

# The European Dream of Polish Post-Accession Migrants

RAFAŁ RACZYŃSKI<sup>2</sup>

ORCID: [0000-0002-7143-790X](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7143-790X)

University of Gdansk, Department of Political Science

## Abstract

In recent years, post-accession migration, as an important social process, has become the subject of extensive research and analysis by representatives of various scientific disciplines. The causes for migration, the migration process and its outcomes were discussed from different perspectives and in different thematic and methodological contexts. This article is an attempt at viewing the phenomenon of post-accession migration from a novel perspective, one that links it to the category of 'dreams' [transl. note: as translated by the Polish term *marzenia*]. Its main theme revolves around the dreams [*marzenia*] of those who emigrated from Poland after May 2004. In the text, the author seeks to answer the following research questions: What role did dreams play in the decision to emigrate? Was emigration a dream in itself or merely a means to achieve a dream? What dreams, desires, and ideas did emigrants have about emigration? What were the opportunities to realise dreams before emigration and how are these plans shaping up now (in emigration)? Did emigration prove to be a dream come true or a disappointment? How do respondents evaluate the 'European dream' and how do they rate Poland's presence in the European Union? The article has been compiled from research material consisting of 3264 computer-assisted questionnaire interviews and 15 individual in-depth interviews. The analysis of the material collected has led to the conclusion that 'dreams' (hopes and aspirations) should be considered as one of the driving forces behind emigration. As a rule, it is not the main causal factor, but it can be assumed that it is very often accompanied by other causal factors relating directly to, for example, material needs or the desired social status.

**Key words:** post-accession migration, dreams in migration, Polish emigration, Poland's accession to the EU.

---

<sup>2</sup> e-mail: [rafal.raczynski@ug.edu.pl](mailto:rafal.raczynski@ug.edu.pl)

## Introduction

Poland's accession to the European Union opened a new stage in the history of international migration of Poles, which – both in academic literature and public discourse – has been referred to as “post-accession migration”. From a formal and legal point of view, the starting point for this migration is May the 1<sup>st</sup> 2004, when Poland found itself in the common area of free movement of services, goods, capital and people, with access of Poles to labour markets in most EU countries bound by transition periods. A discussion has now been initiated on the end point of the post-accession migration phase, with one of the most frequently cited cut-off dates being the UK's withdrawal from the structures of the European Union (Brexit) (Garapich et al. 2023). However, regardless of the timeframe adopted, post-accession migration was marked by its distinct characteristics. In this context, in addition to the spectacular increase in the scale of migration, the main aspects that draw particular attention are the characteristics of mobility itself, in particular the so-called patterns of selectivity that distinguish mobile individuals from the population as a whole. In this respect, first of all, a generally lower selectivity can be observed in comparison to migration in the period before Poland's accession to the EU. This means that – on average – migrants were not significantly different from the general population. Secondly, two characteristics have become an important parameter of selectivity: the first is age and the second is education. Post-accession migration is largely the domain of young and relatively well-educated people. In addition, this type of migration largely involved people coming from urban areas (Kaczmarczyk 2021: 4–5).

At the same time, post-accession migration is clearly part of the long and rich tradition of the Polish exodus experience. In this view, with regard to the reasons for post-accession migration, the main emphasis was on their economic determinants. This is because they were largely driven by a desire to improve rather than maintain socio-economic status (Kaczmarczyk 2021: 5). In this sense, post-accession migration has often been considered as part of a strongly culturally rooted discourse in Poland, within which migration was primarily seen as an escape from “violence, slavery or from poverty” (Horolets 2018: 277). Adam Walaszek rightly describes the Polish diaspora with the terms ‘diaspora of victims’ and ‘diaspora of work’. In doing so however, he points out that “simple model categorisations will never reflect the complex social reality. For the reasons for departure or exile are always extremely complex’ (Walaszek 2001: 9). It should not be forgotten that migration is an expression of the search for a better life, the desire to improve one's current situation (whatever it may be) or to fulfil goals, dreams and ambitions.

In recent years, post-accession migration, as an important social process, has become the subject of extensive research and analysis by representatives of various scientific disciplines. The causes for migration, the migration process and its outcomes were discussed from different perspectives and in different thematic and

methodological contexts. As the authors of one study on the subject explicitly put it, the term ‘post-accession migration’ has been used in all the tenses and cases within migration studies (Garapich et al. 2023: 279).

The 20th anniversary of Poland’s accession to the European Union, which falls this year, is an excellent opportunity to examine the experiences of millions of Poles who, following Poland’s accession to EU structures, decided to leave the country and pursue their life goals abroad.

This article is my attempt at viewing the phenomenon of post-accession migration from a novel perspective, one that links it to the category of dreams. Its main theme revolves around the hopes and dreams of those who emigrated from Poland after May 2004.

What role did hopes and expectations play in the decision to emigrate? Was emigration a dream in itself or merely a means to achieve a dream? What dreams, desires, and ideas did emigrants have about emigration? What were the opportunities to realise dreams before emigration and how are these plans shaping up now (in emigration)? Did emigration prove to be a dream come true or a disappointment? How do respondents evaluate the ‘European dream’ and how do they rate Poland’s presence in the European Union?

In this article, I try to provide answers to these questions. My attempt at providing the answers is based on the results of the first comprehensive study undertaken in Poland aimed at revealing the role and importance of dreams in migration processes. At the same time however, I stipulate that the answers provided are preliminary and incomplete. As the research presented in this article is of a pioneering nature, the topics covered require further in-depth study.

In this context, it should be noted that dreams, hopes and aspirations are sometimes considered as something ‘extraneous and unimportant’ within the field of academic research (Nowacki 2010). This observation seems to be particularly applicable to migration studies. While in sociology or pedagogy, this topic has become a subject of scientific interest, it plays a decidedly marginal role in migration studies. Usually, the topic of dreams in migration research only appears in a catchphrase or fragmented manner. In the first instance, most often to more vividly illustrate the aspirations of migrants from developing countries to achieve a better life in developed countries (Duany 2008; Deshingkar, Gueye 2020; IOM 2022; Cristo, Akwei 2023). In the second case, dreams are related to a selected fragment of reality or the ‘object of the dreams’. An example of this second approach is the work by Agnieszka Hennel-Brzozowska (2014), which is quite unique in the Polish body of research literature: «*Marzenia młodych o godnej pracy na emigracji i zjawisko brain waste – „zaprzepaszczeni fachowcy”. Perspektywa psychologiczna*» [“Young people’s dreams of decent work in emigration and the phenomenon of *brain waste* – ‘squandered professionals’. A psychological perspective”], in which the author points out, i.a., that “beneath the words ‘working abroad’ lies a wealth of different needs, perceptions, as well as fantasies” (2014: 121).

Considering migration processes through the lens of the dreams of those involved is facilitated by the fact that migration is a 'process', not an 'event'. It is noted in this context that migration is generally not a spontaneous activity, lasting over a short period of time. On the contrary. Each of its actions is stretched over time and is subject to change in that continuance. The beginning of this process is considered to be the initiation of preparations or deciding to migrate. This stage can be lengthy and can involve, for example, raising funds, acquiring and activating contacts, looking for a job, obtaining the required documents, etc. The relocation itself may not always be immediate either. Sometimes the route to the country of final residence may include a stay in a transit country. In general, the course of an individual act of migration can be presented as a sequence of several phases: the emergence of readiness, the decision, the making of the journey and the adaptation (or not) to the new place (Anacka, Okólski 2018: 24–25). This staggered process not only gives an opportunity for self-reflection on one's own emigration, but it also fosters the construction of different visions, ideas or dreams about life in the new place.

This article consists of an introduction, three main sections and a conclusion. In the first section, I define dreams in a synthetic way and indicate the potential functions they fulfil in human life. I refer here primarily to the concept of the dream being a kind of vision of oneself in the future as a person achieving certain successes, pursuing certain goals. Section two is devoted to describing the methodology that was used to collect and analyse the empirical data. Section three is central to the issues raised in the article. It presents selected results and conclusions obtained from the research process. This section is divided into two parts. In the first, I present the socio-demographic profile of the study group and the main reasons for emigration. This information gives context to the second part, which focuses on demonstrating the role and importance of dreams in migration processes. This section provides answers to the questions posed in the introduction. The article closes with a conclusion that contains the most important findings.

## Defining dreams and their function

Dreams are among the concepts that are ambiguous and difficult to define. In practice, the designations of the term cannot be clearly defined. "A review of the literature on dreams," writes Malgorzata Piasecka (2020a: 180) in this context, "reveals a confusion of definitions and a multiplicity of different denotations of what we cover with the term in general. Existing definitions are very often enigmatic, eclectic and, above all, strongly depreciatory". This last remark particularly applies to dictionary and encyclopaedic definitions. For example, the *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN* [Dictionary of the Polish Language] (2024) gives three basic meanings of *dream*, as: 1. a sequence of images and thoughts arising in the imagination reflecting desires, of-

ten unreal 2. an object of desire and aspiration 3. a sequence of thoughts and images arising during sleep. Similarly, the *Encyclopedia Popularna PWN* (Popular Encyclopaedia) (1997: 491) treats this concept as a loosely connected flow of thoughts, fantasies, imaginings, which is a reflection of one's own desires, that are usually strongly tinged with emotion. Dorota Filar (2013), who analysed the semantic development of Polish lexis related to the word *marzenie* [dream], singled out four basic definitions of the concept. The first group of lexis links *marzenie* with the sphere of unreal, fanciful objects/states; the second points to the role of *marzenie* as a stimulus delineating real goals and desires; the third way of defining it links *marzenie* with longing and memories, while the fourth, rarely found today, treats *marzenie* as an element of a sleep (dreaming).

The ambiguity of the term dream (*marzenie*) is also evident in English-language literature. For example, the Oxford English Dictionary (2024) lists as many as eight different meanings for this noun:

- a series of images, thoughts, and emotions, often with a story-like quality, generated by mental activity during sleep; the state in which this occurs. Also: a prophetic or supernatural vision experienced when either awake or asleep.
- a person seen in a dream or vision; an apparition.
- something imagined or invented; a false idea or belief; an illusion, a delusion; (in early use also) †a sham, a pretence (obsolete)
- a vision or hope for the future; (in early use chiefly) a vain hope or idle fantasy; (now also) an ideal, goal, ambition, or aspiration.
- with preceding genitive: someone or something, esp. a situation, considered to be ideal by a particular type of person.
- a state of mind in which a person is or seems to be unaware of his or her immediate surroundings; a daze.
- a series of (esp. pleasant) thoughts indulged in while awake, often distracting one's attention from the present; a daydream, a reverie.
- a delightful, excellent, or exceptionally attractive person or thing; an ideal or perfect example of something.

Additionally, in English, the word "dream" refers not only to the meanings listed above but also to sleep. In Polish – what has already been mentioned – there is also a distinction between "*marzenia*" (dreams) (in meaning for example: an ideal, goal, ambition, or aspiration) and "*marzenia sennie*" (dreams generated during sleep / dreaming). I must emphasize at this point that when I mention dream (*marzenie*) in the article, I am not referring to dreams generated during sleep.

The ambiguity and the diverse ways of framing the term dream (*marzenie*) are also clearly evident in the scientific field. However, a broader analysis of the various theoretical concepts is beyond the narrow scope of this article.

Therefore, at this point I will refer to the research of Alina Kałużna-Wielobób (2013: 111), who, based on her analysis of the literature, distinguished two basic categories of dream [*marzenie*]:

1. *dreams* that take the form of fantasies, which are largely unrealistic to fulfil. In this case, the act of *dreaming* (and the emotional states that arise on this occasion) is an end in itself;
2. a *dream* that is a kind of vision of oneself in the future, as a person achieving certain successes, pursuing certain goals, having certain parameters and/or experiencing certain states. These dreams can become a starting point for setting life goals and/or a benchmark for evaluating one's own life.

Another way of understanding and defining the dream is represented in Daniel Levinson's theory. In his view, a dream can take the "form of a major goal or vision of oneself in adulthood as a person leading a certain lifestyle and pursuing certain goals" (as cited in Kałużna-Wielobób 2010: 11). Following on from Levinson's theory, subsequent researchers have adopted very similar methodological positions. Charles E. Drebing and Winston E. Gooden defined a dream as "one that can take the form of a central goal or idea about what an individual wants to do or be during his or her lifetime" (as cited in Kałużna-Wielobób 2010: 12). For Piotr Oleś (2000: 83), a dream is "a conscious vision of one's own adult life, of oneself as a person leading a certain lifestyle and pursuing desired goals". Duccio Demetrio (2006: 141–142) points out that dreams are a projection of ourselves into the future, waiting to be realised by overcoming the challenges encountered in everyday life. Agnieszka Biela (2015) in turn, sees dreams as one of the modes of creative thinking about one's future, manifested through an attempt to construct an idea that has at least the potential to be realised.

The research, the results of which I present in this article, also referred to Levinson's theory in the terminological aspect regarding dreams. This concept fits well with the migration situation, which, for both the migrant and their relatives, usually involves quite a significant change in their lives. It should be emphasised here that migration, as a kind of 'journey into the unknown', fosters ideas about oneself and one's life in the future.

Although this way of understanding the concept of the dream seems comprehensible and accessible, in addition, to make the subject matter of the research even more comprehensible to the participants, a dictionary definition of the dream (as a sequence of images and thoughts arising in the imagination reflecting desires) was also used. Synonyms for the term *marzenie* [dream] were used for the same purpose, such as aspirations, goals, plans, desires, ambitions or visions.

Bearing in mind that, despite the fact that the designations of these concepts are synonymous, yet they differ, it was decided to take this step in order to make it easier for the respondents to externalise themselves and thus extract as much information

as possible on the subject of their dreams, which belong in the private sphere. Tadeusz Nowacki (2010: 30) notes in this context that the concept of “a dream is underdetermined and therefore better considered in the context of other concepts”.

The use of synonymous words seems justified because, as the different ways of understanding the dream cited earlier show, these words are used to define the term (e.g. the dream as an object of desire and aspiration; a sequence of thoughts and ideas; a goal-setting stimulus). This is evident not only in dictionary or encyclopaedic definitions but also in scientific concepts. For example, Alina Kałużna-Wielobób (2013: 111) writes that *marzenia* [dreams] “constitute a transitional form between mere fantasy and goal”, Tadeusz Nowacki (2010: 7) points out that “*marzenia* are the cornerstone of aspirations”, Piotr Oleś (2000: 83) emphasises that “*marzenie* as an affectively saturated cognitive grasp of the main life goals is better formulated than a mere fantasy, but less formed than a thoughtful plan”, Adrian Biela (2020: 30) points out that a feature of *marzenia* [dreams] is their “close relation to desires”, etc.

In the latest literature, it is pointed out that dreams largely reflect both specific socio-historical and cultural contexts and comment on them. Therefore, in studies on dreams, their “local or national” character, stemming from different historical experiences and cultural influences, should be taken into account (Mageo and Sheriff, 2021). In the case of Poland, especially in the context of the study whose results I present in this article, this is of great significance. Polish society in recent decades has been influenced by changes and transformations resulting from systemic transition: moving from a socialist to a capitalist economy, from an authoritarian to a democratic system, from “closed” to “open” borders, and so on. This situation undoubtedly had a significant impact on the dreams, aspirations, goals, plans, desires, and visions of Polish women and men. As Mageo emphasizes (2021: 3), “dreams have tales to tell about what it feels like to be a person in fluid, shifting, cultural constellations and multifarious cultural realities.” Karen Cerulo and Jan Ruane (2021) observe that people attend to, store, and activate different cultural scripts in building dreams for the future. These scripts derive from “public culture”—widely available repertoires, including values and beliefs; concepts; story frames, scripts, and narratives; customs, practices, and rules. Similarly, Bernard Lahire (2021) takes a similar stance regarding dreams generated during sleep, where he posits that the unconscious is “socially structured”. Furthermore, research conducted by Karen A. Cerulo and Janet M. Ruane (2021) indicates that “social location” – experiences based on characteristics such as race, social class, and gender – shapes dreams about the future. Similarly, belonging to a specific social group can significantly influence the realm of dreams and practices of dream sharing (Parr, 2017). Moreover, as highlighted by Borghi et al. (2021), dreams may serve as resources for investigating the unconscious functioning of social environments, particularly institutions or work organizations.

In the colloquial sense, dreams are often seen as an unimportant part of people’s lives. Meanwhile, dreams in particular are crucial in shaping the trajectory of an

individual's life. However, it is noted in the literature on this subject that they play an important role not only in individual life, but also in collective (community) life. Nowacki (2010: 7) writes in the introduction to his book that they "precede momentous processes, whether undertaken by individuals or carried out by large human collectives".

Dreams can serve a variety of functions. These functions derive largely from the degree to which dreams are achievable. This is because there are dreams that are ends in themselves – they only serve the activity of 'dreaming' itself and are not accompanied by concrete plans for implementation. Often these dreams are infeasible. Other dreams, although they may be put into practice (they are feasible), will never become reality for various reasons. A separate category is formed by dreams that are accompanied by a strong need/desire for their fulfilment and, at the same time, the possibilities for their attainment are real. Such dreams often take the form of attainable goals and provide the motivation for action.

In this context, the aforementioned Tadeusz Nowacki (2010: 11) divides dreams into three basic categories:

- dreams that are not only feasible, but achievable with a high degree of probability;
- dreams that are feasible, but the likelihood of achieving them is low;
- dreams that are impossible to implement in the current state of culture and technology.

The literature points to the following positive functions of dreams:

- they enable goal-orientation;
- they make us aware of what matters to us;
- they assist with planning;
- they give direction to activities and provide a criterion for evaluating performance;
- they have an energising function: they are a source of strength and energy;
- they provide the motivation for action;
- they may be a source of fulfilment and self-fulfilment;
- they may form part of a sense of identity;
- they have an integrating function;
- they provide a sense of meaning in life;
- they can have a relaxing function, providing a break from a difficult situation, bringing relaxation and being a source of pleasure.

Among the negative functions of dreams, and the dangers they entail, the most frequently mentioned are that they can be an escape from reality, and that they can become a source of self-delusion and frustration (Kałużna-Wielobób 2010: 26–27).

Adrian Biela (2020: 31–33) says the practical impact of dreams is reduced to three main functions, i.e. diagnostic, therapeutic and activating.



In the first, the 'dream designer' takes stock of their situation. This function is based on linking the past with the present and the future. This is because a person who dreams based on past experiences and their evaluation is then capable of fantasising about future endeavours. That enables us to assess to what extent the imagined dream goals have been fulfilled. Consequently, further on in life, it is possible to choose one of two paths: either to follow the current trajectory of dream implementation or to reformulate the way of reaching the dream. If the person feels that their dreams have been realised, this leads to a belief in having reached self-fulfilment, which paradoxically raises the threat of a slow withdrawal from activity in the existing life space.

The therapeutic function – as the name suggests – refers to the classical view of therapy, in which the main goals become rescue, correction of one's behaviour (broadly defined as change) repair, prevention. It is based on the assumption that there is an underlying positive element in dreams – as long as we dream about something, there is a reason for seeking implementation. This view assumes that dreams must not be limited to a mere design, but must be actively pursued. Through dreams, a person can feel like a creator of their own life, which is reflected in a change of behaviour from passive to active.

The activating function, on the other hand, is to assign dreams the role of animator: first of the mind, second of the will, and third of the action. Biela (2020: 32) notes in this context that although not all dreams fulfil all the forms, they contain the potentiality of their occurrence. Dreams therefore unleash the power of creativity, and the energy required for action, and by depriving oneself of them a person loses a point of reference in planning their life.

## Research methodology

The article is based on selected results from the research project entitled "European dream. The Desires and Aspirations of Polish post-accession migrants", carried out by the Emigration Museum in Gdynia in 2023. Its objectives included:

- To demonstrate the role and importance of dreams in terms of the emergence of readiness and the decision to migrate.
- To explore migrants' dreams (ideas) about emigration.
- To verify the extent to which these dreams are fulfilled in emigration.
- To examine whether, and if so how, emigration affects the realm of dreams (dream transformation).

The research was carried out using the triangulation method – by combining quantitative and qualitative methods.

In the quantitative part, computer assisted questionnaire interviews (CAWI – Computer Assisted Web Interview), i.e. online surveys completed independently by

respondents, were used as the data collection method. Statistical analyses for the distributions of the variables were carried out using the chi-square test for proportions.

The survey was conducted between 23.10.2023 and 30.11.2023. The quantitative data included in this article refer to a survey sample of 3264 respondents.

The main platform for promoting the survey, and thus reaching representatives of the target group, were social media and the internet in general, as well as targeted mailing. Information about the project was communicated in the form of a press release to the media and to subscribers to the newsletter of the Emigration Museum in Gdynia.

The research project objectives and links to complete the survey were published on [www.polska1.pl](http://www.polska1.pl) and on the Emigration Museum's social media accounts, such as: Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn and Twitter.

In addition, information about the project was posted on a variety of thematic and sector-specific social media groups for representatives of the project's target group

The publicity campaign also included a paid advertising campaign on Facebook encouraging participation in the survey.

In the qualitative study, the individual in-depth interview (IDI) was used as the data collection method. Between 8.11.2023 and 28.11.2023, interviews were conducted with 15 subjects. In the selection of respondents, recourse was made to the main assumption that the composition of the study group should reflect the nature of the research sample in the quantitative survey. Among the selection criteria used, particular emphasis was placed on: geographical diversity (country of residence), gender, length of time spent in emigration and age. The interviewees lived in the following countries: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

The research group consisted of Polish post-accession emigrants, i.e. people who left Poland after May the 1<sup>st</sup> 2004 and who live in a European Union member state.

The survey also includes those currently living in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, provided that those taking part in the survey emigrated there before the country formally left the European Union (1.02.2020).

Only people who emigrated at the age of 16 or older were included in the survey. The minimum age limit was based on Levinson's theory that one formulates mature dreams after the age of 16.

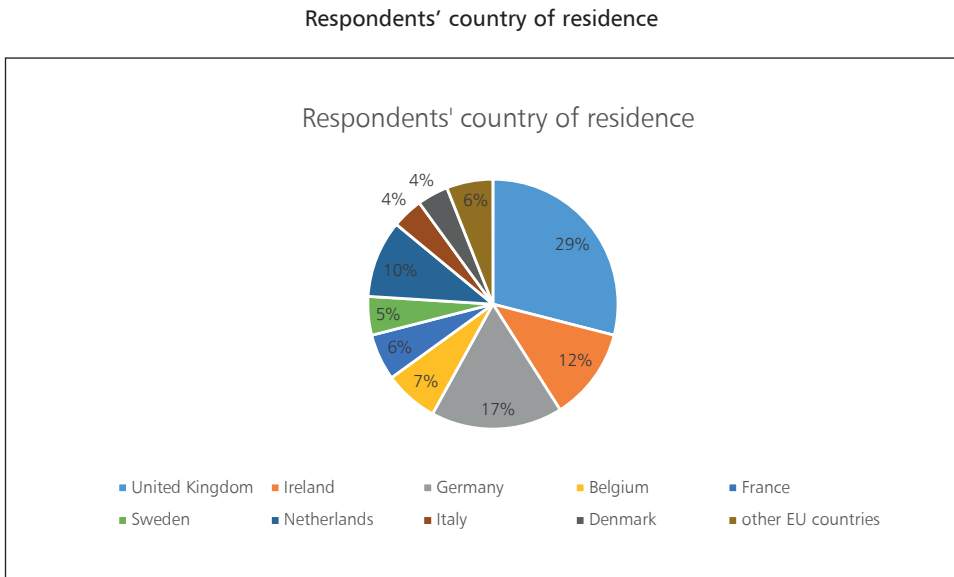
Migration studies are generally subject to significant methodological limitations. They are also present in the case of the methodology adopted for the purposes of the research project the results of which I discuss in this article. The selection of respondents for the quantitative studies was not based on random sampling. Consequently, these studies are not representative. Similarly, qualitative research studies by their very nature offer limited possibilities to make inferences about the entire study population. The results presented in this article should therefore not be directly extrapolated to the entire population of Polish post-accession emigrants.

## Research results

### The socio-demographic profile of the study group and the main reasons for emigration

In the quantitative study, almost  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the study sample (73%) were women. Considering the country of settlement, the most represented group were emigrants living in the UK (29% of the survey sample), Germany (17%) and Ireland (12%). Several hundred respondents resided in each of the following countries: The Netherlands (10% of the sample), Belgium (7%), France (6%), Sweden (5%), Italy (4%) and Denmark (4%) (Figure 1).

Figure 1.



The survey was completed mainly by middle-aged respondents. Respondents between the ages of 31 and 50 made up a total of almost 80% of the survey participants (approximately 40% each of the 31–40 and 41–50 age groups). The proportion of younger and older people fluctuated around 10% of the sample. The vast majority of respondents (just over 70%) emigrated at a young age (before the age of 30).

When considering the level of education, it is important to highlight the significant over-representation of people with tertiary education ( $\frac{2}{3}$  of the sample). The overwhelming majority of respondents were married or in a civil partnership, with only less than 15% declaring themselves to be single.

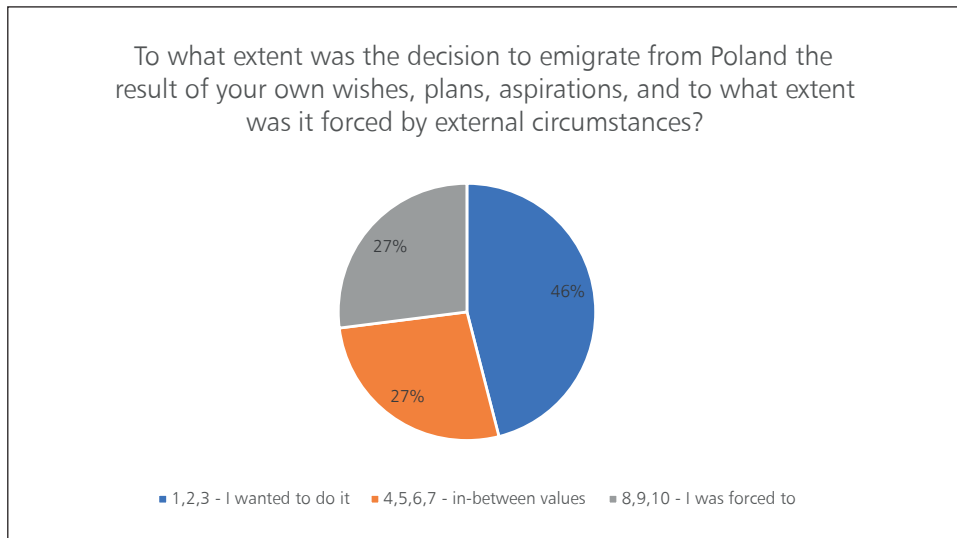
In terms of socio-occupational status immediately prior to emigration, 43% of respondents were employed full-time or part-time; 24% were students; 9% indicated

irregular employment (e.g. contractual, freelance jobs), 12% were unemployed (actively looking for work); 3% were employed in the shadow economy and the same number were not working (not looking for work). Referring to their current situation, nearly 80% of the respondents were in full-time employment, 13% were working in another capacity and 8% were not working. The majority in the last group were people who were not looking for work – pensioners, learners or those involved in housework or caring for dependents.

Almost half of the respondents (46%) declared strongly (i.e. chose a value of 1, 2 or 3 on a 10-point scale) that the decision to emigrate from Poland resulted from their own wishes, plans and aspirations. At the same time, for more than ¼ of the respondents this decision was forced by external circumstances (Figure 2).

Figure 2.

Drivers of emigration: aspirations vs. external conditions

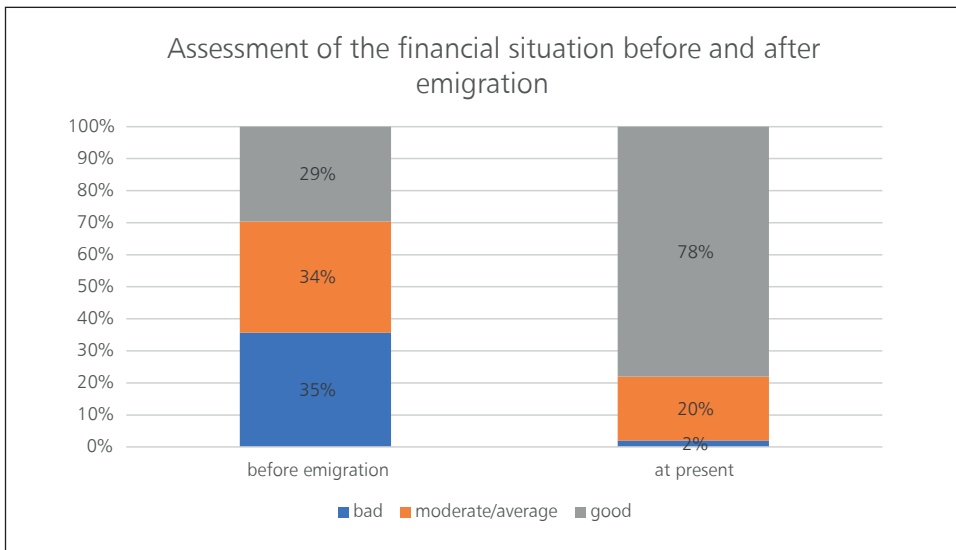


In retrospect, when evaluating the financial situation of their household at the time of the decision to emigrate, 35% of respondents described it negatively (very bad or rather bad), almost as many selected the reply as average/moderate (34%), and slightly fewer (29%) described it as positive (rather good and very good). The assessment of this situation after emigrating is radically different. In this case, nearly 4 in 5 respondents perceive it as very good or rather good, 1/5 as average/moderate and only 2% as rather bad (Figure 3).

The results for overall satisfaction with life before and after emigration are very similar. Before emigrating, less than a third of the respondents rated their life as good or very good (31%), slightly more rated it as moderate, or average (35%) and a third

Figure 3.

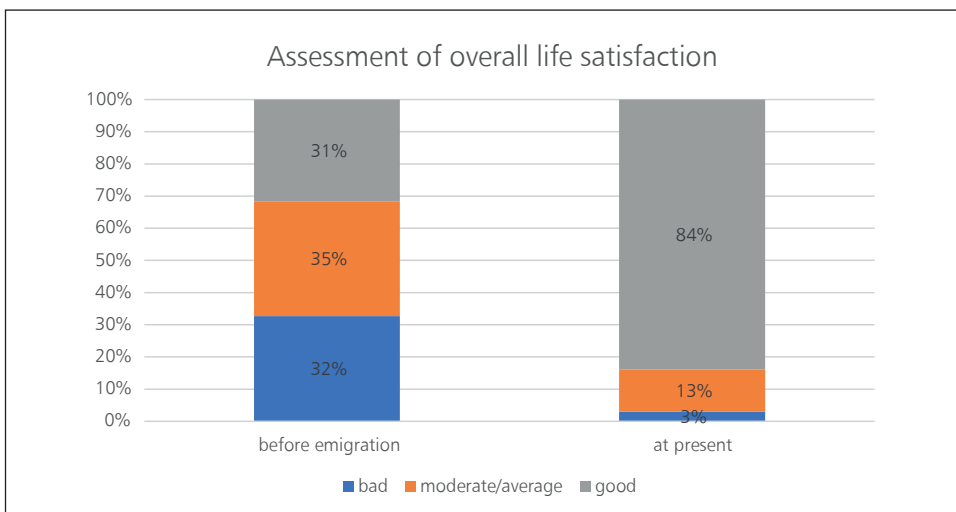
Financial situation before and after emigration



of the research sample retrospectively rated their life before emigrating as bad or very bad (32%). In contrast, at the time of the survey, a positive assessment of their life was expressed by as many as 84% of those surveyed, with only 3% rating their current life as very bad or rather bad.

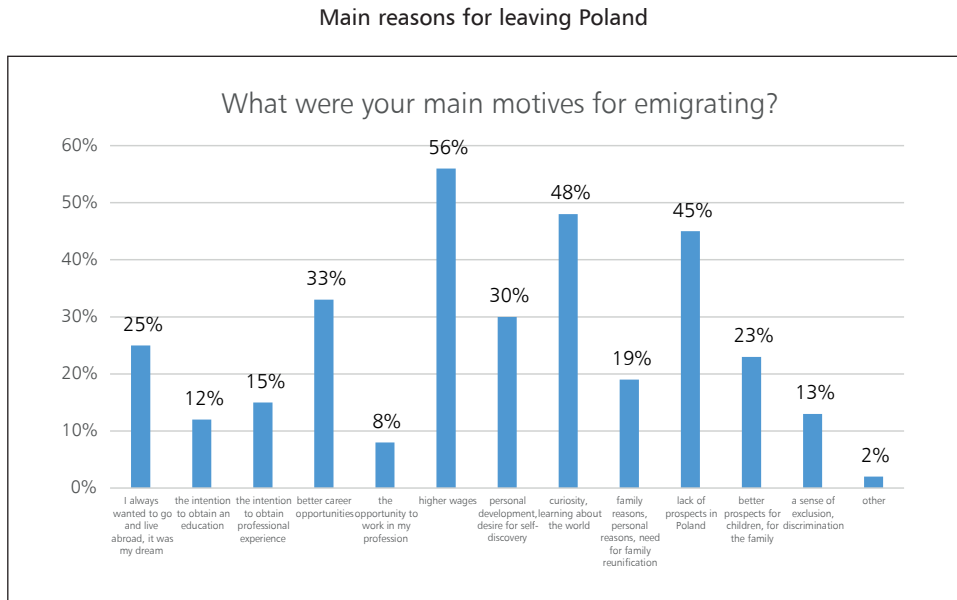
Figure 4.

Satisfaction with life before and after emigration



Among the most frequently cited reasons for emigrating from Poland by the research participants were those that had a direct impact on their financial situation and social status. The predominant reasons were: better salaries, lack of prospects in Poland and better career prospects abroad. However, the less ‘practical’ reasons such as ‘curiosity, desire to learn about the world’, as well as ‘personal development, a desire for self-knowledge’ were also indicated relatively frequently.

Figure 5.



Very significantly from the point of view of the principal theme of this article, exactly ¼ of the respondents chose the answer: “I always wanted to go and live abroad, it was my dream”. For these people, dreams were one of the most important drivers and determinants of emigration. This answer was more frequently chosen by younger people, those with tertiary education and those who left at a young age.

### Dreams in the process of migration

To self-identify as a dreamer, for many people seems to be a very problematic issue. This became evident in the conducted interviews. The vast majority of their participants – especially at the initial stage of the interview – did not regard themselves as dreamers, did not consider the motivation for their actions in the category of ‘dreams’, and even had difficulty to clearly define the content that would match this concept. At the verbal level, this was evident, for example, through the frequent reference to synonyms for the word ‘dream’ [*marzenie*], such as aspirations, desires, ambitions or

plans. It is worth noting in this context that these synonyms, although having similar meanings, do not fully overlap with the conceptual scope of the word ‘dream’. For these reasons, the majority of respondents should rather be described as ‘planners’, who tried to plan their future in emigration, set themselves goals and tried to realise them, or ‘realists’, who tried to ground their ambitions desires and aspirations firmly in the reality in which they lived. Perhaps this attitude is strongly rooted in the contextual meaning often given to the word ‘dreamer’ [*marzyciel*] in Polish language and culture. In the Polish context, the term often has a pejorative tint, denoting a person “detached from reality”, or “with his head in the clouds”. It was this kind of perception of the “dreamer” that emerged in the statements of the interview participants.

I’m a down-to-earth, no-nonsense person, so a dreamer for me is someone ‘floating in the clouds’. Perhaps also someone who is a bit, not entirely accepting their current position either in society, or professionally or their role in society. It seems to be the person who, instead of focusing on current affairs, has their head in the clouds; exists somewhere else, absent, busy with their thoughts, not focusing on everyday life, [...], they live somewhere in the clouds, in their own world.

Respondent 8, Denmark

As far as the dreamer is concerned, despite my background in humanities, I have a rather realistic approach to life and for me dreams are like those pears on a willow tree, shall we say” [transl. note: the Polish saying, *pears on a willow tree*, represent something desirable but impossible to obtain, not unlike what English-speakers would describe as ‘pie in the sky’].

Respondent 3, Spain

I’m more of a realist and I don’t feel like much of a dreamer. To me, a dreamer is the opposite of a realist. To me, the first thing that comes to mind, it may not be nice what I’m going to say, but to me, it is someone naive. The word itself, somehow has negative connotations. I, however, rather try to keep my feet more firmly on the ground.

Respondent 9, the Netherlands

I have a rather pejorative association with this noun. It is someone who is unproductive. I just don’t have good associations when I hear that word. It is someone detached from reality.

Respondent 6, the Netherlands

However, a small number of interview participants, even despite their negative connotations, declared themselves to be dreamers. The following quotes are a good indication of this.

I’m a dreamer, I also have dreams and I’d like to achieve them all too, it’s just that I’m working towards them. And it is this work, this company, this co-operation... the intellectual work. All of this directs me and pushes me closer and closer to the goal I have set for myself. And these actions I’m taking are genuinely reinforcing that, because I’m

getting feedback that I'm really progressing, I'm getting closer and closer, and working and living in Denmark is precisely the means or the way to fulfil those dreams.

Respondent 8, Denmark

I am definitely a dreamer. I think that in all spheres of my life, I try to work towards a goal and what in a general sense of the word is a dream, for me is just another goal to be reached. They exist in every part of my life.

Respondent 13, Belgium

I consider myself to be a dreamer. The adjective I associate with a dreamer is naivety. These seem to be simple questions, but they are difficult to answer. A dreamer is a person who has some big, cool plans and believes that they will come true. I believe that. I love walking in the mountains, doing long-distance trails. I have a plan to travel to the US and hike the longest, toughest long-distance trails. I intend to do this. For me, it's also a dream, but it's also clear to me that I will go there sometime, in the next 10 years and I will do it. [...]. I intend to direct my life in such a way as to make this happen. Yes, I am a dreamer. I think it is a wonderful thing for a person to have something to aspire to.

Respondent 5, Finland

Moreover, these quotes provide good illustrations of the previously mentioned functions of dreams, i.e. their motivational and causal nature (goal orientation, setting priorities, helping to plan; setting a course of action). These motifs were clearly present in the statements of the participants in the qualitative research. Their analysis indicates that dreams, often also referred to as plans, goals, aspirations or visions of oneself, to a large extent give meaning to life and are a source of energy for action. They help with decision-making, provide motivation for action, support self-realisation, generate happiness and help maintain psychological equilibrium.

Dreams are essential to survival. I, for one, can't imagine not having dreams. For me, it is the most powerful driving force in my life. I can return to this dream at any point in my life. When things aren't going well for me, I can think about my plan, how I'm going to feel then. It helps. You have to have a dream. However, I believe that no one can be persuaded to dream. It depends on the personality. I have the sort of personality that I like to dream, to imagine different situations, to step into other people's shoes. I believe that happiness is essential.

Respondent 5, Finland

On the other hand, as a person with dreams... well it can give you some energy, some desire to move forward and to turn these ideas or dreams into reality. [...] You know what I mean, I think it's worth [dreaming], with the knowledge that dreams don't necessarily have to be realised, but that trying to reach them will usually bring something good. Well, because the alternative to having no dreams is to accept the existing reality and fill the hours of the day with what needs to be done.

Respondent 11, Germany



I think that dreaming is not only worthwhile, but even necessary. It's a kind of imperative that pushes us forward, that gives us energy, that gives us strength and allows us to make our world a better place, because if we plan something for ourselves, decide that we want to accomplish something, then I think anything is possible, so everyone should dream, in my opinion.

Respondent 13, Belgium

What should one dream of? About everything. About everything that pushes us to grow, that leads to self-development and that brings us, as it were, inner happiness. It is a sad life when you don't have any dreams at all, just this kind of day-to-day reality. It is terrible. This is stagnation and not living. I also believe that dreams cause a push to make them come true. At least that's the way it should be. I also assume that this is the case that every dream, even the smallest one, is worth fulfilling and is worth striving for.

Respondent 8, Denmark

One of the interview participants, when describing dreams, almost explicitly referred to the definition of this concept adopted for the purpose of carrying out the research.

I tend to think of dream categories in terms of this kind of picture in the future that I can aspire to, that makes it easier for me to take decisions in the present.

Respondent 11, Germany

The motivational and causal nature of dreams, when considered strictly in the context of migration, is also evident in the quantitative survey. Approximately half of the respondents (47% – cumulative answers “definitely yes” and “rather yes”) answered in the affirmative to the question “Was going abroad (emigrating from Poland) your dream, desire?”. At the same time, slightly fewer respondents (45% – cumulative responses of ‘definitely not’ and ‘rather not’) answered in the negative in response to this question. At the same time, it is worth noting that, in the subjective assessment of respondents, emigration was much more their own dream than that of their relatives (Figure 6).

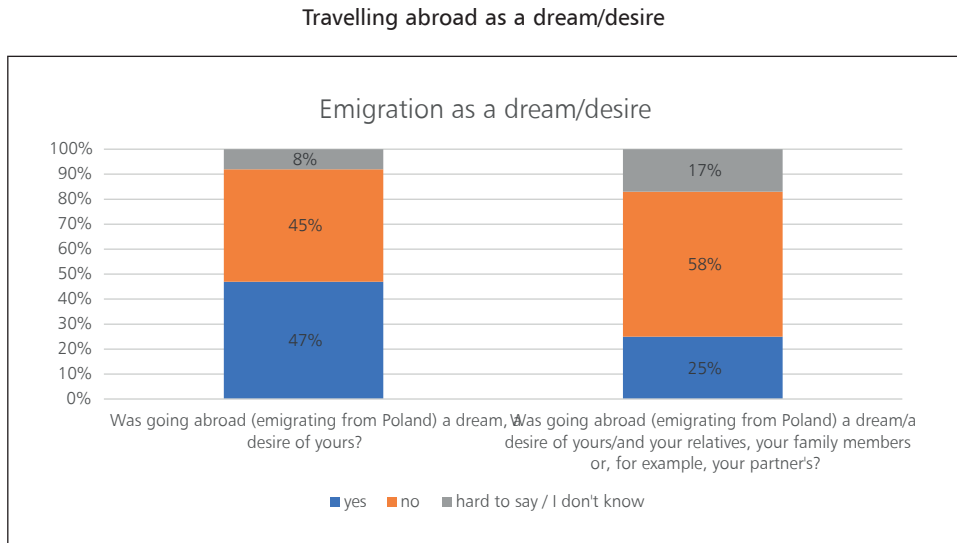
Here is how participants in the interviews described emigration in terms of dreams.

It was a little bit of a dream in itself, because I wanted to live in a different world. When you move abroad, it is like being on a kind of a mental journey all the time and you keep coming in contact with different worlds.

Respondent 15, Belgium

I would say that emigration was a dream in itself, an endeavour in itself. For me, apart from all these rational reasons, I have always had this feeling that I would like to live somewhere

Figure 6.



else. And this is what I sometimes wonder, if it's not genetic in a way. Maybe there was always something pushing humanity [transl. note: to keep moving], that we evolved in one place, and yet we spread all over the world, that nevertheless there must have been some individuals, who maybe had everything they needed and yet wanted to keep going somewhere else.

Respondent 10, Sweden

Because it's as if leaving the country, was in a sense the goal in itself. If anything, I can say it was a dream, because it was like, I didn't think it would ever come true. When I was a teenager, for some reason I dreamt of living abroad.

Respondent 3, Spain

Sometimes, insights into the role and importance of dreams in the decision to emigrate emerged after a deeper reflection.

I thought about it a bit after filling in this survey. It was also quite interesting and I kind of realised that I actually had a lot of ideas and dreams about living somewhere in the West, trying to work somewhere in the West, because my aunt emigrated from Poland in the early 1990s, right after 1989, she emigrated to the Netherlands and we went to visit her a couple of times. And it was such an amazing experience for me and my sister, because, as you know, it was pretty drab and grey at home. We are... We come from Kielce. It was pretty grey at our place, and when we went there to visit her in the Netherlands, it was completely different. It seemed so very cool to us. She'd take us to all sorts of playgrounds, amusement parks. There was no such thing in Poland at that time and it made a very big impression on us.

Respondent 7, Finland

Some respondents however, very clearly stated that they had never considered emigration in terms of a dream category.

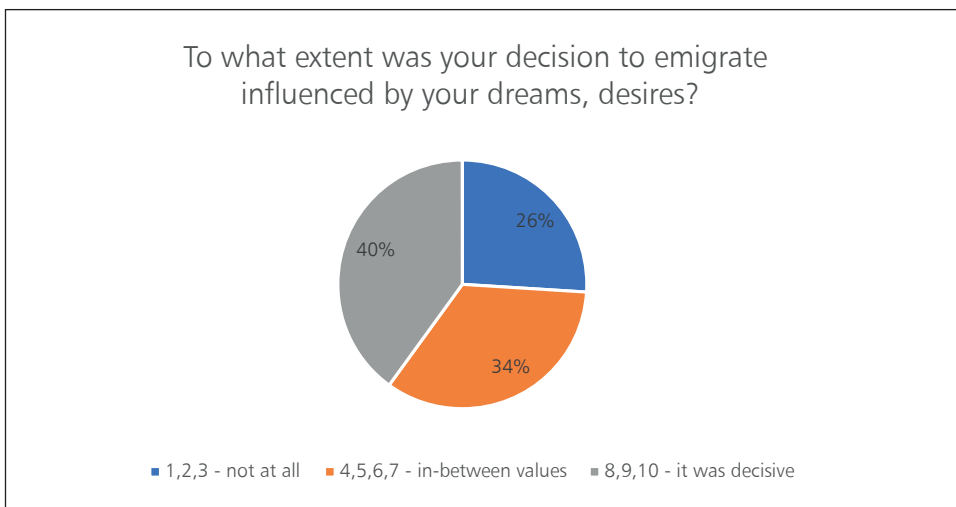
Emigration was never a dream, it was simply a combination of various developments, and later it simply became an opportunity for the implementation of plans.

Respondent 12, Luxemburg

The research shows that dreams played a relatively important role in terms of the emergence of the willingness to emigrate and the decision to leave. 4 out of 10 respondents indicated that dreams had a very strong or even decisive influence on their decision to emigrate. In contrast, for ¼ of the sample they were of no significance (Figure 7).

Figure 7.

The influence of dreams on the decision to emigrate



These dreams of Finland had a 100% influence on the decision to leave. On our return from Norway, we were in Warsaw and near Wrocław. My husband has been urging me to go to Germany. I said: I'm not going anywhere anymore, except to Finland. Well, and by coincidence, we managed to go to Finland. By then, I already had enough experience with emigration, that I said: I'm not going anywhere other than where I want to go. I'll give Finland a go, but I don't want to go to any other countries. I wanted to put Finland to the test and confront it with my dream.

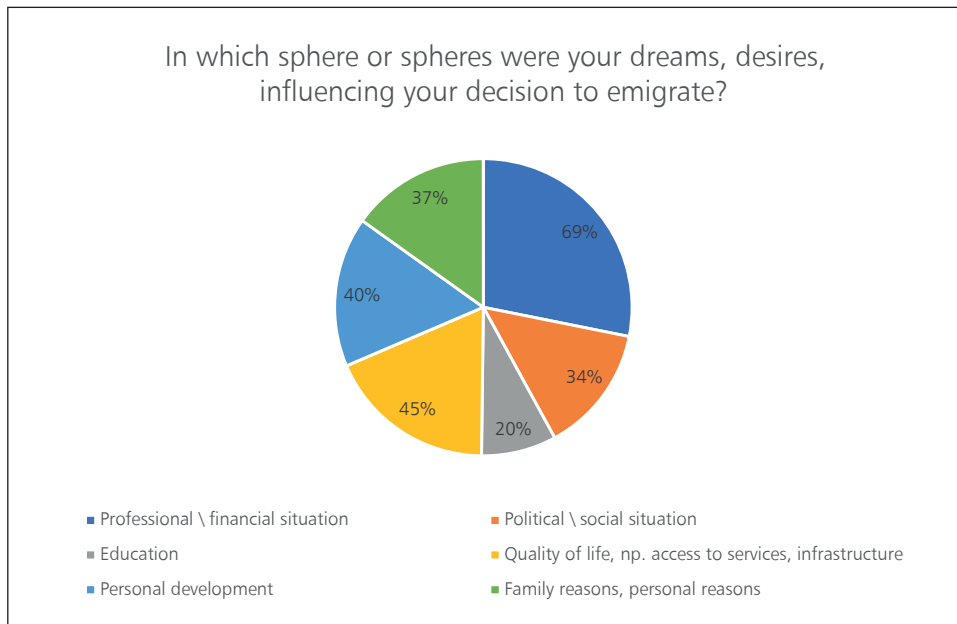
Respondent 5, Finland

Those who identified that dreams contributed at least moderately to their decision to emigrate were asked to specify which sphere or spheres of life they related

to. It appears that here, the predominant dreams were those relating to material circumstances and social status: professional/financial situation (69%) and quality of life, e.g. availability of services and infrastructure (45%). However, a relatively large number of respondents also identified 'soft' issues such as: personal development (40%), family, personal circumstances (37%), or political, social context (34%) (Figure 8).

Figure 8.

Spheres of life affected by dreams, which influenced the decision to emigrate



In the interviews, these general spheres, which the dreams of emigrants referred to, were narrowed down (verbalised) to specific stories, depicting the most important desires behind the decision to leave.

I always wanted to work for an international organisation. When my former boss asked me what my dreams were, I replied that I would like to work for an international organisation. Nowadays it seems so commonplace and so many people work in international organisations, but in those days it was quite unique.

Respondent 15, Belgium

The dream at the time was to earn a decent wage. At that time, you would see periodicals about working abroad. One would read these interviews and when people said they were earning €500 a week mowing grass on a golf course, it'd set your imagination going. It was 'out of this world'. It seemed like a 'pot of gold'.

Respondent 6, the Netherlands

In the beginning I had many dreams like that, that I would work at a university, become a professor. And that it's something I'll be doing for the rest of my life. And it was my dream, I remember it was probably even stronger than the dream, that I sort of wanted to see what it was like in the West, first of all I had this dream that I wanted to work as a scientist.

Respondent 7, Finland

Travelling first and foremost and exploring the world. That was my biggest dream and the biggest motivation for leaving [...]. All along, I've always wanted to travel as much as possible to explore and that's what I've been doing ever since.

Respondent 12, Luxemburg

Eventually I got a job with a company, which is fascinating and keeps me captivated and every day I am really happy. It is also in line with my personal interests. I'm very passionate about fashion and it's a fashion company, so I couldn't think of a better scenario. And as a result, I went, but I'd like to make it clear that I didn't go for my partner but because of work. He initiated it, but my main motive was work, and it wasn't about work in terms of higher wages, but about the work of my dreams, self-fulfilment, development.

Respondent 13, Belgium

The dream was to be able to have a relationship, because that was impossible for me in Poland. In Poland, I always found it difficult to date or look for a relationship. Because of the circumstances, but also because I lived with my parents all the time, even as an adult.

Respondent 10, Sweden

The survey also asked the participants if they had any dreams, desires and imagined ideas about emigration. 2/5 of them answered in the affirmative. The open question asked what these dreams, desires, imagined ideas were about. Here are some sample answers:

I am a nurse and it was my dream to fulfil myself professionally and I succeeded.

My dream was to work in a very good and established architects' studio, on interesting projects. In 2006, when I was leaving Poland, there were no prospects in my field in the country.

I always wanted to become a doctor, but in Poland I was talked out of this dream. When I was left alone abroad I started to make my own decisions and now I am a doctor.

My dream was to be separated from my immediate family. I wanted to be able to make my own decisions about my life. The prospect of higher wages was also a deciding factor in the decision to leave the country.

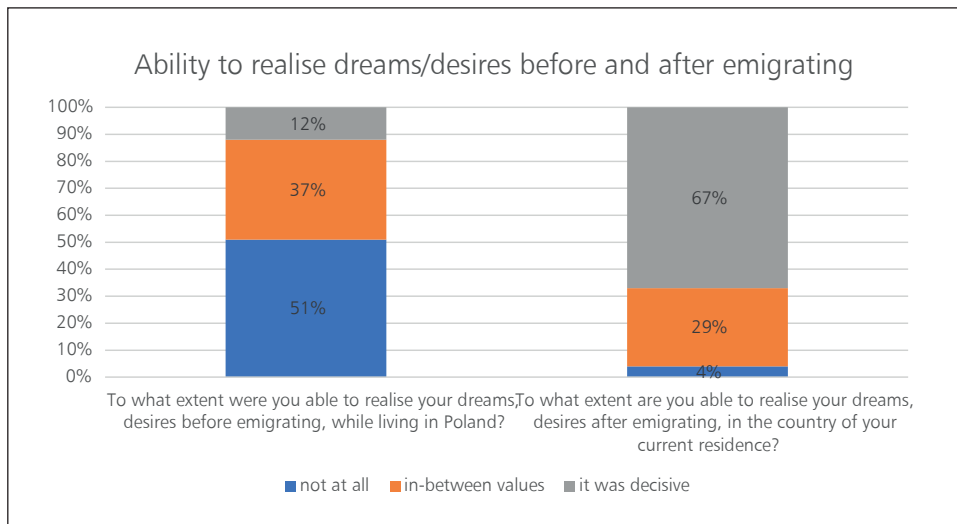
I wanted to live in a tolerant, inclusive country with a stable political situation, where my children would get a wise, cool and secular education.

Emigration, as a phenomenon affecting practically all dimensions of life, is also not indifferent to the sphere of dreams and the possibility of realising them. First of

all, it can be assumed that emigration was a means for the respondents to realise their dreams, or simply provided such an opportunity. This is clearly illustrated by the results of the answers to the questions on the possibility of fulfilling dreams before and after emigrating. Indeed, more than half of the respondents indicated that they had not been able to pursue their dreams before leaving Poland. In contrast, only one in twelve respondents declared that they had hardly any problems with this. These proportions are quite different with regard to the reality of living abroad. In this case, 2/3 of the respondents declared that they had the opportunity to realise their dreams to a large (total) extent. In contrast, only 4% specified that they had no such opportunities at all (Figure 9). These results clearly indicate that moving abroad greatly expands the possibilities of realising dreams.

Figure 9.

Degree of possibility to realise dreams, desires before and after emigrating



When I was applying for admission to university after my matriculation, my greatest wish was to get into Finnish Studies at UAM in Poznan. Unfortunately I didn't get in, but now after 20 years the dream is coming true. I always wanted to learn this language, it seemed interesting to me.

Respondent 5, Finland

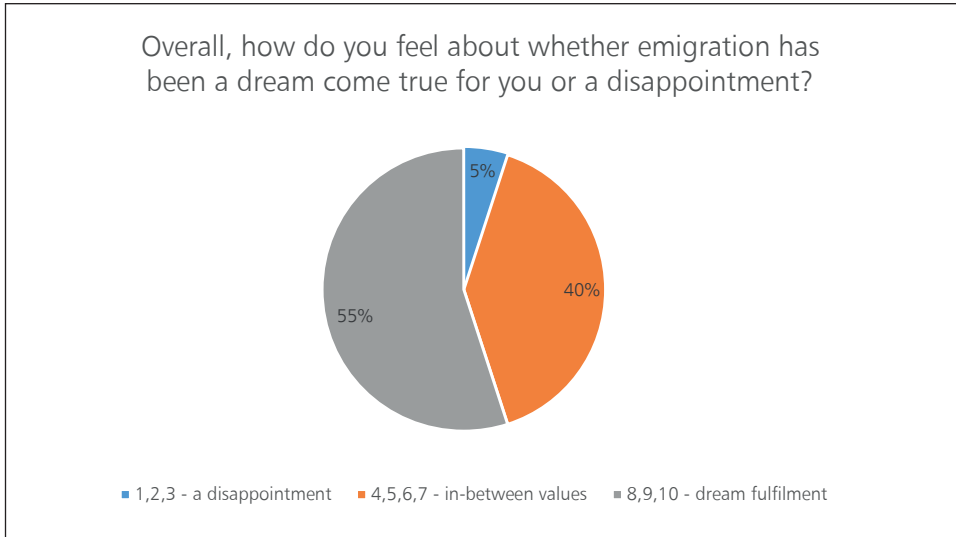
Some dreams have only expanded more, not changed, but expanded. When it comes to travel, I wanted to see a bit of the world, to go to Norway, for example. What changed for me, is that nowadays the distance on the map is not a limit. My wife and I have travelled to every continent.

Respondent 9, the Netherlands

The survey asked respondents to try to take stock of their emigration experiences and to evaluate them through the prism of their dreams and their fulfilment. For more than half of the sample (55%), emigration proved to have fulfilled their dreams. For only 5% it is a disappointment.

Figure 10.

Evaluating emigration: a dream come true vs. a disappointment



These results correspond with the previously cited high sense of satisfaction with life as an emigrant. As one interview participant pointed out:

I didn't even dream of the life I have now. Simply, not at all. It was kind of an abstraction for me that it was possible..., that I could be so happy and be in such a place. (...) Of course there are better days, worse days, because that's normal, but overall I'm just very, very happy and it was the best decision I could have made.

Respondent 3, Spain

Although nearly all the interview participants declared a high level of satisfaction with their life abroad and the fulfilment of their dreams, they were at the same time aware of the associated costs.

I remember there was one such question in this survey. Different, different parts of life. Have these dreams been realised? I remember indicating there that most of it was very cool. It's just that it's this issue of, I don't know, of family, or living in society, or let's say in something wider, that's something. This is something which I find a little unsatisfactory. In relation to us leaving, I feel that I have made it a little difficult for myself in this area, by the fact that we left. That language barrier, lack of I don't know..., familiarity with this

culture. And also this argument that we are..., we are some foreigners, so they treat us a bit differently, that it makes it a bit difficult for us.

Respondent 7, Finland

One thing to bear in mind is that, needless to say, realising a dream and being abroad also comes at a certain cost. Well, because inevitably, the moment you find yourself abroad, you are always perceived a little bit as an emigrant. These are the costs.

Respondent 11, Germany

I believe that, despite everything, everyone who has left Poland has some homesickness left, some of this longing, nostalgia for family, for Polish bread, whatever, the cabbage soup from the corner bar, everyone has something there that triggers this moment for them.

Respondent 6, the Netherlands

## **The European dream – ratings of Poland’s presence in the European Union**

Poland’s entry into the European Union had a significant impact on the migration plans, decisions and dreams of all participants in the qualitative research. For a large proportion of them, the practical consequences of this event in terms of opening up labour markets and freedom of settlement provided the direct impetus for their decision to emigrate. Some pointed out that they would not have chosen to leave, if it had not been for the favourable circumstances that had arisen.

In the opinion of respondents, the balance sheet of the 20 years of Polish presence in the European Union is almost unambiguously positive. They can therefore be described as Euro-enthusiasts. It is worth noting that these opinions are not unfounded. As a rule, the emigrants interviewed maintain quite strong ties with Poland. They keep in touch with family and friends living in their home country, follow events as they unfold here through the media, and visit their home country regularly. They therefore have an “empirical” knowledge of the changes that have taken place in Poland over the last several years. Moreover, their absence from “everyday life” and their memories of “the way things were” probably allow them to more easily perceive and identify the changes taking place.

One respondent remarked in this context:

From the Polish point of view, it’s mostly positives. I remember the time when I was leaving Poland, but now they are 2 different worlds. The development of the country, of my city and of Poland as a whole, where I also try to travel around a lot with my children, so that they know the country they come from. It’s amazing, the opportunities young people now have in Poland too, even though there is talk of all sorts of problems, but if someone wants to, they will figure it all out. And they can later study, work, wherever they want. So, these are all advantages.

Respondent 12, Luxemburg



Among the most frequently cited areas where positive changes are most visible, the following were usually mentioned: the economic sphere (economic development; development of infrastructure, especially in cities and regions; freedom to work not only in Poland, but also in the entire EU); the cultural sphere (development of European identity; changes in mentality, including greater openness to other cultures and nationalities, greater level of tolerance; better opportunities for education abroad; changes in organisational culture – in public administration: better procedural and customer service standards); the legal sphere (better guarantees for the protection of human rights and adherence to the rule of law); the environmental sphere (greater emphasis on environmental protection, better protection of natural resources) and the security sphere (increased sense of security, especially in the context of the war in Ukraine).

From my perspective, these are all pros. Poles cannot even imagine the situation, of what would have happened if they had not joined the EU. And it seems to me that you just need to go to Belgrade, for example, and see how people live there [...] There's unemployment there. It's like Poland was in 2002 – with high unemployment, with no investment, without any prospects, where everyone wants to leave [...]. Sure, there are some transactional costs of this, of having to get along, having to compromise something. I can't imagine anyone seeing it in a negative light, because it is a cultural leap for Poland. I can never understand how people can fail to notice what is obvious in their daily lives, that they are walking on a pavement that is laid out in a straight line. To a hospital where the plaster is not falling off, because I was myself at the hospital in 2003 and saw what this hospital looks like now in Poland, after it has been renovated. Almost every hospital is plastered and well equipped. Also, the culture of civil administration has changed to a great extent, procedures, different services. It is also a state that follows the rule of law. There are some rules. All this would not exist if it were not for the EU, it could be an oligarchic state.

Respondent 15, Belgium

But culturally it helped, with issues of human rights, gender equality. Even if it hasn't quite changed yet in Poland, it hasn't reached the way it is supposed to be, at least it still remains 'on the front page', [it is important] that there is a push for it.

Respondent 10, Sweden

But just being part of the European Union, looking back, I think it has already changed the Polish people a lot and it has also changed the mentality, being more open to the world.

Respondent 13, Belgium

We have not had a recent war between members of the European Union. No, and yes, let's take a step back. I don't know 50 or 100 years earlier.

Respondent 11, Germany

In general, interview participants pointed out that Poland's accession to the EU meant a cumulative civilisational leap for our country in a short period of time.

Negative statements related to Poland's presence in this United Europe were few. These included pressure from the major EU countries on Poland in terms of formulating EU policies (e.g. energy or environmental policy), as well as the negative impact of equity funds on the Polish property market (increase in housing prices).

Unfortunately, the political squabbling that goes on and on and the forcing of various things on Poland by the major EU countries, such as all these energy disputes, is something I know quite well. That is unfair in my opinion. It is evident that the entire eastern bloc is being exploited.

Respondent 12, Luxemburg

I am from Krakow. This city at the time when I was leaving was a friendly place, with a small-town vibe, nice to live and to study. Shortly afterwards Ryanair arrived and we had a tourism boom. And, of course, the boom in the housing market as well. The prices are now probably higher than in Warsaw. I realise that the influx of foreign investment has also prevented people from buying property in Krakow, in Poland. The market has opened up for everyone, for us to move, to leave and to have the opportunity to live abroad. On the other hand, it also let in the foreign capital, which trashed the Polish real estate landscape a bit.

Respondent 6, the Netherlands

## Conclusion

Dreams belong to categories that rarely become the subject of scientific reflection and research. This is due to a number of reasons. The sheer ambiguity and multidimensionality of the concept is already problematic. Of much greater importance in this context, however, is the hard-to-grasp, oneiric nature of dreams (Piasecka 2020a: 180), which means that they do not easily lend themselves to the rationalisation processes characteristic of the scientific approach.

Dreams are a difficult category to capture, especially when it comes to empirical research. From the researcher's point of view, the very question of operationalising and measuring this sphere of human activity is problematic. At the same time, the research on dreams also poses a certain challenge for the subjects, as it requires them to self-reflect, to think about key areas in their lives, and to define with some precision; what dreams mean to them and what role they play.

The marginal presence of dreams in science is incomprehensible insofar as, as Tadeusz Nowacki (2010: 53) points out, dreams are "extremely important and ubiquitous, they consume a lot of our time and have a huge impact on our life and career plans, on the processes of our self-improvement, on the building of our self-concept". Consequently, the few researchers who deal with this topic in their academic work postulate the need for more in-depth research into the role and the importance of dreams in the life of an individual. As Małgorzata Piasecka (2015: 199) evocatively

puts it, dreams “should be told, they should stop being silenced and join the discourses that teach us and create our lives”.

To meet these expectations, the aim of this article has been to introduce the topic of dreams more broadly into the field of migration studies and to initiate a discussion on the role and significance of dreams in migration processes. The idea was to draw attention to the workings of the ‘soft’, individual and personal drivers of migration, which are often overlooked or marginalised. Meanwhile, considering migration through the prism of the dreams of the people involved allows us to capture extremely interesting aspects of mobility related to the sphere of personal desires, aspirations and imagination.

Such an approach has made it possible to extend the current knowledge on Polish post-accession migrants and the phenomenon of Polish post-accession emigration of the last twenty years itself. Above all, it has made it possible to take a new look at the multidimensionality, multifacetedness and diversity of migration experiences of Polish women and men who decided to emigrate to EU countries after Poland’s accession to this organisation.

In light of the research findings presented in this article, it is reasonable to say that dreams should be considered as one of the driving forces behind emigration. As a rule, it is not the main causal factor, but it can be assumed that it is very often accompanied by other causal factors relating directly to, for example, material needs or the desired social status.

The research presented in this article shows that for approximately 1/4 of the respondents, emigration was a dream in itself. Far more frequently, moving abroad was a means of achieving individual life goals. Approximately half of the respondents estimate that, in retrospect, dreams had a fairly strong and, for some, decisive influence on the decision to emigrate. The dreams that those surveyed wanted to pursue after leaving the country were mainly about improving their professional and financial situation and their quality of life. They were also related to personal development, family circumstances, but also to political and social issues.

The vast majority of respondents stated that, living in Poland prior to emigration, they had virtually no or very limited opportunities to fulfil their dreams. At present, a greater proportion of respondents declare that they are able to (almost) completely fulfil their dreams – including those they had before emigrating. Additionally, the results presented are consistent with the thesis that ‘the spiritual fabric of the dream needs to be rooted in the material fabric’ (Piasecka, 2020b: 407).

## References

- Anacka M., Okólski M. (2018). Migracje: pojęcia i metoda, in: Lesińska M., Okólski M. (eds.), *25 wykładów o migracjach*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 15–32.
- Biela A. (2015). *Trening kreatywności. Jak pobudzić twórcze myślenie*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Edgar Mariusz Jachimczuk.

- Biela A. (2020). *Marzenia jako czynnik autokreacji osób starszych* (rozprawa doktorska), <https://rep.up.krakow.pl/xmlui/handle/11716/10714> (Accessed: 15.02.2024).
- Borghini L., Cassardo C., Mingarelli E., Vegni E. (2021) The relevance of social dreaming for action research: exploring jail workers' unconscious thinking of the changes in the prison organization, *Res Psychother*, 24(2), 165–175.
- Cerulo K. A., Ruane J. M. (2021). Future Imaginings: Public and Personal Culture, Social Location, and the Shaping of Dreams, *Sociological Forum*, 36(1), 1345–1370.
- Demetrio D. (2006). Edukacja dorosłych, in: Śliwerski B. (ed.), *Pedagogika – subdyscypliny wiedzy pedagogicznej, Tom 3*, Gdańsk: GWP: 113–235.
- Deshingkar P., Gueye D. (2020). *Irregular migration in senegal faith, dreams and human smuggling through the desert and sea (Version 1)*. Migrating out of Poverty Working Paper Series, University of Sussex, <https://hdl.handle.net/10779/uos.23306912.v1> (Accessed: 15.02.2024).
- Di Cristo N., Akwei C. (2023). 'Wish to Dream' Fulfilment: the Motivations for Onward Migration. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 24: 989–1016.
- Duany J. (2008). Diasporic Dreams: Documenting Caribbean Migrations. *Caribbean Studies*, 36(1): 184–195.
- Encyklopedia Popularna PWN (1997), *Marzenie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 491.
- Filar D. (2013). *Narracyjne aspekty językowe obrazu świata. Interpretacja marzenia we współczesnej polszczyźnie*. Lublin: UMCS.
- Garapich M., Grabowska I., Jaźwińska E., White A. (2023). Koniec fenomenu migracji poakcesyjnych? in: Lesińska M., Okólski M. (eds.), *30 wykładów o migracjach*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 277–292.
- Hennel-Brzozowska A. (2014). Marzenia młodych o godnej pracy na emigracji i zjawisko brain waste – „zaprzepaszczeni fachowcy”. Perspektywa psychologiczna, in: Hennel-Brzozowska A. (ed.), *Młody człowiek wobec pracy, wyzysku i bezrobocia: perspektywy fides i ratio*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo „Scriptum”, 119–134.
- Horolets A. (2018). Doświadczenie szczęścia w sytuacji migracyjnej: przypadek współczesnych polskich migrantów w metropolii chicagowskiej, in: Raczyński R., Morawska K. (eds.), *Diaspora polska w Ameryce Północnej*, Gdynia: Muzeum Emigracji w Gdyni, 273–294.
- IOM (2022). *Migrating in Search of the Southern Dream – The Experiences of Ethiopian Migrants Moving Along the Southern Route*. Nairobi: International Organization for Migration Regional Office for East and Horn of Africa.
- Kaczmarczyk P. (2021). *Młodzi a migracje – oczywiste i nieoczywiste relacje*. Warszawa: Fundacja im. S. Batorego.
- Kałużna-Wielobób A. (2010). *Marzenia kobiet w wieku średnim*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego.
- Kałużna-Wielobób A. (2013). *Marzenia współczesnych kobiet w różnych okresach rozwojowych. Teraźniejszość, Człowiek, Edukacja*, 1(61): 109–136.
- Lahire B. (2021). *La part rêvée. L'interprétation sociologique des rêves*, Paris: La Découverte, Laboratoire des sciences sociales.
- Mageo J. (2021). Defining new directions in the anthropology of dreaming, in Mageo J., Sheriff R. E. (eds.), *New directions in the anthropology of dreaming*, London – New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 3–22.
- Mageo J., Sheriff R. E. (eds.) (2021). *New directions in the anthropology of dreaming*. London – New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

- Nowacki T. (2010). *Świat marzeń*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.
- Oleś P. (2000). *Psychologia przełomu połowy życia*. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL.
- Oxford English Dictionary (2024). *Dream*, [https://www.oed.com/dictionary/dream\\_n2?tl=true](https://www.oed.com/dictionary/dream_n2?tl=true) (Accessed: 17.06.2024).
- Parr R. (2017). The Social Construction of Dreaming in College Culture, *Spectrum*, 6(1), 1–7.
- Piasecka M. (2015). Marzenia w narracji autobiograficznej. Między porządkiem a chaosem. *Podstawy Edukacji. Między porządkiem a chaosem*, 8, 199–215.
- Piasecka M. (2020a). (Geo)poetyka marzenia. Utopia – heterotopia – trzecia przestrzeń, in: Włodarczyk R. (ed.), *Utopia a edukacja, T. 4*, Wrocław: Instytut Pedagogiki Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 179–202.
- Piasecka M. (2020b), Topoanaliza autobiograficzno-symboliczna jako metoda badania (nie) dokończonych marzeń, *Studia Edukacyjne*, 56, 401–419.
- Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN (2024). *Marzenie*, <https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/marzenie.html> (Accessed: 10.02.2024).
- Walaszek A. (2001). Polska diaspora, in: Walaszek A. (ed.), *Polska diaspora*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 7–29.