region. Much of the recent history of Chinese and Vietnamese in Central and Eastern Europe is tied with economic migration and based on ethnic entrepreneurship in trade and services. Both in China and Vietnam, significant political and economic uncertainty during the 1980-90s contributed to large-scale economic emigration, with migrants ranging from peasantry to intellectuals looking to embrace new opportunities and to make a living (Nyiri, 2007; Szymanska-Matusiewicz, 2019). In Poland, the post-socialist transition toward market economy over the 1990s created a high demand for cheap consumer goods and an informal business environment, which allowed the ethnic entrepreneurs to thrive and make quick profits (Wysieńska, 2012). These early opportunities, with small fortunes made and lost in the ethnic enclave economy – defined through the image of Asian bazaar traders – contributed to the image of socially isolated, but economically successful Asian immigrants. From the beginning, however, the reality of their situation and actual motivations was more complex, including family circumstances, political freedom, and opportunities for self-development or gaining foreign experience (see for example, Moore and Tubilewicz, 2001). Following Poland’s accession to the European Union in 2004, and the 2008 global economic crisis, the situation continued to evolve with successive waves of immigration.

In our work, we re-examine the idea and the current realities of migrant economic success and use the results as a basis for our discussion of changing migrant motivations and their role in economic integration. To do so, we build on the idea of “economic success” widely discussed by Danzer and Ulku (2011) and expand their criteria related to income level by job satisfaction (or holding a position corresponding with one’s education and professional qualifications). We then evaluate the potential role of success in economic integration, defined here as the ability and desire to progress beyond an established ethnic niche in order to effectively participate in the mainstream labour market. Through our findings, we demonstrate that in both the Vietnamese and Chinese communities, economic success currently takes place in a minority of cases and that for most migrants, economic integration is often limited to the minimum necessary to remain in the country. In particular, with the recent influx of Chinese middle-class migrants seeking to invest their wealth into a better lifestyle, the questions of economic success are of secondary importance. Ultimately, we argue that Chinese and Vietnamese in Poland need to be understood beyond the established optic of middleman minority traders and that the ethnic enclave economy is no longer sufficient in the evaluation of their integration patterns and decision-making.

To discuss the changes taking place in both communities we next explore the literature that analyses the evolution of ethnic entrepreneurship beyond the “Chinatown” style ethnic

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<sup>2</sup> We follow a definition of ethnic business as one in which the owners and majority of workers belong to the same ethnicity.

enclave economy, based on a small family business and migrants focused primarily on income generation. We then contrast the new realities against our research findings, to consider how the changing identity and dynamics among the Asian migrants apply to the evolving presence of the Chinese and Vietnamese in Poland.

## **2. Beyond immigrant traders and Chinatown-style ethnic enclave economy: overview of the relevant literature**

The economic integration of across the East Asian diaspora is discussed in several strands of literature related to ethnic entrepreneurship and to the cultural values meant to underpin its dynamics. Scholars looking to make sense of the economic success accompanying the rise of China and of East Asian “tiger economies”<sup>3</sup> often pursued a culturalist angle to explain the distinctive features of ethnic entrepreneurial dynamic. The usual accounts packaged Confucian cultural values (such as family collectivism, hard work and thrift) together with business culture based on ethnic social networks, presenting it as a framework of analysis behind the rise of Asian entrepreneurs (Goldberg, 1985; Tai, 1989; Redding, 1990; Kotkin, 1992; Kao 1993; Morris and Schindehutte, 2005). More sophisticated approaches such as “flexible citizenship” (Ong, 1999) involved analysis of the cultural logics in the context of globalizing capital and its impact on transnational mobility and individual migration projects. A “segmented assimilation” (Portes and Zhou, 1993) framework analysed the varied, generational trajectory of social and economic integration – where Asian-Americans, for example, relied on the cultural capital and resources of their specific immigrant community to facilitate greater educational achievement and professional mobility. Zhou (2014) emphasized the impact of migrant selectivity and changing migrant flows in shaping distinctive communities no longer “transplanted into ethnic enclave” but representing a range of scenarios relevant to their background and structural circumstances.

A further theme in the literature concerned the debate around ethnic economy, discussed as a source of a parallel opportunity structure, helping to counter immigrant disadvantage in the job market resulting from discrimination and lack of locally relevant socio-cultural capital (Portes & Zhou, 1992; Waldinger, 1986). As mentioned earlier, such ethnic activity has been typically associated with small, labour-intensive family business – laundries, workshops, restaurants – which served as basis of the economic chain-migration model (Zhou, 1997; Benton and Pieke, 1998; Christiansen, 2013). Despite the closed social structure and harsh-work conditions, the employment opportunities provided by this parallel labour market, were argued to facilitate economic integration and to allow for gradual transition to the mainstream economy (Nee et al. 1994; Alba and Nee, 2003). Others demonstrated how ethnic work experience and community resources have facilitated accumulation of social and cultural capital – from language-proficiency to university diplomas – which allowed for professional mobility (Lee and Zhou, 2015; Fong et al, 2009).

Researchers, however, increasingly question the established framework for understanding the ethnic economy, arguing for a perspective beyond the “Chinatown” imagery

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<sup>3</sup> Tiger economies is a term used to describe the rapid economic development of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore taking place in particular during 1980-90s.



with its tight economic enclave and its one-way professional trajectory from small family business into the mainstream professional class. Immigrant professionals are increasingly known to quit their well-paid company jobs, and to take advantage of their “bicultural literacy” and own social networks to establish successful companies in previously inaccessible sectors, such as IT (Leung, 2001; Ma, 2003; Zhou and Liu, 2015). This growth in economic diversity is closely connected to a larger scope of business activity, related in particular to the transnational dimension of such entrepreneurship. Building on the framework of “mixed embeddedness” which discusses the interaction of the existing opportunity structure with the migrants’ human capital possessed by immigrants (Kloosterman, et al 1999), scholars explore investigate how immigrant businesses are increasingly localized and connected to structural opportunities in their sending countries. These opportunities are embedded in particular structural circumstances in both sending and receiving societies (Zhou and You, 2019; Zhou and Liu 2015), relevant social networks, and localized cultural and business proficiency (Na and Liu, 2015), as well as the changing opportunity structure and profit margins related to the overall labour market context (Ceccagno and Sacchetto, 2020).

The scholarship on integration of Chinese immigrants also points to the growing importance of non-economic integration factors, including those related to natural environment, education and access to citizenship. Common integration challenges involve difficulties arising due to the language barrier and human capital devaluation (Guo and DeVoretz, 2006). On the other hand, research conducted among Chinese migrants fluent in English shows its limited impact on the diversity of social life. The difficulty in building new relationships was related to cultural differences, rather than language-fluency, effectively limiting the social environment to the Chinese migrant community. The Chinese themselves point to the importance of other, non-language related factors which play a role in their integration, such as personality traits, optimism and hard work. The impact of the length of residence on integration varies. Established Chinese residents often maintain close relations with China and travel home frequently, and long-term residence often matters most for those who identify more with the host country and adopt its values and lifestyle (Qin and Blachford, 2017). The role of social networks in the integration of Chinese migrants varies depending on context. Scholarship on dual embeddedness among Chinese entrepreneurs in Singapore for example, points to the complementary role of social and cultural capital accumulated in both countries (Ren and Liu 2015). On the other hand, strong ties to the home country are mentioned as a reason for weakened integration among highly-qualified and wealthier members of more recent migration waves (Suryadinata, 2017).

While the Chinese and Vietnamese communities in Poland have not been subject to systematic research, both have evolved along the major trends outlined in the literature. Until several years ago, the Chinese community in Poland was small in number and composed largely of entrepreneurs engaged in import and sale of goods from China. Most have moved to Poland as a result of two major migratory patterns: first, chain-economic migration (see Benton and Pieke, 1998; Li, 2003 and Christiansen, 2013) in which the early business pioneers brought over “relatives” to expand their business, who then learned the trade and brought over further people from China; and secondly, the trend which developed as an extension of “shuttle trading” by Chinese entrepreneurs taking goods for sale across the border, eventually expanding their trade-runs to Moscow and further on to Budapest (Nyiri, 2003, 2007).

Such mixture of shuttle traders, investors, and economic chain migrants have formed the bulk of original diaspora in Poland, engaged in import and sale of goods from China, and concentrated around the former sports stadium in central Warsaw, and later in a wholesale centre in Wólka Kosowska (Wardega 2017; Wysieńska 2012). With a few exceptions, however, (e.g., Liu, 2017; Moore and Tubilewicz, 2001; Nyiri, 2003, 2007, 2014; Ondris, 2015) there has not been much discussion of Chinese migration in Central and Eastern Europe. Specific communities were often described as an “invisible minority” due to their close-knit and isolated dynamic and the publications mostly focused on the traditional entrepreneurial communities, with little discussion of the emerging trends such as Chinese expatriates and middle-class migration.

The literature on Vietnamese diaspora in Central and Eastern Europe, in particular the English-language publications is also very limited in scope. They are often similarly discussed as socially invisible, and functioning parallel to the mainstream society, on the basis of ethnic social networks (Hlinčíková, 2015). Family and ethnic ties are said to limit their social integration, but to facilitate capital allowing for entrepreneurial success. Limited language proficiency also means that transition into the mainstream economy is observed largely among the locally-educated second-generation Vietnamese (Hitchcock and Wesner 2009). For longer-term residents, locally educated children often serve as translators for their parents (Koryś, 2005). In Poland the main source of information on the community are the publications by Halik and Nowicka (2002), more recently followed by Schwenkel (2014, 2015) and Szymańska-Matusiewicz (2015, 2016, 2019).

The great majority of Vietnamese migration took place following the end of the Vietnam War (1955-75) and the migration to Poland began as part of a national reconstruction effort and a centrally planned strategy aimed at cultivating future elites, tackling unemployment and attracting remittances to the recovering country. Following the Sino-Soviet split in 1960, communist Vietnam became closely aligned with the Soviet bloc (including the CEE countries, in particular Poland, Hungary, East Germany) and proceeded to sign a series of bilateral agreements concerning student and worker exchanges. This marked a beginning of enduring connections and of transnational communities which fuelled larger post-1989 economic migrations to the region, and which continue to function to the present day (Halik and Nowicka, 2002 p.21-23; Wysieńska, 2012). As a community, the Vietnamese in Poland are organized along the two major migratory groups – with former students from the 1960s-80s period remaining largely separate from a larger wave of economic migrants, dating back to 1989, and composed mostly of peasants from rural areas in northern Vietnam (Szymanska-Matusiewicz, 2015).

Szymańska-Matusiewicz (2019) further discusses the enduring relevance of the Vietnamese ethnic enclave, based on strict social and economic hierarchy in the community. She describes the community as roughly divided into a smaller economic elite, controlling large-scale enterprises, and the majority group of “working people” who remain bound in the ethnic enclave economy and try to eke out a living as “owners of small trade stalls and bars, salespeople, and porters employed at bazaar and trade centres” (119). In particular those at the bottom of the social hierarchy “exist in severe social isolation from mainstream Polish society” and rely heavily on the ethnic networks (124). The realities of such a community, however, are often more complicated. Citing research conducted by Halik and Nowicka (2002), Szymańska

points out that over 50 percent of Vietnamese bazaar traders claimed having higher education; this included intellectuals who considered their emigration as undertaken out of dire necessity and as a sacrifice for the sake of creating better opportunities for their children.

The literature points, among others, to important structural differences between the Chinese and the Vietnamese communities in Poland. The former are significantly influenced by the recent influx of middle-class lifestyle migrants, who often are less dependent on the ethnic enclave. The latter, in many ways remain defined by the economic migrations dating back to 1990s – although without the same opportunities for gaining wealth as in the early days of Poland’s free market economy. We argue however, that despite the enduring social and economic hierarchy among the Vietnamese, migration motivations are evolving among both of the groups. In particular as the opportunities for achieving economic success are limited, many of those who remain in Poland long-term do so because of the living environment and better opportunities for their children.

In what follows, we discuss these different trajectories by drawing on our survey research results.

### **3. Research data and method of analysis**

We relied on data from a quantitative survey conducted between July and November 2017 among a group of 102 Chinese and 150 Vietnamese respondents (total of 252), aged 18 or more and residing in Poland for a purpose other than tourism. Our final analysis excludes three second-generation respondents and covers 99 Chinese and 149 Vietnamese migrants. Our research covered migrants residing in the greater Warsaw area and relied on a paper-based survey, with a sample recruited through a Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS) method. We relied on recruitment chains initiated through a first batch of respondents (seeds) who in turn invited up to two further respondents. An effort was made to ensure full anonymity, with each respondent identified through a code provided with a unique recruitment coupon. Participation and recruitment of further respondents were rewarded with dedicated shopping vouchers. The goal was to create maximum-length recruitment chains, in which successive recruits have progressively weaker ties to the initial seeds. The RDS method is often used among the so-called “hard to reach” populations without an established sampling frame. To ensure that the sample is representative, results are weighted against individual network size (see Johnston and Luthra 2014; Handcock, Fellows, and Gile 2015, Gile 2011 for more detail on RDS methodology).

In the course of designing econometric models we analysed selected variables to allow for easier interpretation of the final model results. Following van Metereen’s conception of investment, settlement and legalization migrations (2014) we checked for difference among the Chinese and Vietnamese depending on their settlement intentions. We focused on the importance of non-economic factors to settlement plans (see ex. Guo and DeVoretz, 2006), and included statistics related to perception of different aspects of life in Poland as opposed to life in China or Vietnam. Additionally, building on the work of de Haas (2011) and Martiniello and Rea (2014) we evaluated the change of aspirations between the first and present stay in Poland.

We decided to design two groups of models. In the first group, a range of independent variables predicted economic integration or economic success. We included the following predictors: time of arrival (before or after 2013 to account for different migration waves); years spent in Poland; age at first arrival to Poland; network size and household composition; human capital, including education level and Polish language proficiency; and economic aspirations during the current stay in Poland (making money, professional and/or business development).

We analysed the following dependent variables: working outside of the ethnic enclave economy (as a proxy of economic integration); having a satisfying job (as an alternative measurement of economic integration or success); net monthly income level (as a proxy of economic success). In one model, we also included net income as an independent variable, to examine its influence on perceiving work as satisfying.

In the second groups of models, we assessed the role of economic integration and/or success as well as of non-economic factors (in particular the quality of natural environment, education and medical care) in predicting settlement decisions. Aspirations related to longer or permanent residence were the dependent variables.

We analysed the Chinese and Vietnamese separately, due to the different characteristics and motivations regarding their emigration to Poland. Due to the binary character of our dependent variables: working outside of the ethnic enclave economy, having a satisfying job we relied on Logistic Regression. For models where income (monthly net income transformed to natural log) is dependent variable, we used simple OLS regression. The full list of variables used in our explanatory analysis is available in Appendix 1; the summary of statistics separated for binary and continuous variables, in Appendix 2.

## **4. Results**

### **4.1. Characteristics of Chinese and Vietnamese migrants: descriptive statistics**

Our results point to important differences in the profile of the two groups (see Appendix 2). A third (31%) of the Vietnamese worked as farmers prior to emigration, and following the arrival to Poland more than half (54%) worked in trade. Only 7% had university education and only 44% worked outside of the ethnic economy at the time of the survey. However, 68% reported being satisfied with their job and 63% planned to remain in Poland. A majority (88%) prioritized income and wealth accumulation over other issues such as professional development or mainstream economy access. For Chinese migrants, the situation looks different: 56% worked outside of ethnic economy and 50% were satisfied with their job and hoped to remain in Poland (31%). 63.5% had university education and as a community, Chinese in Poland showed a clear professional advancement: from 56% working in trade at the time of arrival, to 35% at present; while for IT these numbers were 10% and 30%. Only a part of this trend can be attributed to the influx of Chinese expatriates.

**Table 1.** Selected variables (economic integration or success; human capital; network and household size; aspirations; assessment of living conditions and other characteristics) by settlement plans among Chinese and Vietnamese migrants (RDS sample).

Variables	Settlement plans among Chinese		Settlement plans among Vietnamese	
	staying permanent. in PL	no staying permanent. in PL	staying permanent. in PL	no staying permanent. in PL
<b>Economic integration or success</b>				
Outside ethnic enclave economy	14%	43%	23%	22%
Satisfying job	12%	40%	36%	33%
Mean log net monthly income (~ mean amount in PLN)	7.84 (~2540PLN)	7.94 (~2807PLN)	7.64 (~2079PLN)	8.01 (~3010PLN)
<b>Other characteristics:</b>				
Arrival after 2013	16%	34%	19%	6%
Mean age at arrival	29.12	27.84	30.29	42.19
Years spent in PL ≤5years	26%	74%	74%	26%
Years spent in PL >5years	47%	53%	57%	43%
Having "karta Polaka" or polish citizenship	7%	4%	11%	4%
<b>Human capital:</b>				
University degree+	17%	46%	6%	1%
Good Polish proficiency	11%	7%	21%	7%
<b>Household in Poland:</b>				
Lives alone	6%	40%	33%	27%
With spouse/partner only	2%	10%	12%	2%
With spouse/partner; at least 1 children	12%	9%	12%	7%
With spouse/partner; at least 1: children, relative	11%	9%	5%	2%
<b>Network size - family:</b>				
Mean numbers of household members in PL	1.9	0.82	0.9	0.56
Mean numbers of household members in CN/VN	1.37	3.19	0.82	1.92
Married	18%	35%	50%	13%
<b>Network size - close friends:</b>				
Mean numbers of close friends in PL	2.7	2.15	2.7	3.25
Mean numbers of close friends in CN/VN	3.1	5.1	1.84	1.7
Mean numbers of close Polish friends	2.04	0.48	0.13	0.34
Mean numbers of close Chinese/Vietnamese friends	3.9	6.8	4.6	4.59
<b>Important (rather important + very important) aspirations during current stay in Poland:</b>				
Making money	13%	37%	57%	33%
Professional development	16%	40%	45%	16%
Business development	15%	18%	35%	12%
Staying longer in PL	25%	20%	59%	17%
Children's education	16%	30%	47%	18%
<b>Assessment of living conditions: much better in Poland compared with China or Vietnam:</b>				
Natural environment	26%	52.26%	46%	35%
Quality of medical care	4%	10%	43%	17%
Availability of education	9%	4%	25%	14%

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample - weighted data with using STATA 12.

Our data indicates that the Chinese who did not plan to settle in Poland were more likely to work outside of the ethnic economy, and reported higher work satisfaction and income (see

Table 1). Among the Vietnamese this divide between the migrants intending to settle and those who do not was less obvious. There were almost no differences in the economic activity of these two groups, although respondents planning to leave Poland reported a higher average income (the distribution of net monthly income for Chinese and Vietnamese migrants is presented in Appendix 4). This is related to the human capital, as the Chinese with a university degree were more inclined to leave, while educated Vietnamese migrants often decided to settle. Settlement plans might serve as a motivation to learn Polish, although in both groups the knowledge of the language remains poor. Our results shows that for the Chinese planning to settle, their income or professional development was less of a priority than for those planning to leave. The reverse was true for Vietnamese, which suggests that Poland was far more attractive for the Vietnamese migrants (even if they remained employed in the ethnic economy).

In terms of social networks, the Chinese planning to leave were mostly in Poland on their own, with family members remaining in China. The same was observed for the Vietnamese. The Chinese with plans to settle had on average more relations with Polish people from outside the family, rather than with their coethnics. In case of the Vietnamese, however, those differences were less obvious – the number of close Vietnamese ties was similar regardless of settlement intentions, and the reported number of Polish friends was even higher among those without plans to settle. In terms of close non-family relations we noted that, predictably, among the Chinese planning to settle in Poland close ties were more prominent. However, the Vietnamese on average reported larger social networks in both Poland and Vietnam. This might be due to a longer period of residence abroad and more developed transnational networks.

**Table 2.** Comparison of assessment of living conditions in Poland versus China/Vietnam (RDS sample; % data)

Year of first arrival:	Chinese			Vietnamese		
	before 2013	after 2013	total	until 2013	after 2013	total
<b>Assessment of living conditions: rather better or much better in PL (=1) compared with CN/VN</b>						
financial situation	38	45	<b>42</b>	96	89	<b>94</b>
professional development	19	24	<b>22</b>	85	74	<b>82</b>
availability of education	75	67	<b>71</b>	94	91	<b>93</b>
quality of medical care	58	67	<b>62</b>	98	100	<b>99</b>
condition of the natural environment	97	100	<b>98</b>	96	100	<b>97</b>

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample - weighted data with using STATA 12.

In line with our argument regarding the growing importance of non-economic factors to decision about emigration, we analysed the ways in which both migrant groups compare different aspects of life between China and Poland (see Table 2). The results indicate that in terms of financial situation and professional development, for the Chinese respondents, Poland is less attractive than home. In contrast, most of the Vietnamese respondents reported that financial situation (94%) and professional development (82%) is better in Poland. The non-economic factors, however, are decisive in terms of Poland as an attractive destination for both

groups. Poland is rated highly in terms of education and medical care (in particular among the Vietnamese) as well as the natural environment.

**Table 3.** The biggest loss when leaving PL for Chinese and Vietnamese (RDS sample; % data)

Year of first arrival:	Chinese			Vietnamese		
	until 2013	after 2013	all	until 2013	after 2013	all
<b>Kind of loss:</b>						
professional development opportunities	0	3	1	9	16	11
income level	0	8	4	21	4	16
lifestyle	24	16	20	11	8	10
quality of life	14	29	21	49	30	44
good conditions for raising children	11	35	23	9	34	16
network - friends and acquaintances	7	8	8	1	8	3
other	43	3	23	0	0	0

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample - weighted data with using STATA 12.

When we compare these results to the statistics on the greatest perceived loss in case of leaving Poland (see Table 3), both groups most strongly value the quality of life and good environment for raising children. Once again, the income level or professional development were mentioned less frequently, in particular among the Chinese.

**Table 4.** Changing aspirations during first and current stay (year of research = 2017) among Chinese and Vietnamese migrants (RDS sample; % data)

Year of first arrival:	Chinese			Vietnamese		
	until 2013	after 2013	all	until 2013	after 2013	all
<b>Changing of aspirations: =1 if previously neutral/no important and currently rather important/very important</b>						
making money	26	21	24	6	4	6
professional development	18	7	12	4	6	5
business development	9	10	10	7	3	6
staying longer in PL	27	19	23	7	100	6
children's education	20	11	16	8	100	6

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample - weighted data with using STATA 12.

When comparing the change of aspirations among both groups during their first and current residence in Poland (see Table 4) the greatest change is visible among the Chinese migrants, in particular regarding income, settlement or children's education (which might be related to actually starting family in this time period). Among the Vietnamese the change of aspirations doesn't exceed 6%, which shows that as a group they display more stable attitudes regarding their emigration goals than the Chinese.

**Table 5.** Employment sector among Chinese and Vietnamese migrants: before arrival, during the first stay, during the current stay in PL (RDS sample; % data)

Time points:	Chinese			Vietnamese		
	before arrival	first stay	current stay	before arrival	first stay	current stay
<b>Employment sector:</b>						
agriculture	0	0	0	31	0	0
production (industry and craft)	4	0	0	25	6	12
wholesale and retail trade	39	56	35	24	38	54
hospitality and tourism	0	2	5	0	0	1
gastronomy	8	10	8	2	13	2
renovation and finishing off services, construction	8	7	10	5	4	0
household services	0	0	0	0	27	16
education / translations	6	7	1	1	1	1
IT / technology / communication	13	10	30	2	1	2
finance / banking / accounting	3	0	1	3	0	0
consulting / marketing	5	3	5	0	0	0
law	0	2	3	0	0	0
other	13	3	1	8	10	12

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample - weighted data with using STATA 12.

In both groups the dominant employment sector is trade, and to a lesser degree, gastronomy, which constitute the core of ethnic enclave economy. A look at the percentage of Chinese and Vietnamese respondents employed in those sectors during the first and present stay in Poland (see Table 5) shows a drop in trade employment among the Chinese in favour of a greater employment in IT and communications sector – which can be only partly justified by the growing presence of Chinese expatriates in Poland. No such trend is visible among the Vietnamese, where the greatest percentage remains employed in trade and gastronomy.

**Table 6.** "Loyalty" to the ethnic sector and back to the ethnic sector upon arrival among Chinese and Vietnamese migrants (RDS sample; % data)

Year of first arrival:	Chinese			Vietnamese		
	until 2013	after 2013	all	until 2013	after 2013	all
"Loyalty" to the ethnic sector (=1 if no change ethnic sector before arrival, during: first or current stay in PL)*	23	29	26	26	36	29
Back to ethnic sector upon arrival to PL (=1 if individuals who did work outside ethnic sector before arrival to PL and working in ethnic sector during current stay in PL)**	30	72	53	82	51	74

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample - weighted data with using STATA 12.

\*Note: "Loyalty" to the ethnic sector - included individuals who did not work anywhere (or no information about sector) at some of these three time points; included individuals who did work at only one of three time points N=4 (but never in these three points outside ethnic sector).

\*\*Note: Back to ethnic sector upon arrival to PL - excluded individuals who did not work before arrival to PL.



As we can see in Table 6, 26% of Chinese and 29% Vietnamese remained within the ethnic economy both prior to and throughout their emigration. 53% of Chinese and over 74% Vietnamese have taken up work in ethnic economy immediately after arriving to Poland, possibly as a result of their human capital devaluation.

The above results point to the growing importance and impact of non-economic factors on migrant settlement plans. They also show that economic success and professional development are of secondary importance in migrant motivation and decision making.

## 4.2. Chinese and Vietnamese integration patterns and economic success factors – logistic and OLS regression results

**Table 7.** Economic integration (or success) – logistic and OLS regression results.

Variables	Logistic regression				OLS regression	
	(CN) Outside ethnic enclave economy	(VN) Outside ethnic enclave economy	(CN) Satisfying job	(VN) Satisfying job	(CN) Log net income	(VN) Log net income
	A		B		C	
Log net income			1.233*** (0.451)	1.676*** (0.578)		
Arrival after 2013	-1.922 (1.763)	0.463 (1.112)	-3.343*** (1.262)	-2.817*** (1.060)	-0.457* (0.248)	-0.536*** (0.174)
Years spent in PL	-0.172 (0.223)	-0.0304 (0.0977)	-0.246** (0.122)	-0.0620 (0.0535)	0.00759 (0.0322)	-0.0123 (0.00908)
Age at arrival	-0.0393 (0.115)	0.0715** (0.0304)	0.0640 (0.0671)	-0.0829** (0.0383)	-0.00775 (0.0168)	-0.00589 (0.00775)
Female	-2.601*** (0.958)	-0.127 (0.648)	-0.864 (0.869)	-0.881 (0.680)	-0.824*** (0.212)	-0.206 (0.143)
Married	0.106 (1.192)	-0.708 (0.760)	-1.479 (1.309)	-0.424 (0.773)	-0.0678 (0.250)	-0.404** (0.187)
University degree+	8.128*** (2.636)	0.350 (1.046)	1.094 (0.832)	-0.177 (1.350)	0.730*** (0.182)	0.0525 (0.157)
Good Polish proficiency	1.889 (1.707)	0.374 (0.657)	1.368 (1.236)	0.192 (0.691)	0.0552 (0.303)	0.129 (0.133)
Numb. hhold members in PL	-0.428 (0.546)	-0.000692 (0.180)	0.380 (0.402)	-0.274 (0.267)	-0.0763 (0.126)	0.0374 (0.0604)
Numb. close friends in PL	0.671** (0.328)	0.159 (0.125)	0.129 (0.155)	0.214 (0.166)	0.0186 (0.0561)	0.00999 (0.0243)
Making money	-0.645 (1.049)	-0.220 (1.152)	-0.788 (0.701)	1.305* (0.717)	0.408* (0.217)	0.525** (0.222)
Professional development	1.710 (1.963)	1.315* (0.728)	-0.393 (0.857)	-0.623 (0.917)	-0.213 (0.221)	-0.0572 (0.156)
Business development	-2.913** (1.255)	-2.281*** (0.750)	-0.530 (0.646)	-0.871 (0.706)	0.211 (0.261)	-0.193 (0.201)
Constant	-2.481 (3.223)	-2.258 (2.231)	-8.552** (3.886)	-7.620 (4.985)	8.034*** (0.429)	8.176*** (0.490)
Observations	78	124	65	124	65	128
R-squared					0.556	0.287
Pseudo R2	0.778	0.333	0.474	0.416		
Prob > chi2	0.000359	0.0419	0.000986	0.0148		
Prob > F					3.72e-10	0.000968

Robust standard errors in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample - weighted data with using STATA 12.

Note: CN – Chinese; VN – Vietnamese.

We begin by discussing the results of the models predicting economic integration by working outside of the trade and gastronomy sector (see Table 7; section A). In both groups the

variables related to length of stay in Poland had no significant impact on employment outside of the ethnic enclave economy. For the Vietnamese the age at first arrival was significantly and positively related to economic integration – the higher the age, the higher chance of employment outside of the ethnic enclave. This could be because the Vietnamese sample included persons who emigrated to Poland as children, which could mean that they had a limited choice in regard to taking up employment outside of the family business.

With regard to human capital (represented here as education and knowledge of the Polish language), higher education increased the likelihood of working outside of the ethnic enclave only among the Chinese. It should be noted that the two groups vary significantly with regard to education, with 63% of the Chinese, but only 7% of the Vietnamese reporting higher education. Knowledge of Polish language was relatively poor in both groups and was not significantly related to economic integration. As indicated in the literature, being a woman in either group further decreased chances of work outside of the ethnic enclave economy. It can be explained by the fact that women are more likely to work in family companies or to take care of the household, have fewer opportunities for professional growth. In terms of networks, there was not significantly related to economic integration, although in case of the Chinese, a greater number of non-family Polish friends (see Table 1) could increase chances for work outside of the ethnic enclave economy. Finally, in terms of economic aspirations (professional growth, developing a business) our results show that those interested in growing a business are likely to rely on their established sector due to accumulated experience. In both groups, leaving the ethnic enclave economy is perceived as a sign of professional growth, which was a significant aspiration among the Vietnamese.

We noted significant differences when comparing the results from the models on the likelihood of economic integration with those on economic success, which was defined earlier as job satisfaction or higher income (see Table 7; section B and C). Among both groups, economic success was tied to the variables related to length of stay in Poland. Those who arrived after 2013 were less likely to hold a satisfying job or to report higher income (most likely due to short period of residence). Among the Vietnamese, the higher the age at first arrival, the less of a chance for economic success was reported; however, job satisfaction was not always related to work outside of the ethnic enclave economy. Beyond this, gender played a significant role, with women less likely to hold a satisfying job or having a higher income. Overall, high income was significantly related to the reported job satisfaction among both groups. Once again, human capital, such as higher education, was significantly and positively related to reported income only among the Chinese (see Table 7; section C). There was a clear impact of different aspirations on integration patterns and economic success. Both the Chinese and the Vietnamese focused on income generation have reported higher earnings and job satisfaction.

As we can see, economic integration varied depending on aspirations and was not necessarily tied to higher income. In terms of economic success, those focused on income were often likely to actually remain in the ethnic enclave economy, which was seen as less challenging than striving for professional growth and integration with the mainstream labour market.

### 4.3. Relation between economic integration (or success), non-economic factors and settlement plans – logistic regression results

A key element of our analysis was evaluating whether economic integration or success influenced settlement plans in Poland. Our hypothesis was that non-economic factors would be more relevant for such plans among both the Chinese and the Vietnamese than purely economic incentives. In addition to permanent settlement, we used an alternative variable (desire to remain in Poland for longer), assuming that at the time of the interview some migrants might be unwilling to reveal that they intend to stay permanently. We assumed that settlement plans are related to changing aspirations and that as such the stated intentions are likely to evolve as well.

Unfortunately, due to low variability of some of the non-economic variables comparing life between Poland and the country of origin (ex. nearly all respondents reported natural environment as better or much better in Poland; results regarding quality of medical care or access to education were similarly high, especially among the Vietnamese), we were not able to use them in regression. As a result, we have limited these variables to respondents considering them as “much better,” while acknowledging that many of those choosing to remain in Poland are likely to view the life-quality factors here more favourably.

**Table 8.** Settlement plans – logistic regression results.

VARIABLES	Logistic regression							
	(CN) Staying longer in PL	(CN) Staying permanently in PL	(CN) Staying longer in PL	(CN) Staying permanently in PL	(VN) Staying longer in PL	(VN) Staying permanently in PL	(VN) Staying longer in PL	(VN) Staying permanently in PL
	A		B		C		D	
Years spent in PL	0.140 (0.0856)	0.0840 (0.141)	0.147 (0.0927)	0.0415 (0.0942)	-0.110 (0.135)	0.0419 (0.0476)	-0.0748 (0.127)	0.0865 (0.0614)
University degree+	-2.272 (1.424)	3.805* (2.191)	-1.103 (0.974)	0.332 (1.178)	-2.276* (1.175)	1.850 (1.291)	-3.651** (1.449)	1.940* (1.139)
Good Polish proficiency	0.433 (1.165)	1.287 (1.862)	0.0138 (1.204)	0.899 (1.499)	1.281 (1.036)	0.623 (1.015)	1.985* (1.063)	0.767 (1.078)
Natural environment	-1.021 (0.931)	3.223** (1.465)	-0.777 (0.857)	1.691 (1.422)	-0.0839 (1.551)	-3.950** (1.808)	-1.725 (1.497)	-4.706*** (1.721)
Quality of medical care	-0.113 (1.310)	-4.160* (2.236)	-1.088 (1.138)	-0.956 (1.417)	3.865*** (1.130)	2.797** (1.229)	4.028*** (1.474)	2.637** (1.048)
Availability of education	4.692*** (1.727)	3.035** (1.299)	5.110*** (1.723)	2.285* (1.272)	0.339 (1.328)	-0.504 (0.959)	0.351 (1.407)	-1.009 (1.158)
Children’s education	2.875*** (0.947)	-0.0188 (1.080)	3.027*** (0.973)	0.241 (0.865)	3.293** (1.345)	-0.238 (1.029)	4.627*** (1.633)	0.676 (1.017)
Numb. hhold members in PL	0.816* (0.451)	0.780** (0.328)	0.935** (0.419)	0.777*** (0.296)	1.067 (0.667)	0.253 (0.329)	0.467 (0.489)	-0.0412 (0.330)
<b>Outside ethnic enclave econ.</b>	<b>1.208</b> <b>(1.475)</b>	<b>-4.834*</b> <b>(2.556)</b>			<b>-0.417</b> <b>(1.309)</b>	<b>-0.100</b> <b>(0.790)</b>		
<b>Satisfying job</b>			<b>0.651</b> <b>(0.871)</b>	<b>-0.933</b> <b>(0.877)</b>			<b>0.737</b> <b>(1.748)</b>	<b>-2.582***</b> <b>(0.969)</b>
Constant	-2.590** (1.064)	-6.263*** (2.145)	-3.307*** (1.117)	-4.531** (1.916)	-2.062 (2.878)	1.290 (1.518)	-1.921* (1.014)	3.887** (1.666)
Observations	49	45	54	49	84	83	92	90
Pseudo R2	0.595	0.482	0.601	0.372	0.754	0.329	0.735	0.414
Prob > chi2	0.0223	0.00541	0.0262	0.0282	0.000204	0.0425	0.000612	0.0139

Robust standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample - weighted data with using STATA 12.  
Note: CN – Chinese; VN – Vietnamese.

Our results (see Table 8) have clearly indicated that economic factors – whether integration or economic success – have no relevance toward decision to remain in Poland, both among the Chinese and the Vietnamese. In most cases, work outside of trade and gastronomy as well as the reported job satisfaction (which was often tied to income) were statistically non-significant, or reduced (outside ethnic enclave economy for Chinese – see Table 8, section A; and satisfying job for Vietnamese – see Table 8, section D) the likelihood of settlement in Poland. The results demonstrate that non-economic variables had the most relevance toward settlement plans both in the short and long-term perspective. There were however differences among the two groups. Among the Chinese, education access was significantly and positively related to plans to remain longer or to settle. In both groups, for those reporting children's education as important, school access had a significant and positive impact on settlement plans – as long as children could attend school in Poland, the respondents intended to stay. Among the Vietnamese, another key variable for both short-term plans and for permanent settlement was the quality of medical care in Poland. Finally, the impact of quality of natural environment was inconclusive (although significant for long-term settlement among the Chinese), and while appreciated by both groups, it was not a decisive factor toward deciding to remain in Poland.

The control variables related to length of stay were not significant to the settlement plans. In terms of human capital, a higher level of education significantly increased the likelihood of permanently settling in Poland; while the knowledge of Polish was a significant factor only among the Vietnamese. Overall, those planning to settle declared a better knowledge of the language and among both groups (in particular the Chinese) those planning to settle brought their families to Poland.

Due to the small sample and data restrictions in models where settlement plans were used as dependent variable, we also present alternative methods of classification for binary non-economic factors (see Appendix 3). However, in both cases the results are highly similar.

## **5. Discussions**

Our research indicates a growing diversity in settlement motivation among the Chinese and Vietnamese in Poland, in particular due to importance of non-economic factors related to quality of life and an environment for raising children. The patterns of economic integration, traditionally at the centre of emigration projects in both groups are also diversifying beyond the traditional ethnic enclave economy and focus on making money. Despite certain shared elements, the Chinese and Vietnamese migrants in Poland differ in their integration patterns. While the younger Chinese often hold a satisfying job and report higher income levels, they are less inclined to remain in Poland in comparison to the Vietnamese, who raise their families in Poland while continuing to work in the ethnic niche. The Vietnamese in turn are less likely to move out to the mainstream economy. The shared characteristic for both groups, however is their appreciation of non-economic aspects of life, which make Poland an attractive destination.

We acknowledge several limitations of our research. Firstly, an important group, not represented in our sample, but studied in the literature (Nowicka, 2015; Szymańska-Matusiewicz, 2016) as well as our own follow-up interviews, are the Vietnamese second-

generation migrants. This group attempts to navigate the cultural differences and economic opportunities between Poland and Vietnam. While some are known to successfully pursue local careers in IT, management and finance, others attempt to draw on their bicultural skills and transnational connections to Vietnam, going beyond the ethnic enclave economy. Yet others might fall back on the experience and resources of their parents, starting a business (such as a restaurant) grounded in the community. More detailed information would certainly allow for a richer comparison between an established Vietnamese community, and the influx of more recent Chinese arrivals; however, as we were limited to qualitative interviews, we could not include second-generation Vietnamese in our analysis. Our comparison of two groups has shown significant differences in terms of the job undertaken by each of the groups. Chinese are better integrated economically, when integration is measured strictly by work outside of the ethnic enclave. It should be noted, however that among the Chinese, more respondents had higher education, which translated into jobs in IT, technology and communications. An inclusion of second-generation Vietnamese could reveal a higher level of Vietnamese employment in high-tech sector.

Secondly, during the survey implementation, we encountered resistance in both groups to sharing income information, and as a result the available numbers are limited and might be lower than the actual earnings.

Finally, many of the respondents indicated that living conditions in Poland were better than in their country of origin. However, the low variability of some of the non-economic variables made it impossible to use such statistics in a model, and as a result our final analysis was limited to those answers marked only as “much better.”

## **Conclusions**

When measuring economic integration by work outside of the ethnic enclave, we observe gradual progress in integration among both of the groups, although taking place at a slower pace among the Vietnamese. It should be noted, that the Chinese working outside of the ethnic enclave are relatively young and mostly recent arrivals. Economic integration, however, is not related to the length of stay, but rather to accumulation of the human capital gained from one’s education and to the resulting competitiveness with the local workforce. To fully account for such factors, however, it would be necessary to compare career paths of both younger Chinese and Vietnamese.

Our research also indicates that the idea of economic success can be quite different from economic integration. Job satisfaction and high income are often related, but don’t seem to depend on the industry or the kind of work done. What’s more, economic success or economic integration as measured by work outside of the ethnic enclave economy are not decisive as factors in choosing Poland as migrant destination. On the contrary, those working outside of ethnic economy tend to be more mobile and less likely to report desire to settle in Poland.

Vietnamese indicated having a better financial situation in Poland than at home much more frequently than the Chinese. For both groups however, the key role in decisions regarding emigration and settlement was played by the non-economic factors, in particular the natural environment, access to education and medical care.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. List of variables used in explanatory analyses

Variables	Abbreviations	Full name/type/other information
<b>1) Dependent</b>		
Economic integration or success	Outside ethnic enclave economy	Outside ethnic enclave economy (sector outside: wholesale and retail trade, and gastronomy); (binary: 1 – outside ethnic economy; 0 – otherwise)
	Satisfying job	Having a satisfying job (binary: 1 – having a satisfying job; 0 – otherwise)
	Log net income	Natural log of net monthly income (method – not working individuals ex. students were added to first bracket of net income)  Natural log of middle value of bracket of net monthly income (brackets: 1.<= 1000PLN; 2. 1001 - 1500 PLN; 3. 1501 - 2000 PLN; 4. 2001 - 3000 PLN; 5. 3001 - 5000 PLN; 6. 5001 - 7000 PLN; 7. 7001 –10000 PLN; 8. > 10000 PLN.)
Settlement plans	Staying longer in PL	Binary (1 – staying longer in PL – rather + very important; 0- otherwise)
	Staying permanently in PL	Binary (1 – staying longer in PL – rather + very important; 0- otherwise)
<b>2) Independent</b>		
Control	Arrival after 2013	Binary (1 - arrival after 2013; 0 – otherwise)
	Years spent in PL	Years spent in PL (full years) - continuous
Demographic	Age at arrival	Continuous
	Female	Binary (1-female; 0 – otherwise)
Human capital	University degree+	Binary (1-belchelor’s degree or higher degree; 0 – otherwise)
	Good Polish proficiency	Binary (1 - polish language understanding: very well or well; 0 – otherwise)
Network - family – spouse - family - household members in host country - close friends (family members excluded) in host country	Married	Binary (1 - married; 0 – otherwise)
	Numb. hhold members in PL	Number of household members in PL - continuous
	Numb. close friends in PL	Number of close friends in PL - continuous
Aspirations during current stay: rather important + very important	Making money	Binary (1 - making money – rather + very important; 0- otherwise)
	Professional develop.	Binary (1 – professional development – rather + very important; 0- otherwise)
	Business develop.	Binary (1 – business development – rather + very important; 0- otherwise)
	Children’s education	Binary (1 – children’s education – rather + very important; 0- otherwise)
Assessment of living conditions: much better in PL compared with China or Vietnam	Natural environment	Binary (1 – natural environment in PL – much better; 0- otherwise)
	Quality of medical care	Binary (1 – quality of medical care in PL – much better; 0- otherwise)
	Availability of education	Binary (1 – quality of education in PL – much better; 0- otherwise)

## Appendix 2. Summary statistics of variables used in explanatory analyses.

Binary (=1) and category variables										
	Chinese					Vietnamese				
	Obs.	Percent (weighted)				Obs.	Percent (weighted)			
Outside ethnic enclave economy	86	56.44%				135	44.48%			
Satisfying job	97	50.29%				144	68.05%			
Staying permanently in PL	88	31.33%				142	63.10%			
Staying longer in PL	90	45.59%				144	75.69%			
Female	99	42.38%				149	72.24%			
Married	99	54.91%				148	63.27%			
Arrival after 2013	99	49.72%				149	26.22%			
University degree+	98	63.58%				149	7.28%			
Good Polish proficiency	99	17.43%				149	27.16%			
Making money	92	49.66%				146	88.12%			
Professional development	91	56.46%				145	60.84%			
Business development	90	31.82%				146	46.50%			
Children's education	78	48.73%				136	62.88%			
Natural environment	97	76.46%				148	80.03%			
Quality of medical care	76	13.22%				124	59.37%			
Availability of education	89	12.63%				105	39.06%			
Continuous variables										
	Chinese					Vietnamese				
	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max	Obs.	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Log net income*	71	7.87	0.93	6.21	9.21	140	7.75	0.68	6.21	9.05
Age at arrival	99	28.45	9.28	2	50	149	34.92	14.32	8	60
Numbers of household members in PL	99	1.18	1.40	0	5	148	0.82	1.19	0	8
Numbers of close friends in PL	98	2.33	2.34	0	10	144	2.90	2.19	0	10
Years spent in PL	99	4.59	5.36	0	32	149	8.13	6.82	0	49
		<b>Percent (weighted)</b>					<b>Percent (weighted)</b>			
<=5years		53%					38%			
> 5 years		47%					62%			

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample – weighted data with using STATA 12.

\* Note: Log net income was originally presented as categorical variable with brackets, so the min and max after transformation to natural log refers to the middle value of bracket. It means that also individuals with zero income are included in the first bracket (the middle value for the first bracket after transformation to natural log is 6.21 = 500PLN).

**Appendix 3. Settlement plans – logistic regression results (with alternative methods of calculations\*).**

VARIABLES	Logistic regression							
	(CN)	(CN)	(CN)	(CN)	(VN)	(VN)	(VN)	(VN)
	Staying longer in PL	Staying permanently in PL	Staying longer in PL	Staying permanently in PL	Staying longer in PL	Staying permanently in PL	Staying longer in PL	Staying permanently in PL
A		B		C		D		
Years spent in PL	0.145 (0.0915)	0.0313 (0.0897)	0.166 (0.109)	-0.00420 (0.0784)	-0.0828 (0.0560)	-0.00352 (0.0391)	-0.00749 (0.0587)	0.0516 (0.0415)
University degree+	-1.270 (0.974)	0.443 (0.939)	-0.0533 (0.780)	-0.00889 (0.752)	-0.571 (1.078)	2.413** (0.970)	-2.179** (0.971)	1.430* (0.740)
Good Polish proficiency	1.138 (1.061)	1.743 (1.314)	0.437 (1.126)	1.478 (1.246)	0.230 (0.847)	0.636 (0.783)	0.583 (0.861)	0.691 (0.740)
Natural environment*	-0.653 (0.797)	1.987* (1.097)	0.0708 (0.734)	1.493 (1.089)	-2.679** (1.155)	-2.981** (1.175)	-1.650* (0.976)	-2.916*** (1.045)
Quality of medical care*	-0.701 (1.100)	-1.541 (0.987)	-1.975* (1.195)	-0.871 (1.021)	2.137** (0.890)	1.881** (0.894)	2.077*** (0.773)	1.934** (0.810)
Availability of education*	4.422*** (1.640)	2.097** (0.974)	4.686** (1.823)	1.680 (1.052)	0.784 (1.054)	-0.948 (0.750)	0.759 (0.923)	-0.989 (0.782)
Children's education	1.278 (0.902)	-1.170 (0.950)	1.742* (0.898)	-0.899 (0.823)	2.435*** (0.924)	0.309 (0.703)	2.640*** (0.749)	0.526 (0.675)
Numb. hhold members in PL	0.702* (0.379)	0.717** (0.293)	0.773** (0.327)	0.900*** (0.302)	0.127 (0.513)	0.141 (0.221)	0.187 (0.297)	0.0613 (0.211)
<b>Outside ethnic enclave econ.</b>	<b>0.723</b> <b>(0.936)</b>	<b>-1.602*</b> <b>(0.934)</b>			<b>-0.622</b> <b>(0.848)</b>	<b>-0.00768</b> <b>(0.688)</b>		
<b>Satisfying job</b>			<b>-0.0464</b> <b>(0.763)</b>	<b>-0.576</b> <b>(0.693)</b>			<b>-0.830</b> <b>(0.768)</b>	<b>-2.158***</b> <b>(0.702)</b>
Constant	-1.952** (0.865)	-3.287** (1.380)	-2.847*** (0.924)	-3.208** (1.321)	2.255 (1.448)	1.621 (1.246)	0.837 (1.071)	2.733*** (0.951)
Observations	68	61	76	67	129	126	138	132
Pseudo R2	0.458	0.338	0.431	0.304	0.500	0.239	0.482	0.326
Prob > chi2	0.0534	0.00803	0.0203	0.0118	0.00543	0.114	0.0181	0.0150

Robust standard errors in parentheses

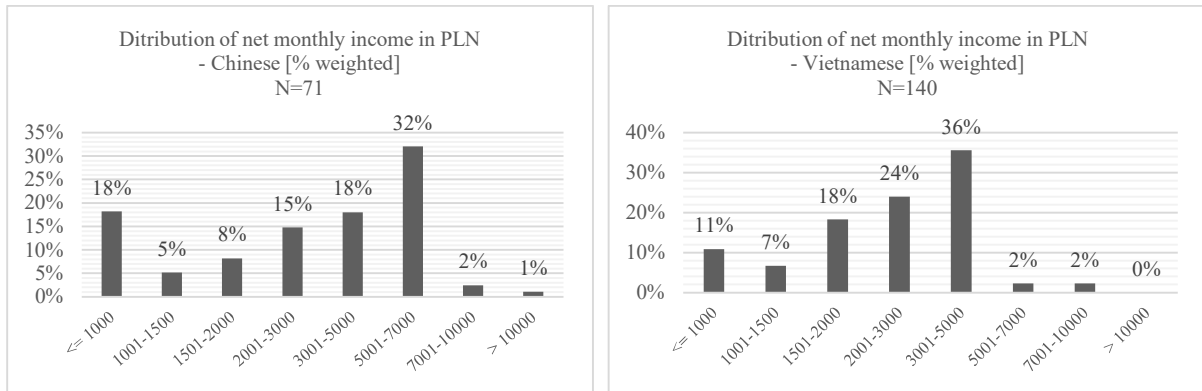
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample - weighted data with using STATA 12.

Note: CN – Chinese; VN – Vietnamese.

\*Due to small sample we used also alternative method of classification non-economic variables (originally binary variables were classified as 1 when respondent's answer was much better and 0 – when respondent's answer was: rather better, the same, rather worse, much worse. Answers: 'difficult to say' or no answer were excluded from the sample; in alternative methods 'difficult to say' was classified as 0 and included in the analyses).

**Appendix 4.** Distribution of net income in PLN [%] among Chinese, Vietnamese (RDS sample).



Source: Own calculations based on RDS 2017 sample – weighted data with using STATA 12.