RESEARCH ARTICLE

WILEY

"We are all brothers here": The making of a life by Chechen refugees in Poland

Michal Sipos[1,2] 🆔

[1] Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Department "Resilience and Transformation in Eurasia", Halle (Saale), Germany

[2] Institute of Ethnologythe Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic

Correspondence
Michal Sipos, Institute of Ethnology, the Czech Academy of Sciences, Na Florenci 3, Prague 110 00, Czech Republic.
Email: michal.sipos@gmail.com

Abstract

In this age of human mobility, refugees face increased politicisation of their migration. Instead of being victims of the present and the past, refugees live their lives proactively. On the basis of ethnographic fieldwork among Chechen refugees in Poland, this paper concerns the relation between the political and socio-economic context and migrants' agency. In particular, the paper explores how a shared sense of loss and trauma, refugees' deportability and subordinate inclusion within Poland and the European Union, and a collective experience of exploitation and racism shape migrants' proactive existence. The paper provides a detailed ethnographic account of the circumstances under which refugees are likely to distance themselves from the local people and host society while developing a strong sense of shared identity and collective morality.

KEYWORDS

Chechens, migration regime, Poland, proactive existence, refugees

1 | INTRODUCTION

The recent decades have witnessed a massive increase in human mobility (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2014). Established migration patterns are taking on new forms, and novel migration routes and strategies are emerging in reaction to global political and economic restructuring as well as to various military and ethnic conflicts (Castles et al., 2014). Large numbers of migrants hope to live in secure and prosperous places, and regions perceived as offering security and prosperity—such as large parts of Europe—have become major migration destinations (Castles et al., 2014; Papastergiadis, 2000). Another characteristic of the contemporary age of human mobility is the increased politicisation of migration (Castles et al., 2014; De Genova & Peutz, 2010a). Political efforts to control and discipline the movement of underprivileged migrants are burgeoning in regions at the outer territorial border of the European Union (Collyer, Düvell, & De Haas, 2012; Düvell, 2012). In regions at the external European border, the

migration regime disrupts migrants' plans, redirects their routes, and —to various degrees—reduces their rights (Hess, 2012). In doing so, the regime supports the transformation of European space, the organisation of European markets, and the formation of European citizenship (Andrijasevic, 2010; Hess, 2012).

The increased politicisation of migration impacts disadvantaged migrants who live their lives in regions on the outskirts of the European Union and elsewhere in the world (De Genova & Peutz, 2010b). Refugees are among those affected by the current migration regime. Numerous legal, bureaucratic, and police practices fragment refugees' journeys, keep them in prolonged confinement, and exacerbate the violence experienced by uprooted people (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015; Gerard & Pickering, 2014). Even if people are subjected to processes that are largely outside of their control, our human condition entails a capacity for action and initiation of something new (Arendt, 1958; Levi, 1959). People actively make their world while being exposed to external forces and actions (Arendt, 1958). One

way to empirically study refugees is to pay attention to their creativity in making a life (Grønseth, 2013a; Jackson, 2002). As is the case for every subject, refugees' agency emerges from linkages between the past, present, and future in their experiences This agency appears in day-to-day transactions and negotiations (Grønseth, 2013a).

Existing ethnographic research demonstrates that while refugees are subjected to the migration regime, they maintain their relationships and build new relationships (Grønseth, 2013b; Pinelli, 2013). Some refugees undertake significant life projects, such as making a family or building a future for themselves (Allsopp, Chase, & Mitchell, 2015; Sampson, Gifford, & Savitri, 2016). Refugees work and engage in consumption activities (Oka, 2014; Sampson et al., 2016). Instead of living in perpetual limbo, migrants actively participate in civic and community life (Georgiadou, 2013; Manjikian, 2010). Refugees remake their world that has been affected by loss and trauma when they creatively make a life (Grønseth, 2013a; Jackson, 2002). By living proactively, uprooted people counter the precarious conditions aggravated by the contemporaneous politicisation of their migration (Manjikian, 2010; Sampson et al., 2016). The available literature on the proactive existence of migrants concentrates mostly on refugees in established migrant-receiving countries, refugee camps in Africa and Asia, and "transit" zones. I seek to contribute to the existing knowledge of the problem by considering Chechen asylum seekers in Poland, a country newly open to immigration that joined the European Union in 2004.

The case of Chechens in Poland is interesting because their agency is deployed against the backdrop of two very different social worlds. The first is the world inside accommodation centres for asylum seekers. Because claimants from the North Caucasus constitute the great majority of all asylum seekers in Poland (Lukasiewicz, 2017), these centres are inhabited mostly by migrants from the North Caucasus. Chechen refugees have been affected by dramatic transformations that erupted in the region after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Le Huérou, Merlin, Regamey, & Sieca-Kozlowski, 2014b; Raubisko, 2011). While Chechen asylum seekers wait for decisions on their statuses, they are subjected to practices and policies that facilitate migration control at the new eastern border of the European Union (Lukasiewicz, 2017; Menz, 2009). These migration control practices and policies support refugees' deportability and subordinate inclusion within Poland and the European Union (Menz, 2009; Morris, 2002). Additionally, they function to integrate groups of Chechens into localities with high levels of poverty where the local populations are ethnically and religiously homogenous and have little experience with immigration (Lukasiewicz, 2017; Menz, 2009).

On the basis of ethnographic field research among Chechens in Poland, this paper examines how refugees make a life while facing the contemporaneous politicisation of their migration. Refugees may share a common practice of striving to live in the present, but the circumstances under which they remake their world and counter the migration regime are different for various migrants. Scholars (Colson, 2003; Malkki, 1995) agree that refugees' lived experiences are inextricably linked to actual political and socio-economic contexts, thus raising the question of how the setting in Poland has influenced migrants'

proactive existence. Bearing this question in mind, I describe and analyse Chechen refugees' caring for and making of families, their work activities, and their involvement in civic and community life. Drawing on the results of long-term fieldwork, I provide a detailed ethnographic account of the circumstances under which refugees are likely to distance themselves, as a part of their proactive existence, from the local people and host society while developing a strong sense of shared identity and collective morality.

I begin by discussing how the research was conducted. In addition to research methods and ethics, in this section, I consider what role my positionality played in the making of anthropological knowledge of war refugees' lived experiences. In the next part of the paper, I consult the existing scholarship on the North Caucasus as well as on the migration regime in Poland. I consider the violent transformations as well as the discriminatory practices and policies to which Chechen refugees are subjects. I then introduce my main interlocutors to identify the key challenges that Chechens in Poland experience before exploring how refugees transcend the precarious conditions to make bearable lives for themselves. In the last part of the paper, I discuss how a shared sense of loss and trauma, refugees' deportability and subordinate inclusion within Poland and the European Union, and Chechens' marginal position in the receiving society shape migrants' proactive existence.

2 | METHODS

The data in the paper come from a larger doctoral project. This doctoral project investigated how Chechens in Poland rebuild their lives. It also concerned the politics of asylum in East Central Europe. I initiated the project in September 2006 and completed it in January 2016. Ethnographic fieldwork was carried out between July 2007 and January 2009. Although I followed Chechens to multiple locations, I spent more than 12 months in a city in eastern Poland where state authorities had rented a former lodging house to provide accommodation for approximately 200 asylum seekers.[1] The refugee centre was situated in a post-industrial neighbourhood. Every refugee who lived in the centre had fled from the North Caucasus. In addition to these refugees, approximately 220 Chechens lived in another accommodation centre administered by the Polish authorities. The centre was situated in a nearby village. Several dozen Chechens lived homeless in public parks, took sanctuary in a facility affiliated with the Catholic Church, or rented accommodations. Unlike Chechens from the accommodation centres, the majority of these refugees had been granted protection in Poland.

Research data were gathered through a variety of methods, with the primary method being participant observation. During the fieldwork, I rented a studio apartment near the accommodation centre in the urban neighbourhood. Over the more than 12 months I spent in the city, I interacted daily with Chechen- and Russian-speaking refugees who lived in the urban centre.[2] I was also in regular contact with refugees based elsewhere in the city and in the village centre, street-level bureaucrats, employees of humanitarian aid organisations,

volunteers, and local people. As with the rest of the ethnographic fieldwork, I followed Chechens to other locations in Poland, Russia, and France. I communicated with research participants in Russian, basic Chechen, and Polish. Other research methods included conducting nonstructured and semistructured interviews and archival research. More than 65 interviews were recorded between July 2007 and January 2009. I interviewed 35 migrant men, 23 Chechen women, and a dozen other research participants about their lives. Interviews with refugees were conducted in Russian, whereas interviews with the other research participants were conducted in Polish. During the initial and last stages of the fieldwork, I carried out research in an archive of the Polish Office for Foreigners (*Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców*) and in libraries in Warsaw and Krakow. The archive stored available statistics, reports, and local academic literature on refugees in Poland. I repeatedly visited the archive and libraries to study the grey and local scientific literature.[3]

While I carried out the field research, I adhered to an approach that involves the researcher going beyond the idea of semidetached participant observation (Das, 1985, 1998). This approach requires that researchers allow their interlocutors to take control of their projects (Das, 1985). Once researchers establish close relationships with their "informants" and record the ethnographic voice, the knowledge of others is inscribed upon the researchers (Das, 1985, 1998). Such anthropologists also maintain the ethics of responsibility because they preserve their interlocutors' points of view to make them public (Das, 1985, 1987). In the field, this research method and ethics were used to study mostly Chechen lived experiences. In line with the approach outlined above, I assisted Chechens in various practical ways. Several migrants became my close friends. I listened carefully to my interlocutors, collected data for further analysis, and effectively learned about refugees' lived experiences.

The research ethics and methods used in the field raise the problem of the subject positionality of the researcher. Because I conducted the fieldwork by engaging closely with refugees, my research data originate mostly from one locality. Observations made during visits to other Polish refugee centres support my confidence in the generalisability of my findings within the Polish–Chechen context of these facilities. My findings may not fully apply to migrants living in detention centres or Chechens individually renting accommodations far from centres for refugees. Second, my view of the Chechen world was influenced by my own gendered identity and gendered boundaries that I encountered in the field. These boundaries were related to the transformations of gendered relations among refugees. As a male researcher, I could develop close friendly relations mostly with Chechen men. I learned details about the lived experiences of refugee women mostly from interviews. Third, I conducted field research when I was a relatively young anthropologist with barely any personal experience of profound loss. Because I struggled to comprehend the difficult knowledge inscribed upon me, my work on the project stretched far beyond the time and space of the fieldwork. In addition to extending my book knowledge and academic writing skills, this work involved deeply personal issues. In August 2013, my father was injured in an accident and passed away. I had to make this unexpected loss a part

of my ongoing life while facing the precariousness of a migrant student with no grant support. My own experience of profound loss while in a precarious setting helped me to better understand what my interlocutors went through. In line with a method described by Renato Rosaldo (2014), I drew on this personal experience in my analysis of Chechen refugees' subjectivities.

Since the time of the fieldwork, the political and socio-economic settings studied in this paper have undergone changes. As part of the creation of the supranational asylum policy, the number of Chechens deported to Poland from other European countries has grown dramatically (Lukasiewicz, 2017). The eruption of the European migrant crisis in 2015 contributed to a dramatic increase in Islamophobia and racial and ethnic hatred within Polish society (Buchowski, 2016). Although these developments have probably reinforced the challenges experienced by and life-making strategies used by Chechens in Poland, other changes may have rendered the findings presented in this paper no longer representative of the current reality. In post-war Chechnya, the undemocratic regime increasingly targets women and members of the LGBT community (Lokshina, 2014; OSCE, 2018). Thus, Chechens in Poland may currently suffer not only because of the war but also because of everyday violence. Refugees in Poland currently gain the right to access the labour market after spending 6 months in the asylum procedure (Lukasiewicz, 2017). This policy can protect Chechens from exploitation by their employers to some extent. Although Russian passport holders still constitute the largest group of asylum seekers in Poland, refugees from Georgia and Ukraine have increasingly started to apply for asylum in the country (UdSC, 2012, 2016). The increase in the number of asylum seekers of other ethnicities and religious affiliations may have impacted Chechens' capacity to remake their world through community life.

3 | SETTINGS

3.1 | The violence in the North Caucasus

This paper adds to the existing literature on the proactive existence of refugees by studying migrants who fled from the North Caucasus. In the past few decades, the region of the North Caucasus has been a theatre for two major wars and several smaller conflicts (Le Huérou, Merlin, Regamey, & Sieca-Kozlowski, 2014b; Souleimanov, 2007). Emil Souleimanov (2007) explained that the First Chechen War (1994–1996) was preceded by economic decay and the rise of nationalism in peripheral Soviet republics, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the Chechen declaration of independence from Russia. The war between Russian federal and Chechen forces ended with a peace treaty and the de facto continuation of Chechen independence. In the aftermath of the first war, Chechen society found itself on the brink of collapse. Factories and collective farms were destroyed, the land was mined, the great majority of people were unemployed, and criminality and religious fundamentalism were on the rise. As with the Second Chechen War (1999–2009), events such as the invasion

of northern Dagestan by Islamic fighters from Chechnya and changes in the presidency in Russia preceded this conflict (Souleimanov, 2007). Although open military operations ended in the spring of 2000 with the fall of Grozny, this war lingered on in the form of an anti-terrorist operation (Le Huérou, Merlin, Regamey, & Sieca-Kozlowski, 2014a; Souleimanov, 2007). The second war brought a new deep division in Chechen society because the Russian federal forces started to cooperate with the *Kadyrovtsy*, the Chechen paramilitary forces (Souleimanov, 2007). In 2003, Chechnya was officially reintegrated to the Russian Federation (Le Huérou et al., 2014a). While reconstruction of the war-torn country begun, sporadic fights with freedom fighters and persecutions of people identified as *Wahhabi* and/or Chechen separatists continued (Le Huérou et al., 2014a). Additionally, the violence moved to Dagestan and Ingushetia (Le Huérou et al., 2014a; Souleimanov, 2007).

Dramatic transformations in the North Caucasus heavily impacted the local population (Le Huérou et al., 2014a; Souleimanov, 2007). It is estimated that the First Chechen War cost from 35,000 to 120,000 human lives and that up to 50% of the population of Chechnya was displaced (Souleimanov, 2007). Some refugees, especially ethnic Russians, would never settle in Chechnya again (Le Huérou et al., 2014a). During the Second Chechen War, from 4,000 to 14,000 Russian soldiers, thousands of Chechen rezbels, and from 6,500 to 14,000 civilians lost their lives. Tens of thousands were displaced and dispossessed, and thousands of civilians went missing (Souleimanov, 2007). The civilian population suffered torture, sexual violence, and numerous other forms of mistreatment that usually were inflicted as revenge for assumed co-operation with separatists (Le Huérou et al., 2014a; Souleimanov, 2007). Existing ethnographic research (Kvedaravicius, 2008; Raubisko, 2011) connects local people's experiences of the violent transformations with the massive destruction of patterns of everyday life. Raubisko (2011) wrote about subjects' confusion ensuing from a sense of loss and moral disintegration as well as about people's defiance. At the level of people's experiences, Kvedaravicius (2008) identified a changed view of the world dominated by paranoia and conspiracies.

3.2 | The migration regime in Poland

This paper also contributes to the body of knowledge pertaining to the proactive existence of refugees by studying Chechen migrants in the context of the increased politicisation of migration at the external border of the European Union. Due to the situation in the North Caucasus, the number of Chechen refugees outside Russia has grown rapidly over the past few decades (Le Huérou et al., 2014a; Szczepanikova, 2014). Although Chechens have also emigrated to countries such as Turkey or the United States, more than 100,000 war refugees have moved to the European Union (Jaimoukha, 2005; Le Huérou et al., 2014a). Because Chechens can usually use only land transport to escape Russia, Poland was the first European Union member state that many refugees entered. Official statistics (UdSC, 2006, 2008, 2010) reveal that between 2003 and 2008, more than 47,500 migrants claimed asylum in Poland. More than 42,300 claimants were

Russian passport holders. Although nearly 9,000 Russian citizens were granted protection, most applications either remained undecided or were rejected (UdSC, 2006, 2008, 2010). For family reasons and access to better healthcare, other specialised services, better housing, and welfare support, many Chechens emigrated to countries such as France, Belgium, Germany, or Austria (Szczepanikova, 2014). My research showed that some also opted to return to Russia. Thus, the exact number of Chechens who have stayed in Poland is unknown. Lukasiewicz (2017) provided an estimation based on the grey literature, writing that in 2014, between 5,172 and 16,388 Chechens may have remained in the country.

In Poland, sovereignty over asylum seekers is shared among national and supranational authorities, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, and other migration regime actors (Lukasiewicz, 2017; Menz, 2009). Polish authorities and the European Union are the most powerful actors within the migration regime, as is the case in other countries in East Central Europe (Szczepanikova, 2013). The Polish authorities deprive asylum seekers of their full citizenship rights (Lukasiewicz, 2017). At the time of the fieldwork, asylum seekers were officially denied permission to work but were entitled to free housing, medical care, food, and small sum of money (Lukasiewicz, 2017). As a part of its accession to the European Union, Poland became a signatory of the Dublin II Regulation.[4] Although many Chechens continued their emigration to other European countries, some were deported back to Poland (Szczepanikova, 2014). Refugees were subjects to laws stating that in the European Union, asylum had to be applied for, and granted, at the first point of entry (Szczepanikova, 2014). To meet the European standards, Polish authorities introduced new elements, such as subsidiary protection for war refugees, into the national asylum law.[5] Since the accession of Poland to the European Union, an increasing number of refugees have started to receive not full Geneva protection but a permit for tolerated stay (Menz, 2009). As with the non-state actors, local non-governmental organisations such as *Polska Akcja Humanitarna* provide support to refugees, but they depend mostly on state and European Union funding (Menz, 2009). *Caritas*, the largest charity organisation in Poland, closely cooperates with the state authorities in aiding refugees, whereas other organisations are local dependencies of international governmental or transnational non-governmental organisations (Menz, 2009).

Polish reception and accommodation centres for asylum seekers serve as effective tools of assistance and migration control, as is the purpose of such facilities (Malkki, 2002; Szczepanikova, 2013). Because of low administrative expenses, Polish authorities use either owned or rented former military bases, former prisons, and bankrupt hotels to accommodate refugees (Lukasiewicz, 2017; Menz, 2009). Although most asylum seekers live in these centres, a smaller number of migrants stay in detention centres, guarded centres, or rented accommodations (Lukasiewicz, 2017, 2009). Accommodation centres that house refugees are situated in cities and villages in eastern Poland, within a 200-kilometre radius of the Polish capital (Menz, 2009).[6] This predominantly rural part of the country is characterised by a very small foreign-born population and a high concentration of

self-declared Christians (Lukasiewicz, 2017). Voivodeships in eastern Poland are among the poorest regions in the entire European Union (Eurostat, 2011, 2012). If refugees do not emigrate from Poland, they stay in these centres for prolonged periods of time. It usually takes Polish authorities from several months to several years to make a final decision about asylum (Lukasiewicz, 2017). At the time of the field-work, one reception centre and 16 open accommodation centres oper-ated in Poland. I observed that each accommodation centre except one in Warsaw housed only Chechens. Polish bureaucrats explained to me that state authorities prefer to keep Chechens separate from the small number of other refugees to prevent culture-based conflicts. Because more Chechens who were granted protection lived in the proximity of refugee centres, these facilities were the focal points for the Chechen diaspora in Poland.

4 | CHALLENGES

Having described the settings, the next part of the paper opens a window to the world of refugees who lived in my main field site in order to consider the problems that Chechens in Poland faced because of the violence and politicisation of migration. Most of my refugee interlocutors had fled Chechnya. The remaining number had escaped from neighbouring Ingushetia as well as from villages at the border between Dagestan and Chechnya. Although some migrants had been deported from other European Union countries, the majority of the refugees had arrived directly from the North Caucasus. A few Chechens had been freedom fighters (*boeviki*). Sev-eral dozen migrants had been employed before migrating. Chechens had usually worked in the public sector. Most refugees had not held any long-term jobs. They had sustained themselves by turning their lands and houses into small family farms and by working in seasonal jobs and trade (*pokupal, prodaval*). Refugees' other sources of income had been state pensions, social benefits, and humanitarian support. Only a few Chechens had immigrated to Poland by themselves. The majority of them were accompanied by other people, usually spouses, children, or parents. Refugees' other relatives lived mostly in the North Caucasus, in other parts of Russia, and elsewhere in Europe.

4.1 | Shared sense of loss and trauma

The existing literature (Grønseth, 2013a; Jackson, 2002) connects ref-ugees' proactive existence with subjects' remaking of the world affected by loss and trauma. Chechens in Poland experienced loss in a similar way to Kareni refugees in camps on the Thai–Burma border and Hutu refugees in rural camps in Tanzania (Dudley, 2011; Malkki, 1995). Unlike migrants living in refugee centres in Italy and Indonesia (Pinelli, 2013; Sampson et al., 2016), my interlocutors shared a com-mon history of the Russo–Chechen wars disrupting their lives. Chechens had suffered multiple losses and bereavement. After immersing myself in migrants' daily lives, I learned that approximately one third of Chechens from the urban centre had lost someone close

to them during the wars. Refugees also suffered because of the sepa-ration from their loved ones. Some refugees had been wounded. Others had been diagnosed with chronic illnesses. Chechen refugees had lost their businesses and jobs. They had lost houses, flats, and other belongings:

> I went to school when the first war begun. I was about to start to live my life when we had to flee Bamut. After the first war, me and my family returned to Chechnya. We settled in Grozny because our house was destroyed. We had started to live again when the second war erupted. We had to leave again. Now we have no house. There is no place for us, neither in Bamut nor in Grozny [she started to cry]. (Seda, 1986, married, one child)

In addition to being filled with an enormous sense of loss, Chechens in Poland suffered because of the violence they had witnessed. During the wars, refugees had seen numerous atrocities. Some of my interlocutors knew people who had disappeared without a trace. Many of those who had supported Chechen independence were imprisoned and tortured after 1999. The perpetrators of this violence were not always Russian security service members and sol-diers. Some were former separatists, victims' classmates, or neighbours:

> During the war, I helped freedom fighters. They stayed in my house for one month. They were wounded. (…) Ramzan Kadyrov personally found out about this. (…) The *Kadyrovtsy* kept me imprisoned for seven or eight days. In prison, I saw everything. I was tortured and beaten by Chechen-speaking people and Russians. (…) I felt shocked that someone like me, a Chechen, beat and tortured me [on another occasion, the interlocutor revealed that one of the perpetrators who tortured him was a former freedom fighter whom he had helped]. (Aslanbek, 1980, married, two children)

Das (2007) argued that violence such as that described above has a capacity to poison witnesses' worlds because it makes them aware of the disruptive possibilities embedded in everyday life. Chechens in Poland shared that "poisonous knowledge" (Das, 2007) about the everyday. My interlocutors were suspicious about refugees whom they did not know well. They thought that some of their neighbours could be traitors or spies. Poisonous knowledge also influenced refu-gees' views of local people. I observed that children feared crossing the road at zebra crossings. They feared that cars would not stop and would kill them. Adults were also sceptical of the ordinariness that they observed on the Polish streets:

> People here seem relaxed. But, I know that one day, a war can erupt. I am scared to think about how the war can change these people. I am scared to see people's dark sides. (Alikhan, 1968, married, one child)

4.2 | Double rupture

The research literature (Manjikian, 2010; Sampson et al., 2016) also connects refugees' suffering and proactive existence with the increased politicisation of migration. As is the case for refugees in the United Kingdom (Allsopp et al., 2015), Chechen refugees' deportability intensified the subjects' anguish. Even if my interlocutors hoped that they would return home one day, many were afraid of returning to the Russian Federation. Chechens feared violence and poverty in their former country. Those who suffered from chronic illnesses would not have easy access to adequate healthcare. Younger refugees were concerned about their parents' health and well-being, whereas older Chechens worried about their children's safety. Some youngsters dreamt of becoming *mujahideen*. If they travelled back to Chechnya, they would probably be targeted by the *Kadyrovtsy* and Russian security services. Although Chechens feared returning to their former country, they were not fully protected from deportation:

> My wife, my family, my life is there [in Chechnya]. And I am sitting here. (…) And Poles don't accept me [the participant's application for asylum had been rejected four times]. (…) If Poles force me to return home, I will be imprisoned. Me and my family think that it is better for me to stay in Poland rather than be in a Russian prison. (Adam, 1949, married, 10 children)

In addition, Chechen refugees' subordinate inclusion within Poland and the European Union contributed to their suffering. Unlike refugees in the United Kingdom and Canada (Allsopp et al., 2015; Manjikian, 2010), most Chechens did not want to stay in their host country. The refugees valued the security of East Central Europe, but they saw Poland as too "Slavic" or "socialist." In other words, the social and economic conditions in Poland reminded them of the Russian Federation. As is commonly the case for migrants trapped in "transit" zones (Sampson et al., 2016), Chechens believed that other countries would provide them with better protection, living standards, and opportunities. Those who had relatives living in other parts of Europe wanted to leave Poland for family reasons. Most of my interlocutors considered moving to other European countries, but the Dublin II Regulation deprived them of their right to seek asylum elsewhere in the European Union.

The challenges that Chechens in Poland faced were underpinned by their marginal position in the host society. While my interlocutors suffered severe financial and material hardship, asylum and immigration policies deepened this hardship. As is common among European countries newly open to immigration (Lukasiewicz, 2017; Pinelli, 2013), official and humanitarian aid programmes provided Chechens rather ineffective support. Additionally, most of the support was provided by women. Chechen men, who had been uprooted from a strongly patriarchal society (Jaimoukha, 2005; Souleimanov, 2007), regarded the provision of support by women as an attack on their masculine dignity. My interlocutors responded to this precariousness by working outside refugee centres. Unlike refugees in culturally, ethnically, and religiously diverse settings (Manjikian, 2010; Sampson et al., 2016), Chechens frequently encountered racism while interacting with the local people. In addition, Chechen workers were often expected to do more than local workers while receiving less money in return. Asylum seekers who did not have official permission to work were particularly unprotected from exploitation by their employers.

5 | FAMILY MAKING AND CARING

The existing research shows that as a part of their proactive existence, refugees maintain their relationships and build new relationships (Pinelli, 2013; Sampson et al., 2016). For Chechens in Poland, caring for and building families were some of their key strategies for dealing with the double rupture. Most of my interlocutors shared private rooms in refugee centres with other members of their nuclear family. In addition, the refugees were in touch with other relatives living elsewhere in Poland. Chechens also built transnational identities by making connections with relatives living abroad. Most of my interlocutors cared about their loved ones. Moreover, some refugees made new families.

Jackson (2002) explained that traumatic loss is usually perceived as a force beyond one's governance because it uncontrollably fills subjects' inner worlds with painful memories. Subjects may attempt to gain control over their inner worlds by correlating familiar words, practices, and things with their inner states (Jackson, 2002). Alikhan attempted to remake his world by ensuring that his family regularly ate together. In addition, he bought presents for his wife and son, even though he struggled economically. Alikhan had been a direct witness to war atrocities. In 2004, he was beaten and tortured by electric shock because he had assisted foreign journalists in monitoring the war violence. I learned that this refugee was deeply traumatised because of what he had witnessed and endured. Alikhan also felt guilty about uprooting his wife and son. His strategies helped him deal with this situation.

Other refugees attempted to gain control over their worlds by assisting their loved ones. Several teenage boys regularly washed second-hand cars that their fathers had bought. Teenage daughters helped their mothers with childcare. Most of my interlocutors regularly contacted their loved ones elsewhere in Poland and abroad by Skype and phone. Like Eritrean refugees in the United Kingdom and Germany (Koser, 2002), several Chechens sent remittances—mostly clothes, shoes, groceries, chocolates, toys, and money—to people close to them. Another practice commonly used by refugees for remaking the world is careful preparation and ceremonial serving of food (Jackson, 2002 Oka, 2014). Many Chechen women inclined to adopt this strategy. These women either habitually cooked their own food or modified the food provided by the canteen before they carefully served it at the family table.

The care that Chechens expressed went beyond their family members: Several research participants were married after their arrival in Poland. Aslanbek, one of the refugees who married, grew up as an orphan. Others told me that his parents died during a bomb raid. After his immigration to Poland, Aslanbek married a Chechen widow, Toita,

and adopted her child from a previous marriage. He once told me: "I have lost everything. But now I have a new family. This makes me happy." In addition to battling traumatic memories, Chechens countered discriminatory immigration policies during family making. One Chechen couple "married" by pretending to carry out a bride kidnapping. If this couple wanted to have their marriage officially registered in Poland, they would have had to supply numerous documents, including a document certifying that they were legally free to marry in Poland. To obtain this certificate, they would have had to contact the Russian embassy. The couple pretended that they had married by bride capture to avoid complicated bureaucratic procedures.

A significant part of refugees' struggles over the governance of their inner worlds is gaining control over women's sexuality (Jackson, 2002). Because refugees were jointly encamped in Polish refugee centres, adult men could work to control the sexuality of all Chechen women who lived in these centres. My interlocutors claimed that every Chechen woman needed to give birth to as many Chechen children as possible so that their dying nation could have a future. They stressed that Chechens cannot have sex outside marriage. One of my friends explained to me that Chechen kinship norms do not allow men to touch a woman unless they are married. Chechens—I was told—were currently forgetting these values and moralities, so they had to be protected. One woman, a divorced mother of two children, had a sexual relationship with a man from the centre, and other refugees discovered their relationship. A group of men led by refugees' leader (*stareshina*) warned the woman, telling her that she had threatened her children's upbringing. The woman's lover was beaten by these men.

Chechen women seemed to integrate men's control over their sexuality with their own making of a life. Even if my interlocutors also interacted with local people, only one Chechen man I knew intermarried with a Polish woman: The other refugees married Chechens. During the research period, more than 15 children were born in my main field site. Whereas a few children were born to Chechen fathers and Polish mothers, no child, as far as I know, was born to a Chechen mother and a Polish father. One of the women who became pregnant in Poland was Alikhan's spouse. While Fatima was expecting their child, her grandfather, who stayed in the North Caucasus, became increasingly frail. Fatima wanted to travel back home because she was afraid that she would no longer be able to see her grandfather. However, she decided to stay with her husband. Fatima gave birth in a Polish hospital, despite knowing that she would not be able to travel back to Russia easily because she did not have any valid travel documents for her newborn child.

6 | REFUGEES' WORK ACTIVITIES

In addition to making and caring for a family, refugees pursue work activities to make bearable lives for themselves (Dudley, 2011; Sampson et al., 2016). My interlocutors did various types of work outside of refugee centres: harvesting strawberries, working in construction, working as security guards, selling goods at bazaars, and working as *biznesmen*. To gain access to more job opportunities and

higher salaries, more refugees—particularly men—travelled to distant places in Poland and abroad for work, staying there for days or weeks at a time. Women usually sought jobs near the accommodation centres because they were also involved in domestic work.

Work activities outside of refugee centres helped Chechens in their recovery from trauma. This strategy seemed particularly valid for those who had no relatives to care for. Akhmad was one such refugee. Akhmad had fought in the wars and had spent some time hiding in the Caucasian mountains before he was arrested. Akhmad escaped a Russian prison to save his life. In Poland, he attempted to work in construction. He was unable to keep any job because he struggled to adjust to the working regime. Even though the only skills Akhmad knew well were how to use a Kalashnikov and how to install a bomb trap, he did not resign himself to staying jobless. The former freedom fighter occasionally worked. He hoped that one day, he would become a driver because of the freedom that this job entails. Das (2007) explained that recovery from trauma occurs through the subject's gradual descent into the everyday. Akhmad once revealed that he attempted to reinhabit the everyday through work: "I just need more time. Maybe one year, maybe two years. One day, I may be able to go to work every morning."

Apart from battling trauma, Chechens resisted restrictions imposed on them by the migration regime through work. In addition, refugees' work activities helped them improve their financial situations, material circumstances, and living standards. Iljas, one of the asylum seekers who worked illegally in construction, had enough income to buy things such as new carpet, a TV, and a Hi-Fi stereo system. Whenever I visited him in his room, he showed me new things that he had bought. Adam, another asylum seeker, started a new business after his arrival in Poland. He bought used cars from Germany and sold them in Poland, later creating a network of people who imported second-hand cars into Poland and Ukraine. Adam's business was successful enough that he could afford to pay for good medical treatment for his wife.

7 | CHECHEN INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIC AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Another strategy commonly used by refugees for making a life is civic participation and involvement in community life (Manjikian, 2010; Sampson et al., 2016). Chechen refugees took part in some official and humanitarian aid programmes. Even if they were suspicious about other Chechens, refugees intensively involved themselves in the social life of their own ethnic community. Whereas Chechens created a strong sense of community with each other as a form of proactive existence, this agency was disparate from refugees' attitudes towards local Polish communities.

Chechens in Poland were not particularly interested in certain support programmes because of their prevailing hopes to leave Poland, the ineffective support that these programmes provided, or cultural reasons. Most of my interlocutors did not take part in integration programmes, such as free courses on the Polish language. Several refugees asked me if I could give them a brief but intensive course in the

English language instead. Chechens also saw that state institutions and non-governmental organisations that ran preintegration programmes had good funding. More refugees ignored these programmes, believing that social and humanitarian aid workers were interested in them only in order to receive large sums of money from the European Union and other donors. In addition, most adult Chechen men did not take part in support programmes because the programmes were run predominantly by women. One of the Polish women, who had a child with a Chechen man, was a former volunteer, and the refugee men joked about her to me: "Do you see? We integrated her."

Refugees took part in certain support programmes mostly to deal with their trauma, deportability, and poor financial situations. More of my interlocutors participated in a particular legal support programme funded by the European Union. This programme was run by a local non-governmental organisation. It was administered by a Ukrainian–Jewish lawyer who had—my interlocutors told me—"deep personal knowledge of the Russian system." Chechens regularly contacted this man because they understood that he had strong personal motivation to protect them from extradition to Russia. In addition, Chechen mothers cooperated with humanitarian aid workers and volunteers because they aided the mothers with childcare. Even if refugees hoped that their loved ones would eventually attend schools in Western Europe, they enrolled their children in local schools, partly because refugees whose children regularly attended school were entitled to additional benefits.

As a part of their remaking of the world, Chechens in Poland intensively involved themselves in the social life of their own ethnic community. Recovery from traumatic loss entails subjects' reconnection, by means of trust, with the everyday, despite their recognition that betrayal is coded in ordinary relations (Das, 2007). In Polish refugee centres, this reinhabiting of the everyday was expressed in the practice of sharing things among refugees. Chechens—particularly men—shared a variety of items, such as clothes, food, or mobile phones. Ideals about sharing also applied, to some extent, to money. Although these items were regarded as personal possessions, other members of the Chechen community aside from their owners accessed them. Several women developed another way to remake their world with the help of the refugee community. These women worked together to collect butter, milk, flour, and other redundant goods distributed to asylum seekers. They sold these goods at the local bazaar while assisting each other, either reciprocally or for a small sum of money, with childcare.

When refugees jointly engage themselves in day-to-day life in refugee facilities, their remaking of the world can create strong bonds among the uprooted (Dudley, 2011). The joint experience of social life in refugee camps can give rise to a narrative that reinforces shared cultural and moral values and attachments to a homeland (Malkki, 1995). My male interlocutors claimed that they gave property to their brothers (vasha). They called those who shared their property good men (dik stag). Refugee women commented their strategies in the following way: "We, Chechens, act like fingers. One finger alone can do nothing, but five fingers are strong." Refugees explained to me that they helped each other because their nation was currently facing a major crisis. Migrants emphasised that their homeland was a "desert" and that there was "no safe place in Chechnya." Chechens—my interlocutors told me—are competitive, yakh, but they needed to unite in their fight against this crisis.

If refugees remake the world within the confines of ethnic and domestic enclaves, their emphasis on control can isolate them from local communities (Jackson, 2002). Whereas Chechens engaged in the social life of their own ethnic community, they collectively distanced themselves from the local people. For example, a group of men once offended two Polish women who wanted to use a public phone at the entrance of the urban centre. One man told the women that they were not allowed to use the phone without asking them first. Another man called the women bitches (suka). Another such incident occurred when Polish-speaking workers who were repairing the roads in the neighbourhood entered the urban centre. The workers wanted to use the communal lavatories. This request triggered strong discontent among the refugees. Several men rushed into the administrator's office. They demanded that the "dirty" workers immediately leave the building.

Chechen refugees' distancing from the local people related to their collective recovery from traumatic loss, but it was strengthened by racism and exploitation coming from the world outside of the centres for refugees. For example, Mairbek, a young asylum seeker, was once hired to harvest cabbage in a field near Warsaw. At work, Polish workers gossiped about him because of his ethnic identity. After two weeks of hard work, his employer did not pay Mairbek all the money he had promised. Mairbek did not want me to accompany him to his workplace. He was ashamed of the conditions under which he worked. As is the case for members of other socially excluded communities, particularly those in East Central Europe (Pine, 1999; Stewart, 1997), Mairbek overturned his marginal position while among other refugees. Whereas other Chechens frequently made offensive or negative remarks about the local people, Mairbek flaunted his working skills: "I am a much better worker than Poles. I can do five times more than they can."

8 | CONCLUSION: CHECHEN REFUGEES' STRIVING TO LIVE IN THE PRESENT

This paper has provided rich ethnographic descriptions of the daily experiences of Chechens in Poland in order to study how political and socio-economic settings impact refugees' proactive existence. The context of this study characterises migrants' moving between the world inside and outside Polish refugee centres. While staying in centres for refugees, Chechens interact mostly with members of their own ethnic community. Refugees suffer because the violence in the North Caucasus has disrupted familiar patterns within their lives and contaminated their subjectivities with poisonous knowledge. In addition, asylum seekers are deprived of their full citizenship rights and face the possibility of deportation. Official and humanitarian aid programmes provide them with rather futile support. Asylum seekers are unable to legally migrate onwards to other European countries.

Instead, they are kept in one of the poorest and most ethnically homogenous regions in the entire European Union. While staying outside refugee centres, migrants are in contact with local people such as employers, villagers, and inhabitants of urban neighbourhoods. While engaging with the Polish world, Chechens frequently encounter racism and exploitation.

Even if Chechens experience numerous challenges, they do not live as victims of the present and of the past. Instead, they are active in making bearable lives for themselves. Like refugees elsewhere in the world (Pinelli, 2013; Sampson et al., 2016), Chechens care for their loved ones and make new families to remake their world and counter the migration regime. Chechens also work outside of centres for refugees as a form of their proactive existence. Refugees use this strategy to counter the limitations of the migration regime as well as to improve their personal and familial well-being. Additionally, refugees work to deal with loss and trauma. Civic participation and involvement in community life are another life-making strategy used by Chechens in Poland. Refugees in Montreal become very active political and social subjects in order to deal with the exclusion and in-betweenness associated with asylum seekers (Manjikian, 2010), whereas Chechens in Poland ignore more opportunities because of their hopes to leave Poland or because of cultural and economic reasons. Chechens participate only in certain support programmes in order to protect themselves from deportation. In addition, participation in these programmes helps Chechens in their battles with trauma and improves their financial situations.

In the Polish–Chechen context of refugee accommodation centres, participation in the life of the refugees' own ethnic community plays a prominent role in the subjects' making of a life. Chechens in Poland prefer to marry other Chechens. They share property and assist each other. While engaging themselves in the social life of their own community, Chechens reinhabit the everyday that has been contaminated by poisonous knowledge. Additionally, they counter discriminatory immigration policies. Because Chechen refugees collectively remake their world, their agency reinforces shared cultural values, moralities, and a sense of relatedness. Chechen agency is reminiscent of the agency of Kareni refugees who collectively live their lives in camps on the Thai–Burma border. Sandra Dudley (2011) showed that in their attempts to rebuild their lives, Kareni refugees engage with the necessities, regularities, and practicalities of camp life. Even though displacement has transcended the refugees' ordinary experiences, the Kareni strategies integrate their displacement with their community memory and socio-cultural practices. Meanwhile, the shared trauma contributes to the sociality of Kareni displacement (Dudley, 2011).

Even though Chechens also interact with local people, this interaction takes place mainly for economic purposes. Otherwise, Chechens collectively distance themselves from the local ethnic communities. This strategy is related to refugees' universal response to loss and trauma (Jackson, 2002). In the Polish–Chechen context, this strategy is strengthened by the exploitation and racism of the outside world. Here, Chechens' agency can be compared with that of Hungarian Gypsies. Stewart (1997) explains that in their day-to-day lives, Hungarian Gypsies move between the world inside and outside of

their ghettos. Because the outside world perceives them as dirty, uncivilised, and barbaric, Gypsies perform practices that distinguish them from the majority. They share various goods and call themselves brothers (Stewart, 1997). Like Hungarian Gypsies, Chechens protect their personal autonomy against racism and exploitation coming from the outside world when engaging themselves in the social life of their own community. Although migrants move between the worlds inside and outside refugee centres, distancing themselves from the outside world becomes a part of their complex proactive existence.

Given the unprecedented current state of world migration, a large number of refugees are being exposed to the increased politicisation of their migration. Whereas experiences of traumatic loss and the hyper-politicisation of migration stimulate the agency of refugees, the actual socio-economic and political context plays a significant role in shaping migrants' making of a life. This paper has shown that the shared trauma among Chechens in Poland as well as the migrants' deportability, subordinate inclusion within Poland and the European Union, and experiences with exploitation and racism characteristically shape the refugees' proactive existence. While this paper considers Chechen refugees' daily experiences before the end of the second war in Chechnya in 2009 and the eruption of the European migrant crisis in 2015, it can be used as a starting point for further exploration of Chechens' lived experiences in light of the recent changes in Chechnya, Poland, and the European Union. Because other migrants may find themselves in predicaments comparable with the Chechen situation, the findings presented in this paper can be useful for understanding the lived experiences of refugees elsewhere in the world.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The paper is based on data that were also used in my doctoral dissertation. I have no conflict of interest to declare.

ENDNOTES

[1] Because my doctoral project concerned sensitive issues such as the use of informal and illegal practices to administer accommodation centres for refugees, I opted not to disclose the name of the city where most of the research was carried out. Also, my interlocutors' names and some other identifying details were changed to maintain confidentiality and protect the anonymity of the research participants.

[2]Permission to access the accommodation centres for asylum seekers was sought from Polish authorities. Obtaining permission did not compromise my professional responsibilities.

[3]During the fieldwork, the principle of informed consent was strictly applied. I considered my actions carefully to prevent possible harm to the research participants. Regarding other aspects of the research, I followed the ethical guidelines for research practices of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth.

[4]Council Regulation (EC) No 343/2003 of 18 February 2003, available at https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:l33153

[5]Partial inclusion of migrants can be explained by the fact that the politics of asylum in today's Europe involve numerous conflicting principles, such as those between transnational rights, labour markets' needs, and national controls (see, e.g., Morris, 2002).

[6]Accommodation centres for refugees were situated in cities and villages such as Radom, Lublin, Białystok, Niemce, Czerwony Bór, and Moszna.

ORCID

Michal Sipos https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7191-1253

REFERENCES

Allsopp, J., Chase, E., & Mitchell, M. (2015). The tactics of time and status: Young people's experiences of building futures while subject to immigration control in Britain. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(2), 163–182. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feu031

Andrijasevic, R. (2010). From exception to excess: Detention and deportations across the Mediterranean space. In N. De Genova, & N. Peutz (Eds.), *The deportation regime: Sovereignty, space, and the freedom of movement* (pp. 147–165). Durham, NC: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822391340-006

Arendt, H. (1958). *The human condition*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Brekke, J.-P., & Brochmann, G. (2015). Stuck in transit: Secondary migration of asylum seekers in Europe, national differences, and the Dublin Regulation. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(2), 145–162. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feu028

Buchowski, M. (2016). Making anthropology matter in the heyday of Islamophobia and the 'refugee crisis': The case of Poland. *Český lid*, 103(1), 51–67. https://doi.org/10.21104/CL.2016.1.03

Castles, S., De Haas, H., & Miller, M. J. (2014). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan.

Collyer, M., Düvell, F., & De Haas, H. (2012). Critical approaches to transit migration. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(4), 407–414. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.630

Colson, E. (2003). Forced migration and the anthropological response. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 16(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/16.1.1

Das, V. (1985). Anthropological knowledge and collective violence: The riots in Delhi, November 1984. *Anthropology Today*, 1(3), 4–6. https://doi.org/10.2307/3033122

Das, V. (1987). The anthropology of violence and the speech of victims. *Anthropology Today*, 3(4), 11–13. https://doi.org/10.2307/3033216

Das, V. (1998). Wittgenstein and anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27, 171–195. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.27.1.171

Das, V. (2007). *Life and words: Violence and the descent into the ordinary*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

De Genova, N., & Peutz, N. (2010a). Introduction. In N. De Genova, & N. Peutz (Eds.), *The deportation regime: Sovereignty, space, and the freedom of movement* (pp. 1–30). Durham, NC: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822391340-001

De Genova, N., & Peutz, N. (Eds.) (2010b). *The deportation regime: Sovereignty, space, and the freedom of movement*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822391340

Dudley, S. (2011). Feeling at home: Producing and consuming things in Karenni refugee camps on the Thai-Burma border. *Population, Space and Place*, 17(6), 742–755. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.639

Düvell, F. (2012). Transit migration: A blurred and politicised concept. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(4), 415–427. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.631

Eurostat (2011). *Eurostat regional yearbook 2011*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3217494/5728777/KS-HA-11-001-EN.PDF

Eurostat (2012). *Eurostat regional yearbook 2012*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/3217494/5734477/KS-HA-12-001-EN.PDF

Georgiadou, C. (2013). Towards a 're-envisioning of the everyday' in refugee studies. In A. S. Grønseth (Ed.), *Being human, being migrant: Senses of self and well-being* (pp. 116–138). New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Gerard, A., & Pickering, S. (2014). Gender, securitization and transit: Refugee women and the journey to the EU. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27(3), 338–359. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fet019

Grønseth, A. S. (2013a). Being human, being migrant: Senses of self and well-being. In A. S. Grønseth (Ed.), *Being human, being migrant: Senses of self and well-being* (pp. 1–26). New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Grønseth, A. S. (2013b). Negotiating the past, imagining a future: Exploring Tamil refugees' sense of identity and agency. In A. S. Grønseth (Ed.), *Being human, being migrant: Senses of self and well-being* (pp. 46–67). New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Hess, S. (2012). De-naturalising transit migration. Theory and methods of an ethnographic regime analysis. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(4), 428–440. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.632

Jackson, M. (2002). *The politics of storytelling: Violence, transgression, and intersubjectivity*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Jaimoukha, A. (2005). *The Chechens: A handbook*. Abingdon, England: RoutledgeCurzon.

Koser, K. (2002). From refugees to transnational communities? In N. Al-Ali, & K. Koser (Eds.), *New approaches to migration? Transnational communities and transformation of home* (pp. 138-152). London, England: Routledge.

Kvedaravicius, M. (2008). August *Dreaming conspiracies: Experiencing the law in post-Soviet Chechnya*. Paper presented at the 10th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Levi, P. (1959). *If this is a man*. New York, NY: The Orion Press.

Le Huérou, A., Merlin, A., Regamey, A., & Sieca-Kozlowski, E. (Eds.) (2014a). *Chechnya at war and beyond*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Le Huérou, A., Merlin, A., Regamey, A., & Sieca-Kozlowski, E. (2014b). Introduction. In A. Le Huérou, A. Merlin, A. Regamey, & E. Sieca-Kozlowski (Eds.), *Chechnya at war and beyond* (pp. 1-16). New York, NY: Routledge.

Lokshina, T. (2014). Virtue campaign for women in Chechnya under Ramzan Kadyrov: Between war backlash effect and desire for total control. In A. Le Huérou, A. Merlin, A. Regamey, & E. Sieca-Kozlowski (Eds.), *Chechnya at war and beyond* (pp. 236-255). New York, NY: Routledge.

Lukasiewicz, K. (2017). Exile to poverty: Policies and poverty among refugees in Poland. *International Migration*, 55(6), 56–72. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12356

Malkki, L. H. (1995). *Purity and exile: Violence, memory, and national cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226190969.001.0001

Malkki, L. H. (2002). News from nowhere: Mass displacement and globalized 'problems of organization. *Ethnography*, 3(3), 351–360. https://doi.org/10.1177/146613802401092797

Manjikian, L. (2010). Refugee 'in-betweenness': A proactive existence. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 27(1), 50-58. Retrieved from https://refuge.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/refuge

Menz, G. (2009). *The political economy of managed migration: Nonstate actors, Europeanization, and the politics of designing migration policies*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Morris, L. (2002). *Managing migration: Civic stratification and migrants' rights*. London, England: Routledge.

Oka, R. C. (2014). Coping with the refugee wait: The role of consumption, normalcy, and dignity in refugee lives at Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya. *American Anthropologist*, 116(1), 23–37. https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12076

OSCE. (2018). *OSCE rapporteur's report under the Moscow mechanism on alleged human rights violations and impunity in the Chechen Republic of the Russian Federation*. Retrieved from https://www.osce.org/odihr/407402

Papastergiadis, N. (2000). *The turbulence of migration: Globalization, deterritorialization and hybridity*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Pine, F. (1999). Incorporation and exclusion in the Podhale. In S. Day, E. Papataxiarchis, & M. Stewart (Eds.), *Lilies of the field: Marginal people who live for the moment* (pp. 45–60). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Pinelli, B. (2013). Fantasy, subjectivity and vulnerability through the story of a woman asylum seeker in Italy. In A. S. Grønseth (Ed.), *Being human, being migrant: Senses of self and well-being* (pp. 27–45). New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Raubisko, I. (2011). 'A lot of blood is unrevenged here': Moral disintegration in post-war Chechnya. In J. Zigon (Ed.), *Multiple moralities and religions in post-Soviet Russia* (pp. 92–118). New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Rosaldo, R. (2014). *The day of Shelly's death: The poetry and ethnography of grief*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822376736

Sampson, R. C., Gifford, S. M., & Savitri, T. (2016). The myth of transit: The making of a life by asylum seekers and refugees in Indonesia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(7), 1135–1152. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1130611

Souleimanov, E. (2007). *An endless war: The Russian–Chechen conflict in perspective*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang.

Stewart, M. (1997). *The time of the Gypsies*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Szczepanikova, A. (2013). Between control and assistance: The problem of European accommodation centres for asylum seekers. *International Migration*, 51(4), 130–143. https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12031

Szczepanikova, A. (2014). Chechen refugees in Europe: How three generations of women settle in exile. In A. Le Huérou, A. Merlin, A. Regamey, & E. Sieca-Kozlowski (Eds.), *Chechnya at war and beyond* (pp. 256–273). New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315798318-14

UdSC. (2006). *Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców: Dane liczbowe dotyczące postępowań prowadzonych wobec cudzoziemców w latach 2003–2005*. Retrieved from https://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-okresowe/zestawienia-roczne/

UdSC. (2008). *Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców: Dane liczbowe dotyczące postępowań prowadzonych wobec cudzoziemców w latach 2005–2007*. Retrieved from https://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-okresowe/zestawienia-roczne/

UdSC. (2010). *Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców: Dane liczbowe dotyczące postępowań prowadzonych wobec cudzoziemców w latach 2007–2009*. Retrieved from https://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-okresowe/zestawienia-roczne/

UdSC. (2016). *Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców: Dane liczbowe dotyczące postępowań prowadzonych wobec cudzoziemców w latach 2013–2015*. Retrieved from https://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-okresowe/zestawienia-roczne/

UdSC. (2012). *Urząd do Spraw Cudzoziemców: Dane liczbowe dotyczące postępowań prowadzonych wobec cudzoziemców w latach 2009–2011*. Retrieved from https://udsc.gov.pl/statystyki/raporty-okresowe/zestawienia-roczne/