

Justyna Łukaszewska-Bezulska

*Institute of Social Policy
University of Warsaw¹*

***Social capital and migrations:
an analysis of interactions
in light of particular theoretical concepts***

Summary

The purpose of this article is to identify the relationships and interactions between social capital and foreign labour migrations in light of some theoretical concepts from the perspective of the main actors of collective life of migrants, i.e. sending community, host community and ethnic diasporas. In particular, it discussed issues such as the role of migration networks and the functions of ethnic enclaves.

Key words: foreign labour-related migration, social capital, network migration, ethnic enclaves

Introduction

The purpose of this article is a multi-aspect identification of the interactions between social capital and migrations abroad for economic reasons.

The relationships between social capital and spatial mobility may be analysed from the viewpoint of:

¹ Instytut Polityki Społecznej UW, Nowy Świat 67, 00-927 Warszawa; adres elektroniczny autorki: justynalukaszewska@wp.pl

- participating actors, social subjects (individuals, small social groups, large social groups, ethnic diasporas in particular),
- the direction of the relationships (the influence of migrations on the level of social capital or social capital on the scale or the nature of spatial mobility),
- the results of interactions between migrations abroad for economic reasons and social capital,
- various types of social capital (notably, the differences between bridging capital and bonding capital in the spatial mobility context),
- various types of migration (with permanent- and circular migration in particular),
- main components (elements) of social capital (networks, bonds, trust).

In this article, the core of analysis of relationships between social capital and spatial mobility is based on an account of their consequences, both positive and negative. These consequences will be developed upon from the point of view of key actors in the collective lives of migrants, i.e. the sending community, the receiving community and ethnic diasporas. It should be underlined that when analysing relationships between social capital and migrations, an overlapping of the three categories of social life analysis mentioned above can be observed. In this context, the perspectives of an individual and the community are also connected, which is most of all due to the specific features of different definitions of social capital. This article will also demonstrate the role of main components of social capital, that is, social networks in particular and, to a lesser extent, trust in the process of labour-related migrations abroad. This review-analysis article will also attempt to answer why the perception of social capital is changing with the alterations in spatial mobility of the population, particularly concerning the widespread circular migrations and the so-called “fluid” migrations. Another question tackles to what extent the social capital category might be useful in spatial mobility research. These questions will be analysed on the basis of literature review. As both social capital and migrations abroad have been thoroughly reviewed in Polish literature², these two terms will not be further discussed in this article. Using the sociological approach, social capital may usually have three definitions: one of a source of assets passed on to individuals or groups through a network of contacts outside the family, as a source of social control or of benefits passed on by selected social groups. These concepts can be traced to the three main

²The source of the literature on the subject comprises both translations of classical works by theoreticians of both concepts (i.e. Putnam, Leonardi, Nanetti 1995; Putnam 2008, Fukuyama 1997; Bourdieu, Wacquant L. 2001; Castels, Miller 2011,) and local papers on the Polish side of the concepts: Trutkowski, Mandes 2005, Theiss 2007, Growiec 2011, Klimowicz, Bokajło (ed.) 2012. As far as migration is concerned, the source literature is even richer both in terms of theoretical analysis and reviews of empiric research, conducted by academic centres such as the Institute of Social Policy of the University of Warsaw, the Silesian Institute, Centre of Research on Migrations of the University of Warsaw, Centre of Migration Research (CeBaM) and many more.

social capital theoreticians: Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam. Further approaches provided by contemporary researchers are usually secondary to those created by the authors mentioned above, constituting their review or an addition to them. In papers on labour-related migrations abroad, researchers most often cite Pierre Bourdieu's theory, considering social capital an asset of the migrants and underlining the importance of migration networks.

Labour-related migrations and social capital

The influence of labour-related migrations abroad on the functioning of local communities has been described as early as William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. Many of their thoughts can be interpreted within the social capital category, although the authors themselves did not use this term. According to the researchers, in the initial phase of migration from Poland to the United States, migration was an undesired phenomenon for the community of origin, as it loosened its consistency and strength through limiting the control over an individual, thus having a negative impact on one of the main components of social capital: the ties (Thomas, Znaniecki 1976, p. 15).

Nowadays, R. Putnam is considered one of the most important analysts of social capital. Putnam observed that residential stability is strongly correlated with social participation, as "it takes time for a mobile individual to put down new roots (...). People who expect to move in the next five years are 20-25 percent less likely to attend church, attend club meetings, volunteer, or work on community projects than those who expect to stay put (Putnam 2000: 204). Therefore, according to R. Putnam, social mobility undermines both civic participation and community-based social capital. Similar conclusions can be reached with the *insider advantages approach* theory. According to authors, a certain level of immobility and as a result, of embedding in local community is crucial to the accumulation of social capital and to the sense of roots in the community (Fischer, Holm, Malmberg, Straubhaar 1998). In addition, according to another classic theory of social capital and its proponent, P. Bourdieu, "immigration leads to the sensation of "losing one's world", of a displacement between previously imprinted cognitive framework and the new conditions of action. The incompatibility of the acquired cognitive framework leads to, on one hand, the intelligibility of one's standing and difficulty in assigning the practitioners their meanings, and the identity of participants" (Jacyno 1997: 29).

R. Putnam's research of the relationship between ethnicity and social capital has been criticized by, among others, Richard Florida. He accuses the American political scientist of mistaking reasons for results and viewing every social problem through the lens of social capital deficit. R. Florida observes that migrants work hard to establish their boundaries of life in a new country, which means that they have far less time to engage in civic activities in the receiving country. Activity in the social area is further limited by an insufficient level of language and prominent cultural differences.

According to the author, migrants much more often are or feel excluded from the traditional institutions and organizations of political and civic activity (Florida 2010: 280). It means that interpreted social capital of the immigrants is lower than among other society members. Introducing the categories of bridging and bonding social capital (according to R. Putnam typology (Putnam 2000:22) into the analysis in question would probably lead to another set of conclusions. It can, after all, be assumed that immigrants are excluded from bridging capital in a particular local community, but may at the same time dispose of considerable assets of bonding capital, as they function in a closed, yet strong ethnic community. In general, finding a certain balance between bonding and bridging capital is a crucial challenge to communities ethnically diversified as a result of migration. The first of the types of capital mentioned above is, after all, highly exclusive, showing considerable tendencies to strengthen mutually exclusive tendencies and to underline the homogeneity of groups. At the same time, bonding capital is the “sociological superglue” (Putnam 2000:23), which offers, among others, different types of support to the members of a given community. Bridging capital, in turn, creates linkages between different communities, which are a crucial part of the integration process. When analysing the meaning of both types of capital, R. Florida advises that “Places with dense ties and high levels of traditional social capital provide advantages to insiders and thus promote stability while places with looser networks and less strong ties are more open to newcomers (Florida 2005: 282). Moreover, “some kinds of bonding social capital may discourage the formation of bridging social capital and vice versa” (Putnam 2000: 362). Another question, not tackled by either of the aforementioned researchers is the time perspective to analyse the interaction between labour-related migrations and social capital. Possibly, at the early stage of migration, those who experience it may indeed focus more on providing themselves with optimal living conditions (finding a job, a place to live, etc.) at the expense of, for example, establishing closer ties with other migrants or members of the receiving community, yet start to pay greater attention to these actions after finishing the stage of initial adaptation to the new living conditions.

Social capital and labour-related migrations

Social capital is sometimes described as “grease, fuel for migration” (Massey 1999 in: Grabowska-Lusińska, Okólski 2009: 175). Douglas Massey and Kristin Espinoza established a social capital indicator that includes the number and strength of ties of a certain person to the migrants in their family. The authors assumed that the quality of social capital depends on two factors: the strength and type of bonds tying an individual to others, and this individual’s migration experience (Massey, Espinoza 1997 as in: Górny, Stola 2001: 170). According to the authors, the importance of networks and social capital diminishes with the following migrations a person undertakes.

During the following journeys, the individual gains knowledge and experience, thus becoming a source of information for others. Therefore, the social capital that was crucial in the initial phase of migration becomes replaced by human capital. The role of the individual in the network of ties also changes: rather than a “taker” of assets, the individual becomes a “giver”. As observed by Agata Górny and Dariusz Stola, social capital is therefore a kind of credit, granted to the individual (Górny, Stola 2:186-187). In addition, according to D. Massey, every act of migration creates social capital between people to whom the migrant is somehow connected to, thus increasing the probability of further migrations from a given community (cumulative causation theory). The culmination/accumulation is interpreted as the following: each journey affects the social context of mobility to a certain extent, and most often causes the migratory movement to broaden. Well-developed social networks contribute to diversifying the risk and maximising the utility of social mobility. Therefore, causality is also cumulative as every single migration act changes the social context of the individual deciding to leave, making this decision more probable (Danilewicz, Dziekońska 2009: 99).

In the analysis of the consequences of relationships between labour-related migrations and social capital, particular attention should be paid to the migrational social capital, that is, “a particular type of means helping to reach migrations-related goals” (Górny, Stola 2001: 166). These “particular means” are most of all resources useful during migration and belonging to other people, such as knowledge and experience. Therefore, the migration social capital is composed of other types of capital (in Pierre Bourdieu’s typology, economic and social capital) and bonds that enable the use of these resources. As the authors claim, “the migration-related social capital is in fact a mere possibility to make use of other people’s resources, made possible by bonds of kinship or friendship with them, that is why this type capital may be called a potential resource (capital)” (Górny, Stola 2001: 166). The migration-related social capital is therefore composed of two elements: resources and bonds. This second component is of particular importance, as the bonds must make the individuals ready to let the others use goods that are important to them. More importantly, the two elements mentioned above may exist independently, while only their fusion bears migration-related social capital. As A. Górny and D. Stola observe, this type of resource has a particular set of features for circular migrations. According to them, this type of migration entices individuals to care for their social capital at least as much as it is the case in installation migrations, while with respect to them, the capital located in the place of origin is of particular importance. The journeys do not serve the migrants to part ways with their community of origin, but to improve, or at least maintain, one’s position in it (Górny, Stola 2001: 186).

It should be underlined that the process of creating the migration-related social capital is a very complicated phenomenon, which depends on the cultural context in both the place of origin and the destination of migration, as well as on the type of migration undertaken. According to Dariusz Niedźwiedzki, in case of circular

migrants, “building social capital in the host society and its reproduction in the sending society is a long-term process, rich in tensions, conflicts and overlapping pressures (Niedźwiedzki 2010: 237). Shaping and distributing this resource takes place in the conflict field, limited by two dimensions. The first one stems from the need to stay in touch with persons who remained in the country of origin and the social reality abroad. The second conflict is a result of tension associated with, on one hand, the need to accumulate social capital in the receiving community, on the other - the necessity to stay in touch with other Polish immigrants (Niedźwiedzki 2010: 237). According to D. Niedźwiedzki, the migration-related social capital plays an important role in the process of reconstructing the circular migrants’ identity. In this context, it is particularly useful to make a distinction between bonding and bridging capital, as circular migrants build, maintain, and reconstruct networks of relationships both from the members of the community of origin and the receiving community, as well as with other migrants. All in all, the shape and quality of this resource affect the acculturation process, adaptation strategies and social identities’ reconstruction trajectories.

However, the fact that the concepts described above analyse migration and social capital solely from the perspective of the receiving community or final migration, disregarding the social processes between the two is their weak link. In other words, these theories are often inadequate to describe, for instance, a series of processes that are a consequence of partial- or circular migration, as well as of labour-related migration within subcontracts or international employment agreements and the resulting “pending” of migrants between the two communities. The appearance of new types of migrations, such as fluid migrations and transmigrations, is also an important question. Thomas Faist’s theory of transnational social spaces is one of the concepts that bridge the theoretical gap in the matter. It assumes that potential migrants belong to social structures, i.e. migration systems, connecting them to other individuals and groups. Therefore, the networks that constitute the core of social structures and the associated social capital are a meso link between macro- and micro migration factors that function within transnational social spaces and may comprise, more often than not, a few geographical spaces, and are most importantly built with bonds and social capital. T. Faist argues that the development and functioning of transnational social spaces are most of all defined by structure (type of network) and social capital, the “contents” of social and symbolic bonds observed in a particular transnational space. T. Faist defines these associations as a series of continuous interpersonal transactions, in which actors are driven by “shared” interests, commitments and norm. Symbolic ties, in turn, are the relationships with ascribed, set meanings, past experiences, future expectations and representations (e.g. ties as a result of belonging to the same ethnic groups). Social capital, in turn, is understood as the “contents” of particular social and symbolic ties that determines the access to various resources that are accessible in a certain space, and the ability of individuals to use particular material- and non-material resources on the basis of belonging to communities or participating in a network. T. Faist assumes that migrations and social capital constitute the main

driving force inside a transnational social network, and also demonstrate five of its main functions that influence the development of spatial mobility:

1. the selective function - social capital viewed as a highly local resource, difficult to transfer abroad, therefore, strong social and symbolic ties to the sending community may hamper migration;
2. the diffusion function - the social capital transferred abroad is a potentially important factor, positively influencing the development of migration, as it enables access to resources located abroad;
3. the bridging function - when migrants maintain social and symbolic ties to their country of origin, social capital acts as a bridge between the sending and the receiving community;
4. the cost-reducing function (consider the principal function) - social capital facilitates access to resources in the country of immigration, therefore reducing transaction and adaptation costs;
5. adaptation - social capital enables access to resources in the country of destination, thus determining the migrants' way to adapt (Faist 2000 in: Górny, Kaczmarczyk 2003: 67-69).

Therefore, depending on the conditions, most of all, social and economic ones, social capital is a factor that may both facilitate and hamper migration. As argued by T. Faist, its key function is to constitute an asset enabling internal cohesion in the sending community, also thanks to its bridging function between the sending community and the country of destination. Moreover, as observed by Paweł Kaczmarczyk, "T. Faist's concept leads to the conclusion that possessing social capital is a prerequisite for acculturation and mobilisation of other types of capital: physical, political and cultural. Because access to this capital and the possibility to use it is of crucial importance, it may be expected of migrants to strive for the forms of migration that do not expose them to loss or diminution of the amount of social capital resources. In this sense, temporary or circulatory migration or migration of entire families may appear as an optimal solution" (Kaczmarczyk 2005: 90).

The Importance of Migration Networks

The role of migration networks is one of the key concepts analysed in the context of mutual relationships between spatial mobility and social capital. According to D. Massey, the author of cumulative causation theory, migration networks are "sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin" (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, Taylor 1993). According to them, it is not the networks themselves that fuel the migration process, but a specific, additional quality (that is, the social capital), established and accumulated through them.

The relationship between the social bonds and international migrations were studied in the 1970s by P. Neal Ritchey as one of the pioneer researchers of this question. Ritchey demonstrated the three basis hypotheses on the effect of social bonds on social mobility: *affinity hypothesis*, *information hypothesis* and *facilitating hypothesis*. While this first hypothesis seems to refer most of all to permanent migration, the second and the third one may also be applied to temporary migration. The common feature of the two latter hypotheses is the assumption that ties to people who already have some migration experience enable the individual to access the resources that might appear useful in the future, when making the decision to travel abroad. This statement embodies *the social capital hypothesis of migration*. Departing abroad may become self-propellant in time (Ritchey 1976 in: Kalter 2011). In his first assumption, P. N. Ritchey asserts that the presence of kin and friends is an aspect of life valued *per se*. As a result, the stronger the ties that link the individual to others, already residing in the country of destination, the more likely it is for the person to be mobile. In addition, most of all, local social networks offer support, a way of dealing with loneliness. They also constitute a channel to augment the resources in the country of origin, for example, with financial assets sent home by migrants (Gurak, Cases 1992 in: Górny, Kaczmarczyk 2003: 66). The second hypothesis offered by P. N. Ritchey assumes that family and friends may encourage migration by increasing the future migrant's awareness of possibilities. The more accounts of others on living abroad an individual has, the more probable his/her departure. "Brokers and agents of migration", individuals that are "well-established", that is, with a particularly large knowledge and important impact of shaping the relationships with other actors, play an important role in providing information to a potential migrant. The last assumption proposed by P. N. Ritchey is the facilitation hypothesis: social bonds may offer help and support in the relocation process, and thus reduce the cost of migration. From the point of view of the country of destination, the network constitutes a key resource in migrant adaptation, especially in the areas such as seeking work or seeking a place to live. At the same time, the relationships based on ethnic ties offer an adaptation context, according to the individual's position in the ethnic network. Moreover, the presence of acquaintances or family lowers the economic and psychological costs of adapting to the life in a new place. Migration networks may also offer a particular extension of the sending society's normative system, thus limiting the migrant's set of actions to those that are accepted by the origin community and are beneficial to it (Gurak, Cases 1992 in: Górny, Kaczmarczyk 2003: 66).

According to the aforementioned research, social capital is created and maintained exclusively on the basis of the network of ties, while an individual may access it through rooting in the social networks. It is a sum of potential and present resources, accumulated as a consequence of having a steady acquaintance network (Massey, Zento 1999 in: Osipowicz 2002: 12). The future migrants use the social capital embedded in the social networks mainly to lower the costs and limit the journey-related risk. The mobility of individuals belonging to a particular network lowers the risk

to everyone they are linked with, broadening thus the existing migration networks. Consequently, gradually expanding migration networks cause a steady accumulation of the social capital. Understood as relationships, the migration networks perform a number of functions: they can influence the decision to leave, generating the means to finance a migration, offer help in finding employment, be a source of information and moral support, as well as of normative patterns in migration strategies. As underlined by Hanna Bojar in reference to James Fawcett's theory, "the migration networks cover both migrants and the relationships between them, and the members of a narrowly, or broadly understood: families, kinship circles or local community in the sending country, therefore, their existence somewhat modifies the general form of socio-economic phenomena in the sending communities" (Bojar 2011: 10). Therefore, they constitute an important contact channel between migrants and those who remained in the country of origin thanks to visits, circulations and return migrations (Gurak, Cases 1992 in: Górny, Kaczmarczyk 2003: 66). One particular characteristics of the networks is that they "stretch over more and more people as the migration flow from a given area strengthens, often enticing people who would not make this step without these networks to migrate. In various communities, localities, or even sub-regions, the network cause the so-called migration chain, which leads to a specific cycle of developing workforce outflow³. As the research demonstrates, access to migration networks increases the probability to migrate. Whether the family of the potential migrant includes a person with a similar experience is the strongest factor in influencing the decision to migrate" (Górny, Stola 2001: 180). The migration chains, in turn, are described by Piotr Sztompka as "an interesting variation of the complex geometry of trust" (Sztompka 2007: 261). The research on this question was conducted by, among others, Charles Tilly. While observing the migration choices in Mexico, he noticed that those who were the first to succeed abroad bring other people from their locality. Mutual trust plays an important role in this process. This type of situations leads, in effect, to creating settlements of people of common origin (Tilly 2005 in: Sztompka 2007: 261). P. Sztompka claims that "chains of trust convert into closed, exclusive trust networks, ethnic ghettos" (Sztompka 2007: 261). This phenomenon may have two assessments: on one hand, the increasing trust is a positive effect of spatial mobility, on the other, the exclusivity of networks cause them to be closed, exclude people from outside of a certain group (e.g. non-migrants or persons of other ethno-cultural origin), which may hamper integration or exchange of information and experience.

As observed by Izabela Grabowska-Lusińska and Marek Okólski, migrants are highly likely to employ the capital accumulated in the social networks. Using it depends highly on the personal capital, namely self-confidence, as the weaker it is, the larger the dependence on the migrant networks. This thesis is proven in Franck

³ Source: PWN Dictionary of Economy, entry: migrations, <http://biznes.pwn.pl/index.php?module=haslo&id=3941121> [last accessed: 2014.03.15].

Düvell's empiric research. He has proven that the higher the education and the level of specialisation of the emigrants' skills, the less likely they are to depend on migrant networks. What also matters is that these persons are more dependent on *weak ties* that link them to members of the receiving community (Düvell 2004 in: Grabowska-Lusińska, Okólski 2009: 183).

From the point of view of the country of destination, the networks constitute a key resource in migrant adaptation, especially in the areas such as seeking work or seeking a place to live. At the same time, the relationships based on ethnic ties offer an adaptation context, according to the individual's structural position in the ethnic network. Moreover, the presence of acquaintances or family lowers the economic and psychological costs of adapting to the life in a new place. Migration networks may also offer a particular extension of the sending society's normative system, thus limiting the migrant's set of actions to those that are accepted by the origin community and are beneficial to it (Gurak, Cases 1992 in: Górny, Kaczmarczyk 2003: 66). The migration networks therefore foster settling permanently in the emigration country and forming communities there. In places like these, migrants organize their own social infrastructure, e.g. places of cult, associations, shops, cafes (Castles, Miller 2011: 50). The density, strength and substance of the networks of ties are correlated with not only the maturity of a given migration stream, but also with the operation space of a given stream.

Generally speaking, functions of migration network can be divided into two groups: selection/bridging and adaptation. Access to them increases the probability to migrate, therefore, the network participates in selecting potential migrants in the sending community. The selectivity of networks also becomes visible at the stage of choosing a destination: an emigrant is more likely to choose a country where he/she owns the most of, and best contacts. The adaptation function, in turn, refers to the integration of migrants in the receiving community. At the initial stage of staying abroad, migration networks facilitate acclimatization and integration, but in the long run, they may also have negative effects.

Social Capital of an Ethnic Diaspora

The formation of ethnic diasporas is an important consequence of labour-related migrations abroad. Alejandro Portes and Roger Waldinger used the social capital, migration networks and ethnic enclave categories with the intention to explain the phenomenon of mass migrations. While studying emigrants in the United States, they noted that certain economical behaviours of newcomers may be explained using the concept of migration enclaves, composed of individuals of the same country of origin, which in turn focus in particular locations, organizing the economy for a particular ethnic group. Acting so is to provide relative self-sufficiency to a given immigrant community, as these enclaves are created by pioneers and later reinforced by

arriving newcomers (Portes 1981 in: Górný, Kaczmarczyk 2003: 33). R. Waldinger, in turn, focused on the concentration of immigrants in particular lines of business or professions. He claims it is by and large due to the social capital as a network of ties, which shifts the balance of power between present residents and newcomers towards the latter. This concept demonstrates the importance of recruitment schemes within a particular ethnic group and underlines strong reproductive characteristics of each network: if conditions are favourable to creating the bases of a niche, it may grow to considerable size.

Alejandro Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner demonstrated two main benefits from belonging to a migrant ethnic community: bounded solidarity and enforceable trust. The former is limited exclusively to the members of one's own ethnic group should one of its members find themselves in a difficult life situation. This person receives other (more favourable) behaviour standards than people of other ethnic origin. In addition, members of one's own group receive preferential treatment in economic transactions. These two *modi operandi* are a result of moral imperative, as well as of a confrontation with the receiving community, which not only activates the yet latent nationalistic feelings, but also causes them to appear where they were previously non-existent. According to the authors, social capital created when confronted with the receiving community is the strongest when it is not limited to current events, but provokes alternative definitions of the situation, which are based on former practices and collective cultural memory. Enforceable trust, in turn, is most prominent in elasticity in economic transactions with compatriots, privileged access of one's own group members to important resources. The benefits of belonging to an ethnic community are the greatest when the group is the only available source of these assets, or when access to them is very limited. The authors observe that when an individual may use different outside sources of assets, the attraction and enticement of an ethnic community diminishes. Therefore, membership in them is most profitable when a given community experiences a strong discrimination in the local employment market and the individuals have limited access to outside sources to satisfy their needs (Portes, Sensenbrenner 1993).

T. Faist considers the feeling of solidarity, defined as "a sense of community and common responsibility, resulting from conforming views and goals" (Faist 1997 in: Kuřakowska 2007: 158). It is based on common identity, referring to a unity of desires and actions. Social capital (along with symbolic capital) is the cornerstone for an ethnic group's strategic resources, which allow the community to express their collective interest through, for example, ethnic associations. T. Faist analysed the role of immigrant environments institutionalisation from two perspectives. On one hand, he considered this phenomenon to hamper and delay the process of integration of the communities' members with the receiving community, and even lead to closing in within one's own ethnic group, separation and marginalisation. On the other hand, he considered the lack of this type of institutions among ethnic communities to have a negative influence on the social, economical, cultural and political integration

and the ability to express one's own interests. The two visions are bridged by the so-called ethnic paradox theory by William Thomas, Robert Park and Henry Miller, which assumes that on one hand, identifying with an ethnic group, its values and traditions encourages immigrants to join organizations and associations formed on the basis of ethnicity. On the other hand, this form of inside integration in migrant communities enables them to succeed outside their community" (T. Faist 1997 in: Kułakowska 2007: 156). Ethnic organizations allow their members to fulfil their interests and perform cultural practices, facilitate the creation of collective identity, therefore offering a sense of security, which in turn results in building bridges and establishing relationships also with the receiving community. However, as observed by T. Faist, "not every common action in the immigrant environment automatically leads to integration (...) as immigrant associations may have three types of functions: facilitating the passage, voicing one's own intentions and compensating the existing inequalities (...). For any common, collective action of immigrants, united by their shared ethnicity, to succeed in further integrating that community, this action needs to facilitate the passage, helping the immigrants to establish social ties with other immigrants and adapt to their new environment (Faist 1997 in: Kułakowska 2007:157).

Extremely important during the initial phase of staying abroad, protection and support from belonging to a certain community may be dangerous to a point in the longer run. As Helena Znanięcka-Lopata observes, concentrating social relationships only within one's own ethnic group limited the migrants' ability to expand socially, thus limiting their access to other resources (Znanięcka-Lopata 1976 in: Błeszyńska 2009:126). The perils of high levels of social capital in an ethnic community are also noticed by A. Portes and J. Sensenbrenner. According to these authors, it hinders integration with the receiving community, especially when it results from "bounded solidarity", i.e. when ties of solidarity are based on shared experience or interests, which is quite typical for labour-related migrations (Portes, Sensenbrenner 1993). Consequently, this may lead to the closing of an ethnic group on the outside world, creating alternative definitions of particular social situations, in extreme cases, resulting in overt conflicts between newcomers and the receiving community, as Robert Putnam observes that "social capital is often most easily created in an opposition to something or someone else (Putnam 2000:134). Once again are we thus faced with a choice between striving to create bonding and bridging capital (although the researchers do not analyse the phenomenon on the basis of these theoretical criteria).

Occupational niches and ethnic economy are a particular form of this intra-group solidarity. Occupational niches originate as ethnic groups concentrate in a particular economy sector while hampering the access of persons from outside the community to them. The key difference between ethnic and non-ethnic enterprises is that organisational strategies of the former are to a much larger extent based on informal networks of personal contacts, rooting, trust and immediate social relationships (Pieterse 2003: 13). J. Coleman was one of the first researchers to delineate the operational mechanism of ethnic economy. He portrayed the community of diamond-dealing orthodox

New York Jews. While conducting business, members of this community employed basically no formal procedures, mostly relying on verbal declarations. Avoiding intermediaries (e.g. notaries) considerably lowered the transaction costs, yet rendered them more risky. At the same time, each malfeasance lowered the credibility of the entire group of traders in the eyes of their clients. The community members thus had an economic interest in each of them being credible. At the same time, malfeasance meant ostracising from the group (which further resulted in losing one's good standing and income), which was another strong incentive for them to remain credible. As J. Coleman observed, "a group whose members manifest trustworthiness and place extensive trust in one another will be able to accomplish much more than a comparable group lacking that trustworthiness and trust" (Coleman 1990: 304).

Conclusion

In literature, the influence of social capital and labour-related migrations abroad is shown in different analytical contexts, most often referencing the theories by P. Bourdieu and R. Putnam. Traditionally, it was accepted as given that "a migrant's social space is filled by the "family and friends left in the country of origin - family in the country of settlement - social circle - local diaspora - neighbourhood - local environment of the receiving community and its organizations (Błeszyńska 2009: 121). As a result, it was necessary to analyse social capital in a minimum of three perspectives: local environment/neighbourhood capital, ethnic diaspora capital and the individual capital of the subject (migrant) (Błeszyńska 2009: 121). Each of these perspectives, though, received an individual approach. Currently, it is less and less common to describe social reality in terms of three separate levels of analysis, instead, favouring finding links between them and proposing a holistic view of the problem, without making the division into, for example, research from the perspective of the sending/receiving community or particular components of social capital. It is by and large due to the emergence of new forms of spatial mobilities, such as fluid migrations or transmigrations, which situate the migrant not any more in the context of one particular community, but cause the migrant to become "suspended" in the migration space, becoming an intermediary between numerous places.

The literature is more likely to analyse how social capital influences spatial mobility than the other way round. The research on the importance of networks and social ties, especially in the light of P. Bourdieu's social capital theory, seems of particular importance. The literature demonstrates a more and more prominent tendency to underscore the dynamic nature of migrant networks. The most recent publications underline that migrant networks, very important at the stage of initiating the departures from a given local community, lose their importance with the development of spatial mobility, and are replaced by other components of "migration infrastructure", such as services of international employment agencies or moving companies. In this

context, demonstrating the mechanism of conversion of social capital into its other forms (economic and human capital in particular, which inverts the tendencies so far) remains an important question, yet not subjected to research.

Among the consequences of the influence of labour-related migrations abroad on social capital, the negative ones are often underlined. The research strongly states that spatial mobility weakens social ties, disorganises local communities and lowers civic participation. Very rarely, it is observed that in particular situations, labour-related migrations may result in a growth in solidarity and trust among community members, along with a strong reciprocity norm.

Generally, the literature review offers more and more insight into different types of dependence and ties between labour-related migration and social capital. Analyses from D. Massey, T. Faist and others make it legitimate to say that the two categories are related in a self-sustaining mechanism. The effect of particular social component capitals, mainly networks, trust, and the relationships and dependencies between them, are also becoming a more and more prominent research theme.

The relationships between social capital and labour-related migrations are vital for social policy. For example, depending on the quantity and forms of social capital in a given local community, support in migration-related difficult life circumstances (such as care for the elderly who stayed in the country of origin or help to homeless emigrants) should also be given by various entities (public entities, social organization, acquaintances, family members). From the point of view of adapting to new living conditions and integrating with the receiving community, migration-related social capital also constitutes a valuable resource. Depending on the size of migration network and the diaspora's cohesion degree, it is necessary to take various actions, which aim at including the migrants in the receiving community's social life. Both migrations and social capital are neither positive, nor negative per se, and the form and amount of the capital lead to a number of dilemmas. It is generally accepted that the larger the social capital of a given community, the better its functioning and chances of development. The negative consequences include, for example, concentrating social capital in a given set of groups, while excluding others. It may be observed both in the sending community (e.g. activities cumulated among persons remaining in the country of origin, or the passivity of migrants) and in the country of destination (enclosure of ethnic enclaves). Achieving the balance between various forms of social capital (bridging *versus* bonding). The dilemma between maintaining various ties with the community of origin and accumulating capital among migrants in the country of destination also seem significant for social policy (e. g. in adaptation or local development processes).

It should be underlined that social capital is an efficient analytical category in studies on contemporary labour-related migrations. All in all, it allows a multi-dimensional description of this complex social phenomenon, as well as distinguishing its imponderables. Here, it should be underlined that along with the rising prominence of both of the concepts in science, a growing theoretical dispersion and contradictions can be

observed in the studies that research them. Therefore, it would be crucial to establish a precise definition of, in particular, social capital, and introducing a clear distinction in the various types of this resource (with bridging and bonding capital in particular). Although the relationships between social community and spatial mobility receive more and more detailed description in current research papers, it is still possible to demonstrate areas with not enough insight, such as reproduction and evolution of social capital under migration, its role in creating identities in ethnically heterogeneous communities or the evolution in the quality of social capital over time. Another question, vital both in terms of theory and practice, are the mechanisms of establishing balance between bonding and bridging capital in post-migration communities.

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Streszczenie

Celem artykułu jest wskazanie wzajemnych relacji i oddziaływań pomiędzy kapitałem społecznym a zagranicznymi migracjami zarobkowymi w świetle wybranych koncepcji teoretycznych z punktu widzenia głównych aktorów życia zbiorowego migrantów, tj. społeczności wysyłającej, społeczności przyjmującej oraz diaspor etnicznych. W sposób szczególny zostały w nim omówione takie zagadnienia jak rola sieci migracyjnych oraz funkcje enklaw etnicznych.

Słowa kluczowe: zagraniczne migracje zarobkowe, kapitał społeczny, sieci migracyjne, enklawy etniczne

Cytowanie

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