



Wroclaw University
of Economics and Business

Faculty of Economics and Finance

Nataliia Boichuk

**Economic determinants of education migration from Ukraine to Poland
(with particular emphasis on Wroclaw)**

Doctoral dissertation abstract

Research Supervisor:

prof. dr hab. Romuald Jończy

Assistant Supervisor:

dr inż. Justyna Rokitowska-Malcher

Wroclaw 2023

People are constantly acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to function in society. Education begins at their birth and continues throughout life. In former times, learning took place mainly through imitation of the behaviour of parents and the environment. The development of civilisation led to the emergence of organised forms of education and educational establishments, where writing and arithmetic were taught, and knowledge of the surrounding world was transmitted. In many cultures, various learning centres akin to higher education institutions also developed, bringing together scientists and promoting science in society. In order to acquire and deepen knowledge, it was necessary not only to have an aptitude for learning but also to have the necessary wealth to cover travel and study costs. Formal education was not universal but was regarded as the privilege of certain social groups, which usually included the clergy, aristocracy and other wealthy people. For a long time, the access to elementary education and higher education was limited. It was no sooner than after the Second World War that primary schooling was made compulsory in most countries of the world as part of the fight against illiteracy. At that time, universal higher education also began to develop, after a while transforming from an elitist to a mass phenomenon. More and more higher education institutions appeared, and the number of people willing to study increased. In the case of Central and Eastern European countries, these processes intensified with the transformation of individual centrally controlled economies into free market economies.

Foreign educational migration 'to high school', one of the basic contemporary forms of mobility, is a multifaceted phenomenon of population movement to acquire knowledge and personal development associated with overcoming national borders and individual limitations. According to UNESCO estimates, the number of international students worldwide in 2000 was 2 million, while in 2020, there was a threefold increase of 6.3 million.

Over the past two decades, student mobility has occurred in the form of three waves (Choudaha, 2017):

- the first wave of mobility (1999-2006) was driven by increased demand for highly qualified talent for economic and technological development. Foreign students were attracted by universities. At the same time, foreigners received financial support in the form of scholarships and other economic benefits due to the gaps in specific sectors of the labour market that they could fill after their education,
- the second wave of mobility (2006-2013) emerged as a result of the global financial crisis, which made it necessary for universities to attract international students to benefit financially by charging tuition fees,

- the third wave of mobility (2013-2020) was based on a trend towards increased competition between new and traditional educational destinations to attract international students. International students also had growing expectations regarding career fulfilment and employment opportunities in general.

At this moment in time, student mobility is likely to change in response to the Sars-Cov-2 pandemic, and therefore new rationales and dorms will appear.

Going by historical data, in 2000, more than five in ten international students were attracted to a relatively small number of destinations, i.e. the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and France (OECD, 2006). Today, mobile talent flows remain highly geographically concentrated around the world, and mobility pathways are deeply rooted in historical patterns (OECD, 2022). However, the increase in mobility opportunities for citizens of underdeveloped and developing countries is slightly changing the previous destination in favour of countries not previously seen as higher education host countries but as sending countries. For example, until recently, Poland was not very open to foreigners and was treated as a country sending students to study abroad. Since Poland's accession to the European Union and thanks to programmes encouraging mobility, this situation has changed, attracting foreign candidates to study. People from all corners of the world have begun to arrive in the country to acquire higher education, and the largest share of foreign students in Poland has for many years been Ukrainian citizens (Szkolnictwo wyższe i jego finanse, 2004-2021).

The educational migration of Ukrainian youth to Poland began due to government programmes aimed at supporting people of Polish origin, popularising the Polish language and Polish culture in the countries of the former Soviet Union. The chance to acquire higher education in Poland was mainly offered to the descendants of the Polish population who, due to historical history, remained on Ukrainian territory. When Poland opened to foreign students, more and more people of non-Polish origin started to enrol in higher education in Poland. At that time, Ukrainian citizens saw a foreign education as an opportunity to increase their own attractiveness in the labour market in their country of origin and abroad. Furthermore, Ukraine's deepening political and economic crisis resulted in increased educational migration to Poland. After the Euromaidan, the annexation of Crimea and the start of the armed conflict in the Donbas, more and more young people decided to study in Poland, as evidenced by statistics (Szkolnictwo wyższe i jego finanse, 2004-2021).

Because of the increased inflow of Ukrainian citizens to Poland, it has become important to find out the durability of educational migration from Ukraine. Therefore, educational migration from Ukraine to Poland was chosen as the object of the dissertation research.

In the earlier period of educational migration from Ukraine to Poland (from the 1990s until around 2012), the largest number of Ukrainian students could be observed in academic centres in the east and in the capital. It can be concluded that the distance from the home country had a significant role. However, trends are changing, and Ukrainian nationals have spread throughout Poland. The influx of Ukrainian youth in the western parts of the country is increasing every year. Wrocław, a developing city and one of the biggest academic centres, largely attracts foreign students, about half of whom are Ukrainian citizens. It is also worth mentioning that between 1944 and 1946, Poles from the Eastern Borderlands were displaced to the territory of Lower Silesia, while their relatives remained in Ukraine. It can therefore be assumed that young people from Ukraine are more likely to choose to study in Wrocław because of their migration networks. On the other hand, the city itself may be a pull factor, as it is not only a strong and thriving large urban centre but is also a major academic centre – of its 630,000 inhabitants, one-fifth (130,000 people) are students (Study in Wrocław, n.d.). Wrocław's universities are characterised by the high quality of education, as confirmed by their leading positions in national university rankings (Perspektywy, 2022). The educational offer is diversified, allowing students to choose courses of study that are tailored to labour market trends. Considering the above arguments, it was assumed that this study will address educational migration from Ukraine to Poland, focusing on the Wrocław academic centre.

Research questions, goals and hypotheses

The dissertation attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the reasons for Ukrainian citizens to study in Poland, and what is the importance of economic and other factors in studying in Poland?
2. What proportion (share, structure) of Ukrainian students of Polish/non-Polish origin are willing to stay in Poland after graduation?

In reference to these questions, the main goals of the dissertation were:

1. To determine the reasons for Ukrainian citizens to study in Poland and the importance of economic factors in these reasons.
2. To establish the intentions of Ukrainian students regarding the permanence of their stay in Poland.
3. To identify variations in migration preferences between Ukrainian students according to having/not having Polish origin.

Given the objectives set in the dissertation, three hypotheses were formulated:

H1. The main reason for Ukrainian citizens to study in Poland is the economic aspects.

H2. Ukrainian students have the intention of staying permanently in their country of education after completing their studies in Poland.

H3. Ukrainian students with a Polish origin are more likely to stay permanently in Poland than those without.

Chapter 1. The theoretical background of migration processes

Population migration is a phenomenon that has occurred since the dawn of time. But the first research focused on the migration processes was in the 19th century when Ravenstein formulated the famous 'laws of migration'. He argued that migration is an integral part of development and that the main causes of movement are economic. Currently, the mobility of people is very intensive due to, among other things, the possibility of free movement of citizens within the borders of the European Union countries, international agreements between individual countries concerning border crossing and armed conflicts that cause uncontrolled population movements. Migration has become a powerful factor co-shaping the history of continents, ancient empires and modern states, families, tribes and modern national communities (Kubiak & Slany, 1999). In recent years, however, population mobility has been more ambiguous, multifaceted and variable than it once was (Jończy, 2022). Problems arise in defining the concept of a migrant and the phenomenon of migration due to, inter alia, difficulties in specifying the timeframe and permanence of displacements, the isolation of a specific purpose and the clarity of records of migration movements. This results in dilemmas in migration research and the need to adapt research methods to new realities.

In this chapter, reflections on the concept of migration from the point of view of researchers from different disciplines have been made. Migration has been classified in terms of its causes, purpose, duration of stay, distance and geographical characteristics, quantitative aspect, the way in which movement is organised, the legal aspect and the nature of the decisions taken. Theories of migration are presented that trace its causes to various sources – economic, personal, political, legal, security and the accumulation of these factors. Among the geographical theories presented, the theoretical foundations of Ravenstein's theory of gravity, Zelinsky's theory of mobility transition, Stouffer's theory of intervening opportunity. Among economic theories of migration, neoclassical theory, New Economic of Labour Market theory, world system theory, dual labour market theory and human capital theory are described. As far as sociological

theories of migration are concerned, attention has been given to push-pull theory, migration network theory, institutional theory and cumulative causation theory. The review of definitions and selected migration theories can be summarised by the fact that an interdisciplinary approach should be used when studying the phenomenon of migration, considering the work of economists as well as sociologists, demographers, geographers, political scientists and even psychologists. This is due to the complexity of migration flows and their determinants. Hein de Haas (2021) argues that qualitative researchers often reject the idea of explanatory theories of migration as naively positivistic. Quantitative research, on the other hand, does not usually go beyond the functionalist 'push-pull' perspective according to which migrants are subjects seeking to maximise income or utility. The multifaceted nature and complexity of the migration process, as well as its transformations related, among other things, to the development of the information society, suggests the need for an in-depth analysis of the determinants of population movements in an era of widespread digitalisation, rapid information flow and the absence of the need to overcome physical borders. In both quantitative approaches to migration studies and qualitative approaches, researchers have failed to adequately capture the important role of hard-to-quantify structural factors such as inequality, power and positions in shaping migration processes, or to develop a meaningful idea of human agency beyond the voluntary assumptions of neoclassical models or the portrayal of migrants as more or less passive victims of capitalist forces that is common in historical-structural theories. Despite this, each of the emerging migration theories reflects this phenomenon in some way. Furthermore, the described theories can also be attributed to educational migration, which has been increasing in recent years due to, among other things, an expansion of the population's educational aspirations, as well as culturally established patterns of behaviour. Consequently, researchers are attempting to find a universal set of push and pull factors to explain population flows geared towards the acquisition of knowledge and skills.

Chapter 2. External migration from Ukraine after 1991 against the background of socio-political changes

At the end of the last century, population movements took place mainly due to the new territorial division of the various countries and the transformation of centrally controlled economies into free market economies, which resulted from the collapse of the Soviet Union. Ukraine, freeing itself from the control of the USSR, faced many economic problems, which

resulted in an exodus of people abroad in search of better wages and means to improve their living situation. The aim of this chapter was to present the factors initiating the migration movements of Ukrainian citizens (after the country's independence in 1991), which include political and constitutional changes, as well as socio-economic changes. In order to identify the determinants of increasing educational migration, the problems occurring in the country's education system were identified. Then, changes in the intensity of migration flows of Ukrainian youth abroad for higher education were presented and analysed, focusing on Poland as a destination country.

Over the last decade, the socio-demographic characteristics of Ukrainian migrants have changed (i.e. the share of young people with higher education has increased), as well as the geographical determinants of migration flows have changed (Poland has become the main destination country for migration, previously trips to Russia were predominant). Ukrainian citizens have the largest share of migrants in Poland and the Czech Republic. Among the current trends regarding Ukrainian emigration, one can distinguish an increase in the migration of young professionals, small and medium-sized entrepreneurs and a clear feminisation of migration outflows. For Ukrainian citizens, emigration has become a way of solving the problems of finding a job guaranteeing a decent wage and a reduced standard of living due to economic, political and social instability. In addition, despite the economic factors of migration, there has been a security issue related initially to the situation in the east of the country and now throughout Ukraine.

In turn, the main reasons for migratory movements among young people include the growing popularity of education abroad, increased family reunification processes, young men travelling abroad to avoid military service, as well as the deteriorating economic situation in Ukraine.

Chapter 3. Empirical research area and methodology

The research area selection and methodology were key elements of the research process, the results of which are described in this dissertation. Chapter 3 began with a characterisation of the research area – Wrocław as an academic centre attracting many students, including students from Ukraine. The history of the development of higher education in the city was described. The dynamics of changes in interest in higher education at Wrocław universities, starting from 1945, were analysed. Changes in the number of foreign students studying since 1976 are also presented.

Wroclaw's academic centre today attracts many students from all corners of Poland and the world. The universities' reputation in the city, the wide range of educational opportunities on offer and the efforts to internationalise higher education are all conducive to increasing the influx of people wishing to obtain higher education. More than half of the foreigners studying in Wroclaw are citizens of Ukraine. Their number – as in Poland as a whole – increased intensively between 2015 and 2018. In 2020, there was a slight decrease in the number of Ukrainian students.

The chapter also includes a description of the process of designing the research tool and conducting the empirical research. Empirical research among Ukrainian students studying at Wroclaw universities proved to be necessary to find out the characteristics of the population, the reasons why Ukrainian citizens migrate to Poland, the factors determining their studies in Poland, as well as the factors influencing their future place of residence.

The design of the survey tool was an important part of the research process – changes were made depending on learning new aspects of migration during the pilot, expert opinion, and changing circumstances related to the outbreak of war in Ukraine. In addition, at the stage of distribution of questionnaires, it proved to be a challenge to reach respondents due to remote or hybrid teaching, the dispersion of the research sample across different universities and faculties, as well as the impossibility of returning students who were on the territory of Ukraine at the time of the Russian invasion. Despite this, the data collected allowed conclusions to be drawn from the study sample.

Chapter 4. Determinants of educational migration from Ukraine to Poland in the light of empirical research

The chapter provides a general characterisation of the respondents, based on which a description of the silhouette of an educational migrant from Ukraine is presented (concerning such characteristics as gender, age, marital status, place of residence in Ukraine and family ties with Poland). A typical respondent-educational migrant in the sample was a young person (male or female), unmarried, coming from a large urban centre, who, after completing secondary education at the age of 17-18, took up higher education in Poland. In addition, almost half of the respondents declared having at least partial Polish origin, which suggests the existence of links between nationality and the destination of migration flows. At the same time, only 18.5% of the respondents held a Pole's Card.

The type of tertiary institution (public/non-public), fields of study, mode (full-time/extramural) and study degrees (bachelor's degree/master's degree) at which the respondents were educated were also analysed, as well as the aspect of payment for studies.

The following part of the chapter contains summaries of the reasons for the arrival of Ukrainian citizens in Poland, the primary aim of which was to show the intentions regarding the migration movements of the surveyed sample. Among the reasons for the arrival of the surveyed young people from Ukraine to Poland, the desire to pursue higher education came first. Nevertheless, respondents also considered other factors of migration in the form of access to the labour market or potential settlement in Poland. Moving to study was also seen as an opportunity to leave Ukraine, with Poland being seen as a transit country 'on the way' to other countries (mainly Western Europe). The motives for migrants to study in Poland rather than in Ukraine or another country were then presented. The factor that had the greatest influence on the choice of Poland as a country of education was its membership in the European Union, which resulted in the possibility of obtaining a diploma recognised in most countries of the world. At the same time, respondents attached relatively less importance to the quality of education in Poland. Other important issues included the conditions of the Polish labour market, to which the respondents achieved broader access than labour migrants by, inter alia, having the status of a student at a Polish higher education institution and, later, the title of graduate, whose employment process is carried out without the need to obtain work permits or declarations of entrusting work to a foreigner. Furthermore, the ease of learning or knowing the Polish language, which is largely similar to Ukrainian, was also taken into account in migration decisions. This indicates that culturally based factors also condition the choice of country of education. The influence of third parties (parents/relatives/acquaintances/partners) on the decision to study outside one's home country was also highly significant, which confirms the assumption of a considerable influence on young people, who in the case of secondary school graduates from Ukraine are usually underage.

Factor analysis enabled the reduction of variables explaining the educational migration of Ukrainian citizens to Poland, also indicating a link to the new economic theory of migration, where individuals decide to go abroad, taking into account family suggestions and economic reasons are the main drivers of these movements.

Factors for choosing a particular type of university and Wroclaw as a city of education were also identified. The choice of the city of the study was determined by the perceived advantages of Wroclaw and the presence of universities and colleges where the migrants

intended to study, although in some cases, both the choice of place and the location of education were random.

Chapter 5. Migration plans of Ukrainian students in the light of empirical research

A key issue related to educational migration for studies, especially concerning migration abroad, is the sustainability of this migration and the question of its possible transformation into definitive migration. This chapter analyses the intentions of the Ukrainian citizens surveyed regarding their future place of residence after graduation, considering staying in Poland, returning to Ukraine or going to another country. It was also decided to examine the impact of the war in Ukraine on the possible change of the respondents' previous migration plans and the factors influencing their post-study decisions.

As the research conducted indicates, the foreign educational migrations of Ukrainian citizens are mostly not temporary migrations aimed at acquiring knowledge and skills in Poland and later using the acquired capital in Ukraine but are rather trips with a definite intention. Studying is probably treated by young people as the first stage of permanent emigration, which corresponds to other studies on educational migration made within Poland, especially for large urban agglomerations (Jończy, Rokita-Poskart, Tanas, 2013; Dolińska, Jończy, Śleszyński, 2020; Rokita-Poskart, 2021; Jończy, 2022). A worrying conclusion for the sending country is that 44.5% of respondents declared their intention to live after graduation in Poland, 35.8% in another country (than Poland and Ukraine), while only one in five respondents planned to return to Ukraine. The spatial variations in future migration plans established on the basis of the research indicate the established migration patterns of people living in the western territories of Ukraine and the existing problems in the local labour market. For those coming from the eastern and southern regions of the country (i.e., from areas where labour market conditions were relatively good), the war significantly impacted their further migration plans. For the respondents, return to Ukraine was often linked to the unstable political situation and the security threat caused by military action, but nevertheless, personal reasons and cultural and religious considerations determined the decision to remigrate despite the uncertain future.

It is important to establish that among the respondents, more people were willing to settle in the country of education than intended to do so before migrating. This may indicate the attractiveness of RP as a place of permanent residence and the increased pulling power of encouraging economic conditions to stay. In addition, the city where the respondents studied is

one of the most preferred places to live after graduation. This may mean that suitable conditions for long-term residence after graduation are being shaped in Wroclaw. This indicates the veracity of the assertion that the shares of those who remain permanently in the place of temporary emigration tend to be higher than the shares of those who anticipated this possibility at the start of this migration.

Going to another country was mainly considered by respondents in the context of the economic conditions there. This suggests a perception of further migration through the prism of the difference in wage levels and the level of prosperity that can be achieved. On the other hand, the outbreak of war in Ukraine has made it necessary to take into account the political factors influencing settlement intentions in countries far removed from Russia, both geographically and in terms of political influence. It is also characteristic that one in four respondents who wanted to go abroad did not have any precise plans regarding the country of future residence at the time of the survey. This may be due to the little life experience of the respondents – some people have only recently entered adulthood, so plans for the future may have changed radically, remaining only unfulfilled dreams. Among the other respondents, the most desirable countries for further migration were Canada, Germany and the USA, for which the profitability of migration was the highest.

Summary and conclusions

The empirical research carried out on Ukrainian citizens studying at universities in the Wroclaw academic centre provided a number of conclusions. At the micro level of the migration analysis, it is possible to conclude that the studied group, within the framework of educational mobility, was mainly driven by the desire to obtain a university degree. In their view, the diploma has an added value on the labour market and, at the same time, a means of indirectly improving their living conditions. From a meso-level perspective, the influence of family on migration decisions and nationality on the direction of student mobility becomes apparent. It is probable that Polish origin itself does not play such a big role in migration processes as benefits (e.g. in the form of unpaid studies or social support) resulting from the possession of the Card of the Pole or other documents confirming Polish nationality. It can also be assumed that foreign education is becoming more and more desirable due to the sense of deprivation that accompanies the families of university candidates aspiring to become the so-called middle class. At the same time, Polish higher education institutions and intermediary agencies are beginning to use an aggressive marketing campaign to encourage people to study in Poland,

which, more broadly, is made up of the policy of internationalising higher education worldwide. At the macro level, the displacements described were primarily conditioned by widening income disparities due to the political upheaval in Ukraine in 2013. It is, therefore, apparent that there is a strong impact of (generally economic) push factors in the form of a deteriorating economic situation in the country of origin, as well as pull factors in the host country, which, as part of its migration policy, facilitates access to the labour market and encourages higher education, thereby building a long-term strategy to attract potential talent, contributing to both economic and demographic improvement.

Among the main findings is that in the case of Ukrainian students, the motive for their arrival in Poland was not only the desire to study but also other factors of an economic and non-economic nature. The possibility of working in the country of education was considered, and also to stay for permanent residence, indicating intentions to migrate for work as well as to migrate permanently. Respondents also considered going to study an opportunity to go abroad in general, perceiving Poland as a transit country, a springboard "to the West".

Identified differences between those undertaking their studies at public and non-public universities revealed that students at non-public universities were somewhat more suggested by their desire to work in Poland and to stay in the country of education. This indicates a transformation of the circular type of economic migration among young people into long-term migration combined with undertaking higher education. This is a positive phenomenon for the Polish economy, as the country simultaneously gains income from undertaking studies in the form of tuition fees, benefits in the form of stimulating consumer demand, as well as acquire qualified employees who – play a rather complementary role in the labour market – compensate for the shortage of human capital in Poland associated with the decline in the youth population and structural changes in education.

Of key importance for the problem of educational migration presented in this paper are the findings on the factors of Ukrainian citizens undertaking their studies in Poland rather than in their home or other countries. Among the main determinants were:

1. European education (recognition of diplomas and quality of education), according to those surveyed, makes them more attractive in the domestic and foreign labour markets.
2. Access to the labour market is made easier by having the status of a student and, later on, the status of a university graduate completed in an EU member state. In addition, it is possible to take up white-collar jobs, which in the case of labour migration is usually impossible without the nostrification of a diploma obtained in Ukraine.
3. Prospective plans to remain in Poland permanently, i.e. intention to migrate definitively.

4. Polish origin, enabling young people from Ukraine to study in Poland on the same basis as Polish citizens and to gain economic benefits through social benefits (scholarships, grants, etc.).
5. Individual factors, considering the influence of parents and environment on the decision to study and the linguistic and cultural proximity of Ukraine and Poland.

An important finding is that, for those with confirmed Polish ethnicity (Card of the Pole or other certificates), one of the most important factors influencing the choice of country of higher education, besides the desire to obtain a degree in an EU member state and the quality of education, was the economic factor related to the lack of tuition fees. In addition, the mere fact of belonging to the Polish nation was important to this group of respondents, as was financial support from the Polish side in the form of scholarships and other social benefits.

The findings on factors of higher education study abroad are somewhat coincidental with the empirical study by Jawad Abbas et al. (2021) conducted among international students in the UK and Germany. Academic, social, personal, marketing, financial and professional dimensions were identified as the most important aspects of choosing an education country.

Another conclusion concerns the determinants of the choice of study city. The image of the city and prior knowledge of the city plays a significant role. To a large extent, it is the universities that attract students to specific locations. In addition, migration networks are an important factor influencing both the choice of study city and the university itself.

For students at public universities, the most important criterion for choosing an educational institution is the prestige of the university and the quality of education. For those studying at non-public universities, on the other hand, low tuition fees. Characteristically, the choice of university is influenced, among other things, by Polish origin, as most of those declaring that they have a Polish Charter studied at public universities, which is precisely related to the absence of tuition fees and financial aid. For those studying at non-public universities, the more important aspects were those related to the labour market, i.e., the possibility of obtaining funds for tuition fees.

Furthermore, in characterising the migrant population, it was found that educational migration from Ukraine to Poland is no longer feminised – more and more men are studying at Polish universities, including in Wroclaw, the share of students of both genders is slowly levelling out. People from every part of Ukraine come to the city for educational purposes. In contrast, the largest number of respondents lived in large cities in the north and centre of the country before emigrating. 43.3 per cent of respondents declared at least some Polish origin, but only 18.5% had a Card of Pole.

The research results allow us to conclude that in the case of educational migration, mobility is determined by the accumulation of economic and non-economic factors. Also, individuals seek to improve their livelihoods by acquiring foreign higher education, which in the future is likely to result in better economic performance (both in the sending country and other countries), allowing for improved living conditions. This is in line with neoclassical migration theory. In contrast, migrants' parents are influenced to pursue higher education abroad, and in doing so, may seek to diversify the risks associated with the sending country's economic situation and labour market. This signals a link to the new economic theory of migration (NELM). In turn, taking into account having a Polish origin or parents/relatives/acquaintances residing in Poland, educational migration can be initiated through extensive migration networks. Also, statistical data testify to the occurrence of waves of educational migrants from Ukraine in Poland, which corresponds to the theory of cumulative causality. Thus, it can be concluded that several determinants cause individuals' migration, and competing migration theories may be complementary in explaining migrants' intentions and behaviour (Fokkema & de Haas, 2015).

The next issue addressed in this dissertation was the perpetuation of migration. In this respect, a worrying conclusion for the country of origin emerges, as more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the respondents did not intend to return to their homeland. Comparing the results of our own research to local research, it becomes apparent that Ukrainian citizens are even more likely not willing to return (as a relatively large proportion intends to stay in the country of education or go elsewhere but not to remigrate) than residents of the Lower Silesian and Opole Voivodeships (Jończy, Rokita-Poskart, Tanas, 2013; Dolińska, Jończy, Śleszyński, 2020). Thus, given the scale of the outflow of Ukrainian youth abroad, which is largely definitive, the problem of loss of human capital by the sending country arises. On the other hand, Poland – as a host country – should take advantage of the existing opportunities to retain Ukrainian students as a complementary resource on the labour market, as well as a demographic substitute.

It was found that almost half of the students surveyed (both women and men) planned to stay in Poland after graduation. This may indicate that attractive conditions are being created in Poland not only of an educational nature but also for long-term residence. Mainly economic factors induced them to stay in the country of education. This is in line with the claim that international students often do not return to their home country due to the differences in economic and political conditions between their country of study and their country of origin (Bratsberg, 1995). Some of the respondents did not know exactly where they would live after graduation, and the majority indicated Wrocław as their final place of residence.

35.8% of respondents intended to travel abroad. The main reasons for this decision were economic, as well as security and political reasons. At the time of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Ukrainian citizens lost confidence in the safety of staying in Poland due to its proximity to a terrorist country and wanted to go further afield. The most frequently indicated destination was Canada, Germany and the USA, with the highest migration profitability rate.

Only one in five respondents declared a return to Ukraine. Personal-patriotic reasons, as well as cultural-civil-religious factors, prompted remigration. Some people intended to return to the motherland to rebuild it after the war and to develop the economy, believing that their knowledge and skills would be used optimally there. This is in line with the findings of researchers dealing with the phenomenon of return migration (Dustmann et al., 2011).

It is worth noting that the information presented relates only to respondents' intentions, which may not materialise depending on various circumstances. Nonetheless, the research indicates that it is mainly economic determinants that speak in favour of the need to move, especially higher income levels and the provision of better living conditions, and the dominance of these factors is unlikely to induce returns to the homeland in the near future.

The aims of the research have been achieved – both economic and non-economic reasons for Ukrainian citizens taking up studies in Poland, studying in the Wroclaw academic centre, have been identified. The dominant importance of economic factors in educational migration from Ukraine to Poland was signalled, confirming the significant role of the influence of European education and the intention to take up employment and settle in Poland. In addition, the relationship between having a Polish origin and motivation to study in Poland was identified. Intentions regarding the permanence of residence in Poland by students of Polish origin and those with no nationality in relation to the country of education were also established.

In its empirical part, this dissertation is narrowed down to the Wroclaw academic centre, and the research sample is not representative, which makes it impossible to draw conclusions on the entire population of Ukrainian students in Poland. This is because there may be differences in the factors that induce people to study in Poland, e.g. between those recruited to universities in the east of the country, i.e. close to the border with Ukraine, and those in the West. Other determinants may also determine tertiary education enrolment in small academic centres, where the number of educational migrants is relatively small, etc. There are also likely differences in students' preferences regarding post-study intentions between those from small and large centres. Nevertheless – especially given that most Ukrainian students study in large academic centres similar to Wroclaw – it is difficult to expect that the differences between the

surveyed group of respondents and the total number of Ukrainian students residing in Poland are of a fundamental nature.

Empirical research on educational migration to Poland should be expanded to include other groups of educational migrants. This is because it is likely that immigrants, including foreign students, could be an important factor for stabilisation and development in an era of depopulation and ageing in Poland.

References

- Abbas, J., Alturki, U., Habib, M., Aldraiweesh, A., & Al-Rahmi, W. M. (2021). Factors affecting students in the selection of country for higher education: A comparative analysis of international students in Germany and the UK. *Sustainability*, 13(18), 1–17.
- Bratsberg, B. (1995). The incidence of non-return among foreign students in the United States. *Economics of Education Review*, 14(4), 373–384.
- Choudaha, R. (2017). Three waves of international student mobility (1999–2020). *Studies in Higher Education*, 42(5), 825–832.
- Dolińska, A., Jończy, R., Śleszyński, P. (2020). *Migracje pomaturalne w województwie dolnośląskim wobec depopulacji regionu i wymogów zrównoważonego rozwoju społeczno-gospodarczego*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu.
- Dustmann, C., Fadlon, I., & Weiss, Y. (2011). Return migration, human capital accumulation and the brain drain. *Journal of Development Economics*, 95(1), 58–67.
- Fokkema, T., & de Haas, H. (2015). Pre- and post-migration determinants of socio-cultural integration of African immigrants in Italy and Spain. *International Migration*, 53(6), 3–26.
- Główny Urząd Statystyczny. *Szkolnictwo wyższe i jego finanse 2004-2021*. Warszawa-Gdańsk.
- Haas, H. de. (2021). A Theory of Migration: the aspirations - capabilities framework. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 9(8), 35.
- Jończy, R., D. Rokita-Poskart, Tanas, M. (2013). *Exodus absolwentów szkół średnich województwa opolskiego do dużych ośrodków regionalnych kraju i za granicę*. Opole: Wydawnictwo Instytut Śląski.
- Jończy, R. (2022). *Migracje edukacyjne „na studia”*. Skala, kierunki, trwałość i konsekwencje dla rozwoju ekonomiczno-społecznego Polski. Warszawa-Wrocław: Komitet Badań nad Migracjami Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Jończy, R. (2022). *Migracje edukacyjne „na studia”*. Skala, kierunki, trwałość i konsekwencje dla rozwoju ekonomiczno-społecznego Polski. Komitet Badań nad Migracjami Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Kubiak, H., Slany, K. (1999). Migracje. W: *Encyklopedia socjologii*, t. 2 (K-N). Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza, 243–249.
- OECD. (2006). *Education at a Glance 2006: OECD Indicators*. OECD Publishing.
- OECD. (2022). *Education at a Glance 2022: OECD Indicators*. OECD Publishing.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1885). The Laws of Migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48(2), 167–235.
- Perspektywy. *Raport Uczelni Akademickich* (2022). Available at: <https://ranking.perspektywy.pl/2022/ranking/ranking-uczelni-akademickich> (08.04.2023).

Rokita-Poskart, D. (2021). *Ekonomiczne skutki migracji edukacyjnych do ośrodka akademickiego. Studium przypadku Opola*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego we Wrocławiu.

Study in Wrocław. (n.d.). Available at: <https://study-in-wroclaw.pl/> (17.03.2023).