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## **IMPACT OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL ON PROFESSIONAL CAREERS OF POST-ACCESSION IMMIGRANTS**

### **Introduction**

The aim of the article is to discuss the hitherto investigations on the career paths of post-accession immigrants that considered the theories of social and cultural capitals and to present the author's own model of professional trajectory of immigrants. The model includes a wide time perspective, which enables the analysis of the impact of the social and cultural capital acquired in the process of migration (to and from the hosting country) on the social and professional mobility (promotions, demotions or the lack of changes). The presented research perspective makes it possible to determine the factors that may support, hinder or even prevent the transfer of capitals, the social one (e.g. the resources in the networks of transnational contacts) and the cultural one (e.g. competences, language skills, work culture) between the home and hosting countries.

### **1. Theories of social and cultural capital and their application**

The interest in various aspects of social capital dates back to the 1970s. Despite the incredible popularity of this concept in recent years, the notion of social capital has not been given a precise definition that could be accepted by the majority of researchers. In his classic work *The Strength of Weak Ties*, Mark Granovetter<sup>1</sup>, when discussing career paths of managers and highly qualified engineering specialists in Boston, does not use the concept of social capital. His theory is based on the notion of the networks of social relationships, in which two kinds of ties can be distinguished: the *strong* and the *weak* ones. *Strong ties* between individuals are based on emotionally biased relationships, often intimate in nature, related with a substantial amount of time spent together, where the norm of reciprocity is followed. The best example of such type of bonds are all kinship relationships (e.g. father – son). *Weak ties*, according to Granovetter concepts, are the ones that are instrumental in

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<sup>1</sup>M. S. Granovetter, *The Strength of Weak Ties*, American Journal of Sociology, 1973, Vol. 79, Issue 6, p. 1360-1380

nature and based on structural or systematic dependencies (e.g. ties among colleagues at school or work). The research presented by Granovetter shows paradoxically that in the process of job seeking by future managers *weak ties* play a more significant role. According to Granovetter, *weak ties* constitute a bridge that connects isolated networks based on *strong ties* (e.g. family ones); they are the source of new opportunities and mobility and they influence the degree of cohesion in society.

Since 1980s several theoretical and empirical investigations have been conducted that develop the issues of social networks, social and cultural capitals and their impact on career paths, educational achievements and variously defined social and economic advance. The works of Pierre Bourdieu<sup>2</sup>, James Coleman<sup>3</sup>, Nan Lin<sup>4</sup> and Robert Putnam<sup>5</sup> belong to the ones that are most frequently quoted. Their definitions of social capital vary substantially due to the variety of the objects of empirical studies in which they attempted to apply the concept of social capital. This was also the reason of the lack of agreement concerning the indices to be used in the measurement of social capital. The differences are given in the table below:

**Tabela 1. Główne definicje i wskaźniki pomiaru kapitału społecznego**

| Author of the theory   | Definition of social capital   | Forms of social capital  | Application of the concept in empirical studies   | Selected indices of social capital  |
|------------------------|--|--|---|---|
| Pierre Bourdieu (1986) | The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships | 1. noninstitutionalized social capital<br>2. institutionalized social capital (e.g. title of nobility) | investigating individual's position in a social structure (social capital= an element of individual's positioning in a structure) | 1. the size of the individual's relationship network<br>2. (economic, symbolic, cultural) capital possessed by the ones that an individual has relationships with<br>3. the size of "investment" to create and maintain social network (time, energy)<br>4. title of nobility |
| James                  | Particular resources   | 1. obligations, expectations, trust  | Investigating the impact of   | 1. social and economic status of a family   |

<sup>2</sup> P. Bourdieu, *The forms of capital*, [in:] *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. Richardson, Greenwood Press, New York, Westport, London, 1986, pp. 117-142.

<sup>3</sup> J. Coleman, *Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital*, *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1988, Vol. 94; *Supplement: Organizations and Institutions: Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure*, pp. 95-120.

<sup>4</sup> N. Lin, *Building a Network Theory of Social Capital*, *Connections*, 1999, nr 22(1), pp. 28-51 [online:] <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doc=10.1.1.96.3792&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> R. Putnam, *Samotna gra w kręgle: upadek i odrodzenie wspólnot lokalnych w Stanach Zjednoczonych*, translated by Przemysław Sadura and Sebastian Szymański, Wydawnictwo Akademickie i Profesjonalne, Warszawa 2000

|                         |   |   |   |   |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Coleman<br>(1988)       | accessible by an individual that exist in the structure of relationships between actors (two aspects of social capital:<br>1. the aspect of social structure<br>2. particular activities of an actor)   | 2. communication channels (social relationships)<br>3. norms and effective sanctions  | social capital on children's educational success                    | where a child is brought up<br>2. race , ethnic group<br>3. number of children in a family<br>4. frequency of discussions between children and parents about personal topics<br>5. the presence of both parents at home   |
| Nan Lin<br>(1999)       | 1. Resources in the social structure that are accessible to an individual through purposeful actions<br>2. Individual's investment in social relationships thanks to which he/she has access to the resources of the structure , which results in the increase of expected benefits | Ad 1.<br>1. resources in a social structure<br>2. individual's level of the access to resources<br>3. the application of resources by an individual in purposeful actions<br>Ad 2<br>1.investment in social relationships<br>2.the utilization of capital<br>3.benefits from investment | -   | 1. position of an individual in the network (the strength of ties, „density”, size)<br>2.resources in the structure (wealth, prestige, power)<br>3. resources in the network that exist in “individual's ego” and are “naturally accessible”<br>4.resources of individuals that an individual has contacts with (position, wealth, power) |
| Robert Putnam<br>(2000) | Social networks and the norms of reciprocity existing within  | 1.bridging social capital – open social networks, inclusive social networks that link diverse groups and their members<br>2. bonding social capital – social networks that are directed “inwards”, capital that tends to reject “the others” and strengthens small groups               | investigation of social activities at a macro-scale (civil society) | 1.participation in politics<br>2.social activity<br>3.religious activity<br>4.social relationships at workplace<br>5.informal social ties<br>6.level of altruism, volunteerism and philanthropy<br>7.norms of reciprocity, trust<br>8.participation in movements<br>9.participation in the Internet groups                                |

Source: Author's study based on the analysis of theories included in the works of Bourdieu, Coleman, Lin and Putnam<sup>6</sup>.

The investigations on the impact of social capital on the immigrants' career paths usually accept definitions that combine Robert Putnam's and Nan Li's concepts. Thus, social capital is understood as the resources in the social structure to which an individual has access

<sup>6</sup> Bibliographic addresses are given in Bibliography at the end of the article pp. 16-17.

to thanks to the social networks that he/she participates in and the norm of reciprocity inherent to the functioning of the networks. Social capital that is defined in that way may be studied the size and the „density” of the social networks that the immigrant participates in,

1. the execution of the norm of reciprocity that is inherent to the network,
2. the position of the migrant in the network,
3. the resources in the network (power, status, wealth) that the migrant has access to (the resources of the contact persons),
4. the resources in the social structure that can be used by the migrant through the network.

Cultural capital is slightly easier to be defined for our purposes when one refers to Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts (1986).<sup>7</sup> According to Bourdieu, cultural capital is a form of individual capital that exists in three forms:

1. in the *embodied* state, i.e. in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (index: the length of education together with the informal education at family home),
2. in the *objectified* state (index: number of books, pictures, access to media),
3. in the *institutionalized* state (index: the type and number of qualifications, university degrees, certificates, etc.)

As immigrants undergo the process of acculturation in hosting countries, the above Bourdieu’s concept should be supplemented by one more form of cultural capital, i.e. values, norms and patterns of behavior.

Since 1980s, a definite turn towards transnational research can be observed in the investigations of migration movements. That means that the traditional division into emigrants (the ones who leave a country) and immigrants (the ones who come to a new country) seems to be increasingly inadequate in the description of present-day migration movements<sup>8</sup>. The transnational perspective makes it possible to treat the ethnic and hosting countries as one, complex social space. Transnational investigations take into consideration the hybrid nature of the migrants’ identity and the transfer of their social and cultural capitals over the borders. The social and cultural capital of migrants, just like the economic capital, may be transferred to the hosting country in the form of new ideas, patterns of behavior,

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<sup>7</sup> P. Bourdieu, *The forms of capital*, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> N.H. Glick Schiller, L.H. Basch, C.H. Blanc-Szanton, *Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration*, [in:] *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration. Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered*, ed. N.H. Glick Schiller, L.H. Basch, C. H. Bland-Szanton, New York Academy of Science, New York, 1992, pp. 1-24.

values and international contacts. Numerous examples of such “social transfers” or *social remittances* are provided by Peggy Levitt<sup>9</sup>, an American anthropologist who investigated Dominican migrants in the USA. The immigrants from Dominican villages support their families in Dominica not only economically but they also teach them how to spend free time in an active way and how to take care of their physical and sexual health, etc. Thus, they transfer certain values, norms and behavior patterns acquired during their stay in the USA to their family villages in Dominica.

The transfer of the social and cultural capital between the migrant’s ethnic and hosting country is often involved with several barriers. They may be related to the social and professional degradation or even with a “double marginalization” in the case of return migrants. That phenomenon is described by Krystyna Iglicka<sup>10</sup> with reference to the graduates of Polish universities who left Poland after 2004 without any professional experience. In many cases their first jobs abroad (and often the first jobs in their lives) were significantly below their education and qualifications; it was manual work, badly paid, without any social benefits. After several years of such work the migrants that were marginalized in the hosting country, having decided on return migration, became marginalized again in their ethnic country because of a “gap in their c.v.” that made it impossible for them to be employed in accordance with their education. The professional trajectory described by K.Iglicka cannot by any way be considered a typical one in the case of post-accession migrants with higher education.

## **2. Hitherto research on career paths of Polish migrants in Ireland**

Due to a comparatively short period of stay of Polish migrants in Ireland (only 6 years), there have not been many studies on their professional careers. One of the most dynamic research projects concerning migrants was the *Trinity Immigration Initiative* by the Trinity College in Dublin. Within the project two investigations were carried out that concerned the issue of the migrants’ professional careers: *Migrant Careers and Aspiration* (James Wickham) and *Parallel Societies/Overlapping Identities* (Peter Mühlau). Apart from the researchers working within the *Trinity Immigration Initiative*, the studies of Izabela

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<sup>9</sup> P. Levitt, *Transnational Villagers*, in John Stone (Ed.) *Race, and Ethnicity. Comparative and Theoretical Approaches*, Routledge, Blackwell Publishing, 2003

<sup>10</sup> K. Iglicka, *Powroty Polaków po 2004 roku. W pętli pułapki migracji*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe SCHOLAR, Warszawa, 2010.

Grabowska-Lusińska<sup>11</sup> should be mentioned as well as the author's investigations that were conducted among a group of Polish migrants with higher education in Dublin in 2008.<sup>12</sup>

In the projects of the *Trinity Immigration Initiative*<sup>13</sup> two research questions were asked:

1. To what extent do Polish migrants in Ireland utilize the skills acquired in their home country?
2. Does the “adjustment” of the migrants’ professional status to their qualifications and education increase with the time of migration?

Thus, both research questions concern the impact of the acquired cultural capital (qualifications) on the career path. The research took into consideration a wide time perspective of professional trajectory. The social and professional mobility was determined in relation to the position before leaving for Ireland (T-1), to the first job in Ireland (T-0), and to the positions in subsequent years (T1, T2, T3) until the moment when the research was started. The research involved 567 respondents, who were Polish migrants living and working in Dublin. The result of the migrants’ professional mobility in the course of 4 years (1 year before leaving the home country + 3 years of the stay in Ireland) presents a typical model of a career path that may be represented by a U-shaped line. That means that in relation to the migrants’ jobs that they had before they left Poland, in most cases the first job in Ireland involved professional degradation; the jobs were low-skilled, low-paid and with a high staff turnover (pubs, cafes, cleaning services). Subsequent years brought a gradual advance that was related with a better adjustment of the qualifications and skills to the job position, which resulted from the utilization of the cultural capital acquired both in Poland and Ireland (language competences, courses, training, postgraduate studies). Consequently, the level of „adjustment” of the competence to the requirements of the job position before leaving Poland and after a 3-year stay in Ireland leveled off. The spectacular advance of Polish migrants in Ireland was certainly the result of the economic situation and the gap on the Irish labor market before the recession of 2008. The comparison of the career paths of the migrants who started their first jobs in Ireland in 2000-2005 with the ones who had their first jobs in 2006-2007

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<sup>11</sup> Current research project: *Kariery i mobilność społeczno-zawodowa migrantów poakcesyjnych*, see: <http://www.migracje.uw.edu.pl/projekt/1439/>, (accessed 7/02/2011).

<sup>12</sup> M. Dzieglewski, *Tradycyjne i ponowoczesne elementy tożsamości polskich emigrantów w Irlandii* [in:] *Odmiany tożsamości*, edited by Leon Dyczewski, Robert Szwed and Justyna Szulich-Kałuża, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin 2010.

<sup>13</sup> P. Mühlau, *Skill-utilisation of Polish migrants in Dublin, unpublished report presented at a conference; After the Party's Over*, 17 September 2010 in the Dublin Trinity College, Ireland. Presentation accessible at <https://www.tcd.ie/immigration/careers/2010symposium.php> (accessed: 7/02/2011).

shows significant differences. The social and professional advance - although still visible - differs in its dynamics; it is slower and spreads in time.

The research points out to other indices that determine the migrants' career paths. They are: their sex, the network of social contacts in Ireland, the recognizability of Polish qualifications, the level of the command of English and courses taken in Ireland. The above listed indices make it possible to define the barriers of career development as regards the utilization of resources acquired in Poland and Ireland.

The conclusions of the investigations conducted within the *Trinity Immigration Initiative* were proved by the author's own qualitative research that was carried out in 2008 on a group of 25 Polish migrants with higher education who lived in Dublin.<sup>14</sup> In the research the method of deepened interview was applied and a wide time perspective was taken into consideration in order to investigate the career paths both in home and hosting countries. The majority of the respondents left for Ireland directly after their graduation without – or with an insignificant – work experience. The ones that worked in Poland had jobs relevant to their qualifications and education. They all had a high level of cultural capital, which – according to Bourdieu's typology – is referred to as the “institutionalized capital”, which is indexed by a university degree (either of the first or second level). Moreover, they all had – in their own opinion – good language competences. However, their knowledge of values, norms and behavior patterns of the Irish society could not be highly valued. A definite majority of respondents possessed social resources in the form of a network of acquaintances, friends and family members staying in Ireland. The role of social capital (perceived as the network of contacts) cannot be overestimated in the migrants' career paths. Almost all of them took advantage of the assistance of the network of acquaintances, friends and family when seeking their first jobs in Ireland. Friends and acquaintances enabled the respondents “a good start” in the new country by offering free accommodation, access to the Internet and valuable advice. When looking for work, the respondents applied two different strategies: one (followed by only few of them) consisted in seeking a job in accordance with their qualifications and education and the other consisted in looking for any job that would provide means of living.

In most cases the first jobs of the respondents were badly paid and were significantly below their education and qualifications. Young people worked as waiters, sales people, kitchen assistants and cleaning people. Some of them found work in a nursery, kindergarten, call-centre, bakery, factory or a warehouse. The jobs did not require particular qualifications,

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<sup>14</sup> M. Dzięglewski, *Tradycyjne i ponowoczesne elementy tożsamości...*, op. cit.

were badly paid and involved high staff turnover. At the beginning of their stay in Ireland the respondents were badly affected by their social and professional degradation. However, a rapid and spectacular social and professional advance could be observed among them, which was referred to in the investigation report of the *Trinity Immigration Initiative* as the “U-shape” career. Nearly every person in the group under investigation changed his/her work within 2 years - several times in some cases – having frequently gained higher qualifications. At the moment of the research they had jobs and the related social benefits. In as many as 9 out of 25 cases the jobs were linked with the education, vocation and interests. The most numerous group of respondents (10) found employment in administration, office or financial sectors, e.g. as an accountant, a wholesale manager assistant, a receptionist in a college, an administrative worker in a dean’s office, a construction company or a pension fund company. Some of them got junior managerial positions: a supervisor, an assistant manager, a manager or a design office deputy director. The others found work in an advertising company, became journalists in the Polish community press or TV, one of them became an adviser in an Irish trade union and one respondent worked as a graphic artist.

Due to specific social and demographic characteristics (higher education, age 22-35), the group under investigation by no means can be treated as typical for the whole population of Polish migrants in Ireland. However, their career paths prove the general trend presented in the report of the *Trinity Immigration Initiative* research, which included a bigger and more diversified group. The factors that mainly influenced the migrants’ professional trajectory are: the social and cultural resources acquired before leaving their home country (a network of acquaintances) and the ones they acquired during their stay in Ireland (e.g. fluent English). One should not forget about the incredibly dynamic and open Irish labor market before the recession, with its significant shortages in cheap labor force in the service sector as well as in highly specialized professions.

A very important trend among the respondents under investigation is the multiplication of the cultural capital during their stay in Ireland, The main forms of the acquired cultural capital are:

- language competence (fluent knowledge of the “Irish” English,
- courses and vocational training,
- post-graduate studies,
- the knowledge of norms and behavior patterns typical for the Irish society (work culture, interpersonal relationships).



Another feature that plays a significant role in a career path is the multiplication of social capital in the form of a network of interpersonal ties. It is interesting to note that the migrants under investigation entered into several new social relationships rather within their own ethnic group or with immigrants from other countries than with the Irish members of society. Thus, professional careers were significantly influenced by a developed network of contacts within the same nationality.

The recession that has strongly affected Ireland since 2008 obviously had an impact on the Polish migrants' professional careers. In the course of the recession, media - both Polish and foreign ones – informed about mass returns of Polish migrants from Ireland and UK. However, according to the investigation results of both Polish (Iglicka: 2010), British (Eade J., Drinkwater S., Garapich M.: 2007) and Irish scientists ( Krings T., Bobek A., Salomońska J., Wickham J.:2009)<sup>15</sup> return migrations concerned a marginal group of Polish migrants. The researchers of the *Trinity Immigration Initiative* mention three factors due to which – despite the economic slump – there was no mass return departure of Poles from Ireland:

1. according to statistics, the majority of migrants (76%) from new EU member states (2004) maintained their jobs<sup>16</sup>,
2. when unemployed, the migrants receive benefits that help them overcome the difficult period of unemployment in Ireland,
3. the decision on going back, staying in Ireland or moving to another country is not made only for economical reasons. An important role is played by social networks – relations started in Ireland.<sup>17</sup> The interviews with the migrants in Ireland that have been conducted by the researchers of the *Trinity Immigration Initiative* every four months since spring 2008 indicate that for many of them Ireland is becoming the main centre of their social, family and professional lives. Moreover, the respondents favorably value some life style elements and the work culture in Ireland that in time constitute their acquired cultural capital.

### **3. The transfer of social and cultural capital. Return migrants**

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<sup>15</sup> See: K. Iglicka, *Powroty Polaków...* op. cit.; Eade J., Drinkwater S., Garapich M., *Class and Ethnicity – Polish Migrants in London*, CRONEM. Guildford: University of Surrey, 2007; Krings T., Bobek A., Salomońska J., Wickham J., *Migration and Recession: Polish Migrants in Post-Celtic Tiger Ireland*, Sociological Research Online, 2009, 14(2)9, [online:] <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/14/2/9.html>, (accessed: 7/02/2011).

<sup>16</sup> *Quarterly National Household Survey: Quarter 4*, 2008, [online:] [http://www.cso.ie/releasespublications/documents/labour\\_market/current/qnhs.pdf](http://www.cso.ie/releasespublications/documents/labour_market/current/qnhs.pdf) , (accessed: 7/02/2011)

<sup>17</sup> See: T. Krings, A. Bobek , J. Salomońska, J. Wickham, *Migration and Recession...*, op. cit.

Despite a significantly smaller than expected scale of post-accession return migration, the phenomenon was thoroughly investigated in Poland. To the most important studies belong the investigations conducted by Krystyna Iglicka<sup>18</sup>, by the research workers from Research Centre of Migration Research at the Warsaw University ((Izabela Grabowska-Lusińska, Agnieszka Fihel, Marta Anecka, Joanna Nestorowicz, Magdalena Lesińska, Ewa Matejko, Maciej Szczepański)<sup>19</sup> and from the Strategic Consulting Centre (Dagmara Bieńkowska, Cezary Ulasiński, Justyna Szymańska)<sup>20</sup> in Małopolska. So far, attempts have been made to define the category of a “return migrant”, to estimate the scale of return migration, to define the demographic and social features of migrants and to analyze the process of reintegration of post-accession return migrants on the Polish labor market. A comparatively substantial amount of attention was paid to the barriers (system, structural and psychological in nature) that appear in the process of reintegration in the home country<sup>21</sup> and to the comparative analysis of the state policy towards return migration<sup>22</sup>. Several recommendations were determined as regards the monitoring methods of return migrations<sup>23</sup>, the information strategies that support the return of migrants to the Polish labor market and the psychological assistance<sup>24</sup>.

The basic question behind the research on return migrations is how to utilize and not to waste various ( economic, social and cultural) forms of capital of the return migrants. The fundamental difficulty in finding the answer is the typical for a significant number of post-accession migrants attitude of “intentional unpredictability” that consists in an intentional reluctance to make long-term decisions regarding their stay in home country. Thus, Ewa Matejko<sup>25</sup> suggests dividing return migrants by means of the intentional model of return strategy. She differentiates two return models:

1. intentionally completed return – a decision on a long-term stay in home-country

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<sup>18</sup> K. Iglicka, *Powroty Polaków...*, op. cit.

<sup>19</sup> *Poakcesyjne powroty Polaków*, red. I. Grabowska-Lusińska, CMR Working Papers, No 43/(101), Warszawa 2010; *Polityka państwa wobec migracji powrotnych własnych obywateli. Teoria i praktyka*, ed. M. Lesińska, CMR Working Papers, No 44/(102), Warszawa 2010.

<sup>20</sup> *Kierunek Małopolska. Charakterystyka powracających i rekomendacje jak nie zmarnować ich kapitału*, ed. D. Bieńkowska, C. Ulasiński, J. Szymańska, Centrum Doradztwa Strategicznego, Kraków 2010.

<sup>21</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>22</sup> *Polityka państwa wobec migracji powrotnych...*, op. cit.

<sup>23</sup> *Poakcesyjne powroty Polaków...*, op. cit.

<sup>24</sup> *Kierunek Małopolska...*, op. cit.

<sup>25</sup> E. Matejko, *Reintegracja poakcesyjnych migrantów powrotnych na polskim rynku pracy – wyniki analizy jakościowej* [in:] *Poakcesyjne powroty Polaków...*, op. cit, pp. 34-47.

## 2. intentionally unpredictable return.<sup>26</sup>

From the point of view of the „utilization” in the country of the migrants’ capitals, the intentionally completed returns are the most significant ones.

Another problem related to the question how the capitals of return migrants should be utilized is their correct valuation. The estimation of the economic capital acquired abroad and its application in home country does not pose considerable problems. However, the measurement of social (e.g. the networks of transnational contacts) or cultural resources (e.g. new competences, qualifications, work culture) and the estimation of their utilization in home country cannot be precisely analyzed. The authors of the *Kierunek Małopolska...* report, when quoting the respondents, point out to the fact, that the stay abroad is not necessarily related with the multiplication of cultural or social capital<sup>27</sup>. In some cases one should rather talk about the loss of these forms of capital (broken family and social ties, the loss of professional competences due to many years of work below one’s competences). In the typology of return migrants suggested by the authors of the report, there is - apart from such categories as “tourists”, “specialists” and “investors” – a category of “actors of the change”, which refers to migrants whose acquired capitals are the richest. They are young people with higher education who went abroad to gain new skills, professional experience and financial means to reach a defined target. In migration theories such type of return migrants is referred to as the agents of economic culture of well developed countries, who contribute to their ethnic culture new systems of value, patterns of cognition and behavior<sup>28</sup>. However, the possession of valuable resources on the part of return migrants does not mean that they really become the actors of change. Their ability to introduce innovations and to play the role of actors of change depends on structural factors in the home country: the relations of power and tradition and values.<sup>29</sup>

## 4. Research model of professional trajectories of post-accession migrants

Despite the fact that the presented above investigation results significantly fill in the gap in our knowledge on post-accession and return migration, the perspective applied in the article allows for a wider research approach. When analyzing the impact of social and cultural

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<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, p. 44.

<sup>27</sup> *Kierunek Małopolska...*, op. cit., p. 61

<sup>28</sup> F. Cerase, *Nostalgia or disenchantment: Considerations on return migration*, [w:] *The Italian experience in the United States*, red. S.M. Tomasi, M.H. Engel, Center for Migration Studies, New York, 1974

<sup>29</sup> J. P. Cessario, *Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited*, *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 2004, nr 6 (2), pp. 254-279.

capitals on professional trajectories, the investigation should consider three categories of post-accession migrants:

1. migrants staying in the hosting country (intentionally completed stay/ intentional unpredictability);
2. return migrants in Poland (intentionally completed stay/ intentional unpredictability);
3. migrants staying in third countries, after a stay in the first hosting country or after a period of stay in Poland and subsequent migration (intentionally completed stay/ intentional unpredictability).

That approach makes it possible to study a wide spectrum of professional trajectories that were influenced by spatial movement of migrants. Moreover, the investigations of professional trajectories should cover a wide time spectrum, in which all changes in the social and professional mobility in home country and in the first and the subsequent countries are significant. As a result, professional career is considered as a continuum, where transfers occur in two areas: one area refers to the changes of position in social and professional hierarchy and the other to geographical mobility. The research should aim at determining:

1. what social and cultural resources the migrants acquire/lose in different social and cultural spaces,
2. how the migrants utilize the acquired capitals,
3. what barriers make it difficult/impossible for them to utilize the acquired capitals.

The wide time spectrum applied in the investigations on professional trajectories of migrants should take into consideration the following stages influencing a career path, in which the resources of social and cultural capitals should be estimated:

1. family home experience (the capital acquired in the family: informal education, the networks of family contacts and of peer groups);
2. the period of formal education (capitals acquired at school, university)
3. professional experience gained in home country:
  - a. the first job,
  - b. the second job,
  - c. subsequent jobs;
4. professional experience in the first hosting country:
  - a. the first job,
  - b. the second job,

- c. subsequent jobs;

*in the case of return migration:*

- 5. professional experience in home country after the return from migration
  - a. the first job,
  - b. the second job,
  - c. subsequent jobs;

*in the case of another migration from home country (return to the first hosting country or departure to another country)*

- 6. professional experience in another hosting country
  - a. the first job,
  - b. the second job,
  - c. subsequent jobs.

Such a construction of a research project will make it possible to obtain a complete answer to the question of the impact on career paths of social and cultural capitals acquired both in home and hosting countries. What is more, such a research perspective enables a formulation of more general conclusions on factors that influence the transition of social and cultural capitals between the migrants' ethnic and hosting countries.

## **Conclusion**

The presented above theories of social and cultural capital and their application in the investigations on post-accession migrations aimed at showing the impact of migration movements on individual career paths. When investigating social and professional mobility, special attention was paid to juxtapose the professional positions of migrants in their home and in hosting countries, also at different moments of their stay abroad. The research perspective presented in the final part of the article enables a holistic analysis of a career path in its complexity and as a certain *continuum*. Thanks to the measurement of the social and cultural resources in particular "moments" and as a result of the analysis of factors that have a decisive influence on the conditions of capitals transfer over state borders, it will be possible to determine more general rules that govern the transfers.

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### ***Summary***

The aim of the article is to discuss the hitherto research on the career paths of post-accession migrants, which considered the elements of the theory of social and cultural capitals and to present the author's own model of the investigations on the migrants' professional trajectory. The first part of the article discusses the differences in the definitions of social and cultural capital in relation to the theories of Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988), Nan Lin (1999) and Robert Putnam (2000) and gives examples how these theories were applied in the studies on migrations. The second part presents the results of the hitherto investigations on the impact of social and cultural capital on the career paths of Polish migrants in Ireland. The third part includes the discussion on the results of investigations how the capitals acquired in the migrants' home country were utilized. Part four includes the presentation of the author's research model on the impact of social and cultural capital on the career paths of the post-accession migrants. The model applied a wide time perspective that enabled the analysis of the impact of the social and cultural capital acquired as a result of geographical mobility (migrations to and from the hosting country) on the social and professional mobility (promotion, demotion, lack of change). The presented research perspective made it also possible to determine the factors that may support or hinder the transfer of the social capital (e.g. the resources in the networks of transnational contacts) and the cultural capital (e.g. language competence, work culture) between the home and hosting countries.