

Preface

Ethnicity – an Ambiguous Concrete Term?

Ethnicity is a term that covers in itself many meanings and provides at the same time reasons for lively discussions, fierce disputes, extensive debates and continuous theoretical deliberations. This ambiguity, or more precisely equivocalness, is a derivative of a multitude of attempts to define this phenomenon, made, inter alia, by sociologists, anthropologists of culture, cultural experts, philosophers or political scientists.¹

Ethnicity, as a conceptual category developed by representatives of various scientific disciplines, refers to extensive and complex sets of social and psychological phenomena that take place both in the public and private spheres. On the one hand, it is a very useful analytical instrument, yet, on the other hand, it is a set of features of individuals and communities that can be practically distinguished and that create individual and collective identity, on the basis of such attributes as e.g. language, origin, race, culture or multigenerational traditions. The foundations of ethnicity are very often rooted in deep primordial, conscious elements that constitute a bond based on a real or symbolic relationship, in which individuals that create a community express their belief and approval. A territorial, temporary, historical, ideological or even – when observing current times – economical component very often appears among these elements. The classical presentation² of ethnicity is no longer sufficient to describe phenomena that we observe today; it requires supplementation – a subsequent extension of the limits of this concept that is originally associated with a private, almost intimate sphere of consciousness that gives meaning to the life of an individual and a sense of belonging to a community. Ethnicity was initially understood as being related to a top-down, natural (and not acquired by choice) entitlement to be a community member. If a choice was made, it was the privilege of a community to accept an individual into its circle, exclude a person or refuse to accept him or her. While looking from such perspective at the concept of ethnicity, the key element of identity and of belonging form a set of features that

¹ *Ethnicity. Theory and Experience*, ed. by D. Moynihan, N. Glazer, Cambridge 1975, p. 10.

² Compare e.g.: S. Ossowski, *Analiza socjologiczna pojęcia ojczyzny*, in: *idem, Z zagadnień psychologii społecznej*, Warszawa 1967, *Dziela*, vol. 3.

are related to origin. Three pairs of elements of a person's heritage create this set: biological and genetic as well as cultural and social, approved and supported by individuals who belong to the same group. Common cultural codes are shaped in the space formulated in such a way, under the influence of ethnicity that constitute the basic integration mechanism in the internalization processes of values and group standards.

The concept that is considered here, as we notice, can cover rich varieties of content in itself, full of signs, metaphors and symbols that hide many layers of meaning whose adequate interpretation and operationalization requires advanced cultural competences that are acquired, above all, by long-term acquisition of experience of the same material and symbolic-mythological space. However, two other cognitive perspectives also occur simultaneously next to a so "fundamentalistically" perceived primordial ethnicity. One of them treats ethnicity as a dynamic construct that is mainly shaped by historical circumstances, so by events that do not belong to the set of so called natural factors. In this case ethnicity becomes an element that is acquired and formed with the important participation of external entities, e.g. other groups or societies. An example of an ethnic awareness that emerged in such a way, arising as a protest response against British domination was (Northern-) American identification, that left a place in itself for "component" ethnicities that were represented by ethnic groups, which create the society of the future United States. Defining the boundaries of an ethnic group, according to Fredrick Barth, is a basic principle that regulates not only the process of reinforcing collective and individual identity, but also the shaping of relationships with the environment.³

This "constructivist" concept is in opposition to the first of the enlisted ones, creating at the same time with the third type of understanding ethnicity as a strategy of reaching goals, both political, economical and social. "Instrumental" ethnicity constitutes a reservoir of valuable (in the sense of usability) instruments used to acquire supporters for lobbying definite contents and securing community interests or those, which are defined as communal by the elites.⁴ Examples of ethnicity perceived in such a way can be found in many societies, which lets us draw the conclusion that texts about ethnicity are very often and willingly used as instruments for building and strengthening one's own position. John and Jean Comaroff write about it in their work entitled „Etniczność sp. z o.o.”,⁵ a catchphrase that encapsulates a lot of this idea's meaning. The authors provide not only examples of tribes and indigenous people of Africa, Australia and Latin America, but also of Europe, in which, inter alia, Welshness, Scottishness or Catalonianness provide a kind of an ethno-strategy, as

³ F. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Boston [1969].

⁴ Compare: M. Banaś, *Etniczność na sprzedaż*, Kraków 2005; J.L. Comaroff, J. Comaroff, *Etniczność sp. z o.o.*, Kraków 2011; A.D. Smith, *Etniczne źródła narodów*, transl. by M. Głowacka-Grajper, Kraków 2009, especially pp. 11-16, Seria Cultura.

⁵ J.L. Comaroff, J. Comaroff, *Etniczność...*

well as something like an ethno-product or ethno-brand.⁶ As we notice, ethnicity itself can become a strategy to create a market in its literal meaning; it can also become a product that is sought out for, valuable good, which enables one to fulfill one's economic plans. Examples of this can be found in Indian reservations that run casinos, Namibian villages that sell original products of local craftsmanship, in the Tucharars-Caatani societies that certify shamans' services, or in Saams that have a trademark reserved for their *duodji* products.⁷

The definitional structure of ethnicity being more and more complicated and developed, questions are raised about its validity, especially in light of the following statement:

(...) ethnicity is neither a monolithic "thing", nor an analytical construct in and for itself – it should be understood as a loose, impermanent set of signs that serves to create and communicate relations that mediate to give sense to collective awareness, cultural similarity, this being a point of reference that gives meaning to common emotional conduct.⁸

Such a formulation of ethnicity contrasts with the much simpler understanding of it which does not, however, lose any of its topicality. This narrow, particular interpretation treats ethnicity as a kind of a bond of communal nature, one which is contrasted with national or state solidarity. However, an ethnic bond is interpreted as an attribute of groups based on a belief in a common origin, which contains in itself an element of tribalism, an identity, based on systems of relationships of firstly, an actual and secondly, a symbolic nature. It has an impact on the perception of ethnicity in the evaluative manner, as the type of (self) group identification that is oriented towards "we" – one's own community – understood in positive categories.⁹

According to Nathan Glazer ethnicity and race constitute a part of a broader family of social identities – the family that also includes religious beliefs or language groups and can be defined by common – real or mythical – heritage, history and experiences.¹⁰ Therefore, ethnicity constitutes a type of cultural "capital"¹¹ – a great potential asset that can be used both on the level of direct interactions and in the broader structural dimension. This potential – when skillfully used – enables a group

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 25-31, 44-51, 151-161.

⁷ Compare: *ibidem*, pp. 82, 160-161; L. Mróz, *Tuchararzy-caatani dzisiaj. Dialog kultur czy rewitalizacja tożsamości?*, in: *Dialog na pograniczach kultur i cywilizacji*, ed. by T. Paleczny, M. Banaś, Kraków 2009, p. 178; M. Banaś, *Samów gry i zabawy*, „Zabawy i Zabawki” 2008, No. 1-4, p. 189.

⁸ J.L. Comaroff, J. Comaroff, *Etniczność...*, p. 52.

⁹ M. Starniawski, *Odrębność rasowa jako kategoria strukturalno-polityczna*, „Przegląd Polonijny” 2000, No. 4, p. 89.

¹⁰ N. Glazer, *Blacks and Ethnic Groups. The Difference and the Political Difference it Makes*, „Social Problems” 1971, Vol. 18, p. 447.

¹¹ Cultural features are typically related to *ethnicity* – according to Pierre van den Berghe, yet “racial” physical features are subjectively perceived by a group and/or people around it.

to establish collective identification insists the fulfillment of the economic and social interests of the group.⁷

While considering the problem of ethnicity it should be remembered that ethnicity does not exist by itself, but only in relation to another ethnicity (here: community). This notion is explained by Jarosław Rokicki in the following way: "In the light of such an interpretation (...) Poles are not an ethnic group in Poland, but they become one in for example the United States."⁸ The definitions of ethnicity that have been evoked so far present three main ways of interpreting this concept indicating to:

- as a group with diversified character of social bonds: natural, organizational, symbolic
- as a type of group identification; this identification can take a visible form at the level of social awareness.
- as social movements – group activities are motivated by the conviction a community has, of belonging to a definite group.

Rokicki asserts after Comaroff that "ethnicity" can be perceived as *an object* of analysis that is something which requires explanation or as a *principle* that serves to explain phenomena which constitute a part of human existence. Therefore, in one case ethnicity is the object of our observation, while in the other case – it is a way of explaining observed social phenomena. The alone-mentioned John Comaroff considers ethnicity to be a qualifying principle, according to which a group distinguishes "its members" from "strangers". Such an understanding of ethnicity makes from it an element of collective awareness, a criterion of group divisions and at the same time

(...) an indicator of hierarchies of social groups within a homogenous political organism. That is why ethnicity is a feature of a community that defines its status [highlighting M.B.] of this community. Belonging to a given ethnic category, in the same way as in the case of belonging to a given race, defines the chances people have of access to economical goods, power, social and cultural goods that are so limited.

V. Isajiwa, one of the co-authors of the introduction to *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, indicates that the key attributes of ethnicity are the following:¹²

- common national or geographical origin or common ancestors,
- common culture, customs, religion, language,
- common racial and physical features,
- awareness of "we" type (should be supplemented here by the following statement: awareness of identity from other "Others" [comment made by M.B.]),
- sense of belonging to a group and the loyalty that results,
- domination of social bonds of *Gemeinschaft* type (in contrast to *Gessellschaft* [supplement M.B.]),

¹² V. Isajiwa, *Definition of ethnicity*, „Ethnicity” 1974, No. 1, pp. 111-124, cit. after: J. Rokicki, *Rasa i etniczność...*, p. 34.

- shared values,
- separate institutions that provide service for group members,
- an immigrant group's origin.

Commonly shared and understood symbols, music, folklore or its elements, cuisine, settlement and employment patterns, as well as the patterns of spending free time should be included as aspects of ethnicity composed in such a manner. However, the key element remains the sense of ancestral-generational community, the sense of identity and the perception of this identity by the environment.¹³ This is due to a specific type of a bond, to which Stephen Cornell¹⁴ turned his attention, identifying its four categories: of kinship (*affinity*), community of interest, common institutions and common culture. According to Cornell a community of kinship is a decisive factor in the distinguishing of an ethnic group from other social groups. Therefore, the first step to "the birth" of an ethnic group is an awareness of common roots. Then the community of interest can develop among its members. The next stage includes the development of a community of institutions (otherwise understood and a logical phenomenon) and finally, of the cultural community in order for the process of developing an ethnically homogenous community to be completed.

The aforementioned ways of considering ethnicity are only several from among many, some of which are very similar, some very different ways of defining this phenomenon. All concepts, although not identical in building the hierarchy of importance in ethnicity attributes attribute special significance to the common – real or mythical – origin (e.g. territorial, national, cultural) to a group members. Therefore, the community of origin constitutes the primary criterion that defines the essence of ethnicity, whereas the other properties are secondary. Why is that common roots and blood ties constitute an unquestionable identifier of individuals? It is perhaps true that: "the power of the symbolism of blood relations leads a human beyond the «here and now» as limited by dimensions of an individual's life, showing a vision of relations with the future and the past."¹⁴ As already mentioned Cornell thinks we are connected to preceding and future generations by blood relations and we become immortal to some extent in this way. While constituting a fragment of something that has lasted for centuries, thanks to ethnicity we can overcome the limits of the present time, touch that which is physically distant, but close in the spiritual sense.¹⁵

Therefore, the identity of an ethnic group emerges as a result of the conviction and belief of group members in a common origin, kinship that includes not only the immediate family, but also relatives, neighbors, co-residents of a settlement, village, region and in some cases also a country. However, this identity is also shaped under the influence of the attitudes, judgments and opinions expressed by the group's circle.

¹³ Introduction, in: *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. by S. Thernstrom, Cambridge-London 1981, p. VI. 13.

¹⁴ Cit. after: J. Rokicki, *Więź społeczna a zmiana kultury. Studium dynamiki polskiej zbiorowości etnicznej w USA*, Wrocław 1992, pp. 21-22, *Biblioteka Polonijna*, 26.

¹⁵ J. Rokicki, *Rasa i etniczność...*, p. 37.

Here, it seems necessary to highlight the existence of the so called double border of an ethnic group – one border determined by the group itself and another border marked out by the environment of this group. Therefore, we have two various ways of classification or identification, in the first criteria are determined by the members of a group itself, but in the second, by “stranger” individuals who belong to an external world that is “out-ethnic” or “non-ethnic”. The differences between these classification manners (perception and self-perception) can lead to and very often do lead to various or divergent impressions of the community being formed.

The ethnicity possessed by a group, as we can see, does not remain equally stable, unchangeable – it is a set of attributes which are developed in ways determined by changes that take place in the environment. These changes can lead to a narrowing of a group's borders (isolation strategies) or a blurring of its identity (various levels of assimilation and integration). It depends on the social, political as well as economic conditions. These last seem especially to have a decisive impact as they determine the supply of material goods. If it is modest for a long period of time, it can lead to growing tensions and rivalry and as, a consequence, hostility that can take the form of symbolic and/or physical oppression.

No matter how ethnicity is understood, it is important to emphasize its great power, which can be and is used in many ways, many areas of life and for various purposes. Not a long time ago, the comparing of ethnicity with a product, market value or – as Comaroffs writes: “stock replenishment of an essence of an imagined community”¹⁶ would have met with fierce criticism and protest at such a concept. Nowadays not many persons are astonished by a development that is of a specifically misaligned nature: ethnicity entered the market, which accepted it with open arms. Therefore, we need to evaluate who in this relation broke current suitability borders and what has resulted from this, as well as what can result in the future. Let the collection of texts included in this volume help us in this. We believe that it will happen in this way. As it includes the multi-aspectual concept of ethnicity and identity that are related to it, as through the eyes of Polish and foreign scientists. Their discourse – more broadly understood as narration – delivers valuable reflections on the contemporary conditions of post-modern individuals, societies and nations.

Monika Banaś

The edited volume consists of four chapters devoted to various and specific modes of narrative. The first chapter covers scientific narratives concerning immigration and cultural policies in Europe. The second chapter includes articles focusing scientific narratives on nationalism and national identity. The third chapter includes

¹⁶ J.L. Comaroff, J. Comaroff, *Etniczność...*, p. 157.

papers concerning narratives on individual and collective identity as it is constructed by migrants (Polish, Finnish). The last chapter covers narratives on socio-economic and cultural implications of migration processes, such as career trajectories, the impact of migration on local/national economies, entrepreneurship, intergenerational relations and migrants' barriers of adaptation in various cultural contexts. The volume includes a total of twelve papers, whose authors are affiliated with various academic institutions, mainly in Poland and Ukraine, Bialorus, Bulgaria, Russia, and Ireland. According to our design the papers are conceived either as scientific meta-narratives, understood as the specific mode of a "structured story" presented in the language of the given academic discipline, or the research subjects' own stories, presented and analysed with the use of scientific tools. The geographical scope of the volume involves mainly European countries, with an emphasis on Central and Eastern Europe, as well as Russia. The authors' academic backgrounds enable the editors to undertake this multidisciplinary perspective on such phenomena as immigration policy, socio-cultural identity, ethnicity and migration. They were analysed through the scientific tools of sociology, political science, cultural anthropology, philosophy, economics and social psychology.

In the first chapter one can find two articles. The paper of Barbara Jaczewska is a comparative study of immigration policy in Germany and the UK. The author uses the concept of "immigration management", understood as the creation of rules and strategies of immigration policy. Jaczewska provides the reader with a brief historical sketch of immigrant inflow and changes in the policies towards them. The historical context helps one to understand two alternative approaches to policy construction – one based on the imperial heritage of British Empire aimed at multi-cultural cohesion within one state, and the second based on ethnic bonds (the right of blood) aimed at a general ban on immigration and a worker rotation system. However, the migration management in the 21st century has to take under consideration demographic (ageing of society) as well as economic factors (crisis). This leads to a more open approach than one select category of immigrants (highly educated, skilled workers), at the same time – with more restricted rules towards refugees, asylum seekers, illegal immigrants. Despite the development of a common approach to immigration policy within the European Union, differences between the German pluralistic model of society and the British multicultural society seem to persist.

The second article in this chapter, written by Dessislava Damyanova, presents the discussion on European multicultural models. Damyanova calls for mutual enagement of different perspectives within Europe based on studies of heterogeneous traditions. The author advocates a pluralistic approach to socio-economic and cultural discrepancies, as well as open inter-religious and inter-ethnic dialogue. In her narrative Domyanova stresses the need to develop a new multicultural concept of identity in the Balkan and Southern Europe. The author calls this new concept "multicultural post-nationalism". It is understood as a pluralistic political culture in the public sphere, whereas religious diversity is relegated to the private lives of individuals and communities. At this 'private' level, Damyanova sees the potential of Catholicism

(in case of Bulgaria) to provide resources for tolerance and mutual acceptance of other faiths, encouraging the optimal conditions for mutual understanding and tolerance between distinct denominations.

The second chapter of the volume, on nationalism and national identity, opens with a paper by Marharyta Fabrykant, a study on ethnonationalist revival. The author seeks to move beyond two conceptual dichotomies: ethno- versus civic-nationalism (Friedrich Meinecke) and Western (geographical essentialism) versus Eastern (irrational) nationalism. The aim of Fabrykant's study is to formulate alternative hypotheses on the defining feature of ethnonationalism and verify them empirically. To do so, the author set up a mixed-methods design: a) qualitative analysis of survey data based on 12 variables selected from the 259 items used in World Survey Data (2005) that are relevant to the point of debate on nationalism; b) qualitative analysis of texts revealing the inner rationales of the construction of nationalist paradigms (500 narratives from Bialorus on national identity). Among the variables drawn from World Survey Data are such items as subjects' attitudes towards immigrants, willingness to fight for the nation, pride in one's nationality, opinions on restrictions towards immigrants. Fabrykant points out four factors corresponding to independent dimensions of nationalism: external nationality (EN), multiculturalism (MC), national commitment (NC) and internal nationality (IN). In the next step of her analysis, she identifies five clusters of countries corresponding to empirically derived types of nationalism, which allows one to sort out various geographical regions in accordance with this typology. The study leads Fabrykant to conclude that the prototypical feature of ethnonationalism is its inherent essentialism in the form of identity ascription rather than its previously described "irrationality", emotional appeal or xenophobia.

The paper by Mikhail Kabitskiy provides the reader with an examination of the general features in the folkloristic, ethnological and anthropological studies closely related with the identity problems in Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal). Kabitskiy's examination brings to the light the connection of these studies to the history of southern countries from the 19th century to the late 20th century. The historical background is essential to understand the prevalence of cultural research on the nation's 'own people of the metropolis and its nature' as opposed to other research traditions aimed at exploration of "exotic" African or Oceanic tribes. The historical context reveals the need for rethinking national identity, particularly crucial to fieldwork researchers of Italian, Spanish or Portuguese origins. Kabitskiy's paper includes the presentation of the work of such researchers as T. Braga, V. Castronovo, A.J. Dias, M. Machado Alvarez, Z.C. Pedroso, M. Viegas Guerreiro, all of whose work can be conceived as the 'anthropology of national construction'.

The last paper in this chapter, written by Tatyana Lipai and Olga Volkova, studies the impact of the changing geopolitical constellation of Russian female scientists' careers and social positioning. The author conducted biographical interviews with female scientists who, during their time in the USSR, were sent from Moscow academic institutions to USSR republics. Just before the deconstruction of the USSR, under

the pressures of the contradictory forces (nationalisms in newly independent states), female scientists and their families began to return to their motherland having spent several (in some cases – over 20) years far away from their place of origin. The most striking element in their narratives is the sharp contrast between their social position in the former Soviet republic and their position back in the motherland. The time of forced brainpower migration to the Soviet Republics is seen as a time of high status, reflected in high position within organizational structure and the lack of discriminatory practices towards women. The study provides politics, ideology and culture as the context reshaping migrants' biographies reflected in their narratives.

Chapter Three brings to light narratives of migrants themselves, their voice on identity and identification. The paper by Marcin Gońda is an empirical study of identity constructions by graduates from the former Soviet Union who have Polish origins and who undertake studies in Poland. Gońda applies two theoretical frameworks: Alfred Schütz's concept of "the homcomer" and Everett Stonequist's concept of "the marginal man". Through the analysis of autobiographical narrative interviews, Gońda seeks answers to the question regarding the ways in which students' stays in Poland affected their national identification. The author focuses on the reconstruction of Polish cultural and symbolic capital, as transmitted within their families and local communities, and the way that cultural content is verified upon arrival in Poland. Gońda identifies three modes of "biographical action planning": "Poland as a land of unfulfilled hope"; "Poland as an escape destination" (*escape to* as opposed to *escape from*) and "Poland as a source of one's empowerment and self-development". The study leads to the conclusion that Poles living abroad may develop and transmit an illusory and mythical image of homeland. Some of them develop a so-called "homcomer syndrome" – they are torn between their current place of residence (ideological homeland) and country of origin (private homeland).

The paper by Katarzyna Wójcikowska continues the discussion on migrants' identity construction. Her paper is based on empirical study of Polish return migrants who grew up abroad and as young adults return to their country of origin, Poland. Wójcikowska uses the concept of "identity strategy", by which she understands a person's "partly conscious, partly unconscious reaction to a certain biographical situation, and also a way of dealing with it". On the basis of in-depth interviews conducted by her, Wójcikowska identifies four "identity strategies" embodied in migrants' narratives: a) "obvious Polishness" which refers to migrants who have no doubt of being Polish and perceive their return to Poland as "homcoming" b) "emigrational identity" reflected in the strong identification with the country of immigration, specific to migrants born abroad, for whom the immigration country is a "given reality"; c) "difficult binationalism" reflected in a duality of identifications strongly determined by external factors, which is specific to migrants who discover their Polish identity in their time of "teenage rebellion", and then construct their own image yet to be confronted and reflected; d) "transnational identity" reflected in the rejection of a clear self-perception in the national categories, which is specific to "modern nomads" – travelling cosmopolitans functioning beyond traditional social and cultural structures.

Marta Petryk's paper is a study of two narratives on collective identity of Kvens/ Finnish immigrants in Norway. The study is based on the representation of Norwegian Finns and Kvens in the "Ruijan Kaiku" newspaper. The Norwegian Finns' narrative refers to the big migration waves from Finland and Sweden to northern Norway. By some, the "Kven" name is considered unnecessary and should be rejected as invective invented by the Norwegian majority. According to this narrative, the Kven name makes an unnecessary division within the Finn community in Norway. The alternative "Kven narrative" refers to Kvens as a separate ethnic group, living not only in Norway, but also in other parts of *Nordkalotten* since the Middle Ages. According to this narrative, the Kven name is considered positive, it is important to distinguish these Kvens from other people of Finnish origin. Kvens are considered a national minority in Norway; they have nothing to do with national state of Finland, and they have their own language, which has been nearly forgotten and lost and needs to be revitalised.

The last chapter of the volume covers both migrants' and journalistic narratives on the socio-economic and cultural implications of migration and return, especially with regard to recent East-West migratory waves. The paper by Mariusz Dziągiewski is the study of journalistic narratives on the economic and social consequences of post-accession outflow from Poland. On the basis of content analysis of two weekly magazines ("The Politics" and "Common Weekly"), Dziągiewski traces the economic and social implications as depicted in the press articles. The narrative on economic effects of the outflow is constructed according to the rule of a cause-effect chain, with both a positive and a negative version. The positive shows the advantage in the outflow in the form of money transferred by migrants to Poland (remittances), the rise in the level of consumption in the country, investments, decreases in the surplus labour force, a decrease in unemployment, and finally – the economic growth in Poland. The negative version focuses on the gap in Polish labour market caused by the outflow of professionals, inflow of experts and skilled workers from beyond the Eastern border (often depicted as a threat) and the disappearance of a local spirit of entrepreneurship. The journalistic narratives on social implications have two dimensions as well. The positive one stresses the fact of migrant cultural capital accumulation in the form of education, new professional and cultural experience, and schooling in citizenship in mature democracies. The negative version of the narrative recognizes such implications as migrant family break-ups, the phenomenon of "euro-orphans" and the social deprivation of graduates working in low-paid, unskilled jobs. Dziągiewski's study reveals some stereotypes and myths in journalistic narratives, which can now be identified thanks to comparisons with the empirical data on post-accession migration from Poland.

Justyna Salamońska's paper is an empirical study of highly skilled Polish migrants to Ireland (architects, engineers) as depicted in their own narratives on career development. Salamońska applied the concept of the "boundary-less career", understood as "the evolving sequence of a person's work experience over time". The paper is a rare example on the panel of qualitative study including six waves of interviews. The analysis of the highly-skilled migrants' narratives reveals the crucial rule of the political and economic context in shaping migrants' career development in Ireland. This

context is specific to the granting of free labour access to Polish migrants during the unprecedented Celtic Tiger economic boom, mainly in construction sector. Ireland in that period is being constructed in migrants' narratives as a land of excellent career opportunity. Migrants' career paths in almost all cases were marked by impressively fast upward social mobility. Quickly changing positions in the construction sector were always connected to better salaries, working conditions, and the career itself was not considered to be limited to within a single organization. Since 2006, when economic crisis struck Ireland, four out of five white-collar workers in the construction sector have been made redundant. Salamońska identifies the new lifestyles of her subjects who, thanks to their flexibility, hobbies – quite easily adapted to the new economic situation. Salamońska's paper touches upon the issue of returning home and a certain lack of migrants' skill transferability back to Poland.

Ewa Ślęzak's paper covers the narratives of highly-skilled Polish migrants in the health care sector in the UK. The author focuses on the intergenerational relations of migrating professionals, as depicted in their narratives. Ślęzak applies T. Szlendak's typology of intergenerational relations, and on the basis of in-depth interviews she identifies the types of relations which prevail among health care professionals. As follows, these are: a) "dense relations", where children of migrants are deeply engaged in relationships in all aspects of intergenerational solidarity, even if their parents reside abroad; b) "sociable relations" – refers to affectional and associational solidarity, but lacking economic and direct support; c) "obligatory relations" which cover economic and direct support, but are marked by lack of common agreement on values, norms and emotional proximity; d) "separated relations" which address relations with the absent fathers who had abandoned their families.

Irina Maidanik's paper refers to the correlation between labour migration and entrepreneurship in the context of migration from Ukraine. Maidanik's study is based on quantitative research on young adults who have parents working abroad and on qualitative (in-depth interviews) research with experts, that is, businessmen and local authorities. Maidanik is interested in the determinants and scale of entrepreneurship of former external labour migrants. She identifies the decrease in newly setup entrepreneurs in the period of 2005-2008 due to the deteriorating economic situation in Ukraine and the changing behaviour strategies of potential entrepreneurs. Maidanik is also focused on the entrepreneurship potential of labour migrants' adult children. She provides the reader with a summary analysis of experts' narratives which seem to be quite varied. Some experts see no difference in opportunities between migrant and non-migrant children. Others stress the specific benefits of migrants' children, such as parents' ideas, links, contacts outside the country, which make their first steps in business world much easier. Some experts argue that migrants' children are not willing to start up new businesses as they are used to living at their parents' expense. Another narrative constructs migrants' children as having a higher standard of life that pushes them to seek appropriate sources of income to support it.

