

Pathways to citizenship: Performing neoliberal subjectivity through migration

Introduction

Scholars writing on the topic of East–West migrations in Europe have called for a connection of these migrations with the effects of neoliberal reforms on post-communist societies (Ciupijus 2011, 548). Within such a perspective, Woolfson and Sommers (2008) indicate that low-road neoliberalism in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) has been the driving factor behind outflows of workers who seek better wages, labour standards and working conditions in the Western part of the continent. In this light, East–West migrations can be conceptualised as migrations of people pushed into precarity and stripped of social rights of citizenship, who seek to regain them in the still more regulated and wealthy countries of the West.

However, the present article further problematises the discussion surrounding the effects of neoliberalism in post-communist societies on migrations by looking not just at the impact of practices based on neoliberal policy, but also at the neoliberal ideology that has spread throughout CEE. More specifically, it situates post-2004 migrations from CEE in the context of the formation of neoliberal subjectivity in these former state-socialist countries (Makovicky 2014, 2). It also shows the effects of such macro-level transformations on the micro-level experiences, including emotional ones, of migrants, and proposes a new way of conceptualising exclusion from citizenship by introducing insights from literature on the emotion of shame.

To illustrate all these points, the article focuses on a category of migrant workers who exemplify the pursuit of a normative ideal of the neoliberal citizen and an attempt to be included in citizenship conceptualised as membership in a community of value (Anderson 2013). It also shows how success and failure in

achieving inclusion at this level are linked to migrants' decisions regarding migration, settlement and return. This category of migrants constitutes part of a larger typology that emerged from the research project which draws on data from participatory action research (PAR) focus groups and 39 semi-structured interviews with Polish migrant workers in the UK. Before discussing the research methods in greater detail, the next section unpacks the concept of citizenship in order to explicate the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

Citizenship, neoliberalism and Central and Eastern Europe

Academic literature has extensively analysed ways in which neoliberalism impacts on citizenship, paying particular attention to its consequences for the shrinking of social rights. In industrial Europe, labour secured a pathway to a range of social rights (Standing 2009) but with a gradual decline in stable industrial employment, growing precarity, the dismantling of institutions of collective representations, liberalisation and flexibilisation of labour markets, and the spread of workfare policies, citizenship rights have to be individually negotiated in the context which literature describes as "individualization and contractualization of the relationship between the state and a citizen" (Deneva 2013, 38), whereby the bargaining power of that citizen is "based on personal marketable skills and qualities" (Somers 2008, 41 in Deneva 2013, 59).

These changes have probably been even fiercer in CEE, where, before the onset of neoliberalism following the collapse of state socialism, every citizen had an obligation to work and, in exchange, a good worker-citizen had access to a range of social benefits (ESN 2008, 3). Since transformation, precarious employment in CEE has grown substantially. In Poland, the rate of short-term employment contracts is one of the highest in the EU, as is also the case in relation to self-employment (Trappman 2011). Both these forms of employment substantially hinder access to a range of social rights, such as social security or the minimum wage, thus challenging a right to "a modicum of economic welfare and security" (Marshall 1950, 11). Moreover, most new employment relationships are based on short-term contracts (Trappman 2011, 12), making it particularly difficult for young people to establish themselves in the labour market and gain access to social rights. Polish migration after 2004 is characterised as a young migration of people in their twenties and thirties (Fuller and Ward 2012, 8). Therefore, it is indeed compelling to see the outflow of so many young Poles to the Western part of the continent as being related to neoliberal transformations that have stripped them of many social rights.

Individual qualities and employment-related circumstances on which access to citizenship rights¹ is increasingly dependent are in essence value-laden. This

¹ Not only social but even civic and political. See: Anderson (2013).

is exemplified by the notion of workfare, which has captured the hearts and minds of policy-makers across Europe, including CEE. Behavioural expectations placed upon individuals convey a range of ideals regarding economic utility: performance of work narrowly defined as contracted and paid employment, initiative, and self-enterprise. These value-laden expectations construct a subject who is written into neoliberal ideology's drive to spread free-market logics into (m)any spheres of social life. This neoliberal subject is a hard-working, self-enterprising citizen who does not rely on the state and who embodies values of independence, self-governance, self-sufficiency, autonomy, consumption and material success, and numerous studies have documented proselytising of such ethic in CEE (Makovicky 2014). Literature suggests also that women have been positioned as ideal neoliberal subjects (Gill and Scharff 2011) which in CEE countries might have been additionally strengthened by heritage of a strong rhetoric of emancipation during state-socialist period although conservative backlash against communism after 1989 qualifies this assertion.

Therefore, neoliberal ideology has transformed citizenship not only at a substantive but also at a normative level. This has significant repercussions for citizenship as defined by Anderson (2013) in terms of membership in a community of value. For Anderson (2013), the community of value has clearly defined boundaries which are indicated by the state's immigration policy and how it constructs the "migrant". However, the present article aims to show how these boundaries are reproduced by migrant workers who, in turn, are affected by the community of value of their country of origin. Therefore, it moves the focus beyond the receiving state alone. Before discussing this, however, I would observe that Anderson (2013, 4) is right in noticing that "not all formal citizens are good citizens", and directing our attention to subtle forms of exclusion of individuals from a community of citizens through treating them as citizens of a lower category. Anderson (2013, 4) observes that in modern states "citizenship is not simply about legal status, but fundamentally about status in the sense of worth and honours".

In turn, literature has proposed that nowadays citizens' "worth, value, and inclusion, are accordingly determined by contractual success or failures in relationship to utility" (Somers 2008, 41) and that people "lacking in neoliberal potential may be treated as less-worthy citizens" (Ong 2006, 16). Thus, neoliberal reconfiguration of a normative ideal of citizenship potentially affects the distribution of respect and social worth across society or, in other words, it impacts upon what Therborn (2013) calls existential inequality. The latter concept suggests that just as material inequality can undermine certain rights of a citizen, so can existential inequality undermine citizenship by threatening, as Arendt (1951) saw it, the prerequisite of other rights of citizens: namely, human dignity. Sayer (2005, 954) intelligently notes that "access to valued ways of living" and "social bases for respect" are unequally distributed throughout society. Neoliberalism, by affecting both the normative bases on which social respect is granted, as well as the material opportunities to gain access to them, also affects existential inequality.

While the notion that the community of value has more or less clearly defined boundaries (Anderson, 2013) might attract criticism, the argument from the sociology of shame gives at least some credit to this perspective. Sociological literature has developed a conceptualisation of shame as an emotion which emerges when an individual violates social norms, values and expectations, especially of a group significant for that individual (Sayer 2005, 954). Thus, shame indicates the level of internalisation of group's values by an individual (Czykwin 2013, 20); therefore, by looking at sources of shame we can uncover the values of this group and its boundaries. This link between shame and values makes the emotion of shame a unique barometer of inclusion in communities of value. Seen in this light, it makes sense that scholars have called shame a "particular barometer of social integration" (Czykwin 2013, 20) which indicates a threatened bond between an individual and a group (Scheff 2000). Moreover, based on the argument that there are systemic social inequalities in "access to valued ways of living" (Sayer 2005, 954), the threatened bond that the emotion of shame indicates can be read as a sort of structural exclusion. Thus, shame experienced by, for example, the working class men in the classic study by Sennett and Cobb (1972) should be seen as a particular type of exclusion.

What is argued in the remainder of the article is that the migration of many young Poles to Western Europe should be seen as an attempt to reconstruct that threatened social bond with a particular community of value in their home country, specifically the community of value based on neoliberal ideals. Therefore, far from arguing that there is one community of value at a national level, it is acknowledged that, within every society, there is a wide range of different communities of value which may compete with one another. However, this article looks at what can be seen as a hegemonic community of value established by the state in the context of broader political-economic changes in post-1989 Poland; i.e. the context characterised by the hegemony of neoliberal practice and ideology (Sowa 2012). Migration is thus a search for the "valued ways of living" which are socially constructed by this particular context. In this way, the article develops a framework that gives a new dimension to the role of the sending country and how its economy and ideologies shape and affect migrants' choices and practices and, in turn, how these can reproduce or challenge the communities of value in the receiving countries. First, however, the next section will briefly discuss the research methods used.

Research methods

The foundations for the study were laid down by participant action research called Migrant Workers' Research Network, as described in detail by Garvey and Stewart (2015). Audio-recordings from focus groups within this project, which took

place in 2012 and involved migrants from CEE, were transcribed and their coding provided directions for designing semi-structured interviews.

These interviews were conducted in 2013 and 2014 and the sample, drawn by the snowball technique, consists of 39 Polish migrants in the UK of whom 24 are women and 15 are men. Polish migrants are the largest CEE migrant group in the UK. In addition, these migrants are from the country which has been at the forefront of neoliberal reforms (“shock therapy”) in the region. In turn, being Western Europe’s “kitchen”, where many neoliberal policies and ideologies are taking shape and which thus forms a sort of Western European counterpart to Poland, the UK has been the largest recipient of Polish post-accession migrants. The study draws on interviews from two places in the UK: the north of Ireland and Scotland. Both places have been somewhat more resistant to the neoliberal policies championed by London than the rest of the UK. In the case of the north of Ireland, the UK government deliberately extended Keynesianism after the 1998 Good Friday Agreement to maintain social peace (Garvey and Stewart, 2015). Thus, the article explores experiences of migrants from neoliberal Poland to the peripheries of the neoliberal UK.

Though the differences, in terms of contexts of reception, between the north of Ireland and Scotland, and in particular the sectarian divisions of the former, did come up in the migrants’ narrative, it is not the purpose of the paper to discuss these in particular detail. Rather, I focus on the formation of neoliberal subjectivity in the sending country, as reflected in similarities in the role of neoliberal values in migrant narratives about belonging in the two destinations.

In pursuit of neoliberal citizen

As already explained, the interviewees quoted below represent a particular type of a Polish migrant for whom labour abroad has extrinsic value by offering a springboard to citizenship in the sense of membership in a community of value of a particular sort. Monika — a 28-year-old semi-skilled worker from a small town in southern Poland who came to Scotland in 2005 as a student just for a summer job, but never returned — was particularly eloquent in summing up an experience so similar to that of many other respondents. This is how she replied to the question about the point at which she decided to settle in Scotland and started to treat it as her home:

Probably when I worked in COMPANY because it was a permanent job. ... So I felt... confident. I felt that I was coping well, that I could earn a living together with my partner, that we were self-sufficient. ... we felt that we stood up on our feet. ... That we were now responsible for ourselves. That we are not dependent on our parents but that we work for ourselves. It depends on us whether we have money to pay bills and so on. So we felt stronger. And it probably also was the reason why we decided to settle here. I mean to treat this place more like a home even though there was no such a permanent place at that time yet.

Monika talks about having a permanent, stable job that provides employment and income security in terms of the job being a springboard to more abstract ideals of self-sufficiency, independence, being on one's own, and being in charge of one's own life. This influenced her decision to settle in the destination country. In contrast, Monika's narrative about life in Poland involves the fear of losing these qualities. Instead of a sense of achievement there is an expectation of shame, and all this puts her off returning to Poland:

If we returned they would treat you more like a loser than a person who was brave enough to pack her suitcase and go. ... Talking with acquaintances, you know... people are already thirty years old but sometimes they still live with parents and they are practically so tied up that they can't leave home because of wage levels. Despite the fact that they work in their professions and are graduates, and they do PhDs or already finished PhD and they are still tied up.

Regardless of the "truth-value" of Monika's representation of life in Poland, the critical point in her narrative lies in the contrast between being independent, self-sufficient, and responsible in one place vis-à-vis being tied-up and dependent in the other. She constructs her successful biography as a self-driven person who was brave enough to pack a suitcase and just go abroad. This can be seen as an expression of taking charge of and responsibility for one's life; using individual initiative to better one's circumstances instead of relying on others; in other words, it is an expression of individual self-enterprise. She sees returning to Poland as a threat to this narrative because she expects to be negatively judged as a "loser" by a generalised other, which acts as an indicator of the feelings of shame and, thus, of a threatened social bond with that generalised other (Scheff 2000, 86). There are more indicators of this feeling in her narrative about Poland. One of them is a feeling of inferiority (Scheff 2000) which she expresses explicitly in the concluding sentence of the quotation below:

The Poles are full of complexes because since they are young they are inculcated with messages that: if you don't study, you will end-up with a shovel! If you don't achieve this, you will be this and that! If you don't get a degree... You know, you always get whipping. ... There's been always: You have to! Have to! Have to! ... And you will always feel worse...

This persistent feeling of inferiority, a cognate of shame (Scheff 2000), is associated with a value which, in Monika's opinion, the society vests in individual success in climbing up social hierarchies of occupation and merit. In turn, the dependency which Monika associates with life in Poland, when she talks about being "tied-up" and dependent on parents, is another potential source of shame. According to Sennett (2003, 101), "in the public realm dependence appears shameful". For Sennett (2003, 102) this is a result of classical liberal thinking about citizenship and its association with particular understandings of adulthood and maturity which emphasise independence, self-maintenance, self-governance, self-sovereignty, and self-discipline. The liberal concept of citizenship is closely linked to these because in classical liberal thinking only those who meet the

criteria of maturity ought to have rights to participate in the public sphere. Sennett (2003, 107) describes the connection between citizenship and liberal ideals of independence through a rather graphic metaphor:

Of all those who have invoked the shame of dependency, it could justly be said that they have a horror of the primal maternal scene: the infant suckling at the mother's breast. They fear that through force or desire, adult men will continue to suckle; the mother's breast becomes the state. What's distinctive about liberalism is its view of the man who disengages his lips; he becomes a citizen. (Sennett 2003, 107)

Such discourses can deny equal access to the public sphere to those groups who are perceived as not capable of being fully self-maintaining, self-governing and so on. Women, the poor, the idle, and the mad are groups that at some point in history have fallen victim to such discourses to varying degrees. Since the 1970s in the West, neoliberal discourse has tried to portray the welfare state as the nanny state which encourages adult men to keep suckling at the metaphorical mother's breast (Sennett 2003). As a result, a range of social rights previously available to Europeans have been circumscribed or made conditional on the basis that individuals should fend for themselves. More than this, such discourse infantilises those who do not manage on their own, presenting them as incapable or as slackers and, thus, denying them membership of a community of value that it creates.

Notions of self-sufficiency and independence occupy a prominent place in the narratives of Polish migrant workers about the sense of belonging and home, as well as about their decisions to settle in the UK. Work appears only as a springboard to these ideals; labour's extrinsic benefits take precedence over intrinsic ones. In line with Anderson's (2013, 6) argument that migrants are "tolerated citizens, who must often struggle for acceptance into the community of value" and "prove that they have the right values", the prominence of these values in migrants' narratives can be seen as reflecting their striving to be included in the community of value produced by the UK state, and a resultant sense of belonging and home as a reward for success in this striving.

However, because of repeated references to the generalised other in Poland, these narratives should also be understood in terms of the context, based on political economy, of this post-socialist society, where neoliberalism has established its hegemony not only in practice but also in the subjectivity, capturing the "popular imagination of the masses — through a cult of consumption and individual freedom" (Sowa 2012). These two elements are visible in the narrative of Tadeusz and Irena — a couple in their early thirties working as cleaners in Scotland:

Interviewer: So you now see Edinburgh as your home?

Tadeusz: Yes, I think that our lives are more focused on here.

Irena: We have something that holds us here, something that we achieved ourselves. Cause in Poland we have completely nothing. Besides family [laugh] we have nothing so... .. a house, a car.

Tadeusz: These are materialistic things.

Irena: Materialistic. ... It makes us happy that we didn't ask parents for anything. We try to do everything by ourselves.

Like Monika, they too invoke notions of individualism, independence and individual success, especially in the concluding sentence. They are also outspoken about their materialistic considerations and it is from them that they draw a sense of belonging while the traditionally important sources of sense of belonging like family are followed by a laughter. This resonates with Ziółkowski's (1999) argument that materialistic values and consumption became key aspects of individual and social life in the Polish society of the late 1990s. Consumption patterns and material goods are important criteria for gaining social status and respect, as argued more than a century ago by Veblen (2007). In societies where the value and worth of citizens are determined by their economic utility, it is easy to see the link between consumption and feelings of shame or sense of worth. Thus, the superficially materialistic value orientations of migrants like Marek — a 35-year-old manual worker from Poland who arrived in the north of Ireland seven years ago — are in fact reflections of much more fundamental yearnings for inclusion in a certain community of value. This is how Marek talks about his sense of belonging in his destination country:

You see, I had two different worlds: in one world I had nothing, completely nothing. In Poland I didn't have a job, I didn't have anything. You see. Whereas suddenly: bang! Completely different world: Ireland. I have money, I have everything, I have a roof above my head, I have... I bought a car maybe after 3 months of being here ... After 2 months I could afford a car. Ireland for me is my home.

Marek talks about not having and having as the two contrasting worlds and concludes that it is the latter one which is his home and where he has decided to settle. In another excerpt he talks about his failed attempt to live independently in Poland:

I moved out [from parent's house] only once in Poland but it was only for half a year. ... I wanted to see what life on your own would be like. Independently. But I realised that it didn't make sense. Expenses were higher [than earnings].

His unsuccessful effort signifies failure to realise the liberal ideal of an adult. In Sennett's (2003) terms, he becomes infantilised as he returns to the metaphorical "mother's breast" which contradicts the (neo)liberal ideal of a successful citizen. This dependence also brings shame upon the failed citizen, thus threatening a social bond with a community of value.

A struggle to prove one's fitness for a community based on neoliberal values is also reflected in the emphasis on fulfilling what Anderson (2013) sees as the duty of a Good Citizen: namely, engaging in paid employment. Sennett (2003, 109) argues that liberalism respects adults who work. However, one has to bear in mind that it is work understood in rather narrow terms as contracted employment. Sennett (2003, 109) writes: "absolute moral value placed on work ..., fear of wasting time, of being unproductive — this is a value which only takes hold of all

society, the rich as well as the poor in the nineteenth century”. This picture can be extrapolated to the neoliberal UK and Poland. In such societies, narrowly defined work and productivity are the basis on which respect is distributed among individuals. The notion of the hard-working, employed, tax-paying and economically worthy citizen was a recurring theme in Polish migrants’ narrative on belonging:

Besides the language, nothing really sets us apart from other people. You know, we pay taxes, we work, we don’t live off the state. We are like every other citizen.

In the quote above, Monika negotiates belonging to a community of value through claims of being a Good Citizen (Anderson 2013) who is not a burden on the state and, instead, makes an economic contribution to it. The “fear of wasting time, of being unproductive” (Sennett 2003, 109) vividly surfaces in migrants’ narratives when they complain about other migrants living on benefits and rush to explain that they themselves do not do this as the conversation between Tadeusz and Irena exemplifies:

Tadeusz: You can’t deny that people come here and take advantage of everything.

Irena: Coming here, taking benefits. We’ve never used benefits. Somehow we managed on our own. We have two healthy hands, legs and we manage somehow. But if someone comes just to wheedle out money, then really...

Tadeusz: it’s not fair ...

Irena: So you keep someone like this at arm’s length.

This quote also illustrates Anderson’s (2013, 6) argument that migrants become guardians of good citizenship who are “eager to differentiate themselves from failed citizens”. Fear of appearing as a slacker or a parasite and the drive towards proving oneself as a productive citizen, were also strong in the case of Marek who remembers the advice he got from his friend even before leaving from Poland:

The most important is that you know the basics of the language, know when to say “no”, to be polite. But above all — and excuse my language — to work your ass off. That’s exactly what he told me. To prove your worth and that you are not a pussy who came here to be a slacker, not working.

Last but not least, neoliberal subjectivity is also reflected in migrants’ yearning for uninhibited self-enterprise which would allow for the expression and appreciation of their individual skills and abilities. This can be illustrated by the case of Grzegorz, a 35-year-old high-skilled professional who ran his own company in Poland but felt that his entrepreneurial skills were stifled by the overwhelming, uncontrolled bureaucracy:

The way you run a company in Poland is that virtually the very moment you register the company, your name is written down with some kind of invisible pen on a list of potential thieves who want to rob the state budget. During the 5 years of running this company I had two controls from state officials. They didn’t look exactly like from *Układ Zamknięty*² but you get the idea.

² Eng. Closed Circuit — the film is a critique of the legal system, corruption and uninhibited power of bureaucracy in post-1989 Poland based on the story of the three entrepreneurs.

Grzegorz is constructing Poland as a community of value that does not live up to modern standards because the unrestrained powers of the state inhibit the expression of entrepreneurial spirit of individuals. He contrasted this with his admiration for British ability to “squeeze out” individual talents thus constructing Britain as a community of value more apt to neoliberal subjects, as this short excerpt from a much longer quote illustrates:

What I admire Brits for in general is the British labour market. The way they can squeeze — maybe it's a bad word but still — squeeze out from a person what one is good at.

His experience of employment relations in Poland is marked by feelings of misrecognition, denial of respect, and shame, which also surfaces in the metaphor below in which he talks about anchoring himself in the north of Ireland:

Putting aside stricte financial aspects, it won't be an exaggeration if I say that I found my little homeland in Belfast. Although some time ago I used to say that my homeland was where my wallet was, now I can frankly say that absolutely it is not just about it. ... I can really say that I anchored in this city. ...

Interviewer: Why this place? Is this about home, in the physical sense, which you have here?

Grzegorz: Let me use one of my favourite though rather brutal metaphors. Poland for me is like an alcoholic mother: I love her because she gave birth to me. She has always had the best feelings for me and so on but she drinks now. ... So now there is a question: what should I do? I am not able to be next to her cause she doesn't even want me to be there. ... On the other hand, Belfast is a distant aunt who loves me as much as she can. ... So if I was to say, without being influenced by emotions but just considering everything with a paper and a calculator, which of these mothers — in inverted comas — gave me more, I would say that, well, the aunt.

On the surface, he ostensibly detaches himself from any emotionality and tries to engage in cold calculation when talking about his sense of home. He appears as a rational, value-maximising individual who crosses national borders in pursuit of self-interest and individual success; in a way, an ideal image of a self-driven neoliberal citizen. At the same time, his narrative is also emotionally charged. There is a sense of rejection by an alcoholic mother, as contrasted with the loving aunt who offers attention and recognition, possibly through employment relations and the labour market that he praised in the previous quotation. His narrative can be interpreted as expressing the neoliberal subjectivity of a self-enterprising *homo economicus*, whose migration-related decisions are nevertheless influenced by feelings of (mis)recognition and the sense of worth/shame experienced in contrasting ways in the two places.

Conclusions

The article has shown that although it is compelling to see the post-2004 migration of more than two millions Poles in terms of their having been stripped of access to social rights by low-road neoliberalism, equally compelling is the view of this phenomenon as written within broader, value-level transformations brought

about by neoliberalism in CEE. In answering Ciupijus's (2013) call to study the effects of neoliberal policies in post-socialist countries on East–West migration, the article suggested that not only the policies but also the value system conveyed by neoliberalism are important factors to be considered. If not driven by values of individual success, self-maintenance, independence, consumption, and self-enterprise, these migrants might have stayed in their homelands, keeping their heads down and accepting poor pay and labour standards, while surviving on some welfare provisions. Instead, they adopted individualistic strategies of chasing certain “valued ways of living” abroad; ways of living which are constructed by a particular context, in terms of political economy, of their country of origin. Moreover, once in the new country, they tended to live depoliticised, individualised lives and discursively attacking institutions of social solidarity such as welfare system and at times imagining Poland as a community of value that does not live up to the needs of self-made men.

At the same time, by claiming, on the basis of these values, to belong in the destination country, they reproduce its dominant community of value. Thus, the article expands Anderson's (2013) argument with a framework that gives a new dimension to the role of the sending country and the way its economy and ideologies shape and affect migrants' choices and practices. These, in turn, can affect the community of value in the receiving country. In the cases investigated in the present article, migrants reproduced that community of value, which is not surprising in the case of migration from one neoliberal stronghold (Poland) to another (the UK). However, there is a potential for migrants reinventing and challenging the hegemonic communities of value in a destination country. This article focused specifically on values surrounding the notion of a neoliberal citizen, but there might be other communities of value and “valued ways of living” which migrants pursue.

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Abstract

In contribution to the debate about the effects of neoliberalism in post-socialist countries on East–West migration, the paper suggests that not only neoliberal policies, but also accompanying them emergent ideal of a neoliberal citizen, has influenced different aspects of these migrations. It looks at a category of Polish migrants in the UK for whom work abroad is a pursuit of inclusion in a community of value built around this ideal. In this way, the article reveals a new dimension to the role of the sending country and how its economy and ideologies shape and affect migrants' choices and practices.

Ścieżki do obywatelstwa: realizacja neoliberalnej podmiotowości przez migrację

Abstrakt

Nawiązując do debat na temat wpływu polityki neoliberalnej w krajach postsocjalistycznych na migracje do krajów Europy Zachodniej, artykuł sugeruje, że nie tylko neoliberalna polityka, lecz także kształtujący się model neoliberalnego obywatela, który jej towarzyszył, odegrały rolę we wspomnianych migracjach. Analiza skupia się na grupie migrantów z Polski do Wielkiej Brytanii, u których migracja jawi się jako dążenie do włączenia do wspólnoty wartości opartej na tym ideale. W ten sposób artykuł ukazuje nowy wymiar roli kraju wysyłającego oraz tego, jak jego gospodarka i dominujące w nim ideologie mogą kształtować i wpływać na decyzje i praktyki migrantów.