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An Investigation into the Labour Market Experiences of Polish and Romanian Migrants in the UK

A Dissertation by Dorrian Alexandre Leon Affleck



Durham University Business School

Department of Management and Marketing

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for Doctor of Philosophy

Supervised by:

Professor Andrew Pendleton

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An Investigation into the Labour Market Experiences of Polish and Romanian Migrants in the UK

Dorrian Alexandre Leon Affleck

Abstract

Since European Union enlargement in 2004 there has been substantial migration from Central and Eastern Europe into the United Kingdom. This thesis focuses upon Polish and Romanian migrants and examines their involvement in the labour market of the UK. It examines the initial labour market experiences of these groups, along with subsequent career mobility, and identifies key influences affecting each. Regarding the former, a comprehensive investigatory framework is adopted which encompasses skill-based, social, structuring, and agency-related factors. Regarding the latter, a theoretical framework which utilises Dual Labour Market, Cultural Capital, and Strength of Weak Ties theories is used. Combined, the theories enable the rationalisation of labour market structure, migrant skill-based competencies, and network-based relationships respectively which holds intuitive appeal to both research concerns. Qualitative methods were used due to the complexity of issues under investigation, with semi-structured interviews yielding the detailed motivation- and experience- based data necessary to perform thematic analysis. Key findings concerning the initial labour market experience focus upon how migrant tolerance of low-skilled work ranges beyond goal-oriented notions of 'temporariness' advocated by previous literature, and how network entrenchment in trajectories of low-skilled agency employment is not necessarily guaranteed. Key findings regarding the mobility experience draw upon theory to outline the relative utilities of language, experience, and qualifications as factors conducive or prohibitive to labour market advancement at different points in the occupational hierarchy. Such contributions are significant as they either develop accepted notions as to why migrants tolerate low-skilled work, use resource-based considerations to challenge network entrenchment, or add definitional rigour and chronology to how migrant occupational mobility is defined.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
List of Abbreviations	x
Statement of Copyright	xi
Acknowledgements	xii
Dedications	xii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Context.....	2
1.3. Additional Considerations.....	6
1.4. Theoretical Framework.....	8
1.5. Methodological Framework.....	9
1.6. Results.....	10
1.7. Contributions	13
Chapter 2: How Migration Has Shaped The UK Labour Market	16
2.1. Introduction	16
2.2. Context of Modern Migration.....	17
2.3. Characteristics of European Migration	22
2.3.1. Expansion of 2004.....	22
2.3.2. Expansion of 2007.....	24
2.3.3. Employment Characteristics of Polish and Romanian Migrants in the UK	26
2.4. Migration and the Labour Market	28
2.4.1 Demand for Migrant Labour	28
2.4.2. Supply of Migrant Labour	31
2.4.3. Migrant Labour Market Mobility	34
2.5. Conclusion.....	36
Chapter 3: Current Debates in Migrant Labour Market Research	38
3.1. Introduction	38
3.2. Initial Labour Market Experience.....	39
3.2.1. Extrinsic Factors	39
3.2.2. Intrinsic Factors.....	46
3.3. Labour Market Mobility Experience	53

3.3.1. Occupational Mobility Structure.....	53
3.3.2. Language	57
3.3.3. Education	60
3.4. Conclusion.....	63
Chapter 4: Theory	65
4.1. Introduction	65
4.2. Dual Labour Market Theory	66
4.3. The Forms of Capital	69
4.4. Tie Strength.....	73
4.4.1. The Strength of Weak Ties	74
4.4.2. The Strength of Strong Ties.....	76
4.5. Theoretical Framework.....	78
4.5.1. Initial Labour Market Experience.....	78
4.5.2. Labour Market Mobility Experience	82
4.6. Conclusion.....	86
Chapter 5: Methodology	88
5.1. Introduction	88
5.2. Research Design	89
5.2.1. Why were qualitative methods used?	89
5.2.2. Why were interviews used as the primary method of data collection?	90
5.2.3. Reflexivity.....	92
5.3. Sampling and the Interview	92
5.3.1. Sampling Frame	92
5.3.2. The Interview Guide.....	95
5.4. Data Analysis.....	101
5.4.1. Coding	101
5.4.2. Research Question 1: What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?	104
5.4.3. Research Question 2: What constitutes and facilitates labour market mobility for Polish and Romanian migrants in the North East of England?	107
5.5. Evaluation of CAQDAS.....	110
5.6. Conclusion.....	111
Chapter 6: Results (Part 1).....	113
6.1. Introduction	113
6.2. Initial Employment Results	114
6.3. Migrant Characteristics and Objectives of Migration	122

6.3.1. Language	122
6.3.2. Country of Origin Skills and Qualifications.....	129
6.3.3. Migration Intention.....	131
6.4. Labour Market Intermediaries	133
6.4.1. Agency Recruitment.....	133
6.4.2. Networks.....	136
6.5. Conclusion.....	140
Chapter 7: Results (Part 2)	143
7.1. Introduction	143
7.2. Movement Through the Dual Labour Market.....	144
7.3. Mobility Through the Secondary Labour Market	149
7.3.1. Lower-Secondary Labour Market Mobility	149
7.3.2. Significance of External Sources of Language Accumulation.....	151
7.3.3. Upper-Secondary Labour Market Mobility	153
7.3.4. Self-Employment Labour Market Experiences.....	156
7.4. Mobility Through the Primary Labour Market.....	158
7.4.1. Lower-Primary Labour Market Mobility	158
7.4.2. Education as a Barrier to the Upper-Primary Segment	161
7.4.3. Upper-Primary Labour Market Mobility	164
7.5. Conclusion.....	166
Chapter 8: Implications and Contributions	168
8.1. Introduction	168
8.2. Initial Labour Market Contributions	169
8.2.1. Initial Employment.....	169
8.2.2. Language	171
8.2.3. Skill and Qualification Devaluation	172
8.2.4. Migration Intention.....	173
8.2.5. Employment Agencies and Employer Preference.....	175
8.2.6. Networks.....	176
8.3. Labour Market Mobility Contributions	178
8.3.1. Methodology.....	178
8.3.2. Language	181
8.3.3. Experience and Qualifications.....	185
8.4. Conclusion.....	188
Chapter 9: Conclusion	191
9.1. Purpose	191

9.2. Theoretical Methods.....	193
9.3. Sampling and Analytical Methods	195
9.4. Results.....	196
9.5. Contributions	198
9.6. Limitations.....	200
9.7. Future Research	201
References.....	202
Appendices.....	211
Appendix 1: Strengths and Weaknesses of Face-to-Face Interviews	211
Appendix 2: Sample Demographic Characteristics- Age.....	212
Appendix 3: Sample Demographic Characteristics- Gender	213
Appendix 4: Polish Recruitment Poster	214
Appendix 5: Romanian Recruitment Poster	215
Appendix 6: Research Ethics Consent Form	216
Appendix 7: The Interview Guide	217
Appendix 8: Preliminary Analysis Compiled Methodological Memo.....	222
Appendix 9: Preliminary Analysis Summary Sheet Example.....	224
Appendix 10: Coding Repository Utilised for Data Analysis	226
Appendix 11: Methodological Memo Decision Log Example	237
Appendix 12: Language Typology Utilised for Analysis	238
Appendix 13: Language Typology Compiled Methodological Memo	239
Appendix 14: Table of Key Participant Characteristics	241
Appendix 15: Experiences with Language of ‘None’, ‘Low’, and ‘Moderate’ Groups Coding Hierarchy.....	243
Appendix 16: ‘None’, ‘Low’, and ‘Moderate’ Language Ability Compiled Methodological Memo.....	244
Appendix 17: Experiences with Language of ‘High’ Group Coding Hierarchy	246
Appendix 18: ‘High’ Language Ability Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)	247
Appendix 19: ‘High’ Language Ability Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)	249
Appendix 20: Transferability of Country of Origin Skills and Qualifications Coding Hierarchy.....	251
Appendix 21: Transferability of Country of Origin Skills and Qualifications Compiled Methodological Memo	252
Appendix 22: Migration Intention Coding Hierarchy.....	257
Appendix 23: Migration Intention Compiled Methodological Memo	258
Appendix 24: Employment Agency Coding Hierarchy	262
Appendix 25: Employment Agency Compiled Methodological Memo.....	263

Appendix 26: Timeline Labour Market Mobility Diagram	267
Appendix 27: Manual Timeline Diagram Complete Image	269
Appendix 28: Participant Employment Timelines.....	270
Appendix 29: Dual Labour Market Decision Flowchart	271
Appendix 30: Secondary Labour Market Decision Log Rationale	273
Appendix 31: Lower-Primary Labour Market Decision Log Rationale	274
Appendix 32: Upper-Primary Labour Market Decision Log Rationale	276
Appendix 33: Lower-Secondary Labour Market Coding Hierarchies.....	279
Appendix 34: Lower-Secondary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)	280
Appendix 35: Lower-Secondary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)	282
Appendix 36: Upper-Secondary Labour Market Coding Hierarchies.....	284
Appendix 37: Upper-Secondary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1).....	285
Appendix 38: Upper-Secondary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2).....	288
Appendix 39: Self-Employment Coding Hierarchies	290
Appendix 40: Self-Employment Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)	291
Appendix 41: Self-Employment Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)	294
Appendix 42: Lower-Primary Labour Market Coding Hierarchy.....	297
Appendix 43: Lower-Primary Compiled Methodological Memo	298
Appendix 44: University as a Barrier Coding Hierarchy	301
Appendix 45: University as a Barrier Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1).....	302
Appendix 46: University as a Barrier Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2).....	304
Appendix 47: Upper-Primary Labour Market Coding Hierarchies	307
Appendix 48: Upper-Primary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)	308
Appendix 49: Upper-Primary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)	310
Appendix 50: Network Coding Hierarchy.....	312
Appendix 51: Network Compiled Methodological Memo	313

List of Tables

Table 6. 1: Language Gradation Typology.....	123
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List of Figures

Figure 4. 1: A Lattice of Interconnected Friendship Groups	74
Figure 5. 1: Participant Routes into Initial Employment	105
Figure 5. 2: Broad Process Utilised in Coding Procedure	109
Figure 6. 1: Initial Jobs of Polish and Romanian Migrants in the UK	115
Figure 6. 2: Initial Sectors of Polish and Romanian Migrants in the UK	116
Figure 6. 3: Initial Jobs by Nationality	117
Figure 6. 4: Initial Jobs by Gender	118
Figure 6. 5: Initial Jobs by Year of Arrival	119
Figure 6. 6: Initial Jobs by Approximate Age at Year of Arrival.....	120
Figure 6. 7: Job Satisfaction in Initial Employment	121
Figure 6. 8: Impact of Language Upon Labour Market Entry.....	124
Figure 6. 9: Linguistic Characteristics of Initial Employment	126
Figure 6. 10: Assistance Provided by All Sources to Participants	137
Figure 7. 1: Labour Market Mobility Model	148
Figure 8. 1: Analytical Model for Migrant Labour Market Mobility	180

List of Abbreviations

ONS : Office for National Statistics 2, 9, 16, 23, 25, 61, 62, 84, 93, 115, 125, 195, 277

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

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Dedications

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my late grandmother who has always been a shining light, in this life and the next.

We did it, nan!

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to answer the following two research questions:

What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?

What are the causes of and constraints to labour market mobility of Polish and Romanian migrants?

Migration and the labour market are fields which hold particular significance both to academia and in government policy. Regarding the former, a panoply of recent literature has endeavoured to explain aspects of and relationships within its multifaceted nature. Studies range from those which focus upon employer demand underpinning occupational outcomes (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010; Geddes and Scott, 2010; McCollum and Findlay, 2015), to those which address migrants' skill-related characteristics as potential determinants of initial employment (Johns, 2013; Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016), to those which place emphasis upon labour market intermediaries such as employment agencies or migrant networks (Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Sporton, 2013; Vasey, 2016). Regarding the latter, the UK government has placed particular scrutiny upon Central and Eastern European migrants since 2004. Numerous government reports (Home Office *et al.*, 2007; UK Border Agency *et al.*, 2008; UK Border Agency *et al.*, 2009) focused predominantly upon the initial employment characteristics of EU8 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia) migrants, whereas others (Green, 2011; Migration Advisory Committee, 2008; Migration Advisory Committee, 2011) prioritised the economic and labour market implications of lifting transitional restrictions for EU2 (Romanian, Bulgarian) migrants. Such evidence suggests that there is significant academic and governmental interest in seeking to characterise and understand European labour migration in particular.

This interest is unsurprising when considering both global and regional migration trends. The total stock of individuals residing outside their country of origin has increased from "...about 100 million in 1960 to 155 million in 2000 and then to 214 million in 2010" (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.7). Within this global trend 57 million EU residents lived in a country other than that of their birth in 2016 (European Political Strategy Centre, 2017, p.1). Since the inception of the free movement of people from the EU8 to the UK, the

EU population has increased from 1,491,000 in 2004, peaking at 3,705,000 in 2017, and stabilising at 3,599,000 in 2018 (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva, 2019, Figure 1). However, within this flow Polish remains the most common nationality stock with 905,000 in the UK in 2018, and Romanian-born migrants (who gained unrestricted labour market access in January 2014) account for the most substantial flow increases with the resident population increasing from 170,000 to 392,000 between 2014 and 2018 (ONS, 2019a, para. 15). The literature (Andr n and Roman, 2016; Pemberton and Scullion, 2013; Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah, 2008; Rolfe *et al.*, 2013) suggests that the primary motivations for both nationalities to migrate to the UK was economic in nature. Therefore, the pursuit of knowledge regarding their interaction with and impact upon the UK labour market has been and continues to be of paramount importance to academia and policy makers.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the principal empirical, methodological, and theoretical parameters of this thesis. It will both contextualise the research questions above within the broader debates occurring in the literary field as well as present a theoretical and methodological snapshot as to how this thesis embarks upon the process of attaining meaningful results. Furthermore, a presentation of the most important findings and contributions will be included to holistically frame the content of the thesis entire. To this end, the chapter will begin by demonstrating the core gaps in the literature from which the research questions above are derived. Additional considerations pertaining to the priorities of research as well as Brexit will also be outlined. Following this, the key tenets of the theoretical and methodological frameworks will be explained. Finally, this chapter will briefly demonstrate the breadth and depth added to the field of knowledge as a result of the investigation to come.

1.2. Context

The literature surrounding the initial migrant labour market experience is well-established and has made myriad significant contributions to the field. Numerous contributions emphasise the significance of regional labour markets in shaping initial employment outcomes (Chappell *et al.*, 2009; Glossop and Shaheen, 2009; Stenning and Dawley, 2009). However, the majority of the literature predominantly focuses upon demand- or supply-side rationales behind the concentration of EU8 migrants in low-skilled work. Regarding the demand-side, studies have tended to focus upon the sectoral nature of demand with migrants either fulfilling the role of a peripheral workforce to be drawn upon in times of need, or employed in hard-to-fill positions rejected by the UK labour force (Findlay and

McCollum, 2013; Geddes and Scott, 2010; Lucas and Mansfield, 2010; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Scott, 2013). Particular interest has also been paid as to why low-skilled, low-status employers favour EU8 migrant workers (Datta and Brickell, 2009; Friberg, 2013; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2007; Wills *et al.*, 2009) addressing issues concerning employer-imbued stereotyped characteristics, migrant conformity to this phenomenon, and its erosion over time. Furthermore, numerous papers (Anderson *et al.*, 2006; Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Sporton, 2013) also study the processes through which employer demand is fulfilled demonstrating the significance of employment agencies and migrant networks as central actors linking demand to supply.

Significant academic interest has also been paid to supply-side arguments which focus upon factors intrinsic to the migrants themselves. These centre around the relative significance of language skill and country of origin education, as well as the important role of migration intention in moderating the initial employment experience. Evidence presented in the literature suggests that language and related issues of confidence possess a significant restrictive effect not only upon migrants' decision-making capacity regarding occupational choice (Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) but also alludes to their proclivity to interact with and utilise personal networks (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2009; White and Ryan, 2008). Migrants have been further found to experience occupational barriers as employers fail to recognise country of origin skills and qualifications (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Johns, 2013; Wills *et al.*, 2009). Nevertheless, contrary evidence (Ryan *et al.*, 2008) suggests that such devaluation may not occur universally across occupations. The literature also acknowledges that how migrants employ their relative skill and qualification endowments is shaped by their agency. In particular, debates concern the Piorian (1979) notion of 'temporariness' where papers argue that migrant tolerance of low-skilled work is rooted in the context of their national and international future plans (Anderson, 2010; Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Piore, 1979). Overall, the literature presents migrants' initial employment experience as shaped by a multitude of demand- and supply-related factors which coalesce to produce and reproduce typically low-skilled labour market outcomes.

Against this comprehensive and distinguished scholastic backdrop Research Question 1 seeks to make its contribution. The papers highlighted above demonstrate command over a wide range of aspects pertaining to the initial labour market experience. However, this thesis argues that knowledge may be furthered by adopting a more inclusive, holistic

investigatory framework. This investigation moves away from topical or clustered areas of interest and towards a more universal understanding of how migrants endeavour to utilise their individual stocks of language- and skill- based competencies to navigate complex intermediary relationships and enter the UK labour market in occupations which align with their migration intention. In effect, this thesis advocates a multifaceted approach which comprises skill-based (language, skills, qualifications), social (networks), structuring (employment agencies, employer preference), and agency-related (migration intention) factors to reimagine Polish and Romanian migrants as multifarious agents with unique but tendential initial employment trajectories. This objective of offering a more holistic perspective toward the initial labour market experience is embodied in Research Question 1:

What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?

The literature regarding the migrant mobility experience is an emerging area of research focusing predominantly upon the roles of language and education in facilitating upward occupational advancement. Regarding the former, authors (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) have investigated the multifaceted ways through which language ability translates into improved labour market prospects. Whilst acting as a clear differentiating factor between those able to advance and those remaining in low-skilled work (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, 2014) language has also been associated with increased independence (Samaluk, 2016), and the expansion of personal networks beyond the co-national sphere (Ryan *et al.*, 2008). Furthermore, research (Friberg, 2012; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Vasey, 2016) has demonstrated the significance of work environment upon the process of language accumulation as workplace co-national concentration may moderate opportunities to improve. Regarding the latter, authors (Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014) present the acquisition of UK education as necessary for occupational mobility. This process is exemplified in the accounts of Johns (2013), Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014), and Knight (2014) who remark upon the need to either study British educational qualifications or retrain in pursuit of British credentials to achieve labour market advancement. The motivations behind this endeavour are wide-ranging but ultimately orient around the perceived utility of and premium placed upon UK qualifications in unlocking future national and transnational employment opportunities (Knight, 2014; Samaluk, 2016).

Occupational mobility itself has been categorised and characterised with respect to a multitude of different factors. Core literature (Parutis, 2014; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014) broadly presents mobility as the incremental movement from low-skilled to highly skilled jobs. A number of papers (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, 2014; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009) demonstrate this trajectory as achievable within specific organisations to a lesser or greater extent, whereas others (Parutis, 2014; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014) present this phenomenon as occurring between sectors and firms. Nevertheless, substantive interpretative elements pervade into how occupational mobility is defined in core literature. This leads to idiographic and analytically divergent accounts as to the relative utilities of language and education throughout the labour market experience both within and between papers. This is manifestly evident when comparing the frameworks of Parutis (2014) and Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014). The former characterises mobility in terms of ‘any’, ‘better’, and ‘dream’ jobs with the first two categories focused upon theoretically objective criteria such as wages, working hours, and employment stability. However, the “dream job” category focuses upon subjective and individual stimuli such as feelings of challenge and creativity. In contrast, Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014, p.72) define mobility in an urban setting as movement from “low-skilled jobs” to “positions in the division of labour which would be difficult for recent graduates in Britain to acquire.” Therefore, substantial interpretative elements not only endure within the mobility frameworks of core literature, but how mobility is itself defined has tended to vary substantially from paper to paper.

Against this backdrop of seminal papers which utilise skill- (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014) or condition- (Parutis, 2014) based criteria to define occupational mobility, Research Question 2 seeks to emphasise its contribution. Whether limitations orient around issues of subjectivity, analytical rigour, or chronology, it is clear that substantial progress may be made in the field with the introduction of a more structured and analytically rigorous mobility framework. This would present a unified, theoretical criteria through which to hierarchically categorise occupations as more objectively higher or lower in the division of labour, and by extension facilitate a more accurate understanding of the relative jurisdictions of language and education in terms of their utility in enabling occupational mobility. In effect, Research Question 2 departs from previous works in its attempt to root occupational mobility within a wider theoretical framework and cement useful and interesting linguistic and educational findings in a

chronologically rigorous structure. This theoretical and methodologically based objective is embodied in Research Question 2:

What are the causes of and constraints to labour market mobility of Polish and Romanian migrants?

1.3. Additional Considerations

It is equally important to discuss why the noteworthy factors of discrimination, gender, and Brexit are absent as central pillars of investigation and analysis in this thesis. This short section will illuminate the literature and considerations which shaped both the perspective and approach adopted concerning the factors above in the context of this investigation.

Regarding discrimination, the literature is both extensive and wide-ranging with an increasing focus upon Central and Eastern European migration to the UK. Arguments focus upon migrant perceptions of group discrimination between countries (McGinnity and Gijssberts, 2015), how migrants navigate British social class structures through discursive strategies of discrimination denial (Fox, Moroşanu and Szilassy, 2015), and more labour market-focused concerns such as discrimination as a potential explanation for the overqualification of Eastern European migrants in low-skilled work (Johnston, Khattab and Manley, 2015), and experiential accounts of discrimination in the hospitality sector (Janta *et al.*, 2011). Whilst the above arguments are of significance to the overall understanding of migrant labour market experiences, this investigation chooses to focus upon more tangible and objective factors such as language skill and networks. However, this thesis also acknowledges that discrimination may underpin structuring considerations such as employer preference and the devaluation of qualifications across international contexts. Therefore, whilst not treated as a factor in the foreground of the migrant labour market experience, discrimination-based reflections were held in mind throughout the process of interpretation and analysis.

Regarding gender, there is an equally burgeoning and relevant selection of literature which informs upon the relevance of gender-based concerns in the UK migrant labour market context. Discussion ranges from analysis of the enduring nature of gender ideologies for Latin American migrants in London (McIlwaine, 2010), to an investigation focusing upon the experiences and coping strategies of migrant men working in the gender atypical profession of care work (Hussein and Christensen, 2017). Equally relevant are the works of Johansson and Śilwa (2016) as well as Bargłowski and Pustulka (2018) with the former

highlighting how familial gender norms negatively impact upon the ability of Polish women to learn English in the UK, and the latter analysing the intersectionality of class and gender norms in how migrants approach childcare provision in UK and German contexts. Although the literature and arguments above present key evidence which emphasise the significance of gender in the UK migrant labour market field, it was judged sufficient to be cognisant and reflective of potential gendered undercurrents without direct study. This decision was based upon the overall focus and approach of the research questions which prioritise the derivation of shared experience based upon individual skill-based and social characteristics. Therefore, in the context of this investigation demographic characteristics such as age, nationality, and gender, whilst important, represent a second tier of potential explanatory variables which may inform upon the relative endowments and embodiments of the first. This approach is embodied in the discourse surrounding initial employment in Chapter 6.

Finally, it is imperative to discuss why themes involving Brexit are not more rigorously explored in a thesis which investigates migrant labour market experience. Sampling took place during the transition period which necessitated the exploration of how Britain's decision to leave the European Union may have impacted upon migrants' national and international labour market future plans. More specifically, regarding the initial labour market experience it may have influenced recent migrants' self-perceptions of transience or permanence and hence altered their rationales of tolerance towards low-skilled work. Regarding the labour market mobility experience, it could have significantly altered migrants' mobility trajectories, national and international employment aspirations, and relative priorities afforded to the embodiment field-specific cultural capitals. Therefore, the incorporation of Brexit-related arguments was thought to add an additional dimension of relevance to the thesis. Indeed, emergent literature has successfully integrated arguments surrounding identity and belonging (Guma and Dafydd Jones, 2018), uncertainty and future planning (Lulle, Moroşanu and King, 2017), and more broadly migration strategy (McGhee, Moreh and Vlachantoni, 2017) into the discourse regarding migrant decision-making constraints. However, whilst this literature was of great assistance in operationalising the potential relevance of Brexit in the context of this thesis (as seen in Appendix 7), the reality of conducting qualitative research in a period of significant parliamentary flux and informational inconsistency ceded additional concerns regarding data analysis. Throughout the period of sampling interviews were conducted and questions were asked based upon differing political and legislative backdrops. Therefore, the ability to interpret key themes became increasingly more limited as the pace of informational dispensation diminished the

significance and relevance of previous interviews. Overall, concerns for applicability and consistency between participant accounts yielded the decision to withdraw focus from the implications of Brexit in the context of this investigation.

1.4. Theoretical Framework

In order to answer the research questions above, an intuitive theoretical framework encompassing Dual Labour Market (Piore, 1975, 1979), Cultural Capital (Bourdieu, 1986), and Strength of Weak Ties (Granovetter, 1973) theories will be introduced. Regarding Research Question 1, each theory will operate in tandem to present a holistic understanding of the initial labour market experience. Dual Labour Market theory's rationalisation of a segmented labour market based upon occupational characteristics and mobility trajectories will define the labour market structure into which migrants move. Bourdieu (1986) will provide the means to rationalise migrants as individuals with unique language abilities (cultural capital), contacts to call upon on arrival (social capital), as well as different motivations which shape how such cultural-social resources are employed in the UK labour market (habitus). Strength of Weak Ties theory will offer a means to both rationalise labour market intermediaries in terms of strong (personal and familial networks), and weak (formal institutional and co-national networks) ties, as well as provide a means to better understand why the willingness to assist and the substance of that which is supplied differs between network types based upon the notion of 'trust'. In effect, the theories will operate together to present migrants' initial labour market trajectories in a comprehensive manner with the labour market, the migrants themselves, and the intermediary relationships through which they move rationalised by their respective theses.

Regarding Research Question 2, the theories highlighted above will continue to operate in concert to present an extensive understanding of the mobility labour market experience. However, the relative significance of each will shift to express the increased explanatory potential of Dual Labour Market theory, and the diminished yet noteworthy role of Strength of Weak Ties theory. In this regard, Dual Labour Market theory's rationalisation of the occupational mobility structure in terms of mobility chains (career paths) as well as its clear emphasis upon the types of learning which occur in each labour market segment will provide not only a more objective means through which to define mobility but also a more accurate perspective as to the roles of experience and education in facilitating upward occupational advancement. Bourdieu (1986) will continue to offer a migrant-focused

perspective and provide a deep understanding of how migrants advance through the UK labour market. The theory's application toward the process of embodiment of linguistic and experiential types of cultural capital will prove particularly useful in understanding how migrants progress. Strength of Weak Ties theory will continue to scrutinise the importance of strong tie networks in periods of vulnerability, as well as monitor how participants' roles in such networks evolve over time alongside labour market mobility. Overall, the theories operating in tandem will continue to project a detailed and holistic perspective as to how migrants advance through the UK labour market whilst also offering a more objective, theoretical framework within which to characterise such mobility.

1.5. Methodological Framework

In order to answer the research questions above qualitative methods were determined to be the most suitable option. Considerations pertaining to the potential sensitivity, subjectivity, and experiential focus of the phenomena in question led to the judgement that a qualitative framework would yield more meaningful results. Within qualitative methods semi-structured interviews were utilised due not only to their suitability in the search for nuance and depth (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011), but also their flexibility in facilitating unanticipated and lucrative lines of questioning beyond the scope of the empirical framework. Face-to-face interviews in particular were utilised based upon the desire to respond to non-verbal and facial cues due to the sensitive context of the subject matter, and as the timeframe of the PhD is conducive to such a labour-intensive form of sampling. These considerations formed the foundation of the sampling and analytical methods to be delineated below.

Focusing directly upon the sampling framework, a number of factors guided the approach to gathering data. However, the most significant judgements focused upon sample characteristics and the interview guide itself. Regarding the former, 30 Polish and 10 Romanian migrants were interviewed based upon the objective of approximately matching the population ratio of the two nationalities resident in the North East of England (ONS, 2019b). This reflected the relative difficulties of accessing hard-to-reach migrant groups, as well as the desire to maintain a minimum of 10 participants in the Romanian category to ensure appropriate attention was paid to the investigation of personal and co-national networks. Regarding the latter, substantial care and attention was paid to both the logical sequence of questions as well as a sensitivity towards participant comfort and distress. This served to both increase the credibility of the researcher in the eyes of participants and

assist in generating rapport with interviewees before more sensitive queries were raised. Overall, the aim of the sampling framework was to maintain consistency from recruitment to transcription in order to provide a sound foundation upon which analysis may occur.

Focusing directly upon the analytical framework, an equally wide range of factors guided the process of generating results. Thematic analysis was used as the primary methodological tool through which patterned meaning was derived from data. This decision was borne out of a desire for flexibility given that the research questions above address chronologically and phenomenologically distinct experiences. Furthermore, thematic analysis is also compatible with both inductive and deductive methods of coding which facilitates investigative pliability in the derivation of key themes (Braun and Clarke, 2013). As such, the analytical process broadly followed the iterative technique advocated in King and Horrocks (2010). Descriptive codes were initially attached to transcripts pertaining to experiences, perceptions, or perspectives relevant to the interests of each research question. Following this a process of interpretation occurred whereby descriptive codes were clustered in terms of shared meaning and commonality with respect to the more specific topical interests. Finally, these interpretative clusters were considered with respect to core theoretical or inductively derived ideas which ultimately resulted in overarching themes encompassing relevant and interesting constituent relationships.

1.6. Results

As will be demonstrated in Chapters 6 and 7 the research focus, methodological framework, and theoretical perspective together yielded a plethora of noteworthy and interesting findings. This section will present a snapshot of the most significant results pertaining to Research Questions 1 and 2 in order to illustrate the successful implementation of the research framework above.

Chapter 6 will focus upon the role of both skill- and agency- related characteristics, as well as the influence of labour market intermediaries in shaping the initial labour market experience of Polish and Romanian migrants in the UK. Regarding the former, this thesis finds language to possess a dominating influence over initial labour market trajectories. Lack of confidence in one's language ability not only diminished participants' willingness to apply for commensurate employment, but also impacted upon their independence to enter into the UK labour market without intermediary use. This significance was brought into stark focus as participants referenced English language teaching as the most useful aspect of their country of origin education. Focusing more acutely upon skill- and qualification-

devaluation revealed the hierarchical interplay between language ability and education. Without high language ability participants tended to be unable to interface directly with employers which negated the cumulative value of study and experience gained in the country of origin. This typically resulted in employment in low-skilled, secondary labour market work either by choice or labour market intermediaries. Participants' rationales for tolerating the generally poor working conditions were multifarious but ultimately oriented around individuals' ambitions. Whilst those of a more temporary migration intention were typically insulated against the negative characteristics of employment by virtue of their transience, those of more permanent intentions were fully cognisant. This resulted in external rationalisations drawn from both the familial sphere and from participants' lived experiences in country of origin employment to support their continued tenure in low-skilled, low status work.

As alluded to above, labour market intermediaries (employment agencies, networks) play the key role of channelling migrants, typically with language difficulties, into predominantly low-skilled work. Regarding networks, this investigation demonstrates the role of friends and family networks (strong ties) in providing more substantial employment and accommodational assistance than the wider co-national community (weak ties). In adopting a dynamic perspective this thesis unveils the formative role of trust as a form of social currency unlocking more resource-intensive forms of aid from the points of view of both donors and recipients. Furthermore, practical constraints were also found to moderate assistance provision within strong tie networks. The degree to which participants' contacts had advanced in the UK labour market formed a key variable which determined their ability to hire, recommend, and the industry in which future strong tie arrivals worked. This manifested in the accounts of a number of participants who were recommended into agency employment which almost invariably channelled them into low-skilled factory work. Such a channelling effect was found to be based upon an employer preference for the perceived superior work ethic and dedication of Eastern European workers in comparison to the British population. Overall, results regarding Research Question 1 focus upon how migrants of differentiated language abilities navigate complex intermediary relationships to enter the UK labour market in an occupation aligned with their migration intention.

Regarding Research Question 2, Dual Labour Market theory (Piore, 1975) is utilised and innovated upon to produce the occupational structure within which analysis may occur. This resulted in the production of four labour market segments: lower-secondary, upper-

secondary, lower-primary, and upper-primary. The key distinction between the primary and secondary labour market in the context of this investigation lies in the intuitive formation of the former into career ladders, and the latter resembling more random patterns of mobility with no cohesive promotional structure. The foremost differences between the lower- and upper-primary segments centre around the type of learning which facilitates mobility within each segment (of specific and general traits respectively), as well as the role of extensive formal education in gating access to the upper-primary segment. This thesis also differentiates the secondary sector into a lower- and upper- tier. This was inductively structured in like fashion to the primary segment focusing upon the types of learning which occur within each segment. Language improvement does not transpire in the lower-secondary segment, and incidental language learning occurs within the upper-secondary segment which is also gated by a minimum language threshold. Overall, the segments follow a broad Piorian (1975) hierarchisation from the worst employment conditions (lower-secondary) to the best (upper-primary) utilising factors such as wages, working conditions, and promotion opportunities as guides.

Focusing directly upon the secondary labour market, results will demonstrate that initial occupational characteristics possess an enduring influence over migrant mobility trajectories. In the predominantly factory-based workplaces which characterise the lower-secondary segment a vicious cycle of language accumulation was revealed. A lack of minimum language requirement alongside the agency-facilitated channelling of migrants with poor linguistic ability has produced an environment where co-national concentration was high and English language use low. Combined with the presence of bi-lingual colleagues and the routine, un-interactive nature of the work the opportunity for migrants minded to incidentally improve their language ability was non-existent. This necessitated participation in language classes should participants seek to advance. In contrast, a virtuous cycle of language accumulation was identified in the upper-secondary segment. The presence of a minimum language threshold in the care- and customer-facing service occupations which characterise this segment led to a filtering effect whereby co-national concentration was extremely low and the linguistic calibre of colleagues tended to be higher. Combined with the interactive nature of the work itself this produced an environment highly conducive to language improvement. Thus, results focusing upon the secondary sector centre upon the utility of English in facilitating participants' departure from low-skilled, low status work and entry into the cohesive career paths of the primary sector.

Focusing directly upon the primary labour market, results will illustrate the significance of different forms of experience in facilitating mobility within the lower- and upper- primary segments. In the administration-related office occupations which characterise the lower-primary segment a dichotomy emerged between credentialed and non-credentialed experience gain. Those who institutionalised their occupational- or task- specific knowledge in the form of an NVQ-level qualification typically experienced swifter and more extensive advancement along the administration-based career ladder. However, for the majority of the sample, a lack of UK university education formed a substantial barrier to their professional and managerial upper-primary ambitions. Resource-based constraints in terms of both time and money were prohibitive of attending university as participants strove to work to subsist. This antagonism was less acute for participants with relatively more affluent strong tie relationships as the extensive monetary cost could be spread across the family unit. Within the upper-primary segment 'expertise' was found to be the primary driver of mobility. This concept combines the in-depth knowledge accumulated through extensive formal education alongside months or years of practice in professional employment to produce the cognitive skills necessary for the fulfilment of varied and complex tasks in upper-primary work. In effect, findings will reveal the theoretical utility and appeal of Piorian (1975) notions of specific and general traits in better understanding how migrants move through the primary labour market.

1.7. Contributions

Stemming from the results above, this thesis will offer substantial and impactful contributions to the field. Regarding Research Question 1, the breadth and depth of the investigatory framework facilitated a more nuanced and interconnected understanding of the migrant initial labour market experience with the discovery of noteworthy and interesting findings. In contrast to previous investigations, this thesis offers a more differentiated understanding of language which emphasises the significance not only of language itself but also confidence-related psychological factors which underpin migrant decision-making constraints regarding intermediary use. It also provides a more holistic perspective towards migrant tolerance of low-skilled work by expanding debate beyond discussions of transience and permanence, and towards a more inclusive understanding of (particularly more permanent migration intention) tolerance as rooted in migrants' lived experience, as well as their roles in the familial sphere. Furthermore, as referenced above this investigation departs from previous literature in providing a dynamic perspective toward individuals' roles in migrant networks over time. This facilitated a more

comprehensive understanding of the role of trust in progressively perpetuating cycles of reciprocity and obligation for both donors and recipients of (substantial forms of) assistance within strong tie networks. In addition, the ability to chronicle migrants' experiences within networks throughout their UK labour market experience enabled the accumulation of refutational evidence counter to the arguments purported by previous theories which enmesh networks within agency-related initial employment trajectories towards low-skilled work. Overall, the holistic perspective offered by Research Question 1 will expand upon previous works to offer both poignant and wide-ranging contributions to the discipline.

Regarding Research Question 2, the application of the theoretical framework referenced above will enable a more detailed and analytically rigorous understanding of the mobility labour market experience. As with previous literature this thesis recognises the importance of language in facilitating improved employment prospects in the UK labour market. However, this investigation offers a more detailed understanding of both the processes through which language is learned, and how such processes are both rooted in and shape migrants' overall labour market trajectories. Furthermore, this thesis also remains cognisant of coincident emotional and psychological undercurrents which moderate participants' willingness to advance and realise their overall labour market goals of commensurate employment. The literature also emphasises the prominence of UK-based education and experience as key facilitators of mobility. In this vein, analysis will contribute a more structured and detailed account of the types of experience and educational barriers which enable or impede labour market advancement. In particular, contributions focus on the dichotomy between credentialed and non-credentialed occupational- and task- specific experience, the difficulty participants encountered in progressing into upper-primary managerial and professional employment, and the key role of 'expertise' in facilitating continued mobility in highly skilled work. Interspersed amongst these arguments are also detailed insights into the emotional motivators of mobility which provide a holistic perspective as to the skill-based and psychological factors which facilitate advancement. In essence, this thesis builds upon previous literature to present theoretically structured, detailed accounts of migrant experiences pertaining to labour market mobility.

In totality, this thesis will present a literature-based, theoretically driven, and qualitatively realised investigation of the initial and mobility experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants in the UK. A host of substantive results will be presented which offer confirmatory, refutational, or progressive findings pertaining to the myriad debates

occurring in the field of migrant labour market interaction. These findings will not only advance the frontier of knowledge but also reveal additional areas of study which could benefit from future research.

Chapter 2: How Migration Has Shaped The UK Labour Market

2.1. Introduction

According to the Office for National Statistics (2019a, para. 12), the total number of migrants with EU nationality rests at 3.6 million. Of this group Polish is the most common nationality accounting for 905,000 individuals, and Romanian-born migrants have experienced the most substantial increases seeing their population increase from 170,000 to 392,000 since labour market restrictions were lifted in 2014 to 2018 (ONS, 2019a, para. 15). This presents these two groups as the largest stock and flow of European migrants respectively. However, the European Commission (2011, p.4) noted “...an urgent need to improve the effectiveness of policies aimed at the integration of migrants into the labour market.” The research questions presented in this chapter will investigate how the two burgeoning migrant groups highlighted above interact with the UK labour market in both the initial and mobility contexts.

This chapter will first present an abridged account of post-World War II migration to the United Kingdom in order to contextualise the most recent flows. The section will illustrate the centrality of migration both from Europe and the former Commonwealth as the primary sources of labour migrants to the UK. Furthermore, it will demonstrate the increasing prominence and significance of the European Union as it grows in geo-political, economic, and migratory magnitude between the end of World War II and the modern era of post-2004 migration flows. It thereby scrutinises the historical relationship between the UK and migration, demonstrating its longstanding significance to the nation’s economic, political, and sociological way of life.

The second section will present the demographic and employment characteristics of the two post-2004 waves of European migration including the EU8 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia) who gained free labour market access in 2004 and the EU2 (Romania and Bulgaria) who gained access in 2014. The section will focus upon demonstrating the size and scale of the two flows, their demographic and spatial characteristics, and the rationales presented in the literature as to why such substantial flows exist. In addition, it will present an abridged account of how these two groups have interfaced with the UK labour market in order to contextualise the broader occupational environments in which this investigation takes place.

The third section focuses more specifically upon the modern debates in the literature concerning European migration to the UK. It will briefly demonstrate the theoretical rationale as to why migrants are overwhelmingly concentrated in low-skilled jobs, before discussing the interests of researchers in this field. Employer preference, employment agencies, and their interaction with migrant networks will be discussed on the demand-side, and the debates behind migrants' embodied skills as well as their acceptance of low-skilled work will be outlined on the supply-side. Within this section, the author will argue that a more holistic perspective (encompassing skill-, social-, agency-, and structuring-factors) to migrants' decision-making constraints would be beneficial to the field. Furthermore, an additional area of contribution will be defined in the emerging field of migrant labour market mobility. It will be suggested that a more objective criteria upon which labour market mobility may be defined will yield more substantive and impactful results.

To this end, this chapter will be structured as follows: It will begin by addressing the context of modern migration, introducing the UK's modern connection to and reliance upon migration. Following this, the characteristics of the post-2004 European flow will be defined in terms of demographic characteristics and initial labour market outcomes. The third section will present recent debates in the field of migrant labour market interaction. These debates will be separated into demand-side, supply-side, and mobility for purposes of clarity. Finally, the conclusion will synthesise the arguments raised in this chapter into a demonstration of the significance of this field, and the contributions purported by this thesis.

2.2. Context of Modern Migration

Prior to the end of World War II, the character of European migration had been one of net-outward flows. In previous centuries the European Powers had colonised, settled, and populated much of the known world (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.102). However, during the post-war period this trend reversed with increasing alacrity. Advancements in technology and developments in economics led to substantial migration from poorer countries to richer ones (Fisher, 2014, p.124). This culminated in the number of international migrants exceeding 22 million into Western Europe between 1960 and 2005 (Bonifazi, 2008, p.111) which cemented the region as one of net-immigration. This section investigates the post-war period with the objective of illustrating migration as an increasingly central aspect of UK and European labour markets and society.

The period immediately after World War II was one of significant economic structural adjustment (Okólski, 2012). According to Van Mol and de Valk (2016) North-Western Europe experienced a dramatic economic boom. This is evidenced in Dietz and Kaczmarczyk (2008, p.38) in which they report a 30% increase of industrial production. However, the resident populations of this region were undergoing a period of upward social mobility derived from increased education and occupational movement into “white-collar work” (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson, 1998, p.26). This resulted in a substantial labour deficit as the domestic populations were generally unwilling to perform the “poorly paid jobs in agriculture, cleaning, construction, and mining” (Van Mol and de Valk, 2016, p.32). Therefore, in order to remedy the growing labour deficits as well as sustain the period of economic growth the governments of North-Western Europe were prepared to accept large numbers of migrant workers.

This demand for labour led to the formation of two significant European migration systems between 1945 and the 1970s: guest-worker, and colonial migration (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.104). Regarding the former, guest-worker bi-lateral agreements were necessary for nations which lacked a colonial imperial history. For example, countries such as Luxembourg, Sweden, and Italy each used guest-worker schemes in order to maintain economic growth (Ibid., p.106). The United Kingdom also utilised guest-workers through the European Voluntary Worker Scheme. This facilitated the recruitment of 90,000 (predominantly male) migrants from both refugee camps and Southern Europe to fill labour shortages (Ibid., p.106). However, the poor state of the British economy in comparison to that of France, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria led to the disintegration of this flow (Hansen, 2003, p.26). Therefore, the United Kingdom needed to find alternative sources of labour.

Whilst the majority of European nations who possessed former colonial empires (France, the Netherlands, and Belgium) drew their labour from their former colonies, the United Kingdom resolved its labour issues through the use of both Ireland (the country’s long-established labour reserve) as well as its former empire (Bonifazi, 2008; Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014). Ireland provided substantial numbers of workers to the UK (350,000) which tended to work in manual professions (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.108). However, far larger flows from the Commonwealth resulted in approximately 500,000 non-white colonial migrants by 1962, with this number approximately doubling by the 1970s (Hansen, 2003, pp.26-27). These migrants tended to work in low-skilled, manual industrial work as well as the service sector (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.109). This was the

result of the 1948 Nationality Act which gave all of the 800 million citizens of the Commonwealth as well as remaining imperial holdings the right to move to and settle in the United Kingdom (Fisher, 2014, p.113).

This period also oversaw shifting public and political opinion which would come to define the subsequent migration era of the 1970s. According to Van Mol and de Valk (2016, p.33) migration was initially viewed as a positive phenomenon due to its economic benefits with the UK enjoying a GNP/Capita of \$1977. Bonifazi (2008, p.115) posits an additional reason insofar as European powers did not wish to lose significant historical connections to their colonies. However, in both the 1950s and 1960s the political situation in the UK deteriorated with parliamentary arguments of pro- and anti- immigration positions dividing public opinion (Hansen, 2003, p.28). This resulted in the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in 1962 which raised legal and administrative barriers to migration from Britain's former colonies. Despite significant reductions in immigration, family reunification of Commonwealth immigrants continued throughout the 1960s ultimately leading to the 1971 Immigration Act which severely restricted primary immigration from the Commonwealth (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.109).

This reduction in immigration was emblematic of larger, global restructuring efforts which transformed the nature of demand for migrant labour in Western economies. Partially due to the oil shocks in the 1970s, mass reduction in the levels of immigration occurred across Europe (Bonifazi, 2008, p.116). Government economic projections switched from that of persistent and substantial growth to slow and incremental expansion (Van Mol and de Valk, 2016, p.35). Therefore, the objective of this era was one of consolidation of immigrant groups instead of continued and substantial migration. In the United Kingdom, immigrant flows continued to be characterised by family reunification due to the intervention of the courts. The judiciary refused to permit the government to violate an enshrined civic right (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.112). Thus, the continued presence of former colonial migrants as well as concomitant second and third generation groups led to the formation of clear ethnic minorities and the ethnic segmentation of the labour market (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.109).

The era of the 1970s and 1980s also saw an increased diversification of the types of migrants moving into European countries. According to Bonifazi *et al.* (2008, pp.11-12), the substantial reduction of family reunification migration gave rise to far more varied migration flows. These included "low-skilled seasonal workers, inflows of workers with

special and rare skills, inflows of foreign students, and inflows of people seeking protection on humanitarian grounds or pretending to be in such a situation” (Ibid., p.12). This diversification was a result of both the changing demand-side signals as well as a response to growing concerns of ageing populations (Ibid., p.12). Indeed, according to Castles, de Haas and Miller (2014, p.111) as a result of neoliberal policies as well as increased education and specialisation, the domestic supply of low-skilled workers decreased necessitating recruitment of foreign workers to fulfil newly created high- and low- skilled positions.

It is also worth noting that throughout this period the European Union exerted increasing influence over matters of migration. Initially, free movement of workers was predominantly useful for the migration of Italian workers within the (then) European Economic Community (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.108). However, throughout the 1970s and 80s the European Union continued its expansion to include the United Kingdom in 1973, and the Southern European nations of Portugal, Spain, and Greece in the 1980s (Bonifazi, 2008, p.117). This culminated in the signing of the Schengen Agreement in 1985 to which all European members were signatories (except the UK and Ireland). This removed internal borders for the purposes of migration and began a process of harmonisation of European migration systems.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 heralded a new era of migration flows from Central and Eastern Europe. Concurrent with the fall of the Soviet Union was the lifting of political restrictions upon migration from the former Soviet states. This (alongside conflict in the former Yugoslavia) resulted in unprecedented flows of both economic and asylum-seeking migrants from Eastern Europe with asylum applications rising from 320,000 to 695,000 between 1989 and 1992 (Van Mol and de Valk, 2016, p.37). These migration flows were met with highly restrictive measures from the European Union nations. According to Engbersen *et al.* (2010, pp.7-8), whilst Western European nations may have initially had relatively sympathetic asylum policies, these became increasingly prohibitive over time. In addition, policies of labour migration remained restricted during this period. However, despite such limitations the period was characterised by irregular migration from East to West, in part responding to a high demand for low-skilled workers willing to tolerate unstable employment conditions (Bonifazi *et al.*, 2008, p.12). This was particularly prevalent in the Southern European economies of Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal (Engbersen *et al.*, 2010, p.9).

A significant political, economic, and migratory inflection point for European migration systems occurred with the resultant reunification of Germany and subsequent introduction of the Maastricht Treaty. According to Baldwin and Wyplosz (2009, p.29), there was some trepidation from European member states that a reunified Germany would become a domineering economic and political force within the continent. Therefore, there was a desire to further integrate the European member states alongside a reunified Germany in order to maintain political and economic balance. Amongst other obligations, this committed the signatories to the relinquishment of their monetary policy, national currencies, and some political power to the European Parliament (Baldwin and Wyplosz, 2009, p.30). However, most significantly it proclaimed that “every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to...limitations and conditions” (Fisher, 2014, p.120). In 1992, this commitment simultaneously encouraged migration within the EU as well as raised barriers to its neighbours (Van Mol and de Valk, 2016, p.38).

Despite the fall of the Soviet Union, Central and Eastern European nations were concerned that the influence of Russia might return and as such sought to align themselves with the European Union, and ultimately NATO (Baldwin and Wyplosz, 2009, p.31). This resulted in bilateral free trade deals with Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia in 1991, as well as Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in 1994 (Ibid., p.31). However, there was initial reticence to the admission of these countries due to the post-soviet, planned condition of their economies. This ultimately dissipated by June 1993 whereby the European Council agreed “...that the associated countries in Central and Eastern Europe that so desire shall become members of the European Union” (European Council, 1993, p.13). This resulted in the eventual acceptance of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia (EU8) into the European Union from May 1st, 2004.

Summary

This section has presented a succinct history focused in particular upon the UK but also upon Europe regarding post-war migration flows in order to illustrate its centrality to European labour markets and societies. Over this period, significant demographic changes occurred in the UK as well as substantial socio-economic and political upheaval throughout the continent. However, throughout the post-war period the European Union continued to grow in scale and significance. In the 1990s, the advent of the Maastricht Treaty began a

new phase of migration heralding the free movement of people between nation states. The acceptance of the EU8 into this migration system continues to define modern migration flows to the United Kingdom and as such demands further attention and scrutiny.

2.3. Characteristics of European Migration

At the time of writing the European Union currently encompasses 28 Member States covering a substantial portion of the European continent. This is the result of several phases of expansion commencing in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome and finishing with the most recent two waves of expansion in 2004 and 2007 (Bonifazi, 2008). These final phases have generated substantial interest in the literature which Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich (2010, p.73) attributes not only to the size and scale of these flows (to be illustrated below) but also due to their distinctiveness in terms of clearly defined dates of legality. Following in this tradition, this section will focus on answering four key questions regarding the most recent waves of expansion: Who came? How many? Why did they come? And what function did they perform in the labour market when they arrived?

2.3.1. Expansion of 2004

As previously noted, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia (the EU8) gained admission to the European Union May 1st, 2004 (Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014, p.117). Home Office (2003, p.58) predicted that “between 5,000 and 13,000 immigrants per year” would arrive in the UK up to 2010. However, these predictions rested upon the assumption that Germany would absorb significant portions of the migratory capacity of the EU8. As a result of the majority of EU15 (Western and Southern European) countries imposing transition period restrictions upon migration, only the UK, Ireland, and Sweden allowed unimpeded migration from the newly joined EU8 (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2010, p.74). This saw particularly large numbers of Polish migrants enter the United Kingdom, and has been coined by Salt and Rees (2006) as cited in Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich (2010, p.73) as the “largest-ever migration wave to have arrived in the UK” with estimations of approximately 500,000 Polish migrants heading to the United Kingdom by 2007 (Engbersen *et al.*, 2010, p.10).

Of particular note is the persistently high stocks and labour market presence of Polish migrants between accession and 2018. According to Okólski (2012, p.36) (using Polish Labour Force Survey data), between accession and the end of 2006 the number of Polish migrants who departed their country of origin increased from 200,000 to 500,000. These

were identified as temporary migrants, although Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich (2010) caution against the validity of migration intention data as individuals' plans have been noted to change with significant alacrity. However, this broadly matches National Insurance Number allocations between January 2002 and March 2008 of 681,000 Polish migrants (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2010, p.77). Despite the financial crisis in 2008 raising unemployment from 5% pre-crisis to its height of 8.1% in 2011 (D'Angelo and Kofman, 2017, p.176) and the end of transitional arrangements for Germany on May 1st, 2011, the United Kingdom continued to be an attractive country for immigration. Whilst employment of EU8 migrants hovered around the 500,000 level between 2008 and 2009 it grew to 651,000 by Q2 of 2011 (Migration Observatory, 2011, para. 6). Numbers continued to grow into 2015 with Poland as the most common country of birth as well as most common nationality in the UK with 9.5% and 15.7% of the foreign population respectively (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva, 2017, para. 14). This has persisted to present day, with approximately 1 million Polish nationals living in the UK in 2017 making Poland the most common non-UK country of birth (ONS, 2018, para. 2).

Such numbers demand a more detailed view of the demographic and spatial characteristics of post-accession migrants. Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008, p.25) present a useful snapshot of the EU8 migrants who registered on the Worker Registration Survey between May 2004 and December 2007: They were predominantly male (57%), relatively young (82% between ages 18 and 34), and typically in a relationship (58%). They also tended to migrate without dependents with only 7% stating they were supporting someone. However, the trend illustrates this as an increasing tendency. Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008, p.27) also suggest that EU8 migrants are relatively highly educated with an average of 13.6 years in full-time education at an average age of 20.1. Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich (2010) who present a more focused analysis of Polish migrants, largely agree with the findings of Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008) which is to be expected given that the Polish form the majority of EU8 migrants in the UK. However, Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich (2010, p.83) add that migrants from other nations in this group tend to be more poorly educated, although all typically possessed poor language ability. Spatially, the Polish are slightly more likely to migrate to locations outside of London than other EU8 migrants (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2010, p.82). This is confirmed in Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008, p.28) who claim that in 2007 Polish migrants were registered in "every local authority in Britain" including those with no prior history of migration.

Evidently, a wide range of push and pull factors will have applied at the individual level to entice 1,000,000 Polish migrants to move and remain in the UK by 2017. Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008), and Pemberton and Scullion (2013) present the most common rationales. Pemberton and Scullion (2013, p.446) suggest that the primary motivation for Central and Eastern European migrants was economic up until the 2008 financial crisis. However, according to D'Angelo and Kofman (2017, p.176) UK unemployment was 2% below the European average even at the height of the recession suggesting that economic motivations may have endured. Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008, p.41) illustrate that the three countries with the highest shares of the EU8 flow (Poland, Lithuania, and Slovakia) were also the three with the lowest ratios of GDP/Capita in 2007 which reinforces the likelihood of economic motivation. Nevertheless, Pemberton and Scullion (2013) suggest that a wider variety of motivations exist depending upon demographic characteristics. Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008, pp.43-44) confirm this citing the desire to learn language, a desire to experience other cultures and societies, as well as a supportive economic environment for enterprise as primary motivations for primarily younger migrants.

2.3.2. Expansion of 2007

In contrast to the EU8 countries, Romania and Bulgaria (EU2) did not meet the Copenhagen Criteria (political and economic checks to determine eligibility for membership) necessary for admission into the European Union in 2004. Instead they joined the EU January 1st, 2007. However, as with the EU8, the EU15 (including the UK) reserved the right to impose transitional restrictions upon migration from the newly admitted member states. The United Kingdom took advantage of this which limited the employment possibilities of Romanians and Bulgarians to self-employment (Ruhs and Wadsworth, 2017, p.824), or to specific industries with the Season Agricultural Workers Scheme and Sector Based Scheme for agricultural and food processing employment respectively (Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah, 2008, p.14). However, these transitional restrictions came to an end on January 1st, 2014 giving EU2 migrants the full labour market access enjoyed by the previous wave of EU8 migrants.

Contrary to the dramatic increase in EU8 migrant populations after the 2004 expansion, the EU2 flows initially occurred far more gradually but ultimately resulted in the most substantial flow increase (with Romanians) to the UK. According to Rolfe *et al.* (2013, p.21) the number of EU2 migrants was fairly low in 2009 (26,00 for Bulgarians and 80,000 for

Romanians). The vast majority of EU2 migrants moved to Italy and Spain which as of 2009 “attracted about 40 and 43 percent of mobile Romanians respectively” (Rolfe *et al.*, 2013, p.6). However, in spite of this, numbers increased to 180,000 (EU2 combined) immediately before labour market limitations were lifted in 2013 (Ruhs and Wadsworth, 2017, p.824). After transitional arrangements were lifted in 2014, the Office for National Statistics (2018) reported substantial increases in both the stocks and flows of Romanian migrants. Between 2016 and 2017 Romanians not only experienced the largest flow increase in terms of nationality, but stocks also increased by 83,000 to 411,000 which placed Romanians behind only Polish as the most common migrant nationality in the UK (ONS, 2018, para. 16).

In terms of demographic and spatial characteristics, the research focus concerning Romanian and Bulgarian migrants has been primarily upon their presence in the Spanish and Italian labour markets (Andrén and Roman, 2016). However, Kausar (2011) and Rolfe *et al.* (2013) provide detailed information of the pre-2014 EU2 population in the UK. Rolfe *et al.* (2013, pp.23-24) present EU2 migrants as relatively young (between 18 and 34) with an age profile similar to that of 2004 EU8 migrants. The authors also suggest that EU2 migrants possess mostly intermediate qualifications with movers typically possessing similar higher qualifications to those who migrated to Spain. Kausar (2011, pp.8-10) presents largely confirmatory findings but also adds that the EU2 population reflects broadly similar education and dependent profiles to that of the more longstanding EU8 population. In terms of spatial characteristics, Kausar (2011, p.11) suggests that EU2 migrants are substantially more focused in London yet are also proportionately four times more present in the North East with 8% to the EU8’s 2.1%.

Similar to the motivations of the EU8, Andrén and Roman (2016) as well as Rolfe *et al.* (2013) characterise EU2 migration to be predominantly economically driven. Regarding the UK, in terms of GDP/capita (expressed as purchasing power standard per inhabitant), UK residents were over three times more prosperous than those in both Bulgaria and Romania in 2010 suggesting a significant pull-factor might have been the substantial income gaps (Rolfe *et al.*, 2013, p.18). Furthermore, employment rates in the UK were substantially higher than in the EU2 with unemployment also significantly lower than that of Bulgaria and similar to that of Romania which suggests that a buoyant labour market may have been alluring (*Ibid.*, p.10). This matches the findings of Sandu *et al.* (2006) who found that a primary driver of outward migration from Romania was economic dissatisfaction. The authors also remark upon the lack of research into drivers of migration to the UK specifically, but suggest that it may be similar to those of the EU8. Therefore, the drivers

are expected to be primarily economic but also with social, educational, and entrepreneurial aspects.

2.3.3. Employment Characteristics of Polish and Romanian Migrants in the UK

As is evident in the title of this thesis, the labour market and migrant interaction therein forms the central pillar of analysis. Therefore, it was deemed appropriate to present a more detailed account of how the migrants in each accession wave have performed in UK employment. As such, this review will focus upon the types of jobs attained by the two groups, as well as the characteristics of their employment. This sub-section will first address the literature surrounding EU8 migrants before adopting a more regional focus. It will then investigate the types of jobs performed by EU2 migrants and whether they are similar in nature to those of the preceding migrant group.

In his seminal book *Birds of Passage*, Piore (1979, pp.15-16) claimed that “immigrant workers in France, Germany, Switzerland and Britain are usually employed in occupations rejected by indigenous workers...typically such jobs offer low pay, poor working conditions, little security and inferior social status”. The works of Anderson, Clark and Parutis (2008), and Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008) present evidence that this continues to be the case for Polish migrants in the UK. In their sample of Polish and Lithuanian migrants, Anderson, Clark and Parutis (2008) illustrate that manufacturing and hospitality account for over 50% of their sample. However, Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008) present ‘administration, business and management’, and ‘hospitality and catering’ as their two most prominent sectors. This distinction in sectoral employment patterns appears stark (and likely due to sample differences), yet according to Glossop and Shaheen (2009, p.17) ‘administration, business and management’ typically represents agency work with the majority of those “predominantly employed in factory work”. Regardless of sector, both papers reported low wages and long working hours as emblematic of their samples in line with Piore’s (1979) characterisation of migrant employment.

Whilst a national perspective is useful, it is also important to investigate migrant employment through a regional lens. Chappell *et al.* (2009), Glossop and Shaheen (2009), and Stenning and Dawley (2009) highlight the significance of investigating migrant labour market outcomes as a phenomenon at least partially shaped by regional employment patterns. For example, Glossop and Shaheen’s (2009) analysis of specific regional labour markets illustrates that in Hull the majority of migrants worked in elementary food processing occupations, whereas in Bristol, a more developed labour market, the

occupational spread was far wider with the hotel and restaurant, factory, and transport industries all highly represented. This implies a greater need to investigate migrants' engagement with the UK labour market in a more differentiated manner bearing in mind the occupational distributions of the region in which investigations take place.

Regarding the region of this investigation, Stenning and Dawley (2009) provide a detailed synopsis of EU8 migrant interaction with the North East local labour market. The authors present evidence to show that (up to the end of 2007) the majority of migrants in the region were located in 'low-skilled' employment with 'process operative (other factory worker)', 'cleaners and domestic staff', 'kitchen and catering assistants', and 'packers and labourers' as the most common occupations (Stenning and Dawley, 2009, p.285). However, contrary to Glossop and Shaheen (2009) the authors also acknowledge a minority of EU8 migrants working in semi-skilled and skilled regional industries. An example is given of over 30 EU8 migrants at a time employed by local engineering firms (Stenning and Dawley, 2009, p.286). Therefore, whilst the majority of migrants are located in low-skilled employment, some succeed in achieving 'skilled' jobs (which require further education).

The quantitative literature surrounding EU2 migration is substantially less broad than that concerning EU8 migrants (potentially due to its lower significance until recently as highlighted above). However, Fic (2013), Nygaard, Pasierbek and Francis-Brophy (2013), and Rolfe *et al.* (2013) together present a complete account of EU2 participation in European labour markets. In terms of jobs, Nygaard, Pasierbek and Francis-Brophy (2013, p.21) suggest that the majority of post-2007 Romanian and Bulgarian migrants worked in the 'construction', 'real estate and business services', and 'hotel and restaurant' occupations. In contrast, Rolfe *et al.* (2013, p.25) claims that EU2 migrants worked predominantly in low or intermediate skilled occupations such as "'construction', 'manufacturing', 'accommodation, food and service activities', and 'wholesale and retail trade'". This distribution also broadly matches that presented in Fic (2013) who also reported results for the EU as a whole. However, both Fic (2013), and Nygaard, Pasierbek and Francis-Brophy (2013) suggest that post-transitional arrangements EU2 migrants are likely to converge upon occupations currently performed by EU8 migrants. This implies that Romanian and Bulgarian migrants will not only be found in low-skilled, low wage employment, but will also be able to freely move into occupations based upon the UK labour market's characteristic needs.

Summary

This section has presented detailed demographic, spatial, and employment characteristics regarding the EU8 and EU2 migrant populations in the UK. It has answered the four key questions in the introduction regarding who came to the United Kingdom in this modern period, how many entered, why they did so, and what work they did once they arrived. This has served to provide context about the Polish and Romanian migrants who form the core populations to be addressed in the research questions in the subsequent section.

2.4. Migration and the Labour Market

This section will present the recent debates occurring in the field of migration and the labour market. It will begin by addressing Piore (1979) theory which has shaped modern understanding of the role of migrants in industrialised economies. Following this, the burgeoning literary focus upon employer preference for migrant labour will be addressed before moving on to the role of agencies in facilitating this demand (including their interaction with migrant networks in this pursuit). Papers focusing on the initial labour market experience from migrants' own perspectives will then be addressed before focusing upon the need for a more holistic approach to the discernment of migrant decision-making processes in the research. Finally, this section will address the emerging research interest in the field of migrant labour market mobility.

2.4.1 Demand for Migrant Labour

In her seminal paper focusing on the role of immigration controls in shaping the relationship between migrants and the labour market, Anderson (2010, p.305) claimed that "the current position of A8 nationals in the UK labour market for example is recognisably 'Piorean'". This refers to Piore's (1979) Dual Labour Market theory which has formed the theoretical foundation for large swathes of papers (Anderson, 2010; Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Friberg, 2012; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Scott, 2013; Sporton, 2013) seeking to understand why migrants are found in the low-wage, low-skilled jobs highlighted in the previous sub-section. Therefore, there is merit in briefly outlining the core aspects of the theory as well as presenting a number of sectoral-based papers which support the Piorean perspective of the role of EU8 migrants in low-skilled jobs in the UK labour market.

Piore (1979) divides the labour market into a primary and secondary sector. The primary sector, which is largely reserved for domestic workers (Piore, 1979, p.35) is characterised

by high wages, and stable, secure jobs which offer opportunities for occupational mobility (Piore, 1975, p.126). In contrast, the secondary sector, which is where the majority of migrant workers are found contains low-wage, insecure jobs with poor working conditions and poor opportunities for mobility (Piore, 1979, p.17). In effect, Piore (1979, p.36) argues that the root of labour market duality results from the churn and flux inherent in economy activity. Myriad factors ranging from seasonal demand to changes in taste and fashion introduce instability into demand which the owners of the fixed and dominant factor of production, capital, seek to avoid. This forms the basis of the antagonism between capital and labour as the former is reserved for employment in the stable portion of demand and the latter (a variable factor of production) is left more vulnerable to economic instability. However, capital itself remains inert without a highly skilled and well-trained workforce to operate the machinery, or equipment (for example) and produce value. Therefore, this extends the duality between capital and labour to apply within the workforce as well, as employers seek to include highly skilled workers in the stable portion of demand due to significant investment in training and education (Ibid, p.37). Thus, migrants are drawn into the secondary labour market as a result of labour demand originating from the variable segment of the economy.

Numerous authors (Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Geddes and Scott, 2010; Lucas and Mansfield, 2010; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Moriarty, 2010) have investigated this labour market duality (through the lens of segmented labour markets) for a variety of industries ranging from social care (Moriarty, 2010) to hospitality (Lucas and Mansfield, 2010), to food processing (Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Scott, 2013). However, as is noted in the previous section the hospitality and food processing sectors were noted to be particularly relevant to EU8 migrants and will therefore be focused upon here. Findlay and McCollum (2013), Geddes and Scott (2010), and Scott (2013) discuss both the seasonal nature of demand for certain rural agribusiness products as well as cost-pressures foisted upon them by large supermarket chains as the prevailing economic conditions which render employment in this sector to be dominated by migrant workers. This need for flexibility and substantial cost-pressures is mimicked in the account of Lucas and Mansfield (2010) regarding the hospitality sector. In effect, migrants are fulfilling two functions depending upon the circumstances: they are acting as a peripheral workforce to be drawn upon in times of need and acting as a source of labour willing and able to perform in occupations rejected by the British workforce.

Of particular note is the cluster of qualitative and mixed methods papers through which debate advanced on to why migrant labour is preferred amongst low-wage, low-pay employers (Friberg, 2012; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2007; Wills *et al.*, 2009). McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer (2007) and Wills *et al.* (2009) succinctly express the concept of the 'hiring queue' whereby employers attach collective attributes to various migrant subsets which produce stereotyped notions such as the 'hard-working Polish builder'. This preference affords a value to specific nationalities of migrant, yet it is also a dynamic process with employers constantly evaluating and re-evaluating their workforces. This results in the tacit participation of the migrants themselves, who conform to employer stereotypes in order to ensure their continued favoured position as employees of choice in low-wage, low-status jobs such as construction (Datta and Brickell, 2009; Friberg, 2012), and hospitality (McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2007). Nevertheless, as illustrated in MacKenzie and Forde (2009) and Scott (2013) such conformity erodes over time necessitating the perpetual admittance of fresh migrants who have not lost their perceived competitive edge.

Whilst also cognisant of and contributory to the arguments of the papers above, Findlay and McCollum (2013), MacKenzie and Forde (2009), and Sporton (2013) developed the debate further by focusing more directly upon the process of how the demand for hardworking, compliant workers is fulfilled. Findlay and McCollum (2013) introduced a dynamic element to their investigation whereby the authors illustrated how employer recruitment practices evolved alongside the increasing presence of EU8 migrants in the UK. This manifested in a three-stage development which begins with primarily country of origin agency use, transitions into direct recruitment from the country of origin alongside hiring from migrant networks and finishes with the decline of country of origin labour providers. MacKenzie and Forde (2009) provide a more management-focused perspective which demonstrates the rationale behind the recruitment choices made by low wage employers. In particular, the authors address "the long low road to competitiveness" (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009, p.147). This speaks to the deliberate targeting of different marginalised migrant groups based upon their transitioning aspirations to work in such arduous employment. Sporton (2013) focuses more specifically upon the role of migrant networks and their interaction with local employment agencies. The author suggests that networks of friends, family and 'weak tie' acquaintances become enmeshed within the recruitment practices of agencies which results in a preponderance of migrant workers employed in local low-skilled jobs. In all cases, (amongst other contributions) the papers have been

instrumental in demonstrating how employer demand translates into migrant employment at the bottom of the division of labour.

The arguments above have illustrated the most notable contributions and ongoing debates in the field of migration and the labour market. In particular, they have focused upon demand-side contributions, seeking to understand why migrants are found in low-skilled employment as well as how that demand is typically fulfilled. There is an equally significant and burgeoning set of literature which focuses more directly upon the experiential accounts of participants which effectively offers a 'human capital-based' supply-side perspective upon the debate. This literature will be delineated below.

2.4.2. Supply of Migrant Labour

As mentioned above, there has been and continues to be a substantial quantity of literature emerging on the subject of migrant workers and their experiences in work. A cluster of research projects (Anderson *et al.*, 2006; Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2009; Johns, 2013; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah, 2008) both large (as one of several research objectives) and small considered why migrants were employed in low-skilled occupations from their own perspectives. Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich (2009) noted how EU8 migrants tended to experience low returns to their country of origin qualifications which was a common theme in Anderson *et al.* (2006), Johns (2013), and MacKenzie and Forde (2009). The latter two papers place emphasis upon why migrants were willing to accept such a mismatch citing differential income levels in the country of origin and the UK as a potential reason alongside the opportunity to learn English. Significantly, MacKenzie and Forde (2009) highlight the possibility of overtime as a key attraction to migrants of more short-term intentions. More recently, Parutis (2014) has advanced this debate by suggesting that EU8 migrants may self-select into industries on the basis of their future plans with more short-term oriented migrants seeking high financial returns and more long-term oriented migrants focusing instead on human-capital (language)-based returns. Moreover, Knight (2014) challenges the image of the highly skilled Eastern European migrant working in low-skilled jobs instead drawing attention to the possibility that some migrants with low skill endowments are working at their appropriate level. Despite longstanding research interest in this area, contributions surrounding migrant perspectives and experiences continue to yield noteworthy and novel results.

A further grouping of literature focuses more intently upon the language-related characteristics of the migrants (Johns, 2013; Knight, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) as well as their personal and co-national networks (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; White and Ryan, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2009). This body of work examines how language and networks may broaden or narrow initial occupational choice as well as impact upon wider societal participation. Regarding language, Johns (2013) demonstrates how language is a key factor hindering the ability of migrants to enter the UK labour market at the commensurate level, whereas Samaluk (2016) expresses more generally how a perceived lack of transnationally recognised skills, including language, can lead to migrants deviating away from applying for commensurate employment and towards low-skilled work. However, Knight (2014) expresses concern at a dominant theme in the literature of the highly skilled Polish migrant undervalued and underemployed in low-skilled work and demonstrates that migrants of both high and low language ability were found in low-skilled manual work. More generally, (among other contributions) Ryan *et al.* (2008), Ryan *et al.* (2009), and White and Ryan (2008) express that migrants' close personal (familial) contacts may act as a substitute for low language ability in the employment context insofar as they provide practical (employment) and informational support to participants. Indeed, Parutis (2014) expresses that many migrants in her sample found employment through use of such networks. Thus, the debate so far presents both language and networks as significant determinants of initial migrant livelihood strategies.

Overall, the literature presents the view that a combination of demand and supply factors coalesce to produce and reproduce initial migrant employment in low-skilled work. Powerful demand-side forces in the form of employment agencies channel migrants into low-paid, insecure work not only at the individual level but also via participants' networks (Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Sporton, 2013). Migrants experience qualification devaluation (Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2009; Johns, 2013) and are willing to perform these jobs due to either transient migration intention supported by earnings differentials (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009) or supported by the potential for language improvement in the context of future plans (Parutis, 2014). However, participants are further prohibited by language difficulties (Johns, 2013) or lack of confidence in their embodied skills (Samaluk, 2016) further limiting employment possibilities. Nevertheless, should participants possess close familial ties in the UK they may find them to be of assistance in the provision of informational and practical employment aid (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; White and Ryan, 2008).

Whilst the literature above has investigated its chosen topics in detail and depth, this thesis will adopt a more holistic perspective regarding how Polish and Romanian migrants initially interact with the UK labour market. As illustrated above, papers have tended to investigate specific areas or clusters of topical interest. Demand-side research focus ranges from scrutiny of employer preference for perceived 'hard working' migrant workers (Datta and Brickell, 2009; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2007; Scott, 2013), to a more fine-grained analysis of the processes through which such demand is fulfilled and sustained (Findlay and McCollum, 2013; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Sporton, 2013). Supply-side research interests encompass the devaluation of migrants' qualifications (Anderson *et al.*, 2006; Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich, 2009; Johns, 2013), their tolerance and willingness to work in low skilled jobs (Johns, 2013; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Parutis, 2014), the debated importance of language and related factor of confidence in expanding migrants' livelihood strategies (Johns, 2013; Knight, 2014; Samaluk, 2016), and the critical role of networks in providing instrumental practical and informational assistance to newly arrived migrants (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2009; White and Ryan, 2008). Naturally, the papers presented above address topics beyond those stated above such as John's (2013) interest in both qualification devaluation and language, or Sporton's (2013) additional focus upon network embeddedness within agency recruitment strategies. However, their scope has tended to focus upon a narrow range of factors which affords the opportunity for contributions to stem from a more comprehensive and encompassing investigatory framework.

The evidence from the detailed studies above suggests that it is the cumulative interplay between participants' personal (language, education), social (family and friends), and agency (migration intention) related factors, as well as structural components surrounding employer demand (employment agencies, employer preference) which determine migrants' initial labour market outcomes. This suggests a more holistic perspective would be beneficial in order to more completely understand the factors which underpin migrants' decision-making constraints within a singular investigatory framework.

This gives rise to the following research question:

What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?

Furthermore, the region, time-period, and target sample of this investigation also denote a substantial additional contribution. This investigation will take place in the North-East of

England which has experienced a dearth of regionally focused migrant investigations (aside from Fitzgerald, 2007; Stenning and Dawley, 2009). Noted as a region with very few migrants (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva, 2019, Figure 4) this may have implications for network development and therefore impact upon the socio-cultural resources migrants are able to bring to bear in the regional labour market. The research also takes place between 2017 and 2018 which accommodates for the possibility that the debates referenced above may have moved on into new territory, much as the relationship between low-wage firms and recruitment dynamics was illustrated to evolve over time in Findlay and McCollum (2013). Finally, throughout this literature synopsis it became increasingly clear that the experiences of EU2 migrants in work is in a state of critical understudy. The addition of a population which recently gained free access to the UK labour market in 2014 facilitates the discernment of shared initial labour market experiences across nationality boundaries irrespective of date of accession or country of origin but instead based upon migrants' cumulative skill-based and network resources.

2.4.3. Migrant Labour Market Mobility

Given that at the time of writing EU8 migrants have been granted access to UK labour markets for 14 years, there is an increasing interest in examining how, why, and how far these migrants are occupationally mobile. Parutis (2014), Knight (2014), and Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) broadly present mobility as advancement from low-skilled jobs to more highly skilled jobs. However, their endeavours to characterise this movement have dramatically differed. Parutis (2014, p.52) attempts to define mobility in terms of an "any job", "better job", "dream job" phase structure in which migrants attempt to improve their economic situation in the labour market. Knight (2014) developed a dual-typology whereby migrants are characterised as either linguists (high language ability, high education) or careerists (low language ability, low education) with the former group frequently switching employers and industries in pursuit of mobility, and the latter experiencing mobility within a single hospitality employer. Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014, pp.70-72) attempt to characterise mobility through a more regional perspective with occupational advancement compared and contrasted between "rural", "semi-urban", and "urban" locations. These papers represent initial forays into the investigation of EU8 migrant labour market mobility, and valiantly attempt to categorise each stage of advancement. However, definitions used vary both within and between studies, and therefore point to a need in the research for the development of a more objective framework through which to characterise and categorise mobility.

Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011), Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014), Knight (2014), and Parutis (2014) also investigate the factors which facilitate upward occupational mobility. Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011, p.65) suggest that language was a key component of internal mobility in “mundane sectors of the labour market” due to the attractiveness of bilingual employees as interfaces between management and migrant workers. These findings are in line with those of Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) who noted that language was a barrier to the majority of semi-urban migrant workers who sought to achieve advancement from low-skilled factory work. More broadly, Parutis (2014) suggests that language enables mobility between the “any job” and “better job” phase, that is to say between jobs characterised by “excessive working hours and saving, often more than one job, low wages, agency work, and problematic employment relations” (Ibid., p.41), and those characterised by “stability and security offered by legal employment, utilisation of employment rights, regular and humane working hours, and career advancement” (Ibid., p.45). Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) and Knight (2014) also introduce UK education as a significant factor facilitating mobility with UK degree-level qualifications proving instrumental in attaining highly skilled employment. These papers make significant strides in scrutinising the means through which EU8 migrants achieve mobility in the UK labour market, yet the extent to which language and education facilitates upward occupational attainment remains shrouded due to the largely interpretative criteria used to characterise mobility.

The papers above have broadly presented the labour market mobility of EU8 migrants as the pursuit of increasingly more stable and economically lucrative employment facilitated by the improvement of language skill and educational attainment. However, as referenced above, the criteria used to define mobility has contained substantial interpretative elements such as the characterisation of “dream job” in Parutis (2014) which reorients the focus away from occupational characteristics and towards individual perceptions of “variety and creativity” (Parutis, 2014, p.48) or Knight (2014) which renders subjective judgements as to the relative skill levels between occupations such as the suggestion that ‘translator’ is less skill-intensive than ‘diversity officer’ (Knight, 2014, p.6). This increases the difficulty of understanding the relative jurisdictions of language and education in their roles as facilitators of occupational mobility. Therefore, in this emerging field of research, substantial contributions could be made in the use of more objective criteria through which to define upward occupational mobility and hence more accurately chart the relative utilities of language and UK education.

These cumulative concerns and potential contributions give rise to the following research question:

What are the causes of and constraints to labour market mobility of Polish and Romanian migrants?

Summary

This section has delineated the key substantive debates occurring in the areas of initial migrant labour market experiences as well as migrant labour market mobility. It has demonstrated that the former debate would benefit from a more holistic perspective towards the facilitators of and constraints to the migrant decision-making process approaching labour market entry. It has also suggested how the emerging latter debate could benefit from increased analytical rigour in terms of how occupational mobility is characterised as well as the extent to which language and UK education is useful in facilitating mobility in this setting. Overall, this section has illustrated the broad and substantial contributions this thesis seeks to make in the field of migration and the labour market.

2.5. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to demonstrate the significance of the research contributions which will be presented in this thesis. In this endeavour, the centrality of labour migration in the historical context of post-war Europe was illustrated. In addition, the numerically substantial post-2004 flows from EU8 and EU2 countries were defined in demographic and occupational terms. This evidence framed modern debates surrounding migrant labour market outcomes and in-work mobility. Within this field, this chapter has demonstrated the benefits of regarding the migrant decision-making process through a more holistic lens, acknowledging not only how migrants' personal and social resources constrain choice, but also how migration intention shapes how these resources are used in the labour market environment. Furthermore, in the emerging field of migrant occupational mobility this thesis seeks to make an addition contribution through the creation of a more objective phase-based framework through which mobility may be characterised. This should facilitate more precise contributions in terms of defining the impact of language and UK education in the broader context of the labour market mobility experience.

Overall, the region, time-period, and sample of the thesis will also add an additional layer of contribution to the field. This investigation takes place in a largely understudied region of the UK which has experienced relatively small levels of migration in comparison to London. Sampling occurs in 2017 which is substantially more recent than the majority of studies which take place in the field. This yields the opportunity to investigate whether the debates and assumptions highlighted in the previous section hold true over time. Finally, this thesis also incorporates Romanian migrants which suffer from significant academic neglect. This is potentially due to their relatively recent restriction-free entry into the UK labour market, marking this investigation as one of the first to discern their initial decision-making constraints, motivations, and labour market mobility experiences.

This chapter has demonstrated two broad areas in which this thesis seeks to make a contribution. It pursues a more holistic approach to understanding how, and why migrants navigate complex institutional and skill-based barriers to enter into initial employment, as well as a more analytically rigorous approach to the characterisation of labour market mobility in order to better understand where and how the factors which facilitate mobility impact the most. In the following chapter, these broad areas will be investigated in greater detail to more specifically explore domains where contributions may be made.

Chapter 3: Current Debates in Migrant Labour Market

Research

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the general domain in which this thesis seeks to make substantial contributions was outlined. Regarding the initial labour market experience, it spoke towards the benefits of a more holistic perspective due to tendencies towards clustered or topical areas of interest in previous literature. This suggested a need to investigate the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants with regard to the cumulative interplay between their cultural-social resources, migration intention, and employer induced labour market constraints. Furthermore, regarding the labour market mobility experience, criticism was levelled at the manner in which previous literature has characterised and categorised mobility. Definitions and dimensions measuring labour market movement tended to vary from paper to paper with substantial interpretative elements pervading into the overall understanding of occupational mobility. Whilst bearing in mind the more general contributions noted above, this chapter will further identify and suggest arguments helpful in remedying topical gaps in the literature.

Regarding the initial labour market experience, this chapter will introduce the topics noted in the literature to hold particular bearing upon migrants' initial labour market trajectories. These include employer preference, networks, employment agencies, language, country of origin qualifications, and migration intention. Whilst also presenting the myriad factors which can affect initial employment outcomes, more specific arguments will be developed to facilitate the detailed answering of the research question. In effect, reasoning will be centred around how specific aspects of migrants' cultural or social resources will constrain their decision-making potential.

Regarding the labour market mobility experience, this chapter will present a more detailed perspective upon how mobility has been defined in previous literature as well as detail areas of specific contribution. Whilst the focus will be upon the necessity for a more theoretical, objective framework through which mobility may be defined, it will also present interesting and specific potential contributions regarding the role of language and education in facilitating occupational advancement. The overriding focus of this chapter regarding mobility is to demonstrate the need for greater analytical rigour in what labour market mobility means, as well as how language and education shapes this process.

To this end, this chapter will be structured as follows. It will begin by addressing the findings of previous papers studying the initial labour market experience. This section will be divided into two in order to more clearly separate contributory factors extrinsic to the migrant, and those which relate to the cultural resources embodied within the migrant as well as their agency. This is important as it distinguishes between elements pertaining directly to the migrant and those which are contextual to their initial labour market experience. Following this, the labour market mobility experience will be addressed with a particular focus upon how the structure of occupational mobility has been defined. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a summation of the key, specific areas of contribution highlighted in the proceeding critical review.

3.2. Initial Labour Market Experience

A preponderance of literature (Anderson *et al.*, 2006; Anderson, Clark and Parutis, 2008; Campbell, 2013; Chappell *et al.*, 2009; Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah, 2008; Stenning and Dawley, 2009) suggests that EU8 migrants are employed in occupations with entry requirements substantially below their education levels (predominantly in manufacturing and hospitality according to Anderson, Clark and Parutis (2008)). However, Glossop and Shaheen (2009) in their investigation of the Hull regional labour market, and Knight (2014) in her qualitative investigation of high- and low-skilled migrant labour market experiences suggest that this is not universally the case. The purpose of these two sections is to reconcile the ongoing debate concerning the extent of EU8 migrant underemployment with contributory factors relating to those of context such as employer preference, employment agencies and migrant networks as well as those inherent to the migrant such as language ability, education, and migration intention. In studying their roles this thesis will add additional depth and insight by holistically explaining the pathway to initial employment (first job) of both Polish and Romanian migrants.

3.2.1. Extrinsic Factors

3.2.1.1. Employer Preference

There exists substantial evidence to suggest that Eastern European (EU8) (especially Polish) workers are seen as particularly suited to low-skilled jobs by employers (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Datta and Brickell, 2009; Fitzgerald, 2007; Friberg, 2012; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2007; Vasey, 2016; Wills *et al.*, 2009). This preference typically stems from a view that EU8 workers are 'willing' to perform jobs which

the domestic workforce are unwilling to do (Friberg, 2012, p.1925), and also as a peripheral workforce able to be utilised in times of high demand (McCollum and Findlay, 2015, p.434). They are viewed as particularly hard working and reliable (Vasey, 2016, p.84), and as such are noted to offer employers a “greater ‘value for money’” than the domestic population (McCollum and Findlay, 2015, p.434). Therefore, there is some debate in the literature surrounding whether the demand for EU8 migrant workers stems from labour- or skills-shortages. Furthermore, EU8 migrants are not only judged in comparison to British workers (as in MacKenzie and Forde, 2009), but also between each other for the hiring preference of low-wage employers (Friberg, 2012, p.1929). Therefore, the ways and means through which nationality groups compete for employer preference merits further investigation.

Datta and Brickell (2009), Friberg (2012), and McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer (2007) suggest that low-skill employers’ favour of Polish workers is in part the result of a conscious strategy of labour market differentiation. This differentiation exists in the context of a ‘hiring queue’ whereby employers hold a preference for particular nationalities at both the industry and occupational level. For example, Wills *et al.* (2009) specifies an employer’s preference for Polish, Portuguese, and Filipino labour in the cleaning industry, whereas McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer (2007) expresses nationality as one aspect of employer preference for specific roles in a London hotel. The authors above suggest that the migrants themselves are conscious of this preference and seek to maintain the impression of suitability for as long as possible by either conforming to employer stereotypes (McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2007, p.21) or actively seek to differentiate themselves both from other migrant groups (Friberg, 2012, p.1929) and the native workforce (Datta and Brickell, 2009, p.459). Naturally, this is a dynamic phenomenon and as such cannot strictly be studied as a static concept. Therefore, the long-term consequences of conforming to employer stereotypes demands additional scrutiny.

The literature (Friberg, 2012; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; McCollum and Findlay, 2015) implies two effects occur over the long-term concerning employer preference. The first, referenced primarily in Friberg (2012) but also in Vasey (2016) suggests that the traits displayed by Polish and Eastern European workers to signal competence has the additional effect of illustrating their unsuitability for more advanced positions in the division of labour. Friberg (2012, p.1925) notes that “jobs that require independent thinking, planning ahead, making autonomous decisions...Poles found themselves at the other end of the hiring queue.” Therefore, whilst positive for obtaining initial employment in the UK, conforming to employer stereotypes negatively impacts upon long-run labour market

prospects for Polish migrants. The second effect refers to an erosion of 'work ethic' and standards over time as the migrants acclimatise to their new environment (McCollum and Findlay, 2015, p.437). This process is referred to as 'inbuilt obsolescence' in MacKenzie and Forde (2009, p.150) as workers grow more aware and demanding of entitlements, and thus become less appealing and lucrative in the eyes of employers.

It was noted in the previous chapter that the initial labour market experiences (first jobs) of Romanian migrants are expected to be similar to those of Polish migrants after gaining full labour market access in 2014 (Nygaard, Pasierbek and Francis-Brophy, 2013). Therefore, it will be interesting to investigate the experiences of newly arrived Romanian migrants in terms of navigating and integrating into the 'hiring queues' of employers in industries with traditionally large Polish workforces.

3.2.1.2. Networks

The literature surrounding migrant interaction with and use of networks is vast and covers a wide range of valuable and interesting topics. The works of Ryan *et al.* (2008), Ryan *et al.* (2009), and White and Ryan (2008) form a core around which more recent literature (Friberg, 2012; Parutis, 2014, Sporton, 2013; Vasey, 2016) has coalesced. The objectives of this thesis are concerned centrally with labour market experiences and as such this section will collate and analyse the potential contributions and gaps regarding this topic in the present corpus of literature. To this end, this section will begin by first describing what is meant by the term "network" before describing the types of assistance provided by migrant networks. Following this, the role of 'tie strength' will be addressed as a key area where contributions can be made. Finally, the connection between migrant networks and agencies will be outlined, before challenging the more long-term implications of the arguments surrounding network and agency use.

First and foremost, it is critical to explain what is meant by a 'network'. This was defined by Mitchell (1969, p.2) as a "specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons".

Granovetter (1973) developed this concept of linkages further by developing a typology of 'strong' and 'weak' ties. Strong ties represent dense networks of close friends or family, and weak ties represent less socially involved acquaintance relationships. The author's key argument is that weak ties fulfil a critical role of information dissemination to densely clustered networks of strong ties due to their ability to act as conduits between such networks. Granovetter (1983, p. 202) argues that without weak tie connections, these dense clusters of family and friends would suffer informational isolation to the extent that

lucrative employment opportunities would be missed due to the lack of timely knowledge pertaining to potential vacancies. This incarnation of networks in terms of tie strength is used extensively in the core papers below surrounding migration.

According to White and Ryan (2008, p.1470), networks are frequently noted as sources of social capital. This forms one of three types of capital defined in Bourdieu (1986), (economic, social, and cultural) all of which are convertible into each other. Bourdieu (1986, p.248) considers social capital to be an accumulation of the benefits accrued to an individual by virtue of membership to a particular network (or group) and its collectively owned capital. In their seminal paper on 'The Health-Related Function of Social Support', Schaefer, Coyne and Lazarus (1981) differentiated the types of support received by networks (or converted from social capital) in a healthcare environment. These were emotional, tangible, and informational support. The authors defined tangible support as "direct aid or services and can include loans, gifts of many or goods and provision of services such as taking care of needy persons..." (Ibid., pp.385-386). Informational support was defined as "...giving information and advice which could help a person solve a problem..." (Ibid., p.386) whereas emotional support was self-explanatory. These definitions were instrumental in the differentiation of assistance provided by migrant networks in future literature.

In a migration context, Ryan *et al.* (2008) and White and Ryan (2008) applied the above differentiation of assistance provision to that of Polish networks established in the UK. Their essential relevant contribution on this topic revolves around the application of Granovetter's (1973) concepts of 'strong' and 'weak' ties to networks in how they determine the type of assistance provided. Ryan *et al.* (2008, p.674) differentiate networks into those consisting of family and friends (strong ties) with "...a good deal of trust and empathy" and those of transient acquaintances described as "dealings with Polish strangers or engagement with formal networks" typically outside an immediate social circle (in White and Ryan, 2008, p.1489). Evidence suggests a clear distinction between strong and weak tie networks in terms of assistance provision with strong ties providing "high levels of practical, information and emotional support" (Ibid., p.1489) and weak ties more suited to the provision of informational assistance in terms of general societal knowledge, but also practical knowledge beyond the expertise of strong tie networks (Ryan *et al.*, 2008, pp. 674-675). White and Ryan (2008, p.1479) suggest that in an employment context 'weak tie' networks typically lead to pre-arranged jobs (agency employment) whereas 'strong ties' provide a much more holistic function as a complete network of social support. What

motivates the provision of such varying forms of assistance requires further debate and qualitative study.

The above typology and its rigidities are more easily illustrated by example. Whilst it maps relatively well in terms of practical and informational assistance onto examples provided in core and ancillary papers (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2009; Sporton, 2013; Vasey, 2016) the rationale behind why strong ties tend to provide more significant forms of assistance requires further scrutiny. Drawing upon Putnam's (2007) notion that norms of 'reciprocity' and 'trustworthiness' are the foundation upon which social networks are built, Ryan *et al.* (2008, p.679) suggest that as relationships spiral out from the locus of a close network of family and friends the level of trust diminishes. This could be a potential reason why more substantial assistance was not more forthcoming. Nevertheless, little focused investigation has taken place to investigate the perspectives of migrants themselves as both donors of and recipients of assistance. Whilst it may be clear that stronger ties (friends and family) provide more significant forms of assistance than weak ties (transient acquaintances or co-national strangers), the rationale behind and application of this willingness in a migrant setting requires greater scrutiny.

At a more general level, the literature surrounding migrant use of networks has been both conceptually and empirically well investigated. Ryan *et al.* (2008), Ryan *et al.* (2009), and White and Ryan (2008) provide a dynamic and rich imagining of migrant social networks. Ryan *et al.* (2008) presents a differentiated understanding of networks through the use of 'bridging' ("...better for linkage to external assets..." (Putnam, 2000, p.22)) and 'bonding' ("...good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilising solidarity" (Putnam, 2000, p.22)) social capital. Ryan *et al.* (2009) examine how dense family networks negotiate relationships of care, support, and obligation in complex migratory decision-making processes, and White and Ryan (2008) consider the implications of network formation and entrenchment for both destination and sender portions of the chain. These focused studies paved the way for subsequent literature to more accurately portray network dynamics in the context of wider initial employment decision-making tendencies. Sporton (2013) and Vasey (2016) suggest that migrant use of 'weak ties' leads to employment in low-skilled work due to increasing entrenchment of such employers and employment agencies in the social networks of migrant groups over time (Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Vasey, 2016). Findlay and McCollum (2013) demonstrate the employer-side of this debate emphasising how the increasing numerical presence of EU8 migrants in the UK has led to a greater prominence of employer and agency recruitment within the UK as oppose to hiring from

abroad. Therefore, there is merit in investigating the literature and debates surrounding employment agency use in greater depth.

3.2.1.3. Agencies

Numerous papers discuss the form or function of employment agencies (Geddes and Scott, 2010; Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Fitzgerald, 2007; Parutis, 2014). Geddes and Scott (2010) emphasise the scale and extent to which agencies are utilised in the UK food industry. In particular, the authors show how agency usage is more prevalent in occupations more vulnerable to the flux and uncertainty of supply and demand, as well as in jobs which arise out of a specific time-sensitive need for labour (Geddes and Scott, 2010, p.209). This is confirmed in Fitzgerald (2007) who comments upon the extent of agency use in the food processing sector of the North East and North West of England. More specifically, the author notes an increasing tendency towards temporary agency employment in this sector (Fitzgerald, 2007, p.8). Parutis (2014) focuses upon the role of agencies as a matchmaker between migrants and job vacancies. Indeed, it is emphasised how agencies frequently shape migrants' initial employment outcomes by channelling newcomers into "low status jobs" (Parutis, 2014, p.43). Moreover, Findlay and McCollum (2013) present an extensive differentiation of their varying types and roles. These range from 'gangmaster dominated regimes' to 'conventional recruitment agency system'. Differences between them orient around who pays the workers' wages and who provides day-to-day instruction. Nevertheless, all methods of recruitment result in temporary, unstable employment in low-skilled, low-status jobs as described above. Therefore, for the purposes of this investigation they will be considered functionally the same.

Migrants working for employment agencies in the UK express an almost universally negative catalogue of work characteristics. The majority of papers (Anderson *et al.*, 2006; Chappell *et al.*, 2009; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2007) referenced insecure employment as a key source of negative feeling. However, unfair practices regarding wages (Anderson *et al.*, 2006; Chappell *et al.*, 2009) and wilful misleading of migrants in terms of work expectation (Samaluk, 2016) also featured. The latter paper presents an interesting and novel argument which advances the discourse of agency exploitation beyond the frame of unfair practice in terms of working hours, wages, and employment security. Instead, it delves into the realm of inducements used to attract migrants from the country of origin (Poland and Slovenia in this example). These inducements typically took advantage of informationally poor migrants and presented

inaccurate impressions of the work which awaited agency users. They offered exaggerated opportunities for UK work experience and language improvement. This evidence lends credence to the more holistic perspective advocated in the previous section as Samaluk (2016) identifies informational deficiencies as a relevant metric which may determine agency use.

3.2.1.4. Network-Agency Interaction

In light of the debates illustrated above, this raises the question of why networks of strong ties channel migrants into low-wage, agency employment. Sporton (2013) reflects upon the embeddedness of both strong and weak tie networks in low-skilled, often agency work suggesting that a channelling effect occurs distorting the initial employment of EU8 migrants. This argument is echoed in Vasey (2016) and Findlay and McCollum (2013) with the latter providing an example of a family member recommending a relative for a low-skilled position in a building materials production company. However, given the wholly negative experiences of agency employment emphasised above and the information diffusion function noted as inherent within networks (Granovetter, 1973; Ryan *et al.*, 2008; White and Ryan, 2008) it stands to reason that migrants would be aware of the undesirable conditions attached to agency work. Noting the presumption of trust and reciprocity inherent in the formation of strong tie relationships (Putnam, 2007; Ryan *et al.*, 2008) it follows that friends and family would seek to provide the most stable and lucrative employment opportunities possible for their strong ties. Therefore, this thesis posits a fresh argument which diverts from the orthodoxy of network-based embedded trajectories and instead suggests, in the case of strong ties, more resource-based reasons may be at the core of the channelling effect:

As is illustrated in Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014), Knight (2014), and Parutis (2014) migrants experience upward occupational mobility in the UK labour market with Parutis (2014, p.41) suggesting that after a period of approximately one year they enter into more lucrative, stable employment. This implies that migrants are able to move out of low-skilled, agency employment thereby presenting a potentially different initial employment outcome for a strong tie new arrival. Given that data collection for this investigation takes place 13 years after the date of accession it stands to reason that more diversity of initial employment outcomes would be present within a prospective sample due to the possibility that strong ties are both willing and able to provide substantial employment assistance to participants. Therefore, this thesis takes a more dynamic viewpoint whereby, provided

relationships of high trust and durability exist, and that strong ties of migrants have experienced occupational mobility, the extent of that mobility as well as their ability to provide assistance will partially determine the initial employment experiences of migrants in a more modern setting. In essence, the argument suggests that in a dynamic setting (provided that migrants seek more long-term opportunities, as is evidenced to be increasingly the case: see Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) and Knight (2014)) the employment positions and hence resources in migrant networks will evolve and change over time. These resources can then be applied to aid friends and family arrivals in the attainment of superior initial employment outcomes compared to the pioneer migrants.

Summary

This section has summarised the most prominent literature surrounding employer preference, migrant networks, and employment agencies as well as highlighted areas of potential contribution. Of particular note was the debate surrounding migrant networks whereby Ryan *et al.* (2008) and White and Ryan (2008) present compelling evidence to suggest that networks of strong ties provide more substantial assistance to new arrivals than those composed of weak ties. This thesis seeks to investigate this relationship in more depth by qualitatively understanding the factors which moderate the willingness to provide and receive aid from the perspective of both donors and recipients. Furthermore, this investigation adds dynamism to the debates surrounding why migrants are channelled into low-skilled, agency employment through the consideration of more long-term, resource-based arguments. These arguments require a more theoretical investigation of tie strength which will be contained within the following chapter.

3.2.2. Intrinsic Factors

3.2.2.1. Language and Education

This sub-section will critically investigate the influence of language ability upon occupational choice, use of networks, and use of agencies. It will also evaluate the role of country of origin qualifications and experience, and consider the interplay between language, education, and experience which may facilitate lesser levels of devaluation. Given the significance of language in directly and indirectly constraining initial employment opportunities it is expected to feature prominently in the investigation. As such the sub-section will be structured as follows: first the direct influence of language upon employment opportunity will be studied before moving on to its impact upon labour

market intermediary usage. Following this, it will be argued that the literature could benefit from a move away from dichotomised characterisations of language ability (high vs low) in favour of a more differentiated approach. Finally, this section will investigate the conditions under which migrants successfully enter the UK labour market at a level commensurate with their skills.

The literature (Anderson *et al.*, 2006; Friberg, 2012; Johns, 2013; Parutis, 2014; Sporton, 2013) presents compelling evidence to suggest that the language abilities of migrants act as an initial constraint upon occupational choice. Johns (2013) suggests that language proficiency and confidence therein act as key variables which divert participants from their chosen career path and relegate them into low-skilled work. This phenomenon is expressed with particular clarity by Sporton (2013, p.453): “The segregation of migrants within specific sectors and within workplaces however is not just a structural phenomenon but is also related to a lack of cultural capital in English resulting in deskilling and stasis”. Furthermore, the peripheral labour market position of migrants with no language ability in the samples of Friberg (2012) and Parutis (2014) lend credence to the argument that diminished linguistic ability is associated with more limited occupational agency. Cleaning (Parutis, 2014, p.43) and Construction (Friberg, 2012, p.1924) were noted as sectors which did not place particular emphasis upon the language abilities of migrants and were therefore appealing to those with limited capacity to speak English. These findings contrast against those of Anderson *et al.* (2006, p.35) who quantitatively demonstrate that migrants with ‘fluent or adequate’ language ability were proportionately more prevalent in the (more linguistically demanding) Hospitality and Au Pair sectors as opposed to Construction and Agriculture. Therefore, the evidence suggests that increased language ability coincides with a stronger capacity to pursue a greater variety of initial occupations.

The influence of language upon initial employment is not merely limited to the direct narrowing of employment opportunity highlighted above. It is also evident in its influence upon migrant behaviour regarding labour market intermediaries. The works of Ryan *et al.* (2008), Ryan *et al.* (2009), and White and Ryan (2008) perfectly illustrate the relationship between language ability and network interaction. The papers present descriptive accounts of how participants with little language ability were substantially reliant upon close family ties for informational and practical assistance. This is well-illustrated by an example from Ryan *et al.* (2009, p.70): “When he just arrived Drake spoke very little English and relied heavily on his daughters. He lives in a flat with them and they have helped him get full-time employment”. This stands in stark contrast to the examples provided in White and Ryan

(2008) and Ryan *et al.* (2008) which suggest that migrants with high initial language endowments are far less reliant upon such close tie networks and are significantly more independent. They are able to evaluate employment opportunities far more effectively and access open networks of weak ties (e.g. citizens advice bureau) to gather relevant information with ease.

The relationship between language ability and agency usage is scrutinised to a far lesser degree. However, Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) illustrate how recruitment agencies share similar functions to migrant networks and hence their use could reasonably be linked to low language ability. The authors note that agencies act as “surrogate social network[s]” insofar as they provide accommodation, employment, and connect participants to other co-ethnic migrants (Ibid., pp.70-71). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that newly arrived migrants will be drawn to agencies for similar reasons to those of networks illustrated above- as a means to compensate for their lack of language, information, and in the case of agencies- contacts. This is confirmed by Findlay and McCollum (2013, p.15) who note that newly arrived migrants tend to use agencies when they lack the ability to seek out employment on their own due to language difficulties. Furthermore, once within agency employment Vasey (2016, p.83) finds that agencies have a tendency to consider low language ability as akin to low-skill levels. Therefore, once the agency route into initial employment is selected, low language ability guarantees a trajectory of low-skilled work. This presents the overall picture that migrants with high language ability are largely independent, but those of low ability will first seek assistance from their personal networks if available, and if not agencies will be used to compensate.

The works of Ryan *et al.* (2008) and White and Ryan (2008) typically differentiated language ability into broadly high and low equivalent categories when investigating the significance of language upon network use. While useful and insightful, it leaves large swathes of intermediate ability without scrutiny and suggests a clear area where significant and meaningful contributions can be made. The papers imply that language ability, amongst other attributes such as experience, can compensate for a lack of personal network and vice versa. For example, in White and Ryan (2008, p.1480) an example of an individual is presented who “...had extensive migration experience and good language skills, so she was more self-confident than many potential migrants”. Likewise, Ryan *et al.* (2008, p.683) present the example of a graduate, who utilised her fluent language ability to independently interface with UK society without using co-national networks. These examples are juxtaposed with those of migrants who could not speak English, and thus

were highly reliant upon friends and family in order to interface with the UK labour market and participate in UK society. This dichotomisation, whilst highly impactful, portrays Bourdieu's (1986) conversion of capitals in a highly stratified manner. In viewing migrants not simply as high and low in language ability, but through the viewpoint of a wider continuum, the literature can move on to a greater degree of understanding deviating away from stylised interpretations and closer toward a more vivid approximation of reality.

For the reasons stated above there is merit in re-evaluating the application of the Bourdieusian (1986) framework of capital exchange as relates to the roles of language and networks in migrant labour market experiences. As referenced in the section above, Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes three forms of capital: cultural, social, and economic. Cultural capital consists of the accumulated knowledge, behaviour, and skills one possesses, social capital concerns the aggregate social contacts one has amassed and thus regards individuals' cumulative network relationships, and economic capital succinctly refers to surplus monetary resources as well as assets. The raw material of capital exchange is attributed to the concept of "labour-time" which effectively represents the effort expended in the pursuit of the forms of capital above measured against the opportunity cost of applying one's finite time towards this endeavour (Bourdieu, 1986, p.253).

Evidence in Knight (2014) and Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) suggests that migrants arrive in the UK with initially different levels of language ability. However, as reflected upon above, the literature has tended to dichotomise this differentiation in terms of 'high' and 'low'. Bourdieusian (1986) theory suggests that migrants would possess unique and distinct levels of initial language skill due to differing amounts of labour-time incorporated into the pursuit of learning English prior to migration. Therefore, a greater degree of distinction would be beneficial to present a more accurate approximation of reality. Such differentiation has been useful in Anderson *et al.* (2006, p.35) in which the authors utilised four gradations of language ability portrayed in three categories to demonstrate, alongside other education- and skill- based factors, its constraining influence upon initial employment outcomes. As noted above, evidence showed a proportionate majority of migrants with 'fluent or adequate' levels of English employed in Hospitality or Au Pair jobs as opposed to Construction or Agriculture. Therefore, a more nuanced perspective towards the decision-making constraints imposed by greater differentiations in language ability with regards to network and agency use would unlock numerous interesting and fruitful lines of inquiry.

According to Bourdieu (1986, p.243), cultural capital in its institutional state encompasses academic qualifications. Therefore, there is merit in investigating the limitations and applications of country of origin diplomas as they are transferred from one institutional context into another. Numerous papers (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Friberg, 2012; Johns, 2013; Knight, 2014; Sporton, 2013; Vasey, 2016; Wills *et al.*, 2009) to a lesser or greater extent touch upon the topic of skill and credential devaluation. The views of the papers above are aptly expressed by the findings of Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011, p.61) who note an unwillingness by employers to acknowledge qualifications or skills accumulated in countries of origin thus relegating the highly skilled to low-skilled employment. Both Samaluk (2016) and Vasey (2016) advanced the debate further with the former identifying a process of self-devaluation whereby migrants felt both intimidation and inferiority at the prospect of entering the UK labour market and thus opted to self-devalue in order to accumulate perceived superior UK skills and qualifications. Vasey (2016) agrees and suggests that such a tendency of self-devaluation leads to the entrenchment of low-skilled employment as a standardised labour market trajectory irrespective of skill endowments. These arguments present country of origin qualifications to be of little use across transnational contexts with employer disregard not only devaluing the qualifications themselves, but also contributing to a wider perception of inconsequentiality among migrant populations ultimately entrenching pathways into low-skilled work.

Contrary to the evidence above, examples of highly skilled Eastern European migrants moving into highly skilled positions in the UK are evident in the study of Ryan *et al.* (2008, p.683) which suggests that qualification devaluation is not necessarily universal across all professions and degrees. A medical professional and two academics were noted to seamlessly export their language ability, education, and experience across international boundaries. Although the authors suggest that network-based information flows were partially responsible for the medical professional's ease of transition, this does not preclude the possibility that uneven qualification and experiential devaluation also facilitated his acceptance into highly skilled employment. This investigation will seek to answer the question of why this is, beginning with rationale based on Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2005, p.335) who suggest that "the lower the transferability of skills, the greater will be the decline in occupational status from the "last" permanent job in the origin to the "first" job in the destination". Whilst the authors define 'skills' in terms of information, language, credentials, and experience, this argument focuses in particular upon the interplay between language, credentials and experience as examples presented above

suggest that migrants with high language skill are substantially more independent and thus are able to source their own information with ease.

3.2.2.2. Migration Intention

The previous section and sub-sections of this literature review have paid particular attention to the structures surrounding the initial labour market experience as well as the embodied factors which influence how the migrants navigate these structures. However, human agency in terms of why migrants are willing to accept the underemployment highlighted above (as oppose to returning to the country of origin) remains unclear. The literature (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Piore, 1979; Sporton, 2013) suggests that this willingness is based upon a notion of ‘temporariness’ in the context of future plans. However, how migrants rationalise this ‘temporariness’ depends upon whether migrants envisage their stay in the UK to be short- or long-term. Whilst the original literature initially predicted that EU8 migration would be short-term (Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008, p.19) estimated that 50% of EU8 migrants who arrived since Accession had departed by December 2007), the debate has since progressed into discussing migration intention in more differentiated terms (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Sporton, 2013). Longer term migrants are increasingly more prevalent in the literature and as such ‘temporariness’ must be considered both in terms of returning to the country of origin (short-term), and with a view towards labour market mobility in the UK (long-term).

As mentioned above, migrants’ willingness to work in low-skilled employment is rooted in their future plans. In the short-term, Anderson (2010), Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2007), and Piore (1979), present a migrant’s compliance with such work as rooted in the accumulation of “economic capital” (money) for an eventual return to the country of origin. Piore (1979) suggests that workers separate their social identity from the social nature of the work. In this sense the migrant’s sense of pride, accomplishment and self is rooted in his/her goals in the country of origin. As such, the work in the host country is seen as purely instrumental as the social status of the migrant is measured not against the native population but instead against peers in the country of origin. Such a perspective is embodied in the more transient-minded migrants of MacKenzie and Forde’s (2009) sample, and is reflected in Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich’s (2007, pp.33-34) classifications of Polish

migrants as 'Storks' and 'Hamsters' which to a lesser or greater extent "treat their migration as only a capital-raising activity" (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007, p.34).

This sense of 'temporariness' also exists for migrants with long-term or indeterminate future plans and is evident in the accounts of Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014), Parutis (2014), and in the typology expressed in Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2007). Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) and Parutis (2014) suggest that some migrants choose to remain deliberately flexible in order to take advantage of future career opportunities both national and international. This is described in Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014, p.74) as a 'see what happens' attitude. Regardless of whether migrants seek to remain in the UK or migrate on to a new location, 'temporariness' is based not on the presumption of returning to the country of origin, but instead low-skilled work is seen as a 'stepping stone' to superior career opportunities either in the destination country or elsewhere (Parutis, 2014, p.53). Time in low-skilled work is spent earning a wage not only to subsist but also to acclimatise to the institutional and cultural context of the host-society which typically involves learning the language and nature of the labour market. According to Parutis (2014), low-skilled employment is initially viewed as satisfactory as it fulfils the purpose of generating income whilst migrants seek the means to advance. As such, 'temporariness' is rooted in the expectation of potential social mobility and applies both to those who seek to do so in a national ('Stayers') or potentially international ('Searchers') context (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007, pp.34-35).

This presents a clear view that migrants tend to tolerate low-skilled work and in many cases the concomitant underemployment as it is seen as a temporary measure either because they have a clear goal to return to the country of origin, or are making active self-investments to ensure that their tenure in low-skilled jobs is transient. However, this argument does not consider how the wider economic context may impinge upon migrants' ability or willingness to consider migration as transient. As shown in the previous chapter, Pemberton and Scullion (2013), Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008), Rolfe *et al.* (2013) and Sandu *et al.* (2006) together present an image of enduringly favourable GDP/capita ratios, and a more stable, buoyant labour market as key economic push-pull factors for both Polish and Romanian migrants. Therefore, in contrast to the goal-oriented arguments presented above, this investigation argues that transnational economic cost-benefit analyses may shape individuals' migration intentions. This presents the potential for migrants to arrive in the UK whose social identity is not detached from the low-skill, low status nature of the work due to transience as in Piore (1979), nor is it rooted in the

preparation and pursuit of UK upward occupational mobility as in Parutis (2014). Instead, it remains centred in the present and as such migrants are forced to reconcile their position at the bottom of the division of labour either through external means or not at all.

Summary

This section has considered factors relating to participants' embodied characteristics (language, education) as well as their agency (migration intention) in their role as constricting or facilitating influences upon migrant decision-making capacity. Contributions in this context involve the offering of a more differentiated understanding of the role of language in its interaction with labour market intermediary use, the predicted language and educational characteristics migrants are expected to possess in order to incur less severe labour market penalties, and a challenge to the orthodoxy surrounding the notion of 'temporariness' as to why migrants of all skill levels tend to accept low-skilled initial employment.

3.3. Labour Market Mobility Experience

This section will focus upon the migrant labour mobility experience. Drawing primarily upon the works of Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011), Johns (2013), Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014), Knight (2014), Parutis (2014), and Sporton (2013) the methodologies used to define and structure mobility will be scrutinised. Furthermore, the roles of language and education in facilitating mobility will be critically evaluated. As there is a significantly diminished corpus of literature addressing the labour market mobility phenomenon some theory will be used to provide logical premises for argument. However, the majority of the theoretical analysis will be undertaken in the subsequent chapter. Overall, this section addresses the key questions of how migrants move through the UK labour market and criticism is primarily aimed at how such movements are defined.

3.3.1. Occupational Mobility Structure

In this sub-section I will critically investigate the literature surrounding the structure of EU8 migrant labour market mobility. Several papers (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014) treat mobility as their central topic whereas others (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Friberg, 2012; Sporton, 2013) touch upon a specific aspect of the migrant labour market journey. As such this section will focus in particular upon the definitional issues of the core literature in defining mobility in an objective and cohesive manner, whilst also addressing further areas of occupational mobility which merit additional study. It will

begin by presenting the manner in which current literature regards mobility before addressing the definitional issues in Parutis (2014). Following this, attention will be paid to those of Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) and Knight (2014). The issues of subjectivity, definitional rigour, and chronology form the central pillars of this critical review.

In order to contextualise the critiques below, I will briefly show how the literature defines mobility in terms of both criteria and time. Previous investigations have broadly demonstrated occupational mobility to be the movement from low-skilled jobs to highly skilled jobs (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014). This may occur both internally within a firm (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, 2014; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009), and arguably as a lateral movement between agency work to permanent contracts (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Sporton, 2013) or as upward movement between firms and sectors (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014). The literature has chosen to define upward mobility using varied criteria. However, these can ultimately be surmised as skill-based (from low-skill to high skill jobs as in Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014)), or condition-based (from difficult working conditions, and unstable employment, to superior working conditions and stable employment as in Parutis (2014)). Interwoven amongst the mobility definitions noted above are subjective criteria based upon either individual interpretations of what classifies as a “dream job” (Parutis, 2014, p.47), or unclear definitions as to why one occupation should be classified as more highly skilled than another (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014, p.72; Knight, 2014, p.6). These interpretative dimensions will be demonstrated below to weaken the explanatory potential of the papers above.

Nevertheless, Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) and Parutis (2014) both present chronological dimensions of mobility. The former suggests that provided the (urban) regional labour market can provide upward employment opportunities migrants will begin to ascend the division of labour after 18 months and continue to the point where commensurate employment is achieved. Parutis (2014) alternatively suggests that this ascent begins after a familiarisation period of approximately one year. Following this, the “better job” stage characterised by stable employment and career advancement (amongst other criteria) occurs which lasts for multiple years until the more subjective and interpretative “dream job” phase to be delineated below.

Parutis (2014) represents an early attempt to address and define the labour market mobility of Polish and Lithuanian migrants in the UK. The author (2014, p.52) divides

mobility into three distinct phases “any job”, “better job” and “dream job”. Both the ‘any’ and ‘better’ job sections follow a theoretically objective Piorian (1979) criteria focusing upon wages, working hours, employment relations, working conditions, stability, and advancement opportunities (Parutis, 2014, p.41, 45). However, in practice the examples presented suggest a wide range of occupations from which participants moved, and an equally wide range of occupations moved into which were considered to be ‘better’ employment. These included a transition from bar work into catering, a transition from agency employment as a porter to an office-based position in housekeeping, and a dishwasher into a supervisor (soon to be a manager) (Parutis, 2014, pp.46-47). This illustrates the scope of occupations investigated in the “better jobs” section and suggests a need for a more detailed and rigorously objective framework of analysis. Whilst all such occupations in the “better jobs” section represent a comparative improvement from the low-skilled, agency-dominated work of the “any jobs” section, the extent and degree to which they could be considered ‘better’ is clearly variable.

Furthermore, whether the transition from agency employment to permanent employment necessarily leads to ‘better’ employment is a point of contention in the literature. Whilst Friberg (2012, p.1928) confirms that in the Norwegian construction sector direct employment is associated with superior working conditions, Sporton (2013, p.453) suggests that regularisation of status has little impact upon occupational mobility in low-skilled work in the UK: “...3 years on just under half of all East Europeans in employment were still working for an agency. Of those who had gained permanent employment, nearly all were still working in the same low-skilled, distribution and manufacturing sectors”. Therefore, counter to the assertion of Parutis (2014) permanent employment may not necessarily be ‘better’ than agency employment.

The lack of definitional detail above is compounded by compatibility issues due to the criteria upon which the “dream job” category is based. Parutis (2014, p.47) defines this as a job which is “challenging, creative, facilitating learning, intellectually stimulating, and therefore offers self-development opportunities”. Thus, jobs which fulfil these criteria must involve “creativity, variety, and passion” (Parutis, 2014, p.48). Whilst an extremely useful framework for understanding the motivation behind migrant labour market mobility it is ill suited to presenting objective criteria upon which advancement occurs. For example, whilst the paper presents examples such as transitioning from a hospitality job to working as a Background Actress, or leaving employment as an Events Organiser to seek more challenging and stimulating employment (Parutis, 2014, pp.47, 48), creativity and self-

development are not necessarily absent from low-skilled work. Datta and Brickell (2009, p.454) emphasise the creative nature of low-skilled construction work: "...building work engages with creative and imaginative forms of production, using artistic and intellectual skills similar to the playing of a musical instrument". Therefore, in seeking to clearly define and delineate the migrant labour market mobility experience a more objective criteria is needed upon which to characterise meaningful occupational progression.

A similar degree of definitional variation is present in the mobility characterisations of Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014). The paper presents a detailed comparative and descriptive account of occupational mobility in a rural, semi-urban, and urban setting. Whereas such mobility appears shaped by local labour market conditions in the rural and semi-urban settings, a more complete language and education-based mobility experience is presented in the urban setting. Embodied skills are noted as central to occupational progression, yet much detail is missing between initial "low-skilled jobs" and "...positions in the division of labour that would be difficult for recent graduates in Britain to acquire" (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014, p.72). The types of jobs participants attained, how long they remained in them, and their experiences advancing through the occupational hierarchy remain absent aside from a brief mention of attaining employment in the jobs in which they were trained in the country of origin. Furthermore, the terminology used to describe presumably highly skilled positions is imprecise and requires interpretation on the part of the reader to understand the author's perspective as to jobs believed to be difficult for fresh UK graduates to achieve. This yields further evidence as to why investigations into migrant labour market mobility require foundation in an objective, theoretical framework. In its absence, subjectivity in how to organise occupational advancement hinders rather than assists the reader's understanding of how migrants move through the UK labour market.

The work of Knight (2014) with its dual typology of linguist (initially high language and educational endowment, multiple employers) and careerist (initially low language and educational endowment, single employer) illustrates two further issues concerning subjective frameworks. The linguist trajectory presents a detailed if succinct illustration of the occupational advancement of migrants using their linguistic ability to progress in the UK labour market. As such, the framework of mobility is built around the varying degrees to which their language ability was used (Knight, 2014, p.6): "The next phase of the migrant's path involves the advanced use of their language skills". However, what constitutes 'advanced' use is unclear, as is the criteria which was used to denote occupational

advancement. For instance, the author notes "...the translation job was a steppingstone to the more high-skilled job of a diversity officer..." (Ibid., p.6) yet also notes that two participants attained master's degrees in translation suggesting that the job itself is highly skilled. This leads to a similar situation to that found in Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) where the reader is left with an unclear picture as to whether occupational mobility is akin to occupational advancement due to lack of disclosure as to what is meant by 'more high-skilled'. Furthermore, chronology is absent from the paper as the authors note that participants "...at some point in their migration period apply and start University on a postgraduate course in the UK" (Knight, 2014, p.6). Therefore, it is difficult place language and educational accumulation in the precise context of the mobility experience.

3.3.2. Language

In the previous sub-section analysis focused upon how mobility was defined in previous papers and areas upon which improvements could be made. In contrast, this section focuses on the role of language as a facilitator of mobility. Numerous papers (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Sporton, 2013; Samaluk, 2016; Vasey, 2016) have investigated aspects of the ways in which language ability succeeds or fails to translate into occupational mobility. This section will draw upon the sources above to present a critical review of the current literature in order to define areas of potential contribution. As such, this section will begin by illustrating why language is important for mobility before delving into greater detail by investigating how migrants learn English and how these experiences are shaped by initial employment. Finally, this section will reflect upon the structural flaws presented in the previous sub-section and consider how a more objective, theoretical, and chronological structure would benefit the further understanding of the role of language in the mobility experience.

Several papers (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) present the ability to speak English as a factor critical for upward occupational mobility. Its significance is best illustrated in Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011, p.65) who discovered that English language ability was a key differentiating factor between those who were able to progress in the UK labour market and those who remained in low-skilled, manual employment. Superior language ability is associated with increased agency (Ibid.), the ability to interact with UK institutions and learn labour market practices (Samaluk, 2016), the capacity to expand networks beyond co-national ties (Ryan *et al.*, 2008), and most significantly renders migrants eligible for jobs which require greater

endowments of language ability (Knight, 2014). Given its significance, this begs the question of how migrants improve their language ability and which factors moderate its acquisition.

According to the literature, migrants improve their language ability either inductively (on-the-job) (Anderson *et al.*, 2006; Samaluk, 2016) or instructively (language classes) (Mackenzie and Forde, 2007; Sporton, 2013). Regarding the former, a key aspect moderating language accumulation is the concentration of co-nationals in the immediate working environment (Friberg, 2012; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Vasey, 2016). According to Vasey (2016, p.83), factory work is particularly dominated by Polish. This led one participant to remark that 95% of his work colleagues were co-nationals. Such a concentration led to Polish being the spoken language at work thus negating any opportunity to passively improve language ability. Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014, p.71) remark upon a similar phenomenon occurring in the food processing industry but also link co-national concentration to agency recruitment. This implies a vicious cycle whereby migrants of particularly low language ability self-select into agency employment (Anderson *et al.*, 2006) as they are unable to obtain employment by other means. They may become trapped in such work due to an inability to passively improve their English or find time to participate in language classes (to be addressed below).

This experience stands in stark contrast to those who worked in more diverse workplaces such as in the hospitality or care sector (Ryan *et al.*, 2008). Anderson *et al.* (2006, pp.37-38) and Samaluk (2016, p.461) noted that migrants self-select into the hospitality sector with a view toward improving their language abilities. These jobs not only offered a greater opportunity to practice with lower concentrations of co-nationals and a customer interaction component, but also facilitated the expansion of personal networks beyond the realm of co-ethnic ties. This provided access to fresh sources of information otherwise unavailable within participants' networks. However, Ryan *et al.* (2008, p.682) warns that should connections be made to other migrants of similar status (in terms of resources and information) then their role in occupational mobility may be limited. Nevertheless, the opportunity exists in such occupations to expand networks to include both British workers (likely to possess high quality information as natives) and other migrants. Such an opportunity was not afforded to those working in co-ethnically dominated occupations where weak information flows have been noted to negatively influence occupational mobility (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014). Therefore, migrants who initially worked in

occupations with low co-national concentrations may experience faster mobility than those in occupations with high concentrations.

Language classes offer not only an alternative means of learning English but also present a surrogate opportunity to expand personal networks beyond the co-national level.

Mackenzie and Forde (2007, p.25) note that participation in such classes “...had immediate benefits in the form of social interaction...” with a wide array of different nationalities present. However, as with network expansion in workplaces, the status of individuals is likely to influence the quality of information flows. Given that those attending language classes are likely to be relative newcomers to the UK labour market (based on the assumption that those who attend do so in pursuit of the capital necessary to move on to more highly skilled jobs), the primary source of high-quality information and resources is likely to originate from someone “unlike” the migrants in an important way (Putnam, 2007, p.143). Under such circumstances teachers present the most likely source of helpful resources and knowledge. They therefore merit more scrutiny in the literature as potential agents facilitating migrant labour market mobility.

The literature (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Sporton, 2013) suggests a paradox whereby those who stand to benefit most from language classes are least able to attend them. This is primarily due to the “...unsociable shifts and long hours...” (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011, p.66) present in low-skilled, manual shift work. However, the authors also put forth an employer-based argument that workers were hesitant to attend workplace-provided classes due to the trade-off between time spent learning English as opposed to directly earning wages (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011, pp.66-67). This perspective intersects with the literature surrounding migration intention. Parutis (2014, p.49) illustrates that some migrants intend to remain in the destination country for only a short period of time or work with a specific resource-intensive goal in mind in the country of origin. These migrants seek to maximise income in the short-run with no interest in accumulating host-country specific capital congruent with the example presented above in Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011). Therefore, it may be the case that migrants with a more long-term migration intention will be more likely to allocate valuable time in favour of more enduring but also field-specific investments such as language classes.

This section has highlighted the significance of language as a central factor facilitating labour market mobility as well as illustrated the avenues through which English may be learned. However, the structural flaws presented in the previous sub-section also impact

upon the ability of investigations to illustrate the limits and bounds of occupational progression to be achieved by language accumulation. For example, it remains unclear whether there are any patterns or tendencies for participants of different language abilities to coalesce into particular occupations (suggesting language-driven occupational progression). Knight (2014, p.6) presents the most stalwart attempt to differentiate the role of language into stages characterised by “not fully utilising” and “advanced” use of English. However, the criteria used to differentiate categories is unclear and the paper itself bases occupational advancement on subjective interpretations of skill (as illustrated in the previous sub-section). The ability to situate use of language classes, and language accumulation in general in an objectively based, chronological framework of progression would facilitate a novel and advanced interpretation of the jurisdiction of language in facilitating occupational mobility. An area lacking distinct clarity in the current literature.

3.3.3. Education

Qualification accumulation in the context of the migrant labour market mobility experience is an area where significant contributions may be made. In contrast to language, very few papers (Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) address the role of UK or country of origin qualifications in the realm of occupational mobility, and of those that do, they typically do so without direct focus. This may be due to the timeframes of previous investigations whereby samples had not yet reached a stage in their labour market journey where investment in UK qualifications was necessary. However, given the date of this thesis it is possible that meaningful contributions may be made in this regard 14 years after Polish Accession to the European Union. As such, argumentation will be highly theoretical in nature and is therefore best placed in the subsequent theoretical chapter. This section will begin by presenting an overview of the key functions of and motivations to acquire UK qualifications. It will then highlight three potential trajectories of occupational mobility related to educational attainment before considering the potential sequential interplay between language and education.

The literature (Chiswick, Lee and Miller, 2005; Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014) presents educational or experiential accumulation as an essential part of achieving upward occupational mobility. Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014, p.72) suggests that “British educational qualifications” were necessary for some members of their sample to ascend the UK division of labour. These findings are largely

corroborated by Johns (2013) and Knight (2014) who present examples of migrants either forced to retrain in order to attain British credentials (Johns, 2013) or studied UK university-level qualifications to attain highly skilled employment (Knight, 2014). Johns (2013) also touches upon the resource-based constraints faced by migrants who want to retrain, exemplifying similar experiences to those who sought to attend language classes in the Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) sample. Several studies (Knight, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) also address migrant motivations for studying UK qualifications. Samaluk (2016, p.461) suggests that this motivation is rooted in the desire to acquire (trans)nationally regarded credentials juxtaposed against the low value they place upon their country of origin skills. Knight (2014) presents a wide variety of reasons stemming from not only country of origin qualification devaluation, but also to demonstrate a particular skill to employers, and from the level of prestige they attached to British qualifications predicting its potential future use between transnational cultural-social fields. This presents education as a key facilitator of migrant labour market mobility, with UK qualifications studied most commonly due to the high returns migrants perceive not only in the UK labour market but also transnationally.

One of the key mobility motivations of migrants is to match “...their job[s] more appropriately to their skill and education level” (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014, p.71). The literature (Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014) suggests that this can be achieved through a variety of means. Parutis (2014) and Knight (2014) present hospitality as an industry where occupational mobility may occur without need for a country of origin or UK degree. Parutis (2014, p.47) suggests that “hard work” instead facilitates the achievement of a career. This is in line with Standard Occupational Classification 2010 data which notes that for hotel managers (the career mentioned in Knight (2014)) “entry is possible with a variety of academic qualifications and/or relevant experience” (ONS, 2010, p.45). In contrast, Johns (2013) suggests that the issue of deskilling is an enduring one with country of origin qualifications facing devaluation and participants forced to retrain in order to achieve commensurate employment in their chosen field. In line with this, Knight (2014) illustrates that jobs such as translation have been achieved (presumably) after receiving a UK Master’s degree in translation and notes UK study as a potential reaction to the devaluation of country of origin degrees. This presents three possible outcomes for migrants in this investigation:

1. Migrants experience upward occupational mobility in hospitality forgoing the need to study in either country.

2. Migrants successfully validate their country of origin qualifications and achieve commensurate employment without study in the UK.

3. Migrants achieve commensurate employment by investing in UK-recognised qualifications.

Numerous authors (Chiswick, Lee and Miller, 2005; Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) remark upon the central role of both language and education in facilitating migrant occupational mobility. However, Johns (2013, p.37) provides a brief but unique insight into the interaction of these two factors in a labour market setting: “For those who were capable English-speakers the issue of deskilling was particularly frustrating. They faced bureaucratic red tape when they tried to get their educational or professional qualifications recognised...”. This illustrates a potentially sequential relationship whereby migrants who arrive with high levels of language ability (or improve in the UK over time) then face qualification barriers to entry for more highly skilled jobs (the social worker occupation referenced in Johns (2013) requires academic qualifications (ONS, 2010, p.88)). Whilst Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) and Knight (2014) do not use objective, chronological frameworks to order the capital accumulation of their sample, they do imply qualification barriers exist to more highly skilled occupations. However, such a relationship would be illustrated with more clarity in a framework which uses objective criteria to denote occupational progression, and concurrently notes language and educational self-investment.

Summary

Regarding the mobility experience as a whole, this section focuses on an emerging area of literature and thus yields significant scope for novel contribution. The common criticism running through all three sub-sections is that where mobility is studied, it is done so without keen regard for objective means of defining labour market advancement. Whilst meaningful contributions were noted in the roles of language and education facilitating mobility, the current literature struggles to situate the periods of the migrant labour market journey where education or language are useful. This compounds when seeking to understand the relationship between language and education, as it remains unclear whether migrants prioritise learning language first, both are studied in tandem, or under what circumstances UK-qualifications are initially studied. Despite this, the papers above present extremely useful information in terms of how migrants facilitate advancement: for

example, language classes and incidental learning were noted as key to the embodiment of English.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has summarised and critically analysed the research pertaining to the following two research questions:

Research Question 1: *What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?*

Research Question 2: *What are the causes of and constraints to labour market mobility of Polish and Romanian migrants?*

Regarding the former, beyond the general contribution of examining the relationships between the myriad factors illustrated above in a singular research context this chapter has also demonstrated several specific contributions which could be made. Points of interest surround: the role of trust in both increasing the willingness to provide aid as well as facilitating more substantial forms of assistance provision; how network entrenchment in employment agency trajectories may not necessarily persist over time; how a more differentiated rationalisation of language may reveal more detailed patterns pertaining labour market intermediary usage; and how the broader economic context of the migrants themselves may reveal rationales of tolerance beyond those advocated by the ‘temporariness’ argument posited by previous literature. This research question acknowledges that a more differentiated understanding of the cumulative interplay between intrinsic and extrinsic factors will yield a more nuanced and individualistic understanding of migrant decision-making constraints, but also that within each subject area exists opportunities to compound the findings of previous literature. Therefore, this thesis offers both depth and breadth in the manner in which it views the initial labour market experience.

Regarding the latter, given that migrant labour market mobility in the United Kingdom is an emerging area of research, the scope for significant contribution is wide. The methodology of the core literature (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014) in defining upward occupational advancement was noted not only to vary from paper to paper, but also to introduce highly interpretative elements such as value-judgements by authors or subjective aspects of employment such as creativity and challenge. This necessitates the construction of a more objective, chronological, and theoretical mobility

framework. However, specific contributions surrounding the role of language as relates to co-national concentration in initial employment, and the potentially critical function of language classes in facilitating mobility for those in high co-national concentration environments were also delineated. The function of education in enabling mobility was also addressed in this section, and further research rationale will be illustrated in the subsequent theory chapter given the lack of literary interest on this subject in the UK context to date.

Overall, this chapter has focused upon the more specific gaps in the literature as relates to both the initial and mobility labour market experiences. In order to create a comprehensive framework of migrant decision-making constraints regarding the former, and a more objective and chronological framework for labour market mobility regarding the latter substantive theoretical elements will require introduction and integration. This objective occupies the majority of creative bandwidth in the subsequent theory section.

Chapter 4: Theory

4.1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters arguments have been put forth outlining both general and specific areas in which this thesis seeks to contribute. This chapter will address these concerns by presenting three key theories which will be applied in tandem to create a research framework within which the initial and mobility experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants may be fully explored.

This chapter will introduce the relevant aspects of Dual Labour Market (Piore, 1975), Cultural Capital (Bourdieu, 1986), and Strength of Weak Ties (Granovetter, 1973) theories. Dual Labour Market theory will be used to present the occupational structure into which migrants move and eventually advance. Cultural Capital theory will be used to present migrants as individuals of varying social- and skill- based resources whose permutations may be employed to differential initial labour market outcomes and mobility experiences. Strength of Weak Ties theory will be used to define labour market intermediaries in terms of strong and weak ties as well as rationalise the relationships through which substantial (employment, accommodation) and insubstantial (information) resources flow in both the initial and mobility labour market context. Combined, these theories will possess sufficient explanatory potential to comprehensively explore how migrants with unique embodiments of socio-cultural resources navigate complex labour market intermediary relationships to attempt to enter the UK labour market at a level congruent with their migration goals. They will also provide the tools to comprehensively explore how migrants increase and apply such socio-cultural resources in the process of upward occupational mobility defined by an objective and theoretically rigorous framework.

To this end the chapter will be structured as follows: The three theories will be succinctly presented, and within each theoretical sub-section prominent critiques and applications of the theories will be noted. In addition, a short summary of how the ideas expressed within each theory apply to the objectives of this thesis will be provided. Following this, a section will be devoted to visualising how the theories are expected to work together in a single explanatory framework including explanations as to why they are utilised in tandem. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a summary of the most pertinent applications of theory in this chapter.

4.2. Dual Labour Market Theory

In this section I will outline the key tenets of Dual Labour Market theory (Piore, 1975, 1979) which will be used in the theoretical framework of this investigation. It will begin by outlining the macro perspective present in 'Birds of Passage' (Piore, 1979) before investigating how Piore visualised labour market duality on the micro scale in 'Notes for a Theory of Labor Market Stratification' (Piore, 1975). Following this, key criticisms of the theory will be noted, as well as its function in the context of this thesis.

Dual Labour Market theory is presented as a plausible reason to explain the demand behind migrant workers and in this context provides a macro-level understanding of why migrants tend to be concentrated in low-wage, low status occupations. In *Birds of Passage*, Piore (1979, p.15-16) recognises that there is a preponderance of migrant workers in Western industrial economies who are employed in jobs with "low wages, poor working conditions, little security and inferior social status" and tend to be rejected by the indigenous population. The crux of the argument lies in its conceptualisation of the inherent churn and flux of economic activity with the primary sector encompassing the stable portion of demand and the secondary sector the unstable portion. Piore (1979, p.36) views capital as the dominant form of production (in capitalist society) and as such it controls the productive process. This enables the owners of capital to reserve stable portions of demand for the employment of capital, and variable portions for labour. Naturally, capital requires a more highly skilled and well-trained workforce to operate machinery, equipment, or software programmes (for example), and as such employers must invest in their workforce. Therefore, it is beneficial for the employer to include such workers in the stable portion of demand to avoid sunk costs. This in turn extends the dualism between capital and labour to a distinction between workers in the labour market as well (Ibid., p.37), with a primary sector largely reserved for the native population and a secondary sector where migrants are concentrated.

In 'Notes for a Theory of Labor Market Stratification', Piore (1975) visualises the labour market into three potential segments: a secondary, a lower-primary, and an upper-primary. The secondary segment contains low wage employment, less comfortable working conditions, low chances of promotion, a loose application of work rules and regulations, high turnover, and unstable employment (Ibid., p.126). In contrast, the primary sector contains high wage employment, comfortable working conditions, promotion opportunities, just application of work rules and regulations, and stable employment (Ibid.,

p.126). However, a further distinction is made between the upper- and lower- primary tiers of the primary segment with the former characterised by managerial and professional jobs- distinct from lower tier employment due to greater promotion opportunities, higher wages, formal educational requirements, greater economic security, and more creativity required in task completion (Ibid., pp.126-127). In effect, as with Dual Labour Market theory in Piore (1979) the primary and secondary sectors represent stable and unstable portions of demand. The differences between the upper- and lower- tiers express characteristic distinctions within secure employment.

In order to overcome empirical difficulties Piore (1975) reimagines and refocuses the emphasis of Dual Labour Market theory away from the characteristics of specific jobs, and instead towards the sequence of jobs an individual holds during their labour market journey. This typology of “mobility chains” introduces the notion that a job recruits labour “...from a limited, and distinct number of other particular points” (Ibid., p.128). It broadly translates into the concept of a career ladder whereby jobs tend to recruit from the previous position in the occupational hierarchy. These chains may exist both within and between organisations. Piore (1975, pp.128-129) provides an example of a blue-collar line of progression in which workers enter into a cluster of low-skilled jobs. The remaining jobs organise themselves into a hierarchical structure with each occupation preparing the worker for employment in the subsequent link (job) of the mobility chain. Overall, Piore (1975) displays the structure of mobility chains as a typology useful for reimagining the notion that movement between jobs is not a random endeavour.

The key distinctions between the primary and secondary sectors relate to the structure of the mobility chains contained within them. In the primary sector mobility chains organise themselves into a form of career ladder with each subsequent link granting access to “higher-paying and higher-status” employment (Piore, 1975, p.129). In contrast, the secondary sector does not form into a regular, cohesive pattern of advancement. Mobility is more or less random insofar as “...a worker coming into a job may take the place of another person moving to the job which the first worker just left” (Piore, 1975, p.129). Therefore, the predominant difference lies in whether a worker can achieve meaningful occupational mobility or stagnation.

The distinctions between the upper- and lower- primary segment are based upon the concepts of general and specific traits, with the former embodying a greater level of “knowledge and understanding” than the latter (Piore, 1975, p.130). Specific traits

produced and reproduced in the lower-primary segment are defined as a “behaviour” derived in direct response to environmental stimuli- a process the author coins “automatic incidental learning” (Piore, 1975, pp.130-131). In an employment setting this could represent on-the-job training or learning-by-doing insofar as what is learned is specific to the task at hand and occurs without conscious effort by the practitioner. Piore (1975, p.133) refers to specific traits as “habits in and of themselves”. Therefore, the mobility which occurs in this segment is centred around the learning of repetitious behaviours in routine work which promotes knowledge only as far as the specific task or occupation is concerned.

Piore (1975, p.132) demonstrates two ways in which general traits may be learned: inductively and instructively. Regarding the former, the author argues that general traits may be induced from a number of specific traits whereby an individual may adapt to a potentially new task or situation by identifying the pattern based on prior experience. Regarding the latter, Piore (1975, p.132) argues that general traits may also be produced from extensive formal education (interpreted in the context of this thesis as a degree) in which “the general rules” or knowledge may be imparted directly to students. However, although useful in forming a foundation upon which inductive learning may occur, Piore (1975) notes that education cannot substitute for experience. Ultimately, mobility in the upper-primary segment is facilitated by the production and reproduction of general traits. Workers apply the knowledge attained in extensive formal education with experience in professional and managerial employment to produce a form of experience productive in this segment. Therefore, a key differentiation between the lower- and upper- segments lies in the type of learning which facilitates mobility within the two tiers.

The concepts described above yield two key contributions in the context of this investigation. Firstly, the redefinition of the primary and secondary labour markets away from single occupational characteristics and towards a more employment trajectory-oriented approach yields theoretical and methodological appeal. In the previous chapter, criticism was levelled at several papers (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014) for their varying definitions and subjective characterisations of occupational attainment. The approach highlighted in the theory removes judgement away from author or migrant perspectives and instead roots labour market placement in the context of their more objective employment history. Secondly, the redefinition of the lower- and upper-primary segments in terms of the knowledge utilised to facilitate mobility presents a clear perspective of the roles of experience and extensive formal education in the labour market.

Overall, the theory is able to provide both a more objective framework through which to characterise mobility and suggest the occupational latitude of experience gain through the association of specific and general traits to the lower- and upper- primary labour market. However, it cannot itself address the skills and abilities drawn upon by participants throughout the entire labour market process (from point of entry to upper-primary). Moreover, it cannot gauge why some migrants may enter a different labour market segment or advance more swiftly than others. In addition, it cannot determine the relationships which proved instrumental in assisting entry or mobility over time. To answer these questions Cultural Capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and Strength of Weak Ties (Granovetter, 1973) theories are needed.

Dual Labour Market theory has experienced both substantial criticism and application since its inception. In terms of criticism, Wachter (1974) suggests that the internal labour market of the primary sector pays little attention to efficiency, and also notes that although institutionally distinct the data does not support the distinction of primary and secondary labour markets in the strictest sense. The more recent evaluation of Leontaridi (1998) supports the critiques of Wachter (1974) and suggests that a weakness of dual (two) or segmented (multiple) labour market theories is their presupposition of the number of segments which exist in the labour market. Nevertheless, numerous papers in the field of migration (Friberg, 2012; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Vasey, 2016) are comfortable to invoke the Dual or Segmented Labour Market hypotheses when theorising the initial position of migrants at the bottom of the division of labour. Therefore, the theory continues to enjoy theoretical appeal in denoting the structure of the migrant labour market experience.

4.3. The Forms of Capital

In this section I will detail the pertinent arguments of the seminal paper produced by Pierre Bourdieu- 'The Forms of Capital' (1986). Its clear delineations of cultural, social, and economic capital as well as definitive explanations of the core concept of labour-time have proven instrumental in previous investigations studying how migrants utilise their social or cultural capital in new national contexts (Parutis, 2014; Ryan *et al.*, 2008; Samaluk, 2016; White and Ryan, 2008). Of particular relevance is his dissemination of cultural capital into embodied, institutional, and objectified forms. However, the concepts of social capital and capital exchange are also noteworthy in the context of this thesis and will be detailed below. Furthermore, in order to fully understand and appreciate the explanatory potential

of cultural, social, (and economic) capital a brief introduction to Bourdieu's overall Theory of Practice will be made. Following this, I will note prominent critiques of Cultural Capital theory using the works of Lamont and Lareau (1988) and Wimmer and Schiller (2002) before briefly presenting the work of Lareau and Weininger (2003) who refined and modernised Bourdieu's definitions by detaching them from their French cultural context.

Capital can be understood by its position relative to habitus, field, and practice in Bourdieu's more general Theory of Practice. Bourdieu (2016, p.43) defines habitus as a system of "...long-lasting (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action" which allow an individual to navigate the complicated intricacies of social interaction. It is primarily a background factor which consists of a set of acquired preferences and dispositions typically grounded in family upbringing and generally conditioned by the individual's position within a social structure. As a concept, it determines the limits of agency and possibility an individual believes they are capable of based on their position within the greater social field. Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2012, pp.21-22) define field as, "...a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles which constitute an objective hierarchy, and which produce and authorise certain discourses and activities". A social field sets the 'rules of the game' within which individuals define their own positions based on the relationship between their habitus and the capital they bring to bear within a field. Overall, individuals compete for greater endowments of capitals to improve their positions within social fields. The actions they take in this pursuit are shaped by their habitus. This cumulative repertoire of action may be called an individual's 'practice'.

Focusing more directly upon capital, Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes three distinct forms: economic, social, and cultural. Economic capital may manifest in forms such as assets (investment and property) or money. Social capital refers to the social network of an individual as well the cumulative resources utilisable by the individual through membership of the network. Cultural capital consists of the cultural knowledge (e.g. language or education) an individual has accumulated throughout the course of their lives. It may exist in three states: embodied, institutional, and objectified which will be detailed below. Bourdieu (1986) cedes priority to economic capital, as under certain conditions both cultural and social forms may be converted into economic. Therefore, a person's capital endowment may be imagined as the cumulative economic, cultural, and social resources an individual possesses and may draw upon at any given moment.

As has been suggested above, one fundamental characteristic of capital is its inherent convertibility between constituent forms. The raw material of capital exchange is known as 'labour-time'- this operates under the assumption that in the economy of practice a gain in one area (e.g. cultural knowledge accumulation) is paid for by an opportunity cost in another (e.g. museum entry fee- economic capital) (Bourdieu, 1986, p.253). In essence, labour-time effectively consists of the sum of energy applied to the accumulation of capital in a specific form as well as the cost of transforming it into another, measured against the other myriad applications of such finite vigour. This intuitive process ably illustrates a somewhat antagonistic relationship between investment in economic, social, or cultural capital as labour-time is a constrained resource and as such migrants will have to prioritise the accumulation of one form over another depending upon their labour market goals.

In 'The Forms of Capital' (1986, p.243) Bourdieu separated cultural capital into three potential states: embodied referring to "long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body", objectified in cultural items such as books, or as institutionally recognised forms of cultural capital such as educational qualifications. Bourdieu (1986, p.244) characterises the embodied state as the incorporation of capital into oneself. The primary cost of this process is time, which must be invested during embodiment (e.g. learning a new language involves a substantial time investment which cannot be delegated to another). This becomes the primary unit of measurement for embodied cultural capital as it may be ascribed a positive value (time saved) or a negative value (time wasted) by its acquisition.

According to Bourdieu (1986, p.246) certain properties of the objectified state can only be defined in comparison to the embodied state. Cultural capital is embodied in objects such as paintings, books, and monuments. It is thus transferable in its objectified form.

However, the transfer of legal ownership of such objects does not necessarily facilitate the transfer of 'consumption' (understanding and embodiment of the capital interred within). This leads to a distinction between material and symbolic (understanding) appropriation.

When cultural capital takes the form of an academic qualification it enters an institutional state. Bourdieu (1986, p.248) refers to such a qualification as "...a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment in time". In other words, it is an institutionally recognised form of capital which conveys authority over a particular topic or discipline, and it exists

apart from the user and their ability to authenticate their embodied cultural capital. Institutional recognition gives gradation to the endowments of cultural capital possessed by individuals. It therefore allows qualification holders to be compared (e.g. in an employment context). However, most importantly it facilitates the conversion between cultural and economic capital as the qualification commands an appropriate monetary value for use of the individual's embodied capital by proxy. The product of investment into institutional cultural capital (e.g. undergraduate degree) determines the value of the holder in comparison to rivals and therefore provides an exchange rate for cultural into economic capital on the job market.

In order to theoretically conceptualise migrant networks, and how they may lead to differential labour market outcomes and mobility experiences Bourdieu's concept of social capital also requires further scrutiny. Bourdieu (1986, p.248) defines social capital as, "...the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition...". In essence, an accumulation of the benefits accrued to an individual by virtue of membership to a particular network or group and its collectively owned capital. The level of benefit an individual can gain is moderated by the size of the network they can mobilise and the volume of economic or cultural capital possessed by other individuals connected to the network. Networks form when individuals seek to invest labour-time (consciously or unconsciously) in relationships Bourdieu defines as 'contingent' to those that are useable and convertible into other forms of capital in the long- or short- run. This engenders "durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights)" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.250).

Bourdieu (1986) presents the theoretically appealing and useful concepts of cultural and social capital, as well as the theory of capital convertibility. Cultural capital in its embodied and institutional forms hold particular interest as they may theoretically conceptualise the inherent skills, abilities and behaviours of migrants, or the institutionally recognised qualifications they hold respectively. Social capital ably conceptualises migrant networks as a set of durable relationships providing access to other forms of capital over time. This illustrates the vital contribution of capital conversion through the concept of 'labour-time' which forms the building blocks of capital accumulation and demonstrates its finiteness. Overall, the theory presents individuals as economic, cultural, and social actors who leverage finite resources in pursuit of goals shaped by accumulated dispositions. In this manner, Bourdieu's theory of capital convertibility provides an extremely useful framework

for understanding how migrants with varied embodiments of cultural, social, and economic capitals may broaden or narrow their agency and prospects in both the initial and mobility labour market contexts.

As with Piore (1979), Bourdieu's (1986) theory also experienced both extensive criticism and application since its inception. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital in particular has been the subject of significant debate. Key criticisms surround the extent of cultural capital's explanatory potential beyond the French cultural context (Lamont and Lareau, 1988, p.164). This is encapsulated in the argument of Wimmer and Schiller (2002) who chastises Bourdieu alongside other classical sociologists for neglecting to account for 'methodological nationalism'. Moreover, Lamont and Lareau (1988) level a prime criticism at the incongruity between the forms and functions of cultural capital presented by Bourdieu in his numerous works from 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction' (1977) to 'The Inheritors' (1979) and 'Distinction' (1984). This led Lareau and Weininger (2003, p.597) to reform Bourdieu's definition of cultural capital to include both cognitive skills and non-cognitive dispositions. Edgerton and Roberts (2014, p.196) ably summarise this as competencies involving "...relevant institutional contexts, processes, and expectations, possession of relevant intellectual and social skills (e.g. 'cultural knowledge' and 'vocabulary'), and a more 'strategic conception of agency'". These definitions fit more closely with the use of cultural capital in the field of migration with Parutis (2014) utilising the notion as closer to a set of evolving cognitive and behavioural skills facilitating migrant labour market mobility, and Samaluk (2016) offering a similar interpretation in the context of the initial labour market experience. Therefore, despite theoretical criticisms Bourdieu (1986) continues to enjoy theoretical appeal in the fields of migration and labour market analysis.

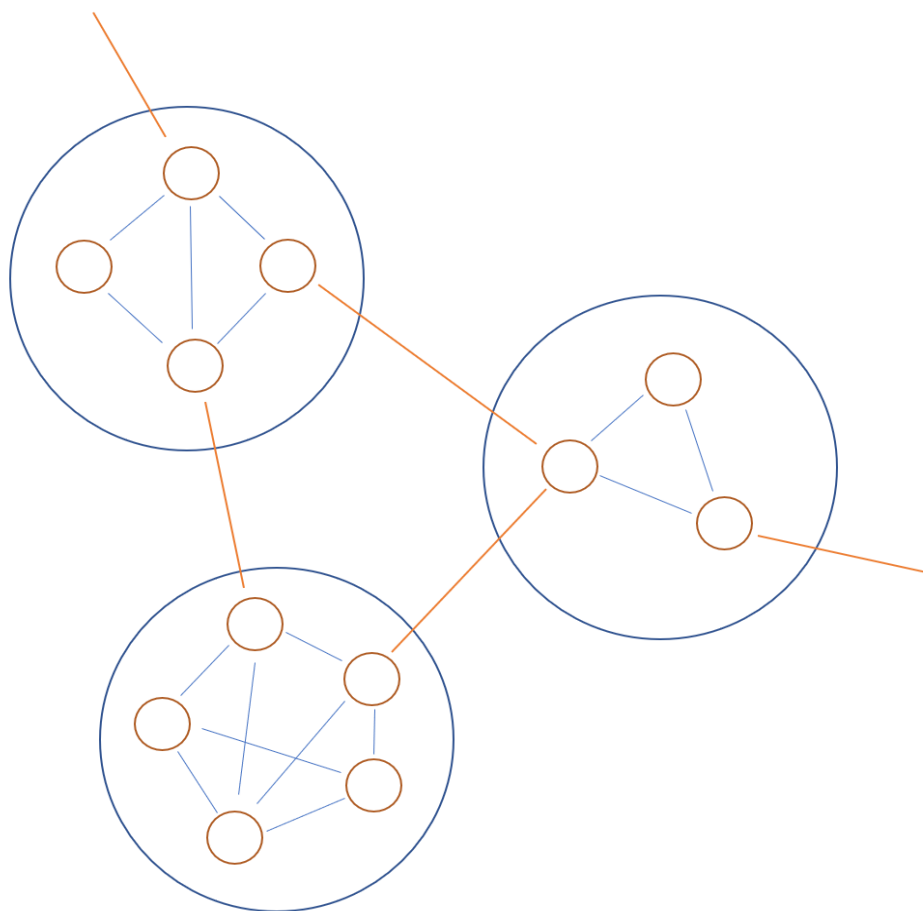
4.4. Tie Strength

In this section the works of both Granovetter (1973, 1995) and Krackhardt (1992) will be presented. Granovetter illustrates the theoretical foundation behind Strength of Weak Ties theory and focuses in particular upon the function of weak ties in their role of information dispensation. Conversely, Krackhardt (1992) focuses in particular upon the role of strong ties and their value in situations of significant flux and uncertainty. The contributions of these papers will be noted in the context of this investigation, and noteworthy critiques will be evaluated and measured against how such criticisms may affect the theory's intuitive appeal.

4.4.1. The Strength of Weak Ties

In 1973 Mark Granovetter published his seminal paper 'The Strength of Weak Ties'. He identified that in sociological theory a gap existed which hindered the interaction between micro-level interactions and macro-level patterns. Whilst a significant amount of data and theory existed on the social dynamics of small groups, in literature this rarely translated into meaningful patterns relating to large-scale interactions on a societal level. Granovetter links the micro- and macro- level with the defining principle that the, "degree of overlap of two individuals' friendship networks varies directly with the strength of their tie to one another" (Granovetter, 1973, p.1360). Granovetter (1973, p.1361) defined the strength of an interpersonal tie as, "...a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterise the tie". This presents the image below of a lattice of densely knit areas of close friends (groups of strong ties) connected by bridges of acquaintances (weak ties).

Figure 4. 1: A Lattice of Interconnected Friendship Groups



Source: Created by Author

Regarding weak ties, Granovetter (1973) places particular emphasis upon their role as 'bridges'. This refers to a potential relationship between acquaintances whereby the weak ties act as connectors between two disparate networks of close ties. These acquaintance relationships act as conduits of information between the two strong-tie networks facilitating a flow of knowledge which would otherwise have been absent without the weak tie 'bridge'. Granovetter (1983, p.202) argues that "individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends". Thus, a migrant confined to a network of strong ties would be limited in terms of labour market information flows. Therefore, weak ties fulfil a valuable role of disseminating employment-related vacancy information in the context of this investigation.

Granovetter (1995) lends credence to the assertion above in a study of how 282 Massachusetts (USA) men obtained employment. Whilst the book's contributions are myriad, I shall focus upon its core results regarding the utility of weak and strong ties in passing on job information. In order to differentiate strong and weak ties Granovetter (1995, p.41) divides providers of job information into "family-social" and "work" contacts. The former acts as a proxy for strong ties and the latter for weak ties based predominantly upon the time aspect of tie strength regarding level of contact in the social sphere. The author further divides "work" contacts into employers, colleagues, colleagues in different companies, and teachers. The most relevant findings in this section determined that "family-social" contacts passed on job information they had no control over hiring (more out of a desire to help their strong tie). The information was not of a particularly high quality, and the quality of job provided by the information was generally lower than had the information come from a "work" contact (Ibid., p.48). Those who found a job using strong ties were more likely to have experienced a prior period of unemployment than those using weak ties (Ibid., p.54). In the migration context, this differentiates the utility of weak ties to be especially useful in the dissemination of useful job opportunities throughout the labour market experience. However, it also implies that strong ties are of particular use in a period of vulnerability or uncertainty such as the timeframe immediately after migration.

Strength of Weak Ties theory illustrates the intuitive notion that relationships between individuals differ in form and function depending upon tie intensity. Weak ties fulfil the role of bridges between lattices of dense strong tie networks and as such they are theoretically well-suited to the role of information dispensation. This was evidenced in Granovetter

(1995) above which illustrated a superior quality of information flowing from weak ties. Thus, the expectation regarding Polish and Romanian migrants is that those who achieve more preferable initial employment and experience swifter mobility may be receiving lucrative job information from agents outside their networks of strong co-national ties.

4.4.2. The Strength of Strong Ties

Strength of Weak Ties theory has been extensively applied in both the fields of migration studies and labour market sociology (see below). However, repeatedly the focus of investigation has been upon the utility of weak ties in the context of information dissemination. The role and value of strong ties is typically neglected- especially when considering the affective quality of strong ties and how this may moderate the willingness of individuals to provide assistance (as oppose to focusing upon the quality of information tie strength is noted to influence). Krackhardt (1992, p.218) is unique amongst the critical papers below in his preoccupation with strong ties particularly in "...cases of severe change and uncertainty". This has clear parallels to the migration context given the flux and instability inherent in moving countries. Therefore, although effectively a critique of Strength of Weak Ties theory, Krackhardt (1992) ably illustrates the strength of strong ties- a facet suggested to be of noteworthy relevance in the literature review.

Krackhardt's (1992) *raison d'être* in 'The Strength of Strong Ties' was to illustrate the value of such ties, particularly in unstable situations with high degrees of uncertainty. This assertion was based upon the works of both Granovetter (1983) and Pool (1980) whereby the former suggested that strong ties are more highly motivated to provide assistance than weak ties, and the latter suggested that "...strong ties are more likely to be particularly useful to the individual when...in an insecure position" (as quoted in Krackhardt, 1992, p.218). These notions were tested in a period of significant uncertainty for a small American enterprise via the redefinition of strong ties into that of a 'philos' relationship. This was in reaction to criticism of tie strength as overly subjective- the concepts of 'emotional intensity' and 'intimacy' in particular. Krackhardt (1992) redefined strong ties to be a function of interaction, affection, and time which he viewed as true to the intended nature and spirit of the Granovetter strong tie. In essence, the affective character of strong ties amounts to a quality akin to influence: increasing levels of affection lead to increased motive for positive interaction. Time facilitates the accumulation of experience which in turn forms an impression of how one may treat sensitive information, and interaction creates the opportunity to foster such information exchange (Ibid., p.219). Combined these

qualities imply trust which in turn yields influence, a resource newly arrived migrants to the UK would find especially useful when attempting to convince ties to provide assistance.

This has clear implications in terms of both the initial and mobility labour market experiences. Whilst strong ties may not be well suited to the dispensation of novel and useful information, they do consist of those most likely to aid during periods of great uncertainty, i.e. the initial migration experience. Furthermore, strong ties are also those who new arrivals hold in high trust and are likely to call upon in their time of need. The influence implied by trust may be used to procure more substantial resources such as housing, money, and employment. Likewise, in the mobility context, under periods of potentially constrained resources (such as when seeking to attend a UK university) strong ties are more likely to lend assistance and alleviate the antagonism between work and study. This presents strong ties as not only more willing to provide assistance during periods of uncertainty, but also more likely to provide more substantial forms of help beyond that of information.

Overall, the concept of tie strength and its constituent parts is particularly useful for understanding the relationships between the donors and recipients of assistance in both the initial and mobility contexts. By examining participants' relationships in terms of tie strength it facilitates the understanding of which ties were useful in particular periods of the migrant labour market journey, the types of assistance which were provided by ties of varying intensities, and most significantly how tie strength relates to the concept of influence (or ability to convince others to provide more substantial forms of resource assistance). Strength of Weak Ties theory harmonises particularly well with the Bourdieusian (1986) notions of capital and transferability thereof as while the latter focuses upon the substance of what is being transferred both spatially and temporally (e.g. social into economic capital), the former seeks to better understand the motive behind varying degrees of assistance provision in terms of tie strength and its constituent parts (time, emotional intensity, intimacy, reciprocal services). Dual Labour Market theory provides the context to these relationships over time: it facilitates the understanding of which ties were used at particular points in the labour market journey, and by extension grounds the relationship between tie strength and capital convertibility in an objective, chronologically based context.

Strength of Weak Ties theory has experienced both extensive application and criticism since its introduction in 1973. Regarding criticism, Borgatti, Brass and Halgin (2014)

acknowledge that Granovetter (1973) focuses upon the structures surrounding the ties instead of the material (be it informational, practical, emotional etc) which flows through them. Equally, whilst easily quantifiable, the labels of strong and weak ties present interpersonal relationships as an either/or proposition whereas in reality human relationships are more akin to a continuum with individuals changing in 'tie strength' based on the definitions above. Pachucki and Breiger (2010) also allude to the lack of attention paid to the cultural context in which networks exist and suggest the need to integrate greater levels of cultural understanding into the interpretation of social relationships. Nevertheless, despite its conceptual flaws numerous papers (Brown and Konrad, 2001; Giuliatti, Wahba and Zenou, 2014; Kavanaugh *et al.*, 2005; Wessendorf, 2017; Wilson, 1998) have applied the theory in modern contexts to address labour market or migration-related queries. Therefore, the theory continues to enjoy theoretical and methodological appeal in the context of illuminating the structure and nature of migrant networks.

4.5. Theoretical Framework

In the previous sections, the relevant components of Dual Labour Market, Cultural Capital, and Strength of Weak Ties theories have been detailed. Furthermore, the ways in which each theory is useful or deficient in the context of the initial and mobility labour market experiences has been noted. This section builds upon this work and integrates arguments from both the theory and literature review to present coherent, theoretical, and intuitive explanatory frameworks for both key research questions reiterated below:

Research Question 1: What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?

Research Question 2: What are the causes of and constraints to labour market mobility of Polish and Romanian migrants?

4.5.1. Initial Labour Market Experience

It is important that I first detail why the three theories are being used in tandem in the initial labour market experience before moving on to discuss how this integration will be implemented. Dual Labour Market theory provides a useful means through which to define the structure into which migrants are moving. The separation of the primary and secondary sectors both in terms of descriptive characteristics and in terms of the mobility chain typology provide an objective means to define the labour market position into which migrants land. However, what the theory does not achieve is an understanding of the

embodied skills and characteristics of the migrants themselves nor the intermediary structures (networks and employment agencies) through which they may travel to achieve entry into the Dual Labour Market structure.

In contrast, Bourdieu's (1986) framework of exchange is useful for theorising embodied (language, knowledge) and institutional (education) forms of cultural capital possessed by migrants seeking to enter the UK labour market. In addition, it facilitates the theorisation of migrant networks in the form of social capital, as well as the concept of agency through habitus. Therefore, Bourdieu (1986) enables the rationalisation of migrants as individuals with unique motivations, varying embodiments of cultural capital, and different quantities of social capital (resources within networks). Nevertheless, neither theory above possesses the means to define the relationships through which resources flow.

Strength of Weak Ties theory facilitates the characterisation of expected resource flows based upon levels of trust and thus internalises both the willingness to provide assistance as well as a rationalisation of the levels of relationship necessary for the provision of more substantial forms of assistance into the model. Furthermore, the theory facilitates the rationalisation of both networks and agencies in terms of strong and weak ties. However, it cannot itself rationalise the skills, characteristics, and motivations of the migrants leveraging such ties, nor can it describe the labour market outcome more substantial forms of assistance may be used to achieve. In essence, Dual Labour Market theory provides the structure into which migrants move, Bourdieu (1986) provides the theorisation of the migrants themselves as individuals with varying embodiments and endowments of socio-cultural capital, and Strength of Weak Ties theory facilitates both the classification of network relationships as well as a means through which to theorise labour market intermediaries.

As referenced above, Bourdieu (1986) permits the theorisation of the migrant in terms of their stocks of embodied and institutional forms of cultural capital. Evidence from Ryan *et al.* (2008, p.683) and White and Ryan (2008, p.1480) suggest that migrants with high endowments of cultural capital (language, education) are more able to interface with the labour market directly. However, Findlay and McCollum (2013, p.15) and Ryan *et al.* (2009, p.70) present instances where migrants of low language ability tended to seek out employment agencies or familial assistance in order to attain initial employment. This presents a dichotomy whereby migrants with high embodiments of cultural capital may be able to enter the labour market independently, but those with low endowments of

language cultural capital in particular will be reliant upon employment agencies or personal networks for initial employment aid.

As referenced in the literature review, relative endowments of language cultural capital have not yet been distinguished beyond synonyms of 'high' and 'low'. This stands in stark contrast to the reality of migrants' highly differentiated language cultural capital stocks upon arrival in the UK. Bourdieu's (1986) framework of exchange permits the re-rationalisation of language in terms of labour-time whereby upon arrival migrants are likely to have allocated distinct and unique quantities of labour-time towards the embodiment of language cultural capital. Therefore, in differentiating how language is operationalised in greater detail, this facilitates a better understanding of how migrants manage such capital to utilise intermediaries or enter the labour market directly.

The labour market segment into which migrants of high cultural capital may initially enter is difficult to determine. Numerous authors (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Johns, 2013; Knight, 2014; Vasey, 2016) suggest that highly skilled migrants experience substantial qualification devaluation either by employers or by their own self-devaluations. However, evidence in Ryan *et al.* (2008) suggests that the degree of qualification devaluation between professions may not be equal. This implies that institutional forms of cultural capital experience diminishing returns across international fields to differing extents. Therefore, assuming high language ability, migrants are expected to undergo differing labour market outcomes depending upon the degree to which participants self-devalue or the extent to which employers fail to recognise participants embodied skills.

It is also important to remember that the manner in which participants employ their embodiments of cultural capital is shaped by their habitus. As evidenced in Parutis (2014) migrants may enter the UK labour market with differing objectives. Some may enter low-skilled employment with a transient intention to earn money in order to fund projects in the country of origin (Anderson, 2010; Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; Piore, 1979), whereas others may do so in order to improve their levels of UK-specific cultural capital (Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016). This may lead to the acceptance of different types of jobs in the secondary labour market depending upon the goals (habitus) of migrants. However, it is expected that only migrants of high language ability will be afforded the luxury of choice, as (based on the evidence above) migrants of lower gradations will find their decision-making constraints shaped by labour market intermediaries.

In this investigation networks and agencies have been reimagined to be strong and weak tie networks respectively. Regarding the former, strong ties (friends and family) are predicted to generally yield more favourable labour market outcomes based on Krackhardt's (1992) logic and findings. The affective character of strong ties was noted to influence the willingness of networks to provide assistance during periods of uncertainty. The paper interpreted this affective quality to be akin to influence- in the context of Krackhardt (1992, p.235) this referred to the ability to convince others to view a situation from one's own perspective. However, in this context it is applied similarly to address the ability (or lack thereof) of migrants to convince friends and family to share economic (employment, accommodation) and social (connections to potential employers) resources. This theory is supported by the findings of White and Ryan (2008, p.1489) and Ryan *et al.* (2008, pp.674-675) who comment upon the proclivity and suitability of strong ties to provide more resource-intensive forms of assistance.

Strong tie networks are expected to produce a large variety of prospective initial employment outcomes due to the potential variance of economic (ability to provide direct employment), social (useful connections) and cultural (labour market understanding) capital contained within networks. In the literature review Findlay and McCollum (2013, p.16) presented evidence to suggest that strong tie networks could channel migrants into low-skilled agency employment. Others (Ryan *et al.*, 2008, p.678; Ryan *et al.*, 2009, pp.69-70) illustrate examples of far more direct employment assistance. Based on the assumption that the affective character of strong ties yields the influence necessary for migrants to obtain necessary (cultural, social, and economic) resources from such networks, the most likely responsible variable for differentiated labour market outcomes is the differing endowments of capital within individual networks. Therefore, once migrants elect to utilise strong tie networks their labour market outcomes are subject to the social capital contained within the network.

Regarding weak tie networks (including formal and informal institutional networks in this investigation: White and Ryan (2008, p.1489)), migrants lack the affective quality of strong ties to leverage them to maximum effect. Longstanding relationships of high trust and repeat interaction are absent rendering the migrants' ability to exert influence inert. The 'willingness to assist' emblematic in strong ties is predicted to be absent in co-national strangers or in employment agency staff leading to the prediction that migrants are likely to be channelled into secondary labour market employment via weak ties. Whilst in general weak ties are critical for the dissemination of valuable information into closed networks,

the migrants using weak ties are likely to be doing so due to their own vulnerability and lack of strong ties. Ryan *et al.* (2008, p.679) remarks upon a “sense of distrust towards the wider Polish community” and multiple papers (Anderson *et al.*, 2006; Chappell *et al.*, 2009; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2007) reference the agency experience in a negative light. This suggests that weak tie networks would not be chosen as a labour market intermediary unless no strong tie networks were available.

This sub-section has demonstrated why and how Dual Labour Market, Cultural Capital, and Strength of Weak Ties theories have been amalgamated to comprehensively explain the pathway into initial employment. Dual Labour Market theory presents the occupational structure into which migrants enter, Cultural Capital theory facilitates the understanding of migrants in terms of their embodied skills and why they may be employed to different labour market ends, and Strength of Weak Ties theory allows the rationalisation of migrant networks and employment agencies as ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ ties over which migrants hold differing levels of influence. Combined these theories present a detailed imagining of who seeks to enter the UK labour market, why labour market intermediaries may be used, and what employment outcomes may ensue from different combinations of the above.

4.5.2. Labour Market Mobility Experience

As with the previous section, it is imperative to detail why the three theories are utilised in tandem in the context of Research Question 2 before discussing how theoretical integration will occur. In this context, Dual Labour Market theory provides the structure through which to define mobility. The typology of mobility chains provides the essential ingredient to objectively determine occupational placement. However, Dual Labour Market theory cannot rationalise the dimensions of how migrants move through the labour market. Cultural Capital theory is useful for understanding how progression occurs through the process of embodiment of language and educational cultural capital. Furthermore, the role of more institutionalised forms of cultural capital such as NVQ or degree-level qualifications may also be understood through their function as exchange rates of capital conversion in the labour market. The rate at which migrants are able to advance may be rationalised as the rate of embodiment at which learning (and ultimately certification) occurs. Likewise, the framework of exchange facilitates the understanding of how migrants may convert the forms of capital to overcome periods of potential resource constraint (attendance of language classes/university). However, it cannot describe the types of relationship which proved useful in this endeavour. Strength of Weak Ties theory yields

valuable insight into the relationships which proved useful throughout mobility, as well as the resource flows linked to strong and weak ties. Overall, Dual Labour Market theory serves to define the structure through which migrants move, Cultural Capital theory outlines how migrants move through this structure, and Strength of Weak Ties theory addresses the relationships which proved useful throughout this process.

Piore's (1975) mobility chain descriptions will be useful in objectively identifying the occupational hierarchy through which migrants move throughout the mobility experience. Jobs in the primary sector are theorised to form into career ladders (Ibid., p.129), and as such it is likely that migrants will advance within their respective fields in these segments (obtaining promotions, gaining more responsibility, and accumulation specific- and general-forms of knowledge). Mobility chains in the secondary sector are expected to contain more random patterns (Ibid., p.129). Therefore, it is expected that migrants will switch occupations with relative frequency without prospect of attaining a career or experiencing meaningful improvements in occupational characteristics. This provides a trajectory-based, objective means to gauge the segments through which migrants move throughout the labour market experience.

Focusing more specifically upon mobility in the primary labour market, as both segments organise themselves into coherent career paths additional means are required in order to differentiate the upper- from the lower- primary. Piore (1975) utilises the concepts of 'specific' and 'general' traits noted in the previous section to facilitate this distinction. They are differentiated by virtue of how one might obtain them: specific trait accumulation in a workplace context represents the inductive learning of task- or occupation- specific knowledge of little use outside the mobility chain (Ibid., p.133). General traits are the product of both instructive and inductive learning with a naturally wider and more knowledge-intensive set of applications than specific traits. A key dividing line between mobility chains in the two tiers is advanced formal education which serves to provide the instructive foundation upon which general traits may be produced (Ibid., p.133). Therefore, the type of learning which occurs in each segment as well as the educational divide differentiates the two segments.

In the context of this investigation, language and education were identified as the relevant forms of cultural capital necessary for labour market mobility. However, one of the key criticisms levelled at the literature was its inability to identify the points within the labour market journey where specific forms of cultural capital are useful for mobility. Numerous

authors (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) present evidence which suggests that language cultural capital is useful for leaving the unstable 'migrant' jobs which characterise the secondary labour market and enter into the stable 'native' jobs which characterise the primary sector (Piore, 1979, p.35). Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011, p.65) and Knight (2014, pp.5-6) suggest that language is a key differentiating factor between migrants able to facilitate mobility and those who are not. Moreover, Parutis (2014, p.44) pointedly notes that language is key for migrants to attain "better employment" which uses some of the Piorian descriptive criteria for the primary labour market (noted in the previous section). The examples above present a plausible case for why the continuous embodiment of language cultural capital to a point of easy communication is the key factor facilitating mobility between the secondary and primary labour market.

Whilst specific and general traits are considered a structural factor in Piore (1975) they may also be rationalised as forms of embodied cultural capital in Bourdieu's (1986) framework of exchange. Piore (1975, p.130) reduces general and specific traits to greater or lesser levels of "knowledge and understanding" as relates to both "concrete skills" (e.g. how to operate a machine) and "behavioural traits" (e.g. punctuality) which unlock varying degrees of labour market access. Bourdieu's (1986, p.243) concept of embodied cultural capital (the acquired tastes and dispositions of an individual accumulated throughout one's life) encompasses the spirit of specific and general traits. It may manifest in forms such as behaviour and knowledge, both of which are core to the concept of traits. Furthermore, 'traits' are also accumulated over time by either induction or instruction, both of which may be understood from a Bourdieusian perspective as the conversion of labour-time, or the process of embodiment into an individual's habitus (ingrained set of dispositions, skills, and actions).

This presents the embodiments of specific and general experiential cultural capital as the key facilitators of mobility in the primary labour market, and UK institutional cultural capital as the prime divider between the lower- and upper- tiers. Regarding the latter, Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) and Knight (2014) present evidence to suggest that UK degree-level qualifications are necessary to gain access to highly skilled employment. However, regarding the former little attention has been paid to the types of experience utilised to advance along lower- and upper- primary mobility chains. Piore (1975, p.134) suggests that "lower-level clerical and sales jobs" are examples of lower-primary occupations and according to ONS (2010, p.145, 202) these occupations receive on-the-job

training with NVQ-level qualifications available for study. Such training is akin to Piore's (1975, p.131) notion of "automatic incidental learning" which is directly associated with the accumulation of specific embodied cultural capital. This presents NVQ-level qualifications as a plausible institutionalised form of the experience accumulated in lower-primary mobility chains and thereby presents a means through which to objectively define experience gain in that segment. Overall, Piore's (1975) competence-based definitions for the lower- and upper- primary tiers and their re-rationalisation in the migrant-centric Bourdieusian framework has facilitated the charting of experience and qualifications as the key facilitators of and barriers to mobility in the primary labour market.

Throughout the labour market mobility experience Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) and Sporton (2013) identified an antagonistic relationship between work and study. The authors found that migrants were reluctant to invest in UK-specific cultural capital (attend language classes) out of a preference or need to expend their labour-time in the production of economic capital via employment. Whilst the labour-time expenditure to attend language classes is comparatively small, significant investment in both time and money is required to attend university (necessary for entry into the upper-primary segment). In both situations should the migrant seek to advance they may call upon strong ties. In both cases migrants may seek to leverage their influence through the utilisation of the affective quality of their strong ties to access the economic capital contained within their personal network. In this sense, strong tie networks could continue to hold relevance in the mobility experience, proving useful in periods of uncertainty or vulnerability (Krackhardt, 1992).

This sub-section has demonstrated why and how Dual Labour Market, Cultural Capital, and Strength of Weak Ties theories have been combined to explain in detail how migrants achieve upward occupational mobility. Dual Labour Market theory presents detailed and objective criteria differentiating the primary and secondary labour markets as well as the upper- and lower- tiers of the former, Cultural Capital theory presents a means through which to understand how migrants advance through the labour market via increasing embodiments of the relevant capitals, and Strength of Weak Ties theory presents the argument for the continued importance of networks in periods of intense resource demand for mobility. Combined these theories present a detailed understanding of the structure in which mobility occurs, how migrants achieve mobility, and how strong tie networks may assist in the achievement of mobility via the pooling of resources.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has introduced Dual Labour Market, Cultural Capital, and Strength of Weak Ties theories and demonstrated how they may be used together to illuminate the initial and mobility experience of Polish and Romanian migrants in the UK. This was achieved through: the utilisation of Dual Labour Market theory as an objective framework in which initial and mobility experiences may be charted; the application of Cultural Capital theory which rationalised migrants' varying endowments of skills and contacts within the Bourdieusian framework of exchange; and Strength of Weak Ties theory which reimagined labour market intermediaries in terms of strong and weak ties as well as characterised the relationships through which substantial forms of assistance are expected to flow. The result of this endeavour is a comprehensive explanatory framework which encompasses and expands upon the findings expressed in the previous two chapters.

Focusing more specifically upon the aspects of each theory which proved particularly useful: the mobility chain typology presented in Piore (1975) yielded a more objective means through which to structure both the initial and mobility experiences. It focused upon migrant trajectories instead of narrow and largely subjective descriptive characteristics thereby introducing an approach based upon lived employment history. Bourdieu (1986) delivered the concepts of cultural and social capital as well as the overall framework of capital convertibility which helped to define migrants in terms of their embodied skills and contacts. This facilitates the study of how migrants with differentiated levels of cultural and social capital navigate the initial and mobility labour market experience. Strength of Weak Ties theory enabled the reinterpretation of employment agencies as networks of weak ties, and the presentation of personal networks as one of strong ties. This grounded the differentiation of network relationships in terms of trust and influence which manifests as migrants holding greater leverage with strong ties. Thus, migrants are likely to experience more favourable labour market outcomes through friends and family contacts. Overall, the three theories provide distinct and meaningful contributions to the better understanding of both the initial and mobility migrant labour market experience.

The theories presented in this chapter have demonstrated how this thesis intends to investigate the initial and mobility experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants. However, how this theoretical framework will be operationalised into a practical and effective

methodology intent on gathering detailed and pertinent results remains to be seen. This will form the basis of the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1. Introduction

In previous chapters the significance of the literature surrounding the migrant labour market experience and explanatory potential of Dual Labour Market, Cultural Capital, and Strength of Weak Ties theories has been explained. Their cumulative contributions have led to the creation and theoretical exploration of the key research questions below:

Research Question 1: *What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?*

Research Question 2: *What are the causes of and constraints to labour market mobility of Polish and Romanian migrants?*

This section focuses upon the three phases whereby these research questions are operationalised and converted into detailed results ready for presentation in subsequent chapters. The first of these phases is the research design process which primarily but not exclusively encompasses the questions surrounding how and why one uses specific methods in the creation of a research framework. The second phase addresses how this framework is applied in the pursuit of data. Questions surrounding both sampling and the interview process are considered here with significant detail presented in the interview guide. This was chosen with validity in mind as the interviews are the most important piece of information which cannot be presented due to concerns for participant identifiability. The third phase is interested in how the data accumulated through the sampling process is catalogued and interpreted in the pursuit of meaningful conclusions. Significant weight is also given to this section as it contains the greatest concentration of subjective decisions and thus requires a substantial amount of rationale to clearly illustrate decision trails. Combined, these phases demonstrate how the researcher conducted the investigation and produced meaningful results.

The purpose of this chapter is to concisely present the key decisions made in pursuit of noteworthy findings in order to enhance validity. In this endeavour, each section contains clearly delineated rationales, and where appropriate reflexivity was exercised. However, as is to be expected a concentration of subjective decisions lies in the Data Analysis section which necessitated extensive quantities of methodological memos. These memos contain the detailed reflections of the author regarding the contents and meaning behind the coding hierarchies. As such, they present unique insight into the derivation of meaning

from data yet are far too substantial to include in the main body. Therefore, where subjective decisions were made about specific aspects of the research process a corresponding methodological memo is included in the Appendix. Nevertheless, all broad decisions are remarked upon in the main body of the sections.

To this end, the chapter is structured as follows: First of all, decisions relating to the research design process are illustrated focusing upon why qualitative methods were used as well as why face-to-face interviews were chosen. Following this, the key decisions behind the sampling and interview process are noted with an extensive commentary provided on the structure and composition of the interview guide. The data analysis section trails this providing substantial detail on the construction of the initial coding repository as well as how the constituent nodes were developed and interpreted to produce meaningful results. Finally, the conclusion forms a commentary upon all sections from a perspective of validity. It highlights the efforts exerted in improving research quality to demonstrate methodological rigour.

5.2. Research Design

In this section I will answer 2 core questions: Why were qualitative methods used to answer the research questions? And why were interviews used as the primary method of data collection? The second question encompasses a significant number of additional considerations and will therefore be the longest. This section also contains a short commentary of the researcher's reflections on reflexivity providing an insight into the pragmatic approach to research design.

5.2.1. Why were qualitative methods used?

Two key reasons stand behind the use of qualitative methods: the first relates to the ontological position of the researcher, and the second concerns the suitability of qualitative methods to this research project.

Regarding the former, ontologically the author subscribes to a cautious realism perspective (Blaikie, 2007, p.15) through which it is possible to only discern an approximate knowledge of reality. However, linked to this the author is aware of and considers the social constructionist framework through which knowledge and meaning are filtered through the lens of individual understandings of reality. Respect and compromise to both of these positions leads to the perspective that an external reality can be best discerned through qualitative research. Nevertheless, such research occurs through the viewpoints of

participants with their own socially constructed meanings thereby cracking the lens through which the researcher views reality.

Regarding the latter, Ritchie and Ormston (2014, pp.37-38) present a series of phenomena characteristics where qualitative research is noted to be particularly useful. These include when a phenomenon is: “ill-defined/not well understood”, surrounded by complex subject matter, requires individuals who “have a singular or highly specialised role in society”, and when the phenomenon is associated with distressing or emotive content. These all correspond to aspects of this investigation: areas of the migrant labour market experience remain poorly defined and partially unknown, significant complexity surrounds subjective decision-making relating to initial occupational choice as well as labour market mobility judgements, Polish and Romanian migrants were found to perform a highly specialised role in the UK labour market with heavy concentrations noted in low-skilled occupations in the literature review, and the nature of Brexit surrounding the period of interviewing may prove emotive or distressing. This compatibility suggests that a qualitative framework is significantly more appropriate than a quantitative one to appropriately answer the research questions.

5.2.2. Why were interviews used as the primary method of data collection?

Whilst the above sub-section describes why a qualitative research framework was chosen, this one will explain why interviews were the selected instrument for answering the research questions. The author will explain why they were utilised over the more quantitative option of surveys. Following this, the reasons for choosing to conduct interviews primarily one-to-one instead of focus groups will be explained. Finally, the rationale behind why semi-structured interviews were chosen over the unstructured and structured variants will be described.

Barbour (2014, p.111) references the interview format of data collection as the “gold standard” in qualitative research. Several other authors (Braun and Clarke, 2013; Harding, 2013; Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011; Robson and McCartan, 2016) are also avid proponents of qualitative interviews remarking upon their utility in terms of flexibility, adaptability and the exploration of understanding in depth. However, Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011, pp.109-110) express several instances where interviews are particularly well suited over other forms of qualitative data gathering (i.e. surveys), all of which were deemed to align with the objectives of the research questions:

- *In determining how people make decisions.*
- *In examining people's beliefs and perceptions.*
- *In identifying motivations for behaviour.*
- *In determining the meanings that people attach to their experiences.*
- *In examining people's feelings and emotions.*
- *In extracting people's personal stories or biographies.*
- *When covering sensitive issues.*
- *In examining the context surrounding people's lives.*

The qualitative interview method has been determined to be the most fitting for the purposes of answering the research questions above. However, an additional decision pertaining to the type of qualitative interview must also be made. The selection relating to types consists of the structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interview. The semi-structured interview was chosen for purposes of flexibility whereby the researcher uses an interview guide containing a list of questions, but sufficient scope is left to facilitate unanticipated lines of questioning. As will be shown in the interview guide in the subsequent section, a semi-structured guide based on the literature and research questions is necessary to create a framework from which coding can occur. An unstructured framework would provide too loose a foundation to generate consistency between interviews, whereas a structured framework would prove too rigid to facilitate discussion surrounding relevant but unanticipated topics beyond the scope of the semi-structured interview guide.

Further to the structure of the qualitative interview the method of data collection must also be selected (face-to-face, telephone, and online interviews). According to Harding (2013, p.33) face-to-face interviews are seen as the most credible due to the ability for both the researcher and the researched to respond to non-verbal communication such as facial cues and changes in demeanour which yield richer results in interviews. Gillham (2005, pp.4-5) notes that the other methods of data collection tend to be used when issues of access and expediency are at stake. Given the timeframe and scope of the PhD, as well as the desire for the highest possible quality of data face-to-face interviews were selected. However, for a more detailed presentation of the drawbacks and benefits of face-to-face interviews see Appendix 1.

5.2.3. Reflexivity

It is important to reflect upon the decisions made throughout the research design process in terms of the assumptions of the researcher. This investigation is conducted by a PhD student who has read widely around the subject but with limited experience in conducting qualitative research. As such the majority of knowledge which was used to construct a research framework has been derived from textbooks and research papers. Whilst useful for forming a grounding of knowledge the majority of decisions taken in this chapter were taken by the researcher (albeit following recommendations present in the literature). The perspective behind such decision-making was one of pragmatism with methods chosen in terms of those which best fit the research questions above. Naturally, such decisions are subjective but extensive rationale has been given with respect to each decision made.

Reflections upon reflexivity will continue to form a part of this methodology with commentary where appropriate.

5.3. Sampling and the Interview

In this section I will discuss the issues, decisions, and work surrounding the interview itself. I will begin by discussing the sampling framework used to gather data before reflecting upon the process of sampling itself, other pre-interview considerations including location, the negotiation of access, audio-recording, and the creation of a research schedule. Following this, I will discuss the semi-structured interview guide and reflect upon the key decisions which were made at its inception as well as the considerations and modifications which ensued from the pilot interview. Finally, I will explain the rationale behind the objectives of transcription, and how they were produced.

5.3.1. Sampling Frame

A purposive sampling frame was used to recruit 30 Polish and 10 Romanian participants. An effort was made to ensure that there was a wide selection of different age categories and gender balance across the sample to guarantee that there was a significant enough number of participants with each demographic characteristic for meaningful conclusions to be derived from the results. The demographic characteristics of the sample are shown in Appendix 2 and 3. The total of 40 migrants was chosen as similar numbers have been used in previous papers studying two groups of migrants (e.g. Samaluk, 2016) and following discussions with supervisors this was considered to be a feasible number of interviews to conduct given the time constraints of the Ph.D. Also of note is that the Polish were sampled

at a 3:1 ratio compared to Romanians, this was intentional with the goal of approximately matching the ratio of Polish and Romanian nationals resident in the North East of England during the period of sampling (19,000: 5,000) (ONS, 2019b).

Sampling took place in the North East of England. This region was selected for study based upon both pragmatic and fundamental considerations. Regarding the latter, as was noted in Chapter 2, the region is one which has experienced little targeted scholastic attention (aside from Fitzgerald, 2007, and Stenning and Dawley, 2009). Therefore, focusing upon the North East was thought to contribute an additional dimension by studying migrant populations outside the heavily investigated London region. Regarding the former, the researcher is a student at Durham University and as such is based within this region. Although extensive, the timeframe of a PhD was deemed to be insufficient to generate sufficient numbers of interviews had the interviewer needed to frequently travel outside the North East. Thus, by focusing sampling within the area results enjoy both increased numerical and contributory appeal.

It is also important to note why Polish and Romanian migrants were chosen. Both Poland and Romania gained unrestricted access to the UK labour market at different dates with Poland in 2004 and Romania in 2014. These two countries also form the largest populations of the EU8 (access in 2004) and EU2 (access in 2014) nations and should therefore facilitate easier sampling than focusing on two of the less populous nationalities in the UK. In addition, two nationality groups were deemed to be sufficient as one aspect of this investigation is the scrutiny of personal and co-national networks, therefore diluting the feasible number of 40 interviews into additional nationalities would weaken the available data to appropriately examine such networks.

The interviews themselves took place between March and August 2017. Similar recruitment methods to Samaluk (2016) were used which included a combination of the purposive sampling described above using social media groups as well as respondent-driven sampling to improve validity. The latter reduced the likelihood of interviewing friends-groups as participants were not only instructed on the demographic characteristics most needed for the investigation but also asked to recruit additional participants outside their friendship network in order to avoid biasing the sample in favour of friends-groups with similar experiences. The former used several nationality-based community Facebook groups (2B North-East, Polacy w Newcastle, Polacy w Consett, Polacy w Darlington, Romani in Newcastle, Romani in Darlington) to advertise the research project. An informative

poster was created for both the Romanian and Polish communities and posted in the groups above (see Appendix 4 and 5). In addition, the recruitment posters were placed in Polish shops and a church popular with Polish residents in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, Consett, and Darlington. This combination of methods was used to reduce bias in the sample by increasing both geographic variety as well as variation of sampling methods.

I will now briefly discuss decisions surrounding the negotiation of access, use of monetary incentives, location of the interview, audio-recording, and the research schedule:

As is to be expected when placing posters in public spaces or interacting with group administrators for access to research populations, interactions with gatekeepers is essential. Access was negotiated by presenting the posters to the gatekeepers and explaining in detail what the research objectives are and the potential for positive change which could come from such an investigation. However, I was careful not to overstate the potential implications of the research project for fear of misleading both gatekeepers and participants themselves.

As was mentioned in the previous section monetary incentives were offered to all participants with approximately half accepting and half refusing. The half which refused stated that their primary intention was to assist in the research project out of a desire to increase awareness about the issues facing Polish and Romanians in the UK labour market. However, the half which accepted tended to be employed in lower remunerated professions such as food processing and low-skilled manufacturing suggesting that the use of monetary incentives did increase participation rates.

Participants were predominantly interviewed in neutral locations such as local coffee shops, public workspaces in libraries, or cafeteria. However, for the convenience of participants a minority of interviews took place in Durham University Business School and in participants' places of work. These decisions were based on a desire to conduct interviews in neutral public places as it was anticipated that participants would feel more comfortable in such spaces and therefore be more disclosive as well as having the safety of the researcher in mind too. Where possible areas were selected where outside noise levels would be kept to a minimum, internal distractions would be minor, and space would be sufficient for consent forms, information sheets, and recording equipment.

Based on advice given in Braun and Clarke (2013) it was decided that audio-recording interviews would yield the most detailed and accurate participant accounts. A trade-off exists between a decreased level of ease and comfort which participants may feel as a

result of having their voices recorded by an audio-listening device, and a more accurate interview transcript which would result from such methods rather than note-taking. Braun and Clarke (2013, p.93) note that a reliance on written notes abandons the majority of detail and richness of the interview. In order to put participants at ease with the device I explained the participant consent form (see Appendix 6) to them as well as the informational poster and emphasised the points surrounding confidentiality and anonymity. In all but one case this was sufficient to put participants at ease and allow the interview to commence.

Prior to each interview a short research schedule was created presenting the objectives I hoped to cover. This schedule was particularly useful at identifying areas which may have been missed from previous interviews due to the time-constraints of the participant or the lack of application of certain questions to a participant's situation. Such schedules therefore assisted in the dynamic process of consistently re-orienting the focus of each interview whilst also maintaining consistency with the interview guide presented in the following sub-section. Such research schedules also assisted in the handling of sensitive questions where participants may have (for example) a strong negative emotional response to their initial employment experiences.

5.3.2. The Interview Guide

This sub-section primarily addresses the interview guide showcased in Appendix 7. It will include description on the design of the interview guide, as well as the rationale surrounding questions, and also clarify how the guide evolved over time after the pilot interview as well as throughout the interview period. This sub-section will also address the method of transcription undertaken post-interview and the rationale behind that decision.

Despite the selection of semi-structured interviews in research design, it was still necessary to create an interview guide to act as a "memory aid" (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011, p.112). The design of this guide generally followed the advice provided by King and Horrocks (2010) who present advice on the different potential kinds of questions which can be asked ranging from demographic questions seeking background information about participants through the following (Harding, 2013, p.37):

- *Experience/behaviour questions that focus on actions that could have been observed by the researcher had they been present.*

- *Opinion/value questions that seek to establish what the respondent thinks about the topic and how their thoughts relate to their values.*
- *Feelings questions that focus on participants' emotional experiences. They should be worded carefully to avoid confusion with opinions/values questions, so questions are better to begin with 'What feelings are provoked by...' rather than 'How did you feel about...'*
- *Knowledge questions that are concerned with what a participant considers to be a 'fact' rather than anything that is necessarily true objectively.*

As is seen in Appendix 7, the guide begins with a sequence of questions related to the backgrounds of participants. Information was gathered on the name, age, country of origin, languages spoken, current occupation, duration, and previous occupations of each participant. The objective here was to begin with a series of introductory questions designed to put the participant at ease. This was thought to be achieved by initiating questioning with queries that did not require substantial thought or reflection. Such demographic questions also enabled the researcher to reveal information surrounding his own Polish heritage, which helped to develop rapport with not only Polish participants but also Romanians too as it helped them to see my motivation for undertaking the research and hence generate trust.

The set of background questions were not significantly modified after the pilot interview or over the course of the interview period, but it is important that I now discuss the importance of the pilot interview with Polish Participant 1 as in each set of questions it facilitated slight and in some cases moderate modifications to the interview guide. Such modifications were implemented based on the criteria presented in Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011, p.120) who list the purpose of pilot interviews as a verification of the following questions:

- *Did the interviewees understand the questions immediately?*
- *Were concepts, sentences and words adapted to the context of the interviewee?*
- *Do some questions need to be rephrased?*
- *Was the order of the questions logical for the interviewee?*
- *Can the research question be answered with the information that is gathered?*

- *Was the interview guide too long/too short?*

Within the section on background questions the addition of alternative ways of phrasing questions for the purpose of clarification, as well as the rephrasing of the question regarding language to better fit the vocabulary of participants are the result of the application of the above criteria based on the researcher's experiences in the pilot interview.

Following this, the interview guide moves into the primary lines of questioning concerning participants' employment experiences, questions surrounding participant interaction with their personal and co-national networks as well as more detailed questions surrounding their labour market journey. The first subset of questions in this section (marked by the series of questions without a space to demark the end of questioning on a topic area) carry on in the tradition of those in the background questions with relatively simple answers expected and little thought required from the minds of participants. However, experience/behaviour questions are introduced to deduce the reasoning behind migration intentions in terms of moving to the UK as well as the specific region chosen. Interspersed amongst these questions are topical probes relating to the potential influence of personal networks as although this subset is focused on initial labour market experiences the literature (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; White and Ryan, 2008) suggests that participants are likely to receive assistance from such close ties.

Upon reflection after the pilot interview, several questions were rephrased to make the participant more comfortable given how early they appear in the interview guide, and a question was added concerning the motivation behind moving to the North East. In the early interviews this was found to link the introductory questions to those relating to networks and was thus used as a conversational bridge. In the same vein, after the pilot interview it was determined that following this subset of questions it could (although did not necessarily have to) be a place where conversation could progress on to the topic of networks should the participant steer the conversation in that direction.

Questions were then centred around a more detailed understanding of participants' labour market mobility. However, unlike the questions in the introductory sections these queries were more opinion/value oriented: asking participants to compare their labour market experiences throughout their time in the UK. Furthermore, questions also investigated the concentration of co-nationals in each sector- as participants moved through the labour market, they gave a general impression of where the majority of Polish and Romanian

migrants were located. After the first few interviews, as the researcher grew more comfortable and gained an impression of what answers to expect, the questions in this subset took a more freeform approach (as explained in Appendix 7).

The following subset of questions continues along the theme of co-nationals (friends, family, acquaintance) but also seeks to investigate the connection in the literature surrounding personal networks and employment agencies. It investigates the instances where participants have used such agencies as well as the popularity of this route into employment in the industry in which they initially worked. Also contained within this subset are questions focused on the mindset of the participant in relation to social connections to the country of origin- these relate to the 'temporariness' argument addressed in Piore (1979). After the pilot interview the conditional question related to employment agency use was changed into an unconditional one due to employment agency usage as central to the detailed answering of Research Question 1.

Questioning continued to probe details in employment agency recruitment dynamics and the relationship between the participant and the local co-national community in the next subset. This section is differentiated by its interest in understanding the dynamics of reciprocity noted to be a feature of networks in the literature. It also goes beyond this to ask feelings questions surrounding trust and responsibility towards co-nationals in an effort to qualitatively gauge the relationship between the participant and the local co-national community. Such questions are designed to interpret gradations of trust in order to facilitate analysis on levels of assistance provided and received relative to trust. Following the pilot interview, much like in the previous section questions broadened and became more fluid and the wording of more complicated questions was clarified to assist comprehension for a non-native-speaker audience.

The subsequent subset focuses primarily on labour market progression and the accumulation and recognition of cultural capital, as well as discerning motivations behind labour market movement from initial employment. In particular, investigating migrants' transitioning senses of self is used to discern whether as time goes on, the participants' position in the UK labour market and society matters more and hence stimulates progression. Furthermore, the embodiment of language noted to be significant in the literature review for migrant labour market mobility was investigated. The accumulation of qualifications tended to be revealed by the following question concerning factors which hindered progression. As a follow up question to the query on the significance of language,

a topical probe was added to gauge the relative importance of qualifications on labour market progression. Aside from this, the subset remained relatively unchanged after the first few interviews.

The core questions relating to the research questions were complete at this point with the remainder of the primary questions aimed at rounding out participants' labour market experiences and also gauging their levels of ambition relating to future labour market movements. A subset relating to worker's rights and working conditions, present-day friends group composition, and future employment aspirations concluded the questioning. However, the questions surrounding trade unions were the first to be cut should a participant only have limited time to conduct the interview as participants noted their lack of contact with unions. In contrast, the questions surrounding friends-networks were very useful as a factor related to labour market movement as connections to the native population were found to play an interesting role in capital accumulation (a factor neglected by previous literature).

The final subset of questions surrounded the controversial topic of Brexit. In the early interviews participants expressed a strong desire to discuss their experiences surrounding the uncertainty introduced into their future labour market and social decisions. Therefore, as shown in Appendix 7, this subset was expanded to include more encompassing experiential questions surrounding the working lives of participants in a post-Brexit world. Naturally, as this topic remains highly emotionally charged it was strategically placed at the end of the interview in order to mitigate the impact of passion, distress, or anger upon the other more central questions. Initially, the questions focused on the general impact of Brexit and probed for a potential impact upon future labour market decisions. However, a number of experience and value questions were inductively added based on what participants expressed a strong interest in discussing. From the researcher's perspective the added questions sought to evaluate the effects of Brexit upon: employer perception of Polish and Romanian migrants; internal regional migration based on regional results of the referendum; and assessing (albeit in a very limited manner) anecdotal evidence of Brexit impacting future migration decisions of friends and family.

As with the introduction questions, closing questions were also integrated into the interview guide. Following the advice of Braun and Clarke (2013) participants were given the opportunity to reflect upon the interview and disclose any information they wished to impart which had not surfaced naturally throughout conversation. An additional reflective

question was also added where participants were given the opportunity to reflect upon their view of the roles co-nationals tend to fill in the UK labour market. Such questions typically revealed interesting and relevant data to be used in subsequent analysis.

This interview guide was created with two purposes in mind: the gradual progression from least thought-provoking and taxing to most, and maintaining logical consistency through the line of questioning. This led to the division of the interview guide into short subsets of questions which are all relatively modular and can be inserted into appropriate areas of conversation should the participant allude to the phenomenon addressed by the subset. Questions covered a wide variety of topics, but all were at least partially related to the arguments derived from the theory and literature. The intention of this interview guide was to create a pathway for the interviewer to follow to ensure consistency of response between participants and to assist in the systematic but flexible posing of noteworthy and relevant questions (Arthur *et al.*, 2014, p.174). In hindsight, this endeavour has been successfully achieved.

Throughout the sampling process, but for the most part once it had been completed the transcription of audio-recordings commenced. The goal during this phase was to create transcripts which included a vast amount of relevant detail, therefore an orthographic approach to transcription was chosen. This decision was made as transcription is twice removed from the interview itself as it is a written representation of an audio recording. Each step distances the information from the only truly accurate transpiring of events- the interview itself. Therefore, orthographic transcription was chosen to mitigate this distance. Naturally, the transcript is a collaborative effort between the researcher and the researched with the former making subjective decisions as to which words are noted in written format. Such subjective decisions will be described below.

Whilst an example transcript cannot be included for confidentiality and anonymity reasons, the criteria from which each transcript was written can: all verbal utterances from both the interviewer and interviewee were kept- these encompassed sounds of hesitation, affirmation, negation and thought. These were included to present a written account of non-traditional verbal queues through which it was possible to deduce affirmative and negative responses as well as the significant emotion of reticence. These allowed the researcher to qualify statements based on emotional intensity. For similar reasons, incorrect grammar and syntax were not corrected as they too fulfilled the valuable function of providing the researcher with additional information including an insight into English

language ability at the time of the interview. In addition, paralinguistic indicators were noted on transcripts including pauses. However, laughter and crying were not recorded as they were not thought to provide direct or indirect added value to the transcript for the purposes of investigating labour market experiences. In all such cases, the emotional intensity participants felt was clear from words used (e.g. swear words) or non-semantic sounds. Finally, transcripts were anonymised with names replaced with numbers both in transcripts and as transcription indicators to comply with ethical guarantees made to participants on the research consent form.

5.4. Data Analysis

The approach to knowledge-creation in this thesis was undertaken with reflexivity at the heart of each decision. As such, the researcher acknowledged that the addition of a data familiarisation stage (of preliminary analysis) would be helpful for his understanding of qualitative data analysis: This stage facilitated experience with the core tenets of comparative thematic analysis (the examination of commonality, difference, and relationships), and provided scope for technique to be honed (see Appendix 8 and 9 for more detail). Such experience assisted with the subsequent stages of answering Research Questions 1 and 2 with CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) and manual methods. This section will be structured as follows: It will begin by describing the process of coding, before reflecting upon the methods used and their utility. Following this, insight will be given into how the data was distilled from its status in the coding repository into a form more suitable for the chronologically targeted thematic analysis utilised to answer Research Questions 1 and 2. Finally, the process used for thematic analysis will be outlined in broad terms with more specific rationales presented in the Appendices.

5.4.1. Coding

The basis of both research questions lies in the coding structure present in Appendix 10. A combination of inductive and deductive coding in NVivo led to the formation of the structure, with the overarching categories primarily based on the research interests of this thesis highlighted in the literature review. In this sub-section I will describe the process through which both apriori and data-derived codes were created, as well as the rationale for their inclusion in analysis.

Both inductive and deductive coding followed the process suggested by Harding (2013).

Inductive coding used the following 3-stage process:

1. *Identify the initial categories based on reading the transcripts.*
2. *Write codes alongside the transcripts.*
3. *Review the list of codes, constantly revising the list of categories and deciding which codes should appear in which category.* (Harding, 2013, p.83, 84, 92)

One measure proposed in Stage 1 to increase the validity of the coding process is reading and re-reading the initial transcripts in order to further familiarise the researcher with the potential codes contained within. Whilst this process is primarily inductive the wider coding categories were deductively deduced based upon the research interests of the literature review (and hence this stage was largely complete due to the implementation of the preliminary analysis).

Stage 2 consists of the most complex phase of the coding process. The criteria used to determine what constitutes a code was based on Harding's (2013) rationale of summarising, selecting, and interpreting. Summarising implies that a code must reduce longer sentences and paragraphs into a manageable format which will facilitate later analysis (data reduction). Selecting implies a hierarchisation of information whereby only the most relevant and noteworthy codes should be used and survive the selection process. However, omitting potentially valuable codes prematurely will weaken analysis. Therefore, when coding the transcripts of this investigation caution was exercised, and methodological memos were used to explain the rationale behind every decision including when codes were omitted at a later date (see Appendix 11 for an example). The final consideration of this stage of coding was interpretation. Not all participants perfectly expressed the phenomena described by the codes in Appendix 10, many required interpretations within their own context to fully comprehend the meaning behind their expressions. As such, elements of empathy and consideration were required to code a number of passages (rationale recorded in methodological memos).

Stage 3 was the first stage to produce useful information as it consists of grouping data into sets of similar themes. This stage involves the adjustment of nodes into categories where similar phenomena are discussed: the decision of which codes to keep and which to discard, and which nodes to raise to the categorical level or which categories to demote to

nodes. To facilitate this process the advice of Harding (2013, p.93) was used to reorganise the data:

- *Identifying codes which should belong in the initial categories but were not placed there when the coding first took place.*
- *Creating sub-categories within the initial categories.*
- *Identifying new categories which can bring together a number of codes.*
- *Identifying codes that apply to sufficient numbers of respondents to be part of the findings even though they stand outside any category.*
- *Identifying codes that stand outside any category and should be discarded because they do not apply to sufficient numbers of respondents.*

The objective of this process was to create a baseline list of hierarchised codes and categories from which it would be possible to conduct thematic analysis necessary to answer the research questions. Therefore, the codes remaining after the selection and re-selection process described above must be the most relevant to answering the research questions and therefore spoken of by a sufficient number of participants to ensure such claims of relevance are valid. Naturally, a number of codes did not fit into any of the theoretical categories and as such a miscellaneous category was created to accommodate these codes. The criteria used to determine whether such codes were present in sufficient numbers was subjectively set to 25% of the sample having experienced the phenomena described in such codes. This was thought to be a sufficient number of separate experiences to create a discernible pattern based on the advice present in Miles and Huberman (1994, p.253): "...a lot of counting goes on in the background when judgements of qualities are made. When we identify a theme or pattern, we're isolating something that (a) happens a number of times and (b) consistently happens in a specific way. The "number of times" and "consistency" judgements are based on counting". Likewise, codes with a number of respondents that fell below this threshold were discarded. The threshold of 25% may seem arbitrary but Harding (2013, p.99) also used this percentage in their analysis on university teaching experiences.

Whilst many of the codes were inductively selected from the data (albeit with the theoretical categories in mind), the majority of codes were deductively introduced based on knowledge gained from the literature and theory. These apriori codes (e.g. the various accommodation, informational, and employment assistance nodes) reflect areas of interest

prior to the initiation of the coding process. They are therefore considered important by prior theory and literature, and the codes are a development along the same theme described in previous works. Harding (2013, pp.130-131) presents three outcomes which can result from the use of apriori codes all of which were witnessed throughout the iterative process:

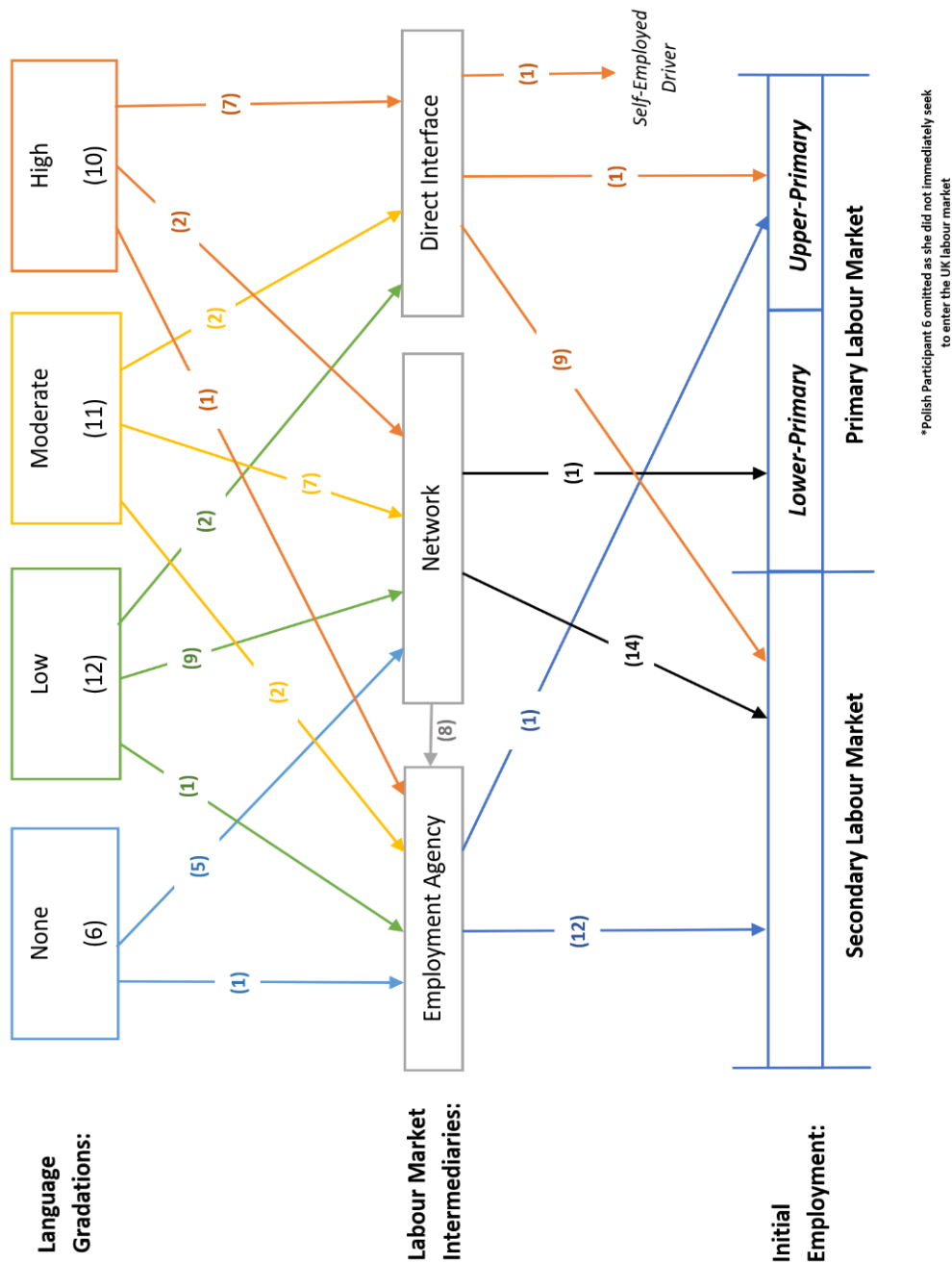
1. The first outcome is that the code could be applied with its original intent. This was the most common outcome with the majority of deductive codes applying directly and cleanly to the sample (in part due to the level of consideration placed in the interview guide).
2. The second outcome is the division of an apriori code in order to accurately represent differences between participants. For example, whilst the research was interested in examining the initial assistance received by participants, it was necessary to differentiate the categories into employment, informational, as well as accommodation.
3. The third outcome is the negation of application of an apriori code. This was largely avoided as where codes did not fit perfectly, the addition of further sub-categories tended to remedy the situation. For example, when examining migration intention, the addition of a third 'Uncertain' category contained the few instances where participant accounts did not comply with the apriori typology.

The result of the work above is the coding repository in Appendix 10. This list (following a lesser or greater degree of re-categorisation explained below) was then analysed using thematic analysis to answer Research Questions 1 and 2. The methods used to analyse the data are described below.

5.4.2. Research Question 1: What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?

At the heart of Research Question 1 is a desire to investigate how participants of differentiated language abilities navigate complex labour market intermediary relationships in order to enter the UK labour market in an occupation which aligns with participants' migration goals. Therefore, it was first imperative to clearly define how differentiated language abilities were operationalised (see Appendix 12 and 13) as well as visually illustrate participant routes into initial employment:

Figure 5. 1: Participant Routes into Initial Employment



Source: Created by Author

The Figure above (which used the labour market flowchart discussed below and presented in Appendix 29 to determine the occupational correspondence to Piorian labour market segments) raised several key questions pertaining to the migrant initial labour market experience: 1. Why did the majority of participants in the ‘High’ group interface with the labour market directly whereas the majority of participants in lower gradations did not? 2. Why did some networks channel migrants into agency employment whereas others facilitated direct employment? 3. Why are the majority of migrants located in the

secondary labour market? To facilitate comparison typologies were created for each of the factors determined to be significant in the literature review (e.g. language ability, employment assistance provision from friends and family, migration intention, and country of origin skills and qualifications). Due to the large sample size the typologies (as well as other categories thought to be relevant including gender, initial employment, and date of arrival) were exported from NVivo and transformed into the table shown in Appendix 14. This table proved to be an instrumental analytical tool which highlighted patterns and relationships between participants of the varying typologies- for instance, participants who used employment agencies were highly overrepresented in manual factory work.

Following the discernment of broad patterns and trends some portions of the coding repository were modified into a format better suited to the examination of commonality and difference. For example, in investigating why participants of 'High' language ability tended not to use labour market intermediaries whereas those of lower gradations did, participant experiences surrounding the significance of language in this period were reorganised into the descriptive nodes in Appendix 15 and 17. In other instances, such as in the examination of the significance of country of origin skills and qualifications nodes were taken directly from the coding repository and applied in thematic analysis. However, in all cases to a lesser or greater extent additional codes were created during this process of iteration or re-iteration. This was due to the constant division and re-composition of nodes as part of the process of thematic analysis. In all cases, extensive methodological memos denoting rationale were created, as well as resultant coding hierarchies (see Appendices 15-24).

Naturally, given the theoretical focus of this thesis it is difficult to escape a deductive perspective during thematic analysis (due to theoretical argumentation and the research framework firmly held in mind during this process), and this is reflected in the research focus and thematic codes presented in Appendix 15, 17 (top), and 20 which draw heavily from either the theory or the literature review. However, in examining the commonality of difference in the Proactivity Deficiency hierarchy of Appendix 17, and The Aspirational Self hierarchy of Appendix 22 equally valuable and insightful interpretations were offered beyond the scope of existing literature or theory. In all such cases, the combination of both deductively and inductively derived descriptive codes were instrumental in the process of iterative interpretation and derivation illustrated in Stages 2 and 3 of Figure 5.2 below in generating both theoretical and abstract themes.

5.4.3. Research Question 2: What constitutes and facilitates labour market mobility for Polish and Romanian migrants in the North East of England?

Given that Research Question 2 is largely based upon the objective characterisation of occupational mobility, a reorganisation of the codes in Appendix 10 was necessary. However, first and foremost the labour market trajectories of each and every participant were noted and diagrammatically formulated into Appendix 26 (derived from the Participant Employment History node in Appendix 10). This provided a snapshot image of the entire employment history of the sample, and facilitated the chronological display of relevant labour market details (many of which appear within the codes of Appendix 10) in a useful, sequential format which could be divided into mobility trajectories for individual participants (as shown in Appendix 27). The end result of this process is shown in Appendix 28 whereby the employment trajectories of the entire sample were coded with time-stamped markers where possible. They indicated the key influences of language, education, and networks (as well as other pertinent factors) as well as when they occurred in the labour market mobility experience.

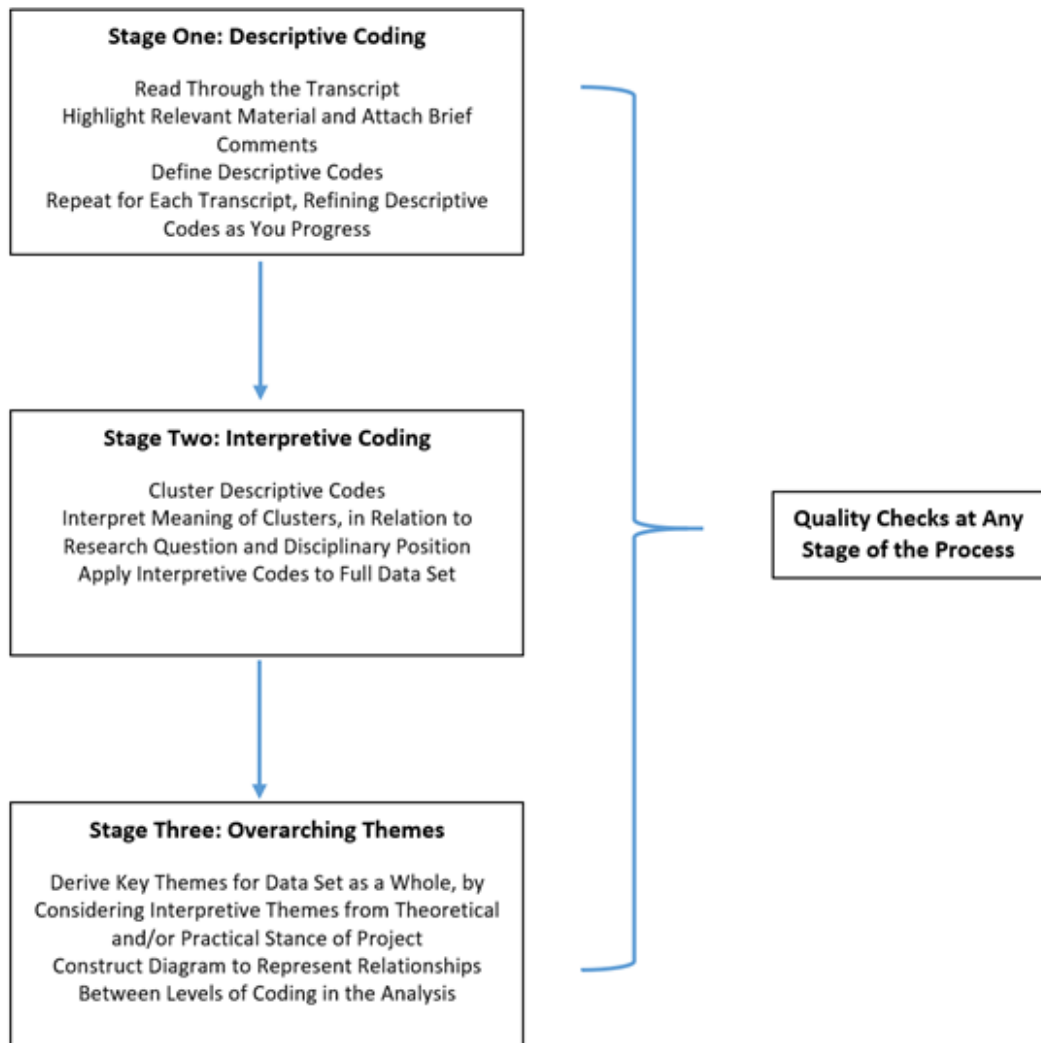
The next step was to re-categorise the mobility experience into a Piorian (1975) framework based upon the concept of ‘mobility chains’ and supplemented by participant description as illustrated in the previous chapter. As is to be expected, having obtained sufficient data to create an employment timeline this facilitated the realisation of mobility chain typologies whereby participants either clearly described the pseudo-random occupational mobility emblematic of the secondary labour market or the regimented and distinct mobility chains of the lower-primary, and educationally-supported mobility chains of the upper-primary. Appendix 29 illustrates a decision-making flowchart demonstrating the manner in which data was used depending upon its quality, and Appendix 30, 31, and 32 detail the decisions made in its conception.

Following the categorisation of the mobility experience into distinct labour market segments this facilitated the re-coding of data into categories consistent with the dual labour market structure. This resulted in a lean grouping of domain summaries (illustrated by the titles in Appendix 33, 36, 42, 44, and 47) containing chronologically organised experiences, perspectives, and accounts pertaining to that particular phase of the labour market mobility experience. However, not all codes could be clearly itemised as pertaining to a specific phase of the labour market experience, and as such domain summaries for self-employment (Appendix 39) as well as for networks (Appendix 50) were kept separate.

In addition, during this process of categorisation it was deemed appropriate to divide the secondary labour market experience into lower- and upper- segments. Ultimately, this decision was based upon dramatically different experiences with language between the two (potential) segments and reflects different assessments of employment characteristics despite both being based in secondary labour market mobility chains. The rationale behind this decision will be reflected upon in depth in Chapter 7.

Research Question 2 approached thematic analysis in a similarly iterative, 'bottom up' manner to ensure that data is not unconsciously selected to fit preconceived conceptual or lower level themes. Whilst the majority of domain summaries were deductively created (repositories of information coded from transcripts corresponding to the correct labour market period or corresponding to the correct language gradation), the inductive approach to coding illustrates a methodological pragmatism whereby the researcher did not feel constrained to use a specific method when operating within the (mostly) deductively defined domain summaries. As such, the system of thematic analysis highlighted in King and Horrocks (2010, p.153) was broadly followed throughout this process:

Figure 5. 2: Broad Process Utilised in Coding Procedure



Source: King and Horrocks, 2010, p.153

Throughout stage one descriptive codes were manually written upon printouts of domain summaries. Manual methods were elected out of a desire for efficiency and familiarity which are detailed further in the subsequent sub-section. The codes were written alongside margins and described the perceptions, experiences, and perspectives of participants as relates to the research interests of the domain summaries. All such descriptive codes were held to a broad 25% minimum threshold of occurrence (based upon rationale used in Harding, 2013, p.98) in order to filter out information which, whilst potentially interesting, may not describe the tendencies and common experiences of the phenomena in question. Where this soft rule was breached methodological memos were detailed to explain why. Following this, descriptive codes were reinterpreted at a higher level of abstraction. Interpretive codes sought to attach common meaning to the clusters of descriptive codes

by considering how commonality may be generated in the context of the research questions. However, direct theoretical interpretation was not used at this stage for fear of narrowing analysis too stringently prior to the conceptual thematic phase of analysis. As illustrated in the figure above, the final stage of analysis yielded conceptual themes. At this point interpretative codes were considered in the context of relevant theories, such as the 'Vicious' and 'Virtuous Cycles of Language Accumulation' drawing upon aspects of Cultural Capital theory. However, this was not the case for all such themes. For example, 'Self-Employment as Freedom' was a largely inductive interpretation with patterned meaning derived predominantly and directly from participant accounts.

Given the complexity and depth of thematic analysis reflexivity was consistently exercised with both research questions. Expansive and extensive methodological memos have been recorded and illustrate the key subjective decisions made at every stage of deduction and analysis (Appendices 8-51). From the criteria used to determine the initial language gradations, to the content domains of descriptive codes, and at every level of interpretation subjective decisions and researcher reflections have been recorded. Naturally, qualitative research entails high levels of re-interpretation and re-analysis. This was an iterative process with domain summaries and nodes of every level named and re-named with relative frequency. The most substantial changes are noted in the methodological memos concerning both research questions with full accounts of the researcher's process and rationale in this regard.

5.5. Evaluation of CAQDAS

When deciding on whether to use CAQDAS, in what way to use it, and whether it should be used for every aspect of the analysis or only partially its advantages and disadvantages were weighed against each other. Harding (2013) recommended against using such technology for the newer qualitative researcher as the learning process of using the software conflicts with the primary research objective of analysing the data. Furthermore, Bazeley (2013, p.135) argues that the primary positive aspect of using CAQDAS is its efficiency. However, when time must be spent to learn the software this negates its positive contribution. NVivo itself is built with hierarchical data analysis in mind which limits other analytical approaches (such as the timeline approach used for Research Question 2). However, despite such drawbacks CAQDAS served the essential function of acting as a data repository facilitating and enhancing subsequent thematic analysis. The ability of NVivo's 'search and retrieve' function also proved essential in the location and

comparison of context which is a key pillar of qualitative research. Therefore, although NVivo was limited to a primarily hierarchical analysis, its coding functions provided a sound foundation through which manual methods could be attached, and feed back into the analytical process.

5.6. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was one of validity and reflexivity. It aimed to illustrate the rationale, methods, and perspectives used to feed into the generation of results. To fulfil the aim of enhancing validity this chapter presented the rationale behind the research design, the sampling and interview guide, and data analysis. A detailed description of the thought-processes, research methods, and their implementation has been given. However, I will briefly comment on the significance of the previous sections in improving the validity of results in subsequent chapters.

The first section presented the rationale behind each research design decision made in the conduction of this investigation. It explained the rationale behind qualitative methods as well as why interviews were used as the chosen sampling tool. Within interviews, discussion centred around the use of semi-structured interviews as well as their administration in a face-to-face manner. Overall, the illustration of all such considerations aimed to enhance validity by providing a clear decision trail of all actions taken during this phase of the research.

The second section presented the rationale behind the sampling frame and interview guide. Within the sampling frame the reasoning behind the following decisions was presented: why Polish and Romanian migrants were studied and in what ratio, the region in which interviews took place, the sampling methods used, as well as decisions made behind location choice, audio-recording, monetary incentives and negotiation of access. The interview guide was presented in the Appendices and decisions made concerning each subset of questions was presented with the dual goals of easing participants into questions and maintaining consistency with logical progression in lines of inquiry. The detail presented was once again aimed at providing a logical decision trail through which to increase validity and hence improve the reliability of results.

The third section presented the approach to data analysis taken in this investigation. Decisions behind the analytical tools used for Research Questions 1 and 2 were extensively noted. Rationale and decision trails are especially important in this section due to the

necessity to provide clear and concise descriptions of the research process used to provide the results central to the thesis. In order to facilitate this, the Appendices contain methodological memos, diagrams, and the coding repository upon which descriptive nodes are based as well as clear descriptions of the incremental processes used to perform analysis.

Together these sections present a detailed synopsis of the methodological decisions made in the pursuit of novel and interesting findings to contribute to the research questions. From the selection of qualitative methods to the rigorous use of thematic analysis, this chapter has illustrated extensive methodological rigour at each stage of the research process. In addition, interspersed throughout this chapter are researcher reflections upon his own characteristics which may have influenced elements of decision-making. Concerns for both validity and reflexivity were born out of a desire to produce robust and incisive results which form the basis of the subsequent two chapters.

Chapter 6: Results (Part 1)

6.1. Introduction

This results chapter is dedicated to reporting description, analysis, and comparison pertaining to the following research question:

What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?

At the heart of this question is a desire to better understand how these migrants utilise and apply their finite cultural and social resources in achieving their desired employment outcomes. Evidence provided by Johns (2013), Parutis (2014), and Samaluk (2016) suggests that language acts as a direct constraint upon occupational choice whilst Ryan *et al.* (2008) and White and Ryan (2008) imply that language ability also influences migrant dependence upon labour market intermediaries. This question operationalises and expands upon the predictions made by the authors above in seeking further differentiation as to how language determines occupational constraints as well as usage of labour market intermediaries. Furthermore, it seeks to expand upon the combined works of Findlay and McCollum (2013), Ryan *et al.* (2008), and Ryan *et al.* (2009) in better understanding the differences within and between personal and co-national networks in terms of facilitating varying labour market outcomes.

To accommodate this ambition a novel theoretical framework was created combining Piore's (1975) Dual Labour Market theory, Bourdieu's (1986) Cultural Capital theory, and Granovetter's (1973) Strength of Weak Ties theory. Piore's (1975) visualisation of the labour market in terms of mobility chains as well as his clear descriptions of occupational characteristics in the primary (stable) and secondary (unstable) segments has been instrumental in categorising the initial occupations of the sample. Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of cultural and social capital as well as the Bourdieusian framework of exchange have been critical in realising migrants as labour market actors with unique embodiments and endowments of cultural-social resources. Granovetter's (1973) Strength of Weak Ties theory and its associated critique of Krackhardt's (1992) 'The Strength of Strong Ties: The Importance of Philos in Organisations' fulfilled the key roles of both understanding the relationship between individuals in a system of exchange and outlining how and why those relationships translated into material forms of assistance in some cases and not in others. Overall, each theory fulfils a clear and well-defined purpose which when combined

presents a keen and detailed insight into the complex and nuanced decision-making procedures migrants undertake when entering the UK labour market.

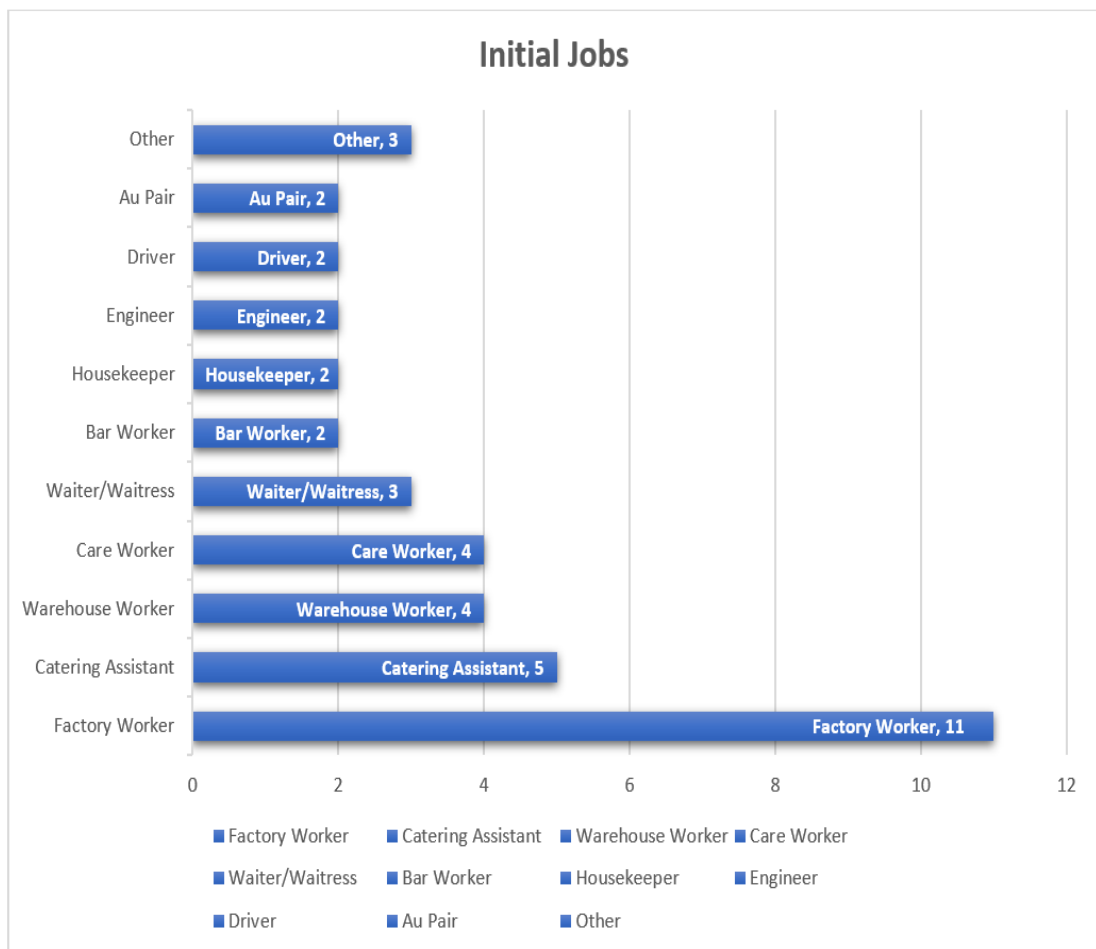
The culmination of this effort will be structured as follows: Section 1 will focus upon key demographic and occupational features of the sample as well as detail participants' experiences in initial employment. Section 2 will examine the influences of language, country of origin qualifications, and migration intention upon initial employment outcomes. Whilst this section contains the most prolific ways in which the initial experience was defined by language, it also features relatively prominently in Section 3 which investigates the significance of labour market intermediaries (employment agencies, personal and co-national networks) in determining the initial labour market experience. Finally, the conclusion presents a holistic view of the preceding sections and emphasises key findings.

6.2. Initial Employment Results

This section is focused in particular on illustrating the key demographic and labour market characteristics of the sample (with an extensive tabular roster present in Appendix 14). To this end, its occupational makeup will first be illustrated by job category before its illustration at the sectoral level. Beyond this the sample will be contrasted by several demographic factors before participant accounts of satisfaction and dissatisfaction are recounted. Participant recollections surrounding dissatisfaction will be contrasted with Piorian (1975) labour market segment characteristics yielding interesting results.

As can be seen in Figure 6.1 below the most common initial occupation by a significant margin was that of 'Factory Worker' with a total of 11 participants. Following this, 'Catering Assistant', 'Warehouse Worker', and 'Care Worker' were also relatively well represented with 5, 4, and 4 participants respectively. The less prevalent occupations include 'Waitress', 'Bar Worker', 'Housekeeper', 'Engineer', 'Driver', and 'Au Pair' with 'Waitress' representing 3 participants and the remainder representing 2. 'Other' consists of 1 'Administrative Assistant', 1 'Barista', and 1 'Housewife'. The majority of occupations below are best characterised as low-skilled (requiring no prior education or training in order to perform the job correctly) aside from the two 'Engineer' participants who successfully leveraged country of origin embodied (experience) and institutional (degree) cultural capital to obtain their first job in the UK.

Figure 6. 1: Initial Jobs of Polish and Romanian Migrants in the UK

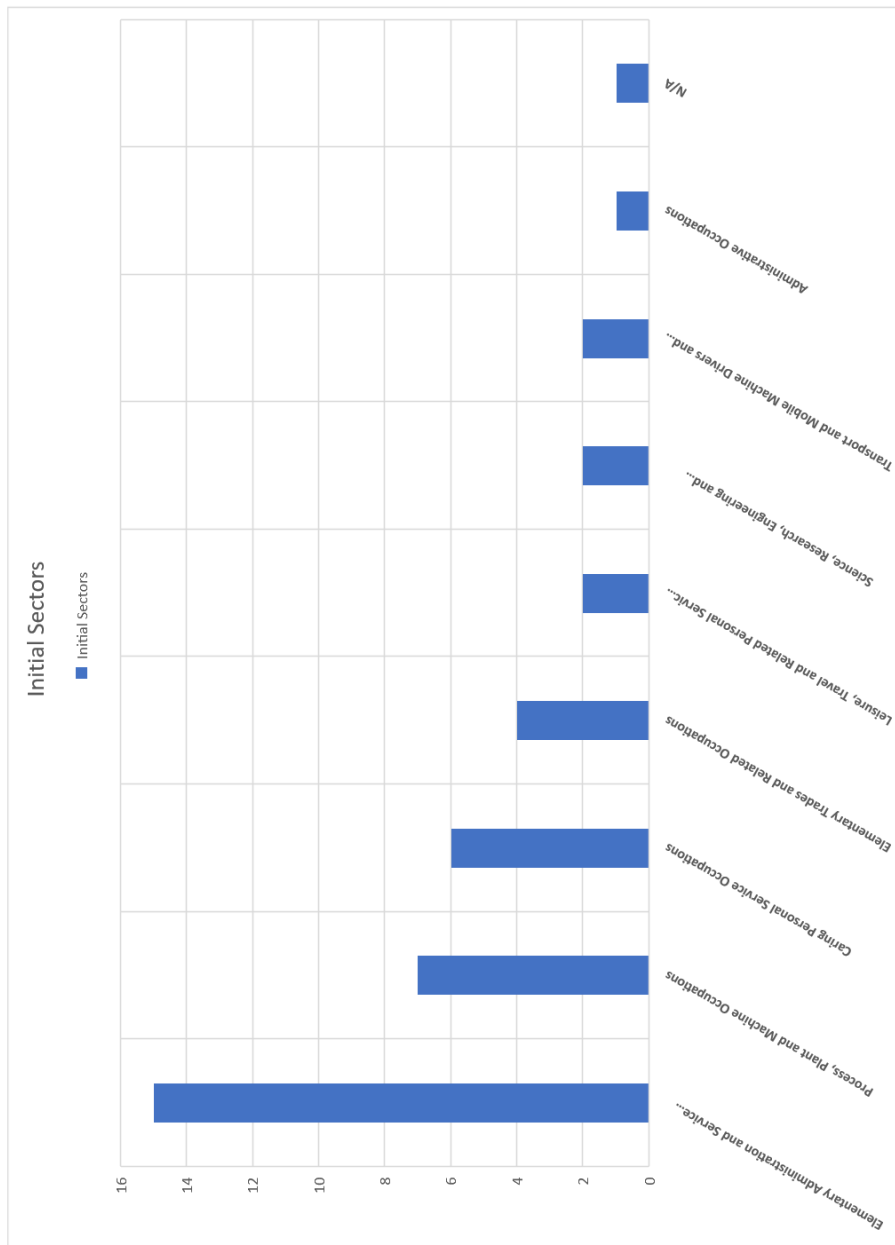


Source: Created by Author

From a descriptive perspective ‘Factory Worker’ appeared to be the most common occupation. However, when expanding the level of analysis to the Standard Occupational Classification 2010 Sub-Major Group level (ONS, 2010) one can see the distribution from a more sectoral perspective. In Figure 6.2 below factory workers are spread between ‘Process, Plant and Machine Occupations’ (7), and ‘Elementary Trades and Related Occupations’ (4). This led to ‘Elementary Administration and Service Occupations’ becoming the most substantial sectoral grouping of 15 consisting of ‘Catering Assistants’, ‘Bar Workers’, ‘Warehouse Workers’, ‘Waiters/Waitresses’, and the ‘Barista’. Beyond this, ‘Caring and Personal Service Occupations’ account for 6 participants and the remainder account for 2 each aside from one participant who worked in a non-elementary ‘Administration Occupation’. Furthermore, one participant was not applicable due to the lack of category for ‘Housewife’ in ONS (2010). The figure below presents a clear picture that the majority of the sample are employed in low-skilled, elementary jobs

predominantly in hospitality-related services or in industry, but also with a sizable minority in the care sector in particular.

Figure 6. 2: Initial Sectors of Polish and Romanian Migrants in the UK

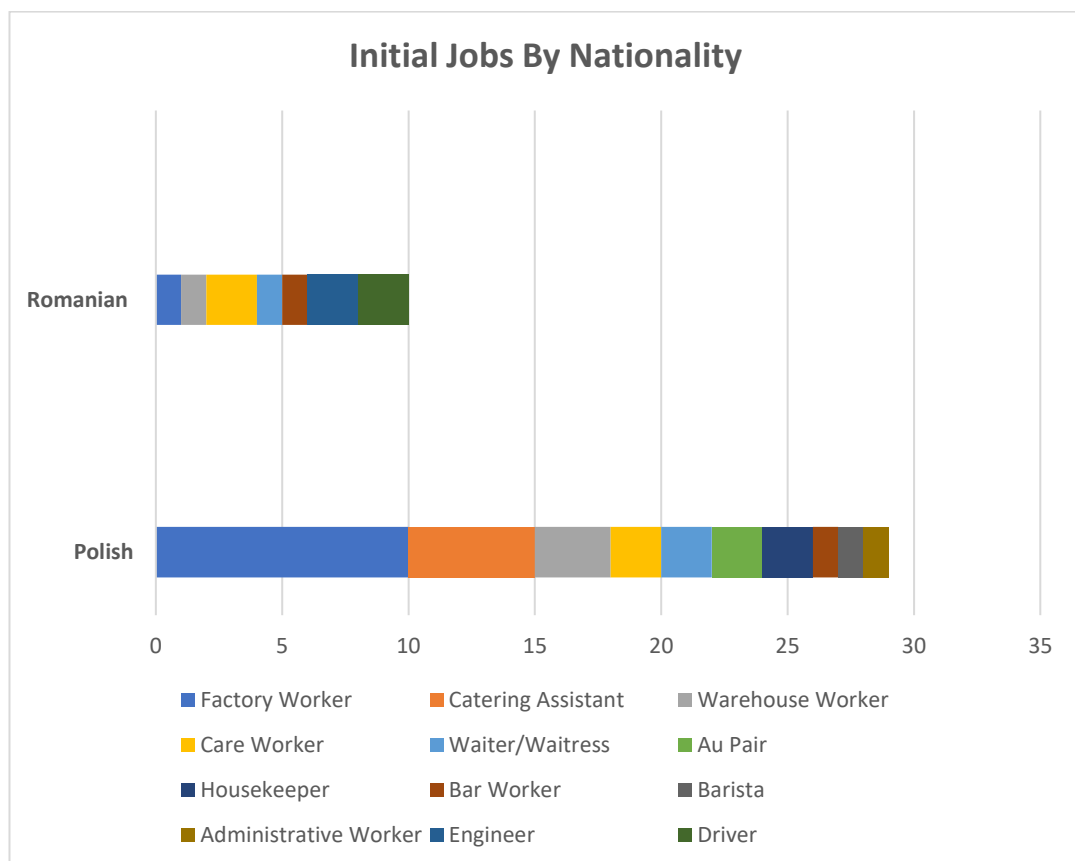


Source: Created by Author

Whilst the occupational distributions above present the relative job concentrations of the sample in its entirety, the distribution in Figure 6.3 below divides initial employment into Polish and Romanian sub-samples. There is little merit in commenting on the numerical contributions from each sub-sample due to the 3:1 bias in favour of Polish but it is interesting to note that the relative proportion of the Polish sample accounting for factory

and warehouse work is substantially larger than that in the Romanian sample, 45% to 20% respectively. Aside from the noticeable dearth of Romanian participants working as ‘Catering Assistants’, there was considerable occupational crossover with both sub-samples contributing participants in the ‘Care Worker’, ‘Waiter/Waitress’, and ‘Bar Worker’ occupations. This implies ‘Elementary Administration and Service Occupations’ is a popular sector regardless of nationality. However, as a proportion of the sub-samples as a whole ‘Care Worker’ stands apart as particularly popular amongst Romanian participants as it accounts for 20% of initial occupations whereas it accounts for merely 7% of initial occupations in the Polish sub-sample. Furthermore, it is important to note that the Romanian sub-sample contributed the only two participants who entered UK employment as highly skilled engineers. The rationale behind this will be discussed in the following section.

Figure 6. 3: Initial Jobs by Nationality

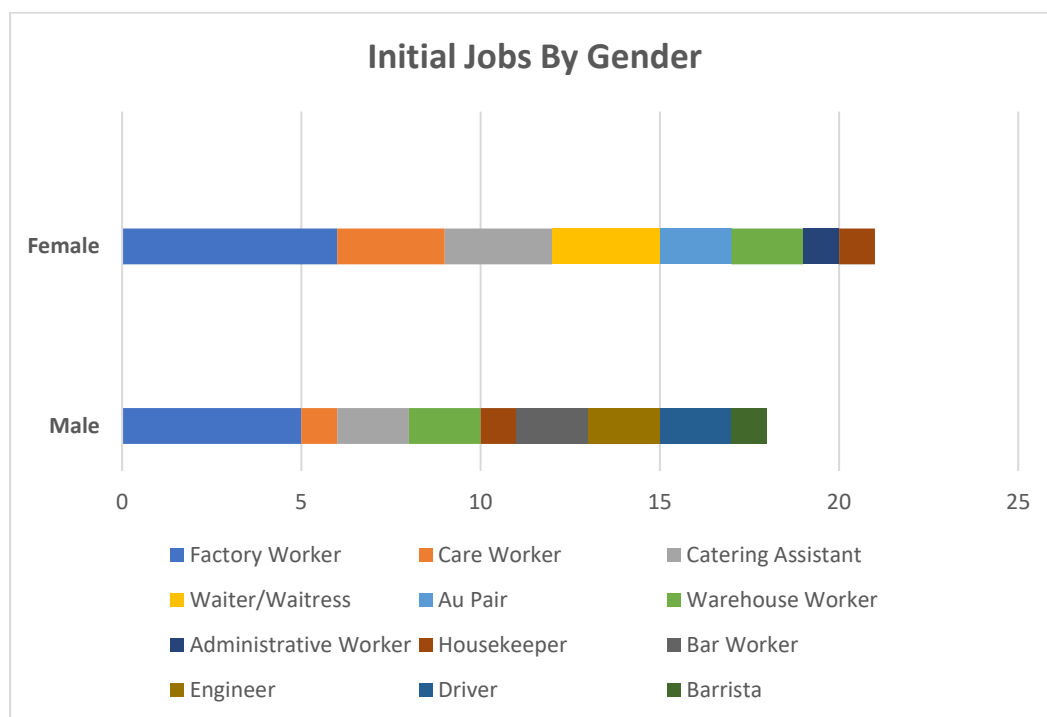


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When dividing the sample by gender equally interesting results are yielded in Figure 6.4 below. An almost equal number of men and women were found to work in factory and warehouse employment suggesting that (at least in this sample) such occupations do not

suffer from gender stereotyping. Both genders were also found to work as ‘Catering Assistants’, ‘Housekeepers’, and in ‘Care’. However, there does appear to be some evidence to support gendered employment in hospitality as the entirety of ‘Bar Workers’ in the sample are male, and the entirety of ‘Waiting’ staff are female. In addition, despite the presence of ‘Care Worker’ in both Male and Female distributions, 75% were found to be female. Furthermore, all ‘Drivers’ and ‘Engineers’ in the sample originated from the male distribution. The most significant finding of this comparison is the presence of both male and female members of the sample in manual factory and warehouse work.

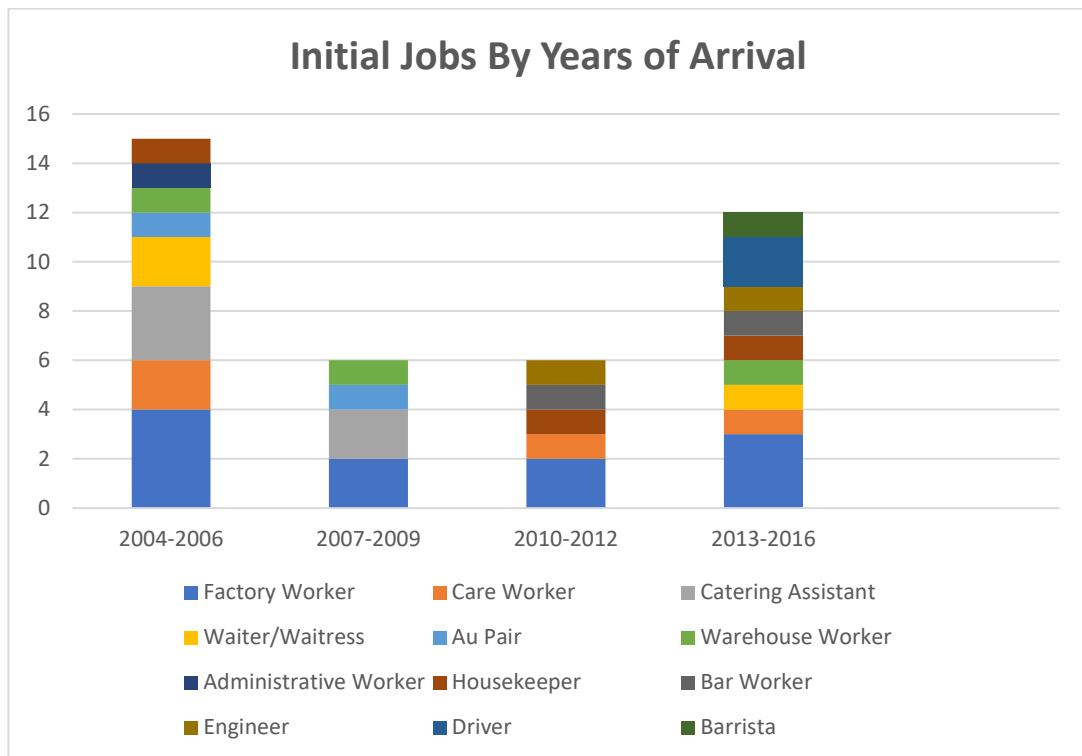
Figure 6. 4: Initial Jobs by Gender



Source: Created by Author

Returning focus to the sample as a whole the Year of Arrival distribution below illustrates the relative concentrations of participants clustered around dates near Accession. The majority of Polish participants entered the UK labour market between 2004 and 2006, and the majority of the Romanian sample entered between 2013 and 2016 (this final cluster was extended due to the presence of a single participant who arrived in 2016). ‘Factory Worker’ remains the most common occupation throughout the entire sampling period. Furthermore, ‘Care Worker’ and ‘Warehouse Worker’ were also present in three of the four periods. However, beyond this the relative occupational concentrations tended to vary substantially between periods of arrival.

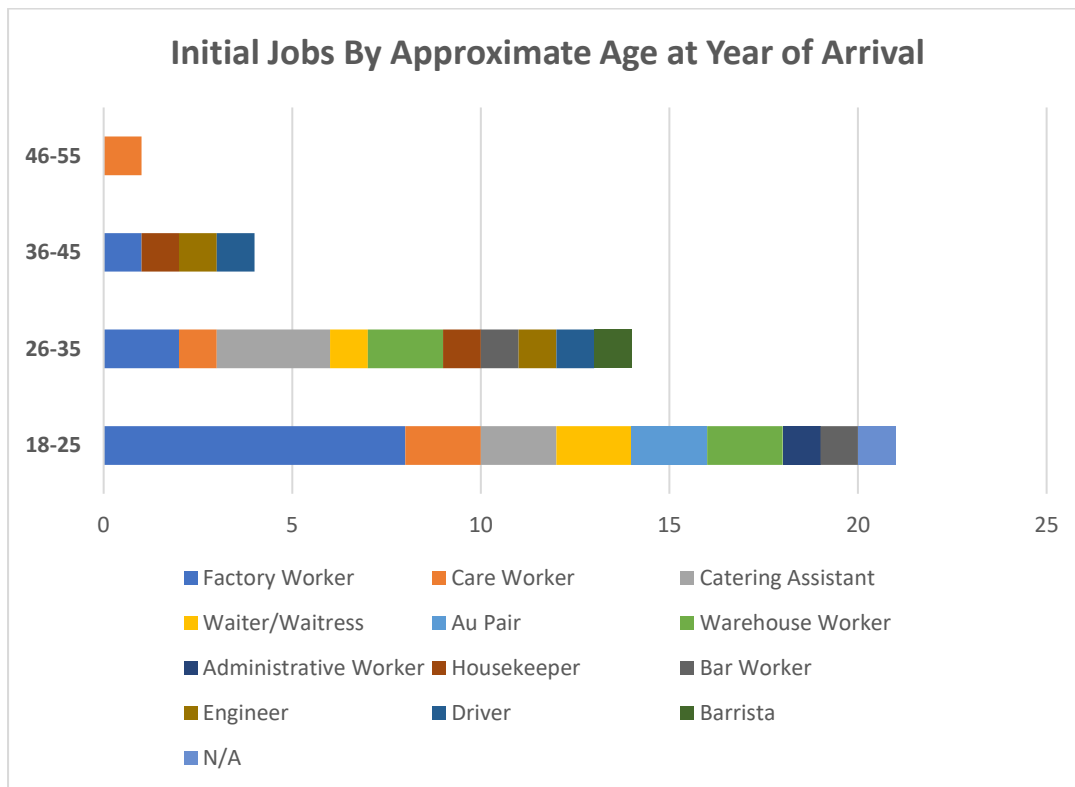
Figure 6. 5: Initial Jobs by Year of Arrival



Source: Created by Author

In order to generate further analysis from Year of Arrival data the approximate age of participants was calculated relative to their year of arrival. In instances where participants stated their age, their time spent in the UK was deducted from this to determine age at year of arrival. In the few cases where this data was not available, the average age of their category was selected as the baseline from which to deduct years spent in the UK. This generated the occupational distribution shown in Figure 6.6. It is evident in the chart below that the majority of participants migrated at a young age with 50% of the sample doing so between ages 18 and 25, and 35% doing so between the ages 26 and 35. There is a clear preponderance of participants in the 18-25 category who found initial employment in factory work. This declines with each age category, which may be a commentary upon the difficult and arduous working conditions many participants encountered in this occupation. Beyond 'Factory Worker', a wide variety of occupations are represented in the younger two age categories. This variety diminishes in the older two categories primarily due to numerical modesty.

Figure 6. 6: Initial Jobs by Approximate Age at Year of Arrival



Source: Created by Author

Focusing on the experiences of participants in Figure 6.7 below, 38 interviewees were comfortable to elaborate upon their feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction in initial employment. The most striking results are the overwhelming majority of participants who reported their dissatisfaction in initial factory employment, as well as to a lesser extent ‘Catering Assistants’ and ‘Warehouse Workers’. Furthermore, participants who felt satisfied with initial employment were relatively well-spread across occupations. However, the majority were not involved in manual factory, warehouse, or catering employment.

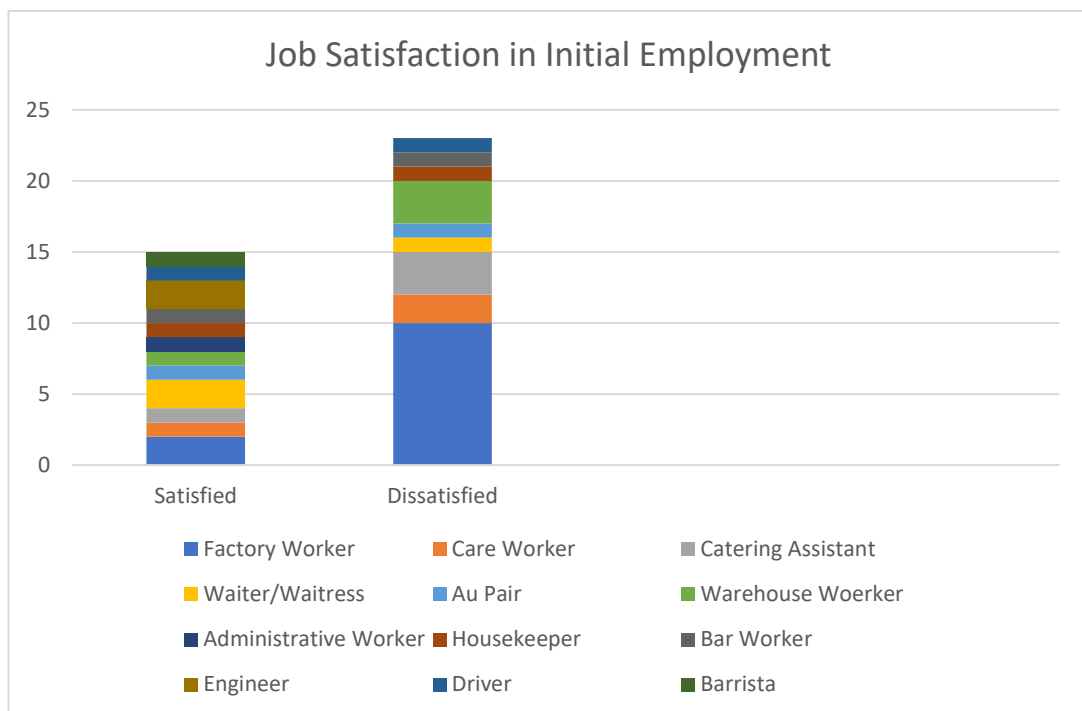
Participants’ feelings of satisfaction were predominantly derived from three potential sources: 1. The opportunity to learn English, 2. The opportunity to meet and interact with new people, and 3. A more generic contentment derived from possessing employment in the UK. The opportunity to learn English was particularly common in responses from the ‘Waitresses’, ‘Bar Worker’, and ‘Barista’ participants whereas the focus upon expanding social networks was central in responses from ‘Au Pairs’, ‘Care Workers’, and ‘Waitresses’ too. The contentment expressed by participants in factory work, warehouse work, and catering in all cases referred to their ability to earn an income which generated a minimum

quality of life and facilitated their continued stay in the UK (as expressed by the participant below).

Polish Participant 7: *“Yeah, I just took the first job that I was offered and for me knowing that I could earn money was fabulous, so I walked I think 15 minutes from my home every day to work and I liked it...”*

Interestingly, comments surrounding the working conditions, hours, job difficulty, or job stability were curiously absent from participants’ accounts. They instead chose to focus upon either ancillary benefits (learning the language or meeting new people) or the more generic benefit of earning a wage.

Figure 6. 7: Job Satisfaction in Initial Employment



Source: Created by Author

Participant accounts surrounding job dissatisfaction were far more focused upon the characteristics of initial employment which in many respects mirrored the Piorian (1975) criteria of the secondary labour market below. Across all occupations referenced (‘Waitress’, ‘Care Worker’, ‘Catering Assistant’, ‘Housekeeper’, ‘Driver’, ‘Au Pair’, ‘Warehouse Worker’) but in particular factory work, many of the Piorian (1975, p.126) characteristics: “low-paying, with poorer working conditions, little chance of advancement; a highly personalized relationship between workers and supervisors which leaves wide latitude for favouritism and is conducive to harsh and capricious work discipline; and to be characterized by considerable instability in jobs...” were readily apparent. Such negative

characteristics are embodied in the account of Polish Participant 20 who focuses upon long hours and poor working conditions:

“...in that seafood factory those people were working for 16 hours, for 18 hours sometimes, they were not getting breaks...there are people fainting on the machines, old ladies you know and they were threatened and they go home after 12 hours they would be sacked...can you imagine working in cold temperatures and that so yeah we’ve had union eventually to bring to our place because it was horrendous...”

Many participants held similar accounts of their time working in manual jobs. However, whilst the accounts of participants in Care and Hospitality industries were not quite so damning, poor working conditions, difficult work, and lack of promotion opportunities were both implicitly and explicitly referenced either through verbal accounts or swift transition into other industries where and when they were able:

Romanian Participant 6: *“No I’m gonna quit because I’m 30 years old and I kind of had enough. I mean unfortunately its not the type of place where you can be a career, bartender, head bartender, waiter, head waiter whatever no you can’t do that, you’re here you’re just a waiter or bartender.”*

This combination of evidence between participants’ verbal and action-based accounts provided sufficient evidence to characterise the vast majority of occupations as positioned within the secondary labour market (following the decision-making tree and rationale presented in Appendices 29-32). Only the experiences and accounts of the three participants in Administration and Engineering suggested that the mobility chains formed into coherent career ladders instead of ultimately random movement between equally fruitless jobs or a between-industry transition into more lucrative mobility chains.

6.3. Migrant Characteristics and Objectives of Migration

This section focuses on the question of why participants were found to enter the UK labour market in such high concentrations in low-skilled, low-status, secondary labour market work. In particular, it looks into the factors inherent to the migrants themselves investigating the effects of language endowment, the devaluation of country of origin qualifications, and the influence of migration intention upon their willingness to work in low-status employment.

6.3.1. Language

Language is a form of embodied cultural capital and its relative endowments were found to possess the greatest influence over the initial labour market experience of Polish and

Romanian participants. Briefly noting what is meant by embodied cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986, p.243) defined it as “long lasting dispositions of mind and body” which was later refined by Lareau and Weininger (2003) into “familiarity with relevant institutional contexts, processes, and expectations, possession of relevant intellectual and social skills..., and a more ‘strategic conception of agency’” (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014, p.196). I will begin by illustrating how the relative embodiments of language cultural capital were determined, before highlighting the dominating influence possession of this capital exerted upon the initial labour market experience of participants.

Table 6. 1: Language Gradation Typology

Gradations	Description	Example
None	No language ability whatsoever	<i>I didn't speak at that time, nothing at all (Polish 11)</i>
Low	Claim to have struggled with English	<i>...my biggest disadvantage was English I couldn't speak much English... (Polish 10)</i>
Moderate	Possess some English language training but report some difficulty	<i>I could speak English...and although I learned in Poland it was always found that the language...its completely different to like live language if you know what I mean (Polish 18)</i>
High	English not a barrier initially, prior English language training	<i>...we start to learn English...from him and I think that's why it was so easy... (Romanian 8)</i>

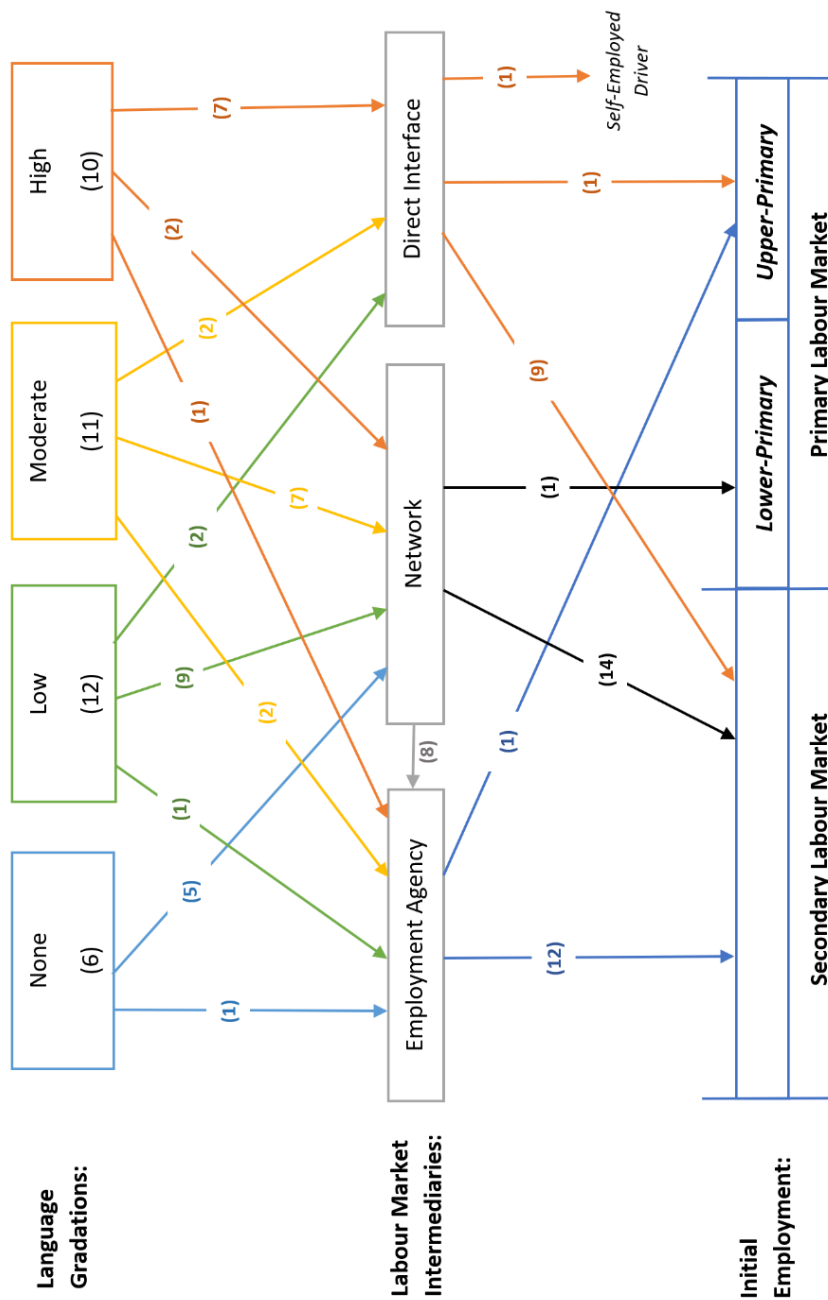
Source: Created by Author

As shown above, the gradations follow an intuitive delineation from no language spoken whatsoever to a high level of language initially spoken. The gradations of ‘None’ and ‘High’ were relatively easy to define as one would expect to remember their experiences in a foreign country speaking no language, and ‘High’ used the criteria of possessing prior English language training or experience in the country of origin as well as not identifying language as an initial barrier to employment. ‘Low’ was categorised by those who initially spoke little English and did not mention prior language education whereas those with ‘Moderate’ language ability mentioned some language training but not to the extent of

‘High’ and reported some initial difficulties with language but not to the extent of ‘Low’. I acknowledge that no participant will possess the same level of language ability, but the use of these categories has been useful in identifying the role and influence of language endowments in the initial labour market experience of the sample.

Using these criteria, participants were divided into their relevant language groupings, and their journeys into the UK labour market were charted. The result of this endeavour is Figure 6.8 below.

Figure 6. 8: Impact of Language Upon Labour Market Entry

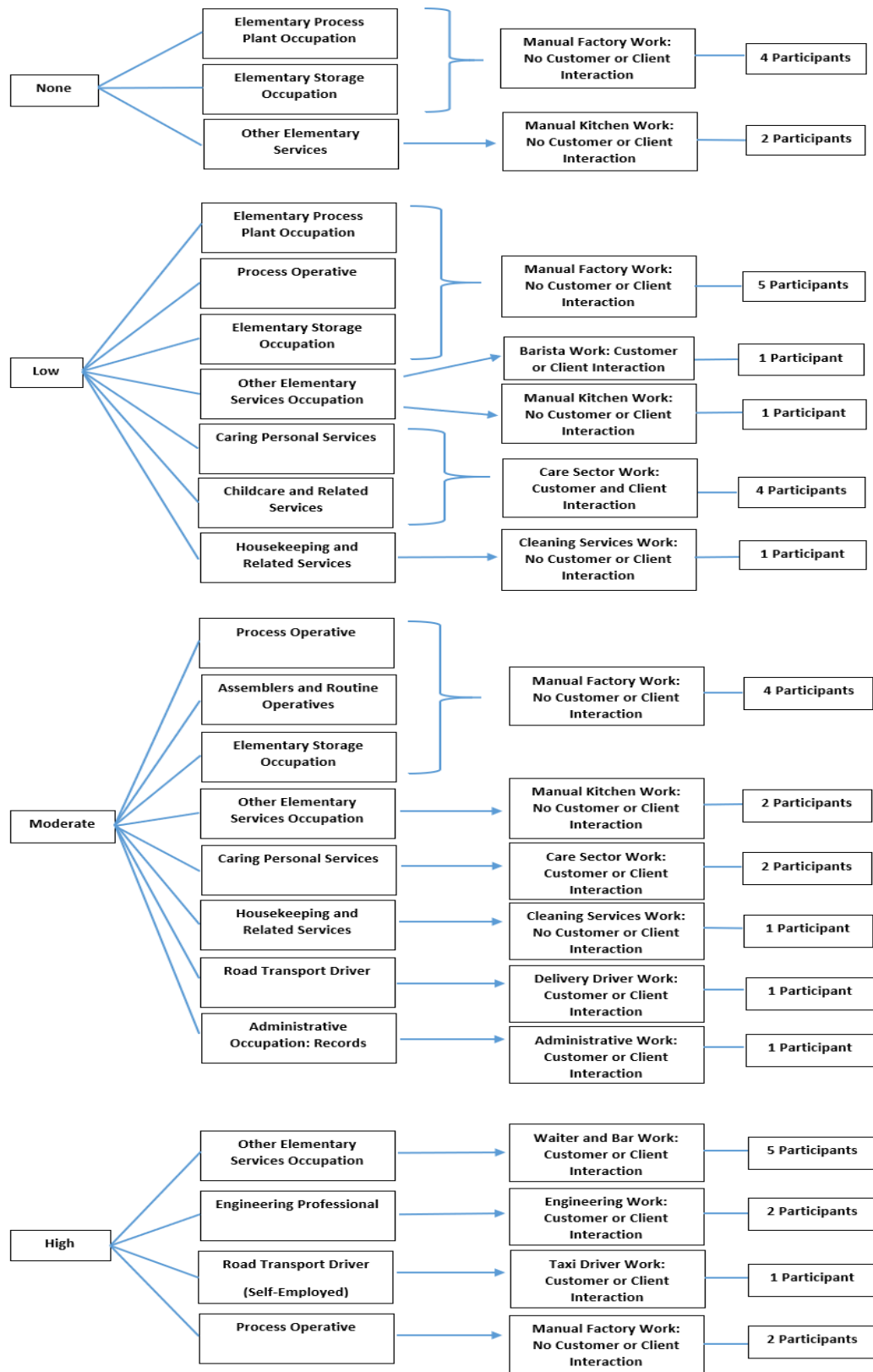


* Polish Participant 6 omitted as she did not immediately seek to enter the UK labour market

Multiple patterns were discerned using the diagram above. First and foremost, language is shown to possess a key influence in determining whether participants utilise a labour market intermediary (Employment Agency, Network) to enter the UK labour market. 100% of the 'None' category, 83.3% of the 'Low', and 81.8% of the 'Moderate' categories utilised such intermediaries in one form or another prior to beginning initial employment. However, in stark contrast to this only 42.9% of the 'High' category utilised intermediaries with the majority preferring to interact with employers and the labour market directly and immediately. The second key pattern discerned from the diagram illustrates the overwhelming majority (89.7%) of the sample relegated to low-skill, secondary labour market occupations with only one participant entering into a lower-primary administration position, and two participants entering into upper-primary professional engineering positions. As this sub-section is primarily concerned with language, the analysis contained within this section will be solely focused on this sample characteristic. However, future sections will present more focused discussions surrounding the roles of employment agencies, networks, migration intention, and country of origin qualifications.

Given the propensity of initial occupations located in the secondary labour market, it was considered valuable to explore the language-related characteristics of the jobs to determine whether difference could be found beyond their lack of discernible career paths, low-status, and poor working conditions. This resulted in Figure 6.9 below. Utilising ONS (2010) Occupational Minor Groups, the spread of initial occupations both within and between groups was stark. Key findings included the presence of 'Manual Factory Work' at all language gradations, but most significantly there was a general trend whereby as the gradations increased so too did the proportion of occupations which required English language use. No participants within the 'None' subsample entered into an occupation where language use would be necessary, whereas similar proportions of the 'Low' (41.7%) and 'Moderate' (36.3%) categories entered into customer- or client- facing jobs, and 80% of the 'High' subsample entered into jobs where speaking English was considered necessary. Whilst it is unclear at this stage how this pattern interacts with use of labour market intermediaries, it is clear that participants particularly of the 'High' category who interfaced with the labour market directly, selected into jobs with a high degree of English language usage.

Figure 6. 9: Linguistic Characteristics of Initial Employment



***Participant Polish 6 omitted as she did not immediately seek to enter the UK labour market**

The diagrams above, particularly Figure 6.8, demand an answer to two key questions: Why did the majority of participants from the 'None', 'Low', and 'Moderate' gradations interact with labour market intermediaries prior to initial employment, whereas the majority of those from the 'High' category did not? And why did a sizeable minority of those in the 'High' category feel the need to also use intermediaries? The answers to these questions are presented below.

A key aspect of how participants in the lower three gradations discussed their relationship with language revolved around its prohibitive restrictions relating to both their emotional states and the manner in which they may interface with the labour market as a whole. Regarding the former, their levels of confidence were heavily influenced by their ability to speak English. The primary aspect of this was their disbelief that with their current language ability they would be able to achieve, in their eyes, "better" employment. These typically referred to jobs which would be considered upper-primary such as teachers and journalists. However, there was also a secondary attribute whereby participants also believed that they were incapable of entering the UK labour market without using a labour market intermediary (predominantly a friend or family member, but also employment agencies, and the local co-national community). This ultimately presents the lack of language ability as an oppressive force for these participants, limiting their abilities to envisage "better" labour market outcomes for themselves and also their ability to directly define their own initial labour market experience (to be investigated in greater detail in the subsequent section). This restriction is best illustrated by Polish Participant 11:

"Yeah, I've got a lot of care from my sister, she was manager in McDonald at the time, so I got the job straight away because her helps me with job because I didn't speak at that time, nothing at all. My first sentence which I know is 'I don't understand' and the second one 'can I go for cigarette' and that's it, that was my English for the first time."

In contrast, the majority of participants of 'High' language ability faced an entirely different initial labour market experience enjoying the benefits of directly interfacing with the UK labour market. Participants were keen to reference that they did not need to interact with any form of labour market intermediary, with independence held as a fiercely guarded source of pride defining their experience. Polish Participant 1 expresses this sense of independent pride through the emphasis upon the word 'myself':

*"No one really advised me, I did my own research and I was trying different jobs, I was doing it by **myself**...I've never been employed by an agency."*

Language also presented practical ways through which it eased the transition of participants into the UK labour market. For some, it facilitated the discovery of a company they could engage with for recruitment. In this endeavour, language was also useful for passing necessary interview tests as such jobs contained minimum language requirements due to high levels of customer interaction. Overall, language presented participants with the means through which to be self-sufficient. Without the language restrictions inhibiting confidence or the ability to engage with employers directly language could be equated to freedom. The freedom to choose one's initial labour market occupation based on one's own objectives.

However, not all participants within this subgroup were as proactive in their approach to entering the UK labour market. They were independent in some respects, able to source their own accommodation, and were perfectly content to interact with the indigenous population on matters in the social sphere such as engaging with police or banks. Nevertheless, when considering initial employment these participants preferred to use a labour market intermediary as they either elected to follow in the tradition of previous waves of migrants in utilising employment agencies, or preferred to use personal contacts in the country of destination in order to ease feelings of trepidation and discomfort at the complex pathways leading into initial employment:

Polish Participant 12: “...they are able to sort you out like get you a room or show you around and kind of like give you a job...feel more comfortable when you're shown round by someone you know, unlike jumping into deep water you don't know where you are basically.”

This suggests that the differentiation between the two subsets of the 'High' category revolves around their approach to initial employment. The former group utilised their language abilities to their full potential in the labour market setting whereas this latter group lacked proactivity in its application to source their own labour market information. This resulted in either reliance upon networks out of feelings of discomfort, or following in the labour market trajectories of previous migration waves to engage with employment agencies. In essence, whilst both groups possessed similar degrees of language cultural capital, the willingness and proactiveness of the former group to leverage this ability in the acquisition of informational cultural capital represents a key difference between the independence of one and the dependence of the other.

This section has emphasised the critical role of English language in the initial labour market experiences of both Polish and Romanian portions of the sample. As participants move

from one field- their country of origin, to another- the country of destination, their origin embodied language capital is devalued and the new embodied language capital (English) takes precedence. Therefore, the relative endowments of this capital become key in determining the manner in which participants engage with the labour market in the new cultural-social context. The defining role language capital plays in this endeavour has been emphasised by illustrating how the majority of participants with 'High' endowments engage with the labour market in a different manner to the majority of those of other endowments. Naturally, language is not the only capital that participants transfer into the new environment but others (particularly institutional cultural capital) were at least partially dependent upon it. This will be addressed in the following sub-section.

6.3.2. Country of Origin Skills and Qualifications

Upon arrival in the UK, participants were accompanied by varying degrees of embodied (skills) and institutional (qualifications) forms of cultural capital. 35% of the sample arrived with a degree from their country of origin. These varied dramatically from Polish Literature degrees, to Psychology, to Engineering, to Classics with similar proportions of both the Polish (33.3%) and Romanian (40%) samples arriving with such education. The majority of the sample arrived with no further education and instead ranged from school-leavers, to those with incomplete degrees, to a myriad of country of origin occupations ranging from grape picker, to tea shop owner, to restaurateur. This sub-section seeks to understand how these varied skillsets and levels of education contribute to the shaping of participants' initial labour market experiences.

Drawing upon the experiences of those entering the UK both with and without a degree, a number of participants expressed that the most useful component of their school and university experiences was the time spent learning how to speak English. Naturally, participants who studied English at university commented most fervently about the utility of their degrees in the new cultural context. Moreover, two participants who studied unrelated degrees but received tuition in English also noted the benefits of an enhanced understanding of the language. However, the majority of participants commented upon how their skills and qualifications could not be converted into an equivalent occupational position due to their lack of English language ability. For instance, Polish Participant 17 possessed a Hospitality Qualification from Poland but could not work as a front of house employee due to her lack of language ability:

“Started from scratch, the language, I’ve learned English in Poland but the barrier and feeling different was stronger and with the simple spoon I knew what that was, it didn’t click so I had to use and use and use and people used to help me being patient...I’ve got hotel qualification I can do everything, I didn’t get the job, in any hotel services...”

This experience was not isolated to those without degrees. Romanian Participant 7 possessed an economics degree from Romania and had experience as an accountant but was unsuccessful in finding a job commensurate with her skills which ultimately led to her use of an employment agency to attain work in the Care sector. Her feelings of loss and lamentation expressed in the quotation below are emblematic of this majority who keenly felt what they perceived to be an abject wastage of the labour-time embodied within their degrees and in their skillsets due to their inability to express themselves appropriately through insufficient language ability:

“I just said that as much as I do feel sorry about all the work that I had to put through to get all my degrees and qualifications, but I just had to move on...so yeah.”

It is important to note that the majority of participants with degrees did not attempt to leverage qualifications in the initial labour market experience. This was primarily due to insufficient language ability, but also a recognition that in the new cultural environment their degrees underwent diminishing returns (e.g. Polish Literature degree).

Employers were found to be the ultimate arbiters of what is considered to be an acceptable level of language ability for a particular occupation and which qualifications they were willing to recognise. In several cases, participants were able to adeptly communicate with employers (almost entirely derived from the ‘High’ category) at which point the pressure of judgement shifts from language towards the skills and qualifications presented before potential patrons. Thus, the two Engineering participants both with ‘High’ language ability, country of origin degrees, and employer-recognised experience successfully leveraged their embodied and institutional cultural capital to enter the UK labour market at the upper-primary level as demonstrated by Romanian Participant 1:

“Before I arrive, I work as a plant manager so in an ammonia plant for a number of years and because of that I was recruited so arrived here so chemical engineer in ammonia plant...”

The cumulative experiences of participants illustrate multiple facets of the same phenomenon, that the value a skill or qualification holds in the new cultural context is ultimately dependent upon its transferability across fields. Participants who lacked

sufficient language cultural capital were unable to signal to employers the value of their embodied or institutional cultural capital as they could not express themselves to a sufficient extent. Naturally, language ability too is a form of embodied cultural capital with its utility dependent upon highly specific field-contexts. Thus, the participants who studied language at school, in a degree, or via tuition in English at university found that their embodied skills derived from study were the most applicable in the United Kingdom context. Finally, it is important to acknowledge who decides the degree of sufficiency for transferability. Employers judge whether certain levels of language, experience, and qualification are acceptable to them. The two Romanian engineers who attained commensurate employment in the UK successfully signalled to employers that they possessed sufficient language ability (embodied cultural capital), the relevant qualifications (institutional cultural capital), and sufficient experience (embodied cultural capital). Therefore, they successfully convinced employers that the entirety or majority of their cultural capital was transferable from the Romanian field-context to that of the UK.

In essence, the potential for participants to apply their non-linguistic skills and qualifications in the new context is dependent upon their ability to express themselves to employers. Once this condition is met, employers will then evaluate the relative worth of such cultural capital and conclude whether participants' overall embodiments are sufficient for the job in question.

6.3.3. Migration Intention

As has been illustrated in the language sub-section, 35 participants were either channelled or voluntarily entered the UK labour market in the secondary sector. Of these, 24 participants entered the UK labour market with the intention of returning to their countries of origin within approximately 6 months to 2 years. However, 11 participants entered the UK with the intention of never returning. This section will investigate whether the migration intention of participants holds any bearing over their relative tolerance or intolerance of the negative characteristics associated with employment in this sector of the labour market (low status, low wage, unstable work, with poor working conditions, and lacking in promotion opportunities).

Regarding those who held a temporary perspective toward their stay in the UK, the reasons behind this decision were multifarious. However, they could ultimately be divided into two groups: those who sought to learn the language to support their greater labour market goals rooted in the country of origin, and those who sought to earn or save money for a

great variety of reasons ranging from supporting family in the country of origin to saving up money to pay for university tuition. During this period, such participants appeared largely immune to the negative characteristics inherent in secondary labour market work, instead choosing to focus upon their greater objectives anchored in the country of origin. This perspective is well-illustrated by the experience of Polish Participant 23:

“Well I was hoping to stay here about a year and come back to Poland, save some money and go and do a college course.”

This holds some parallels to the Piorian (1979, p.54) argument regarding the social function of wages. He argues that migrants with a temporary perspective dislocate their social identity from the nature of the work rendering it into a purely instrumental activity. Instead, their identity remains anchored in the social hierarchy of the country of origin and they measure their position within the social hierarchy in the country of origin field. However, whilst this encapsulates the experiences of much of the ‘temporary intention’ subsample it fails to account for those whose goal is not to accumulate economic capital but instead to accrue cultural capital to advance their position in the country of origin field (e.g. learning English to become a language teacher in Poland). In this respect, these findings expand Piore’s (1979, p.54) argument regarding the instrumentality of work beyond the narrow definition of income and towards a potentially more inclusive motivation encompassing the accumulation of either cultural or economic capital to advance their position in the country of origin society relative to their goals:

Polish Participant 1: *“Well, first year of doing my job of working in a restaurant was absolutely fine, so I would say I was happy to do it. I did not plan to stay here so I wasn’t bothered, and my main concern was getting some new experience making sure my English was good, and trying to use it as much as possible...”*

For those who entered the UK labour market with the intention of migrating permanently the sense of detachment initially felt by the subsample above did not apply. Many participants expressed their dissatisfaction with their initial employment. However, the majority rationalised this dissatisfaction in the context of their former lives in Poland or Romania. Participants tended to perform cost-benefit analyses of their situations in the country of origin, and despite feeling crestfallen at the calibre of employment they initially found themselves in, ultimately concluded that their situation was superior to that which they held in their former nation. This rationalisation did not encompass solely individual evaluations, in several cases participants factored in the improving lives of their spouse or child when tolerating poor working conditions. This motivation is encompassed in the experience of Polish Participant 19:

“I always followed this country would be stable and safe and would provide my kid a bright future so that was the main reason...I believe Poland is massively destabilised at the moment with loads of internal issues and economy which is about to die so...”

In essence, these participants did not so much isolate themselves from the negative characteristics of employment but instead sought external reasons to rationalise their labour market position. They concluded that on balance either for themselves or their families their future would be more prosperous in the United Kingdom labour market and society.

Overall, the rationalisations of the sample revolve around their aspirations either for themselves or their families. Whilst those of temporary migration intentions were mostly immunised against the negative characteristics of initial employment, those with more permanent objectives tended to express great displeasure at the quality of work they were able to attain. Whilst the latter group was acutely aware of the poor working conditions and low status of their work, they rationalised their overall experience in the United Kingdom as superior to their former lives, for themselves or their families. In this sense, aspiration remains at the heart of participants’ decision-making, rooting their sense of self either in their country of origin, in the context of their lived-experience, or in their role as husbands, wives, fathers, and mothers.

6.4. Labour Market Intermediaries

This section focuses on the role of labour market intermediaries in defining the initial labour market experience. It first investigates the role of employment agencies, researching why the overwhelming proportion of migrants were channelled into low-skill factory work. There is also a fundamental focus upon migrant networks, delving into why the substance of assistance varies so dramatically between personal and co-national networks, and why within personal networks employment assistance generates diverging labour market outcomes.

6.4.1. Agency Recruitment

In the sub-section on language, this thesis referenced the prohibitive restrictions faced by participants of lower language abilities focusing upon both emotional and practical constraints. This sub-section focuses specifically on the experiences of participants who used employment agencies to attain initial employment and delves into greater detail as to how their labour market options were constrained by limited language ability. This route

into employment was relatively popular and was responsible for a substantial 32.5% (13/40) of the sample's initial employment experience with the majority (76.9%) led into manual factory-based occupations. Therefore, agency employment is an important moderator of a large portion of the sample's initial labour market experience with a demonstrably clear link between agency recruitment and initial employment in elementary processing jobs. This sub-section posits two reasons for this proclivity: Path Dependency on the demand side, and Employer Preference on the supply side.

Regarding the former, Path Dependency refers to the common phenomenon within this group whereby participants were channelled into agency employment either by following friends, family, co-nationals, or their independent understanding of how best to enter the UK labour market. Such migrants typically lacked English language ability and thus were unable to interact with the labour market directly. This was accompanied by the additional effect of rendering migrants unable to source their own information as illustrated by Polish Participant 28:

"...Yeah, the start with working here was difficult because I didn't know the language, I didn't understand people, I didn't speak in English and I tried speaking but still it wasn't so good so the only way that I receive job was the agency..."

Therefore, one of three outcomes ensued. Upon arrival some participants sought the knowledge of the online co-national network which almost always directed enquirers towards employment agencies. Other participants would contact friends or family members and seek their advice on how to gain initial employment- within this group this repeatedly led to recommendations toward agency employment. The third subset illustrates an interesting phenomenon present in particular amongst pioneer migrants who arrived close to the date of accession and thus lacked both strong and weak ties to call upon for assistance. These migrants entered the UK with knowledge of how previous and concurrent waves of migrants interfaced with the labour market. They utilised this knowledge to find employment agencies which invariably channelled them into low-skilled work:

Polish Participant 15: *"I just basically, I just did what the majority of Polish or Eastern European people did at the time, I just visited all the recruitment agencies in Peterborough, and I got my first job within 2 days...and we were sent to some fruit factory..."*

Regardless of their routes, in all cases participants followed in the footsteps of their predecessors when seeking initial employment. This inevitably led to a tendency whereby

as participants' language abilities diminished so too did their ability to interact with the labour market independently. This independence is significant in the sense that it represents the variety of individual ambition. Participants without such independence were ultimately reliant upon employment agencies to channel them into whatever jobs were available which in the case of this thesis was typically manual factory work.

A key reason for this posited by several members of this group was a factory-employer preference for Eastern European workers. Such favour would inevitably lead to a significant demand to be fulfilled by employment agencies. This is well-expressed by Polish Participant 3 who spoke directly with a major factory employer in Consett (in which several participants initially worked and used an employment agency):

"...he found them very hard working and dedicated and...he very often mentions that he wouldn't be in the same position that he is now without those Polish workers so...without any disregard for English people...that's what he says and that's what his preference is."

This employer preference can be expressed in Dual Labour Market theory through mobility chains. Piore (1975, p.128) argues that any particular job will recruit labour from a "...limited, and distinct number of other particular points". He gives the example of a manufacturing line of progression where often jobs can be traced back to the particular communities and schools from which the employer would tend to recruit. This theory can also include nationalities by incorporating employer imbued embodied cultural capital as follows. From a migrant perspective, it is clear from the quotation above (one of several) that employers imbue migrants with a form of collective embodied capital conferred by their nationality whereby Polish migrants in particular were seen as uniquely suited for work in low-skilled industrial employment. This was frequently expressed by participants in the form of compliments on their hard-working, compliant nature. Indeed, 13 participants noted positive comments concerning their work ethic with many working in factory employment. Polish Participant 18 suggests that Polish workers are comparatively more appealing to employers than native British workers in the factory setting:

"...employers prefer I don't know why if they have CV for manual factory work because some stories where that you know if they employed people lower skills, uneducated British people they would only last a week or so and then they would decide that it's too hard or they can't cope and then they would you know give up the idea of work..."

Such employer preference would equally account for the preponderance of cases where employment agencies were reported to lobby both online co-national networks and

participants' personal networks for fresh recruits. For example, Polish Participant 24 who initially worked in an elementary storage occupation found that she was repeatedly asked by agency staff whether she knew any Polish who wanted to work in a factory long after she had moved on:

“Agencies yeah, they ask me if I’ve got any people who would like to work, but not my current employer. Agencies yeah, a lot of, even you know after when I stopped working, they asked a lot of oh do you know any Polish people who would like to, who are looking for a job at the minute and we can employ them.”

This suggests a self-reinforcing relationship whereby Polish migrants initially prove lucrative in the eyes of factory employers. Their work ethic raises their favour and elevates them above other prospective migrant groups which eventually accumulates in an employer preference for Polish workers in manual work. Employer demand for this group grows which is then fulfilled by employment agencies who seek to gain access to additional prospective migrants through the utilisation of the personal and co-national networks of current and former employees. Due to limited language ability the labour market independence of new migrants is limited. Therefore, they seek direct employment and informational assistance from their networks which channel them toward agency employment. Provided the work ethic of the new wave of prospective migrants remains appealing to employers, this cycle would continue indefinitely.

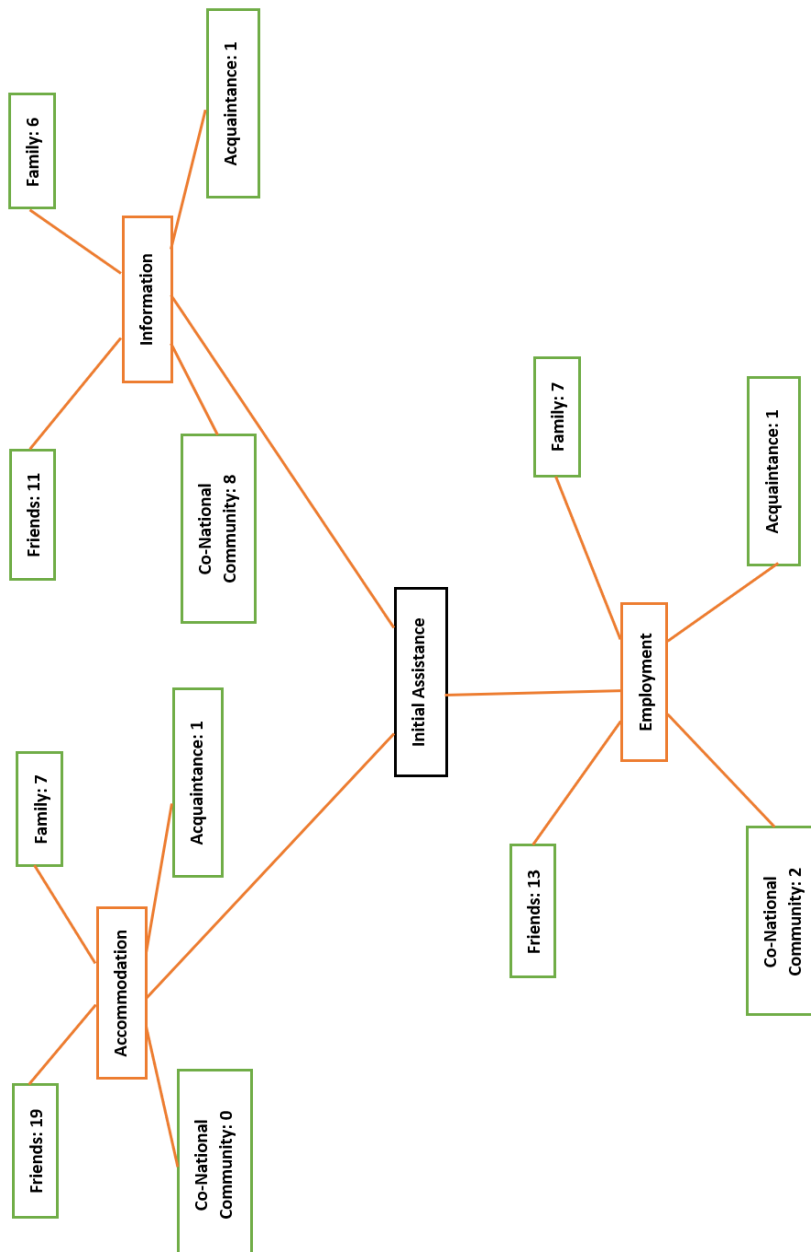
6.4.2. Networks

Both personal networks and the online local co-national community provided extensive and varied assistance to participants during their initial labour market experience. This assistance was predominantly characterised into three forms: accommodation, employment, and information. Employment assistance took one of three forms: the provision of a job directly, the recommendation to a job, or the recommendation to an agency, all facilitated by a contact. Information assistance encompasses the variety of job vacancy, social or societal information and advice provided to participants, and accommodation assistance refers to the provision of shelter to participants by their contacts. Unlike the previous sections, this segment utilises the experiences of the sample across their whole labour market journey to better understand the forces which govern the substance of assistance provision within and between networks (both personal and co-national).

Figure 6.10 below displays the three initial types of assistance provided by family, friends, acquaintances, and the local co-national community. This assistance may be divided into

material and immaterial aid with the former consisting of employment and accommodation provision, and the latter of informational assistance. Evidently, material assistance was most frequently provided by friends but also family. Together they account for the vast majority of employment and accommodation aid, but also for a significant portion of informational assistance. However, here the co-national community was also noted as a significant repository of advice and information. The single acquaintance (friend of a friend) in the sample played only a minor role in the provision of all three types of assistance.

Figure 6. 10: Assistance Provided by All Sources to Participants



Source: Created by Author

In order to understand why the more substantial, material forms of assistance were primarily localised to participants' personal networks (family and friends) one must examine participants' roles in and use of such networks in a more holistic, chronological manner. During the initial period of entry into UK labour market and society, participants referenced seeking material aid from predominantly family and friends. They sought to leverage their relationships with strong ties in order to convert them into the provision of employment (either directly or indirectly) and accommodation. In this context, participants repeatedly referenced the significance of trust in reinforcing their belief that a positive outcome would occur from the acceptance of this assistance. This significance was brought into stark focus when participants referenced their distrust of the wider co-national community. Such distrust is embodied in the experiences of Polish Participant 3:

"...they don't like to see other people being successful...and this is what I find difficult to you know, people I'm not really a person that is very much liked because I have basically sort of managed to find a job that is not a factory and there's people who just can't accept that, that's why I'm not kind of searching for any new friends because I've got my group of friends who I accept as they are, they accept me...I don't know how big the Polish Community is in Consett...and yeah out of that few hundred I've very close group that I stick to and that's it."

Therefore, trust operated as a form of guarantee necessary for participants to be able to accept material aid. Their fear of theft, exploitation, or the whims of co-national jealousy (as evidenced above) acted as a deterrent to the acceptance of substantial forms of assistance from co-nationals, and emphasised trust as essential in this process of capital conversion.

Over time, the positioning and status of some within the occupational hierarchy grew and their initial position of vulnerability was converted into one of potential stability and relative prosperity. Their roles as net-benefactors evolved into those of net-contributors as future waves of friends and family entered the UK labour market and petitioned for assistance. These experiences provided invaluable insight into the role of trust as not only a governor of the reception of aid, but also of its provision. In their roles as providers of assistance participants were consistently assessing the risk of donating more substantial resources to co-national strangers. Overall, participants were comfortable to provide informational assistance to co-nationals but for more substantial forms trust once again proved to be an essential resource. The role of trust in this context is well-illustrated by Polish Participant 28:

“Yeah, yeah, but more simply is to help somebody who we know, for example my brother or my sister or friend than somebody who we don’t know. We can help some people which we don’t know we can help to give the answer on the Facebook group, on the forums or something like this...but give somebody accommodation, going to the job centre for them...is how to say...you know I need to know who these people who I’m responsible...”

Once again trust fulfils the role of a form of social currency which acts as guarantor that a negative outcome will not befall the provisioner of aid. In their minds, participants (as expressed by Polish Participant 28) hierarchise the substance of assistance provision and ascribe relative values of trust necessary for their provision.

When considering the experiences of the sample as a whole, it is possible to interpret the results at a greater level of abstraction. During the initial labour market experience participants were net-benefactors of assistance provision, and in the later labour market period participants transitioned roles into net-contributors. This process repeated itself across both the Polish and Romanian samples and across geographies and years of arrival. Underpinning this process is a sense of obligation felt by participants to assist their strong ties in whatever manner they were able. Participants reflected upon the difficulties they or individuals they knew encountered during the initial labour market period and felt the desire to mitigate the most adverse effects of transitioning both labour market and society for those closest to them (strong ties). This suggests a ‘culture of reciprocity’ present in both migrant communities. Within this culture trust performs the principal role of ensuring its continuity. Feelings of obligation are bounded by the migrants’ sense of self-preservation (in terms of potential negative outcomes generated from assistance provision) and when considering the cost to themselves to help others. Therefore, the levels of trust resulting from accumulated interaction via both family and friendship ties are essential in understanding the reproducibility of reciprocity across space and time, and why this phenomenon is exclusive to participants’ personal networks. In effect, trust acts as the stabiliser which renders the culture of reciprocity cyclical.

Whilst the arguments above clearly illustrate the rationale behind why assistance provision between personal and co-national networks differed, the variation within personal networks remains unanswered. Granovetter (1995, pp.49-50) suggests that family-based ties are more diverse than work-based ties and tend to vary in terms of status and occupation to a greater extent. Concerning my own sample, the contemporaries of the migrants at the time of migration were predominantly students, compatriots starting employment in Poland and Romania, or school friends or family who had previously

migrated to the UK. Whilst contacts would be considered the social equals of participants in the country of origin, friends and family in the UK had an increased amount of time spent in the UK labour market and hence possessed greater endowments of UK-relevant cultural (knowledge) and social (contacts) capital. Operating under the assumption that length of time (and hence labour-time) leads to greater endowments of the above field-relevant capitals, at the moment of arrival UK-based strong ties in the personal networks of participants would be of higher social status and hence be of both informational and practical use. The degree of this status differential and hence the resources a participant's personal network can command is what determines the relative levels of employment assistance provided.

Polish Participant 18: *"It was arranged for me really because my dad's boss got the job for me because I needed something and it was a shipping company...and I went, and I must say my English wasn't great then."*

Polish Participant 21: *"...it was the factory, it was actually the factory my uncle worked so he offered us job, so basically we arrived in Newcastle let's say on Thursday and on the following Monday we were actually we started in the new work and its only because our uncle worked over there so we had the support..."*

For example, both Polish Participants 18 and 21 received substantial, direct employment assistance from family members, but the former obtained a job in administration whereas the latter was employed in factory work. This was due to the relative limitations of each participant's personal network ultimately bounded by 1. The ability of the contact to hire directly, or their ability to influence key decision makers to this end (otherwise recommendations to employment agencies were common), and 2. The industry in which the contact was working.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented participants' pathways into initial employment as a lattice of complex and interlaced factors ultimately culminating in a secondary segment occupation. The most prominent of these factors was language which constrained participants' decision-making from both a practical and emotional perspective. A dichotomy was realised between those of "High" and those of "None", "Low", and "Moderate" ability whereby those of the former tended to interface with the labour market directly. However, those of the remainder typically did so via labour market intermediaries. Country of origin skills and qualifications were also interpreted through a linguistic lens. Participants who previously studied language tended to be those who were more independent, but

employers were ultimately noted as the key determinant of whether a non-linguistic qualification was considered transferable across international contexts. Thus, provided that the condition of language ability was met, employers then judged whether qualifications or skills were sufficient for employment.

As previously mentioned, substantial portions of the sample engaged with the labour market through the intermediaries of networks and agencies. However, the assistance provided by labour market intermediaries was not equal. Trust was found to be instrumental in its influence not only in the eyes of providers but also recipients in acting as a guarantee that no negative outcome would befall either party. This key ingredient was necessary in the vast majority of cases to facilitate the provision of more substantial, material forms of assistance in accommodation and direct employment aid. The high levels of interaction, affection, and time inherent in strong tie relationships ensured relationships of trust, whereas the co-national bonds in the wider community were found to be insufficient for the provision of material assistance. Ultimately, within personal networks a culture of reciprocity was found, fuelled by a sense obligation to future waves of migrants and reinforced by trust.

Of course, not all personal networks yielded direct labour market outcomes. Whilst the strong tie contacts which characterise these networks may be willing to provide material assistance, their ability to do so was found to be moderated by the capacity of the tie to provide direct assistance, and the industry in which the tie worked. In this sense, these variables are themselves a function of the labour market positioning of that tie. In some cases, this resulted in the recommendation of participants to employment agencies (which was the most prolific form of employment assistance provided by the wider co-national network). Whilst migrant acceptance of agency employment was fuelled by a combination of poor language ability, their migration intention, and ultimately constrained choice, the demand for Polish participants in particular was found to be rooted in employer preference. Reported comments surrounding work ethic, compliance, and suitability for low-skilled factory work culminated in a demand from low-skilled employers to be fulfilled by agencies.

Participants have utilised their varying endowments of cultural and social capital in order to fulfil their labour market goals defined by their migration intention. The overall theme of this chapter has been one of constrained choice, and how migrants navigate their way either directly or through intermediaries to the initial labour market experience. Whilst this

chapter has comprehensively examined participants' routes into initial employment. The chapter which follows focuses upon how migrants continue to operate under the constraints of their own capital endowments as well as those imposed by the labour market at large.

Chapter 7: Results (Part 2)

7.1. Introduction

This results chapter is focused on reporting descriptive, theoretical, and pattern-based findings regarding the following key research question:

What are the causes of and constraints to labour market mobility of Polish and Romanian migrants?

As with the previous chapter, evidence provided in the literature review frames both the topics of interest and this chapter's contribution in the field of migrant labour market mobility. Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011), Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014), Knight (2014), and Parutis (2014) presented language as a core determinant of the mobility experience. However, these papers tended to only investigate the mobility experience for a limited period of time with little detail presented beyond what is classified in this thesis as the secondary labour market. This question operationalises and expands upon the predictions and hypotheses made in the papers above as well as draws upon the theoretical contributions of Bourdieu (1986), Granovetter (1973), and Piore (1975) to present a comprehensive perspective as to how Polish and Romanian migrants move through the division of labour to achieve their occupational goals.

This chapter illustrates how participants' experiences of mobility in the primary and secondary labour markets are defined by the accumulation of different sources of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Their mobility in the secondary sector is defined by their ability to learn the English language. The occupational characteristics in both the upper- and lower-segments (defined in the subsequent section) proved instrumental in determining the ease or difficulty participants experienced in this endeavour. In contrast, participants' mobility experiences in the primary sector were defined by the accumulation of experience and qualifications. It will be illustrated that NVQ-qualifications provided participants with the most successful vehicles within the administration-based career paths of the lower-primary segment. However, participants' means to advance to the professional and managerial mobility chains of the upper-primary segment will be presented as almost entirely dependent upon their ability to achieve a UK degree. For those who achieved this, it will be shown that expertise derived both from institutionally taught knowledge as well as inductively derived occupational experience will be instrumental for further mobility.

Therefore, this chapter illustrates the extent to which language, qualifications, and experience facilitate labour market mobility.

This chapter will be structured as follows: it will begin by presenting the theoretical backdrop upon which labour market mobility is defined and investigated. Following this, it will illustrate labour market mobility in the secondary sector which will focus upon the relevance of language. Focus will then reorient to the primary labour market which stresses the importance of experiential and institutional (NVQ- and degree- level qualifications) cultural capital in facilitating mobility. Throughout each section findings will be related to relevant theory, but the focus of this chapter is on presenting results both clearly and succinctly.

7.2. Movement Through the Dual Labour Market

During the process of analysis presented in Chapter 5 extensive effort was expended in appropriately categorising participants' myriad occupations held throughout their labour market journeys in the Dual Labour Market theoretical framework. This was achieved through the application of a combination of Piore's (1975) concept of mobility chains as well as Piore's (1975, 1979) clear descriptive criteria of what characterises the secondary and primary labour markets. However, for analytical purposes it became necessary to reorganise the secondary labour market into lower- and upper- segments in like fashion to that of Piore's lower- and upper- primary segments. This section will illustrate the key distinctions and divisions between the four labour market segments and re-iterate core theory in order to present a clear image of what each segment entails in terms of occupational characteristics and labour market mobility. Furthermore, this section will also integrate self-employment into the framework as prior literature and theoretical analysis has focused upon the formal labour market.

It is first essential to outline the significant differences between the primary and secondary labour markets. Piore's (1975) occupational and mobility chain descriptions were of particular use in this endeavour acting as criteria upon which participant job description and labour market movements could be judged. Piore (1975, p.129) argues that mobility chains in the primary sector tend to form into career ladders and as such participants experience lesser or greater degrees of occupational mobility. On the contrary, mobility chains in the secondary sector held to a far more random pattern, and never formed into the cohesive career ladders which characterise the primary sector. These career ladders or lack thereof mirror Piore's (1975, p.126) occupational descriptions of the two sectors with

the former characterised by “high wages, good working conditions, chances of advancement, equity and due process in administration of work rules, and, above all, employment stability”. Likewise, occupations in the secondary sector are characterised by the inverse. In essence, the differences between the primary and secondary sectors reflect fundamental divisions in terms of career prospects and employment conditions based upon the stability and instability of core and peripheral jobs in economic activity.

Beyond this fundamental division between primary and secondary, Piore (1975) additionally divides the primary sector into an upper- and lower- segment. Piore (1975) rationalises this distinction with both occupational and knowledge-based descriptions which further enabled the process of allocating participant occupations to the upper- or lower- segment. Regarding the descriptive criteria, Piore (1975, p.126) notes that the features described in the paragraph above are characteristic only of the lower-segment. In contrast, the upper-segment is explicitly composed of “professional and managerial jobs” which typically offer higher pay, and better working conditions than occupations in the lower-segment (Ibid., p.126). Regarding mobility chains, Piore (1975) focuses primarily upon the educational requirements of the two segments and the type of learning which occurs in employment. Piore (1975, p.133, 130) notes the lack of educational requirement necessary for entry into lower-primary mobility chains and emphasises the necessity of extensive formal education for the upper-primary (which was rationalised as a UK degree in this investigation).

Further to the distinctions above, Piore (1975) emphasises the significance of the type of learning which occurs within each segment in terms of ‘specific’ and ‘general’ traits. They are differentiated by virtue of how one might obtain them. Specific trait accumulation in a workplace context represents the inductive learning of task- or occupation- specific knowledge of little use outside the mobility chain (Ibid., p.133). General traits may be inductively or instructively deduced or taught, drawing upon a naturally wider set of knowledge than specific traits. However, these concepts were rationalised in Chapter 4 as specific and general embodied cultural capital due to the extensive similarities between both in terms of their focus upon greater or lesser levels of “knowledge and understanding” (Ibid., p.130). Thus, mobility chains in the lower-primary segment possess no educational barriers to entry with occupational mobility facilitated by task- or occupation- specific knowledge. In contrast, mobility chains in the upper-primary segment are gated by degree-level institutional barriers, with occupational mobility facilitated by more generally applicable experience derived from professional and managerial activities

and reinforced by the reproduction and application of the wide array of knowledge accumulated during extensive formal education.

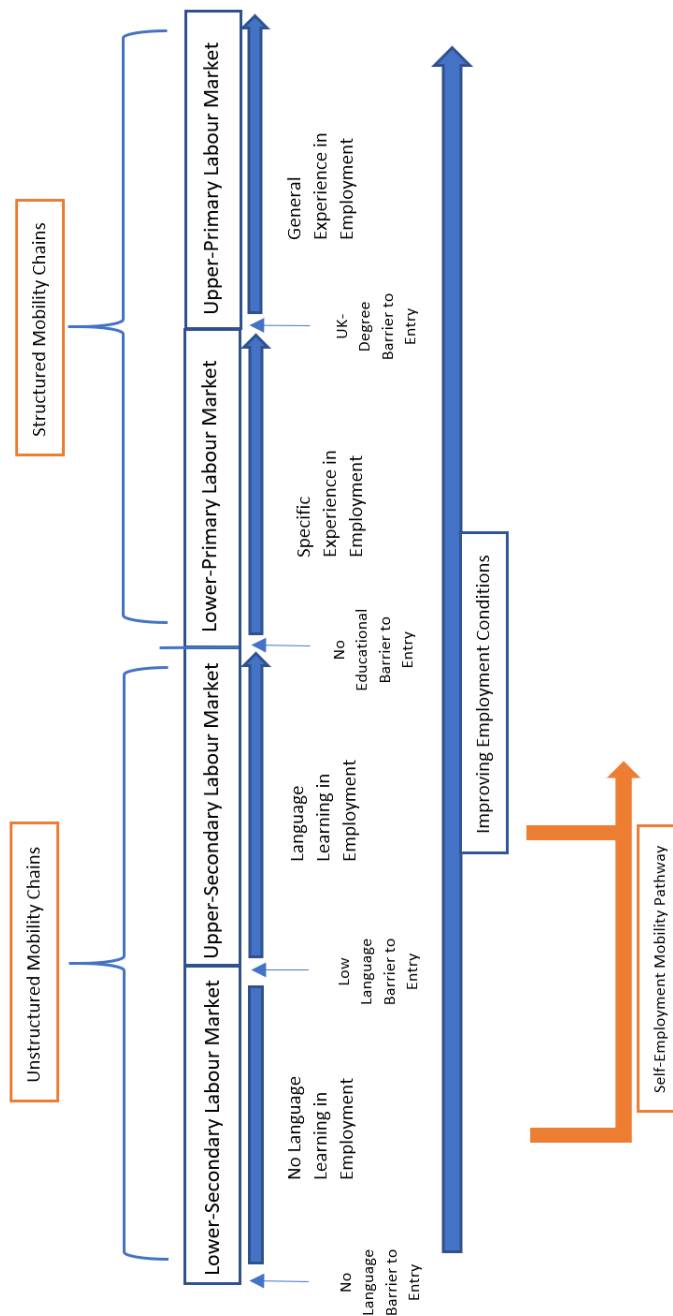
As was referenced in the introductory paragraph the secondary labour market was also divided into a lower- and upper- segment. This decision mirrors Piore's (1975) rationalisations for dividing the primary sector into lower- and upper- tiers based upon occupational and knowledge-based characteristics. Regarding the descriptive criteria, it became clear that whilst both segments typically exhibited the Piorian (1975, p.126) descriptors of low-wages, poor working conditions, lack of promotion opportunities, highly personalised relationships between management and staff, and generally unstable employment, the extent to which this applied between secondary labour market occupations varied. This distinction was especially prominent between the factory-based occupations, and those in care-based and customer-facing service occupations. Participant accounts in factory-based employment typically reflected the greater number and greater severity of Piorian descriptors. However, accounts in care-based and customer-facing service jobs whilst exhibiting a similar range of negative characteristics did not express the same degree of dissatisfaction at working conditions in particular. Therefore, participant experiences of negative working conditions in the secondary labour market partially facilitates a dichotomy between lower- and upper- secondary segments. The lower-secondary encompasses the most severe and broad degrees of negative working conditions and the upper-secondary reflects comparatively better, less acute degrees of poor working conditions.

The distinction between the lower-secondary and upper-secondary segments is further entrenched when investigating both the levels of language accumulation which occur in both sets of occupations, as well as their relative minimum language requirements for entry. Regarding the latter, factory-based occupations illustrated no minimum language threshold with participants who could not speak any English whatsoever able to attain employment. In contrast, occupations in care- and customer-facing service occupations were found to possess a minimum language threshold of 'Low' from the language gradation chart (presented in the previous chapter). Participant experiences of failure to gain access into such occupations highlighted this level of ability as the minimum required to attain employment. Regarding the former, participants expressed distinct difficulty at their ability to learn English in factory-based jobs. This was partially due to the high co-national concentrations exhibited in such work which rendered the spoken language to be Polish or Romanian. In contrast, care- and customer-facing service occupations experienced

a far lower level of co-national concentration which acted as one of several factors (to be delineated in a subsequent section) which rendered the environment suitable for the practice of English. Therefore, the extent to which participants improved their language ability in employment acts as an additional differentiating characteristic between the two segments.

Self-Employment was defined as a withdrawal of labour from the formal labour market and is represented in Figure 7.1 below as an arrow deviating from both the lower- and upper-secondary segments. These points were chosen as the vast majority of participants who entered into self-employment typically did so after a period of time in the lower- or upper-secondary tiers. Furthermore, as the mobility of participants in self-employment is largely beyond the criteria suggested in Dual Labour Market theory, occupational advancement in self-employment exists outside the model. However, self-employment will be investigated as it was a significant part of the labour market experience for a substantial minority of participants. In contrast to the definitions and criteria of mobility presented in previous paragraphs, the factors which facilitated or inhibited advancement in participants' self-defined mobility chains will be delineated and reflected upon.

Figure 7. 1: Labour Market Mobility Model



Source: Created by Author

The diagram above reflects the divisions of the sample in this chapter. In the secondary labour market both the upper- and lower- segments are defined by random mobility chains which stifle the formation of coherent career paths, as well as the negative Piorian occupational characteristics referenced above. However, the extent of these negative characteristics forms a key distinction between the two segments as does the levels of language accumulation which occur in their constituent occupations. Furthermore, minimum language standards required for employment illustrate a significant barrier-to-

entry for the upper-secondary labour market. In contrast, the primary labour market is characterised by structured mobility chains which coherently form into clear career ladders. In addition, both primary segments possess comparatively favourable employment characteristics to those of the secondary labour market. However, the upper-primary is defined by its composition of “professional and managerial jobs” with associated higher pay and superior working conditions (Piore, 1975, p.126). Further distinctions are evident when considering the educational barriers-to-entry at the entrance of each segment as well as the type of learning which occurs within. The lower-primary segment possesses no educational barrier-to-entry with occupationally specific learning defining mobility in this tier. Conversely, the upper-primary segment exhibits extensive formal education as a barrier-to-entry with mobility derived from the application and reproduction of the extensive knowledge generated in education alongside managerial and professional experience.

7.3. Mobility Through the Secondary Labour Market

This section focuses on the labour market mobility experiences of participants as they move through the lower- and upper- secondary labour markets. The first sub-section will primarily focus on the role of language in the lower-secondary labour market. The second sub-section will prioritise the importance of language classes in facilitating advancement from the lower-secondary labour market into the lower-primary. The third sub-section will broadly address the role of embodied cultural capital accumulation (language) in the upper-secondary labour market, and the fourth sub-section will investigate participants who withdrew their labour from the formal labour market to pursue a self-employment pathway as an alternative to secondary labour market mobility.

7.3.1. Lower-Secondary Labour Market Mobility

This sub-section focuses on the role of language in the lower-secondary labour market. Due to the overwhelming number of participants initially employed in ‘Process, Plant, and Machine Operatives’ occupations such factory workers will form the majority of the basis for analysis. Two main points will be addressed as they relate to language in factory employment- the lack of necessity for English competency in such occupations (connected to employment agency use), and the lack of incidental language improvement which coincides with this.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter there was a heavy concentration of participants with 'None' or 'Low' English language ability working in factory-based occupations. This was noted to have been connected to the low language barrier to entry present in the industry as illustrated by Polish Participant 13:

"In a food factory you don't have to know the language at all, so you just come, whatever there are polish, Ukrainian or something like that, Romanian people, so they tell you, there is always someone who speaks English, but you don't have to."

Due to the presence of bi-lingual colleagues as well as the concentration of co-nationals in the workplace the necessity and requirement to learn English in such employment was low. In addition, this was linked to the heavy concentration of employment agency participation in this sector as participants low in language ability used such agencies as labour market intermediaries. The end result is a heavy concentration of predominantly Polish speaking participants employed in 'Process, Plant, and Machine Operative' workplaces.

The consequence of this is twofold: First, there are no incentives for participants to learn the language as their colleagues can either act as translators where necessary or communication can simply occur in the language of the country of origin. This was found to be present within the Romanian subsample as well despite not referencing a majority of co-national colleagues in this sector:

Romanian Participant 10: *"Well, at the factory we did have quite a large group of Romanians and in the breaks, we used to sit together as Romanian and on that point, it was far more easy for us to speak in Romanian..."*

Second, exacerbated by the concentration of co-nationals but also the routine nature of the work a vicious cycle of language accumulation was uncovered where incidental accumulation of language cultural capital was minimal. As a result of the high concentrations of co-nationals with poor language ability the spoken language at work was not English but instead either Polish or Romanian for ease of communication. This resulted in the situation whereby even if a participant wanted to improve their language ability the facility was not there for them to do so. In addition, the manner of work typically took place on a production line with little to no interaction with British workers or customers and as such the traditional avenues of language improvement through interaction with native speakers was not available in the lower-secondary segment (this remained true for participants in other elementary occupations including the elementary service sector). Therefore, should participants seek to remain in the UK and move into a separate and more

lucrative mobility chain an external form of English language accumulation would need to be located.

In terms of language facilitating mobility within the lower-secondary segment such occasions were rare, especially as participants tended to leave the sector as soon as they possessed the language ability to do so (due to a desire for more stable employment within two years). However, Polish Participant 20 is the primary example of a participant who remained in the industry and experienced minimal but existent advancement assisted by language accumulation facilitated by her interactions in the social sphere:

“... quite quickly actually because I think I’ve been promoted like after 7 months I think, I think promoted to senior operative then after 3 months I’ve been taking quality controls and then after again few months later I’ve been promoted to team leader like production team leader.”

Internal advancement in a factory setting did not progress beyond this point for any participant ultimately necessitating between-sector movement for those who sought further mobility in the UK labour market. This matches with Piore’s (1975) characterisation of the secondary labour market and its lack of discernible career ladders. Whilst accumulation of language cultural capital may have facilitated progression up to a point in factory-based employment, it is limited by the promotional reach and structure of the mobility chains present in the industry.

In essence, movement through the lower-secondary labour market is largely defined by occupational inertia insofar as the vast majority of participants struggled to accumulate language cultural capital in ‘Process, Plant, and Machine Operative’ occupations. This was a result of high concentrations of equally poorly endowed co-national colleagues which necessitated interpersonal interaction in native languages as well as the nature of the work and its inherent lack of interaction with the indigenous English-speaking population. Therefore, in order to facilitate movement into a more lucrative mobility chain in terms of stability, working conditions, and labour market prospects language cultural capital would have to be sought from an external source.

7.3.2. Significance of External Sources of Language Accumulation

The majority of participants employed in the lower-secondary segment did not move on to upper-secondary occupations but instead transitioned to the lower-primary segment. The foremost reason for this was participation in language classes which facilitated language improvement external to the labour market and hence gave participants the means to

work in predominantly language-intensive lower-primary administrative occupations. However, ancillary benefits relating to network expansion were also instrumental in this endeavour and will therefore additionally feature in the sub-section below.

The first noteworthy feature of the language classes aside from their primary function of imparting language cultural capital upon participants is that unlike employment in the lower-secondary labour market a variety of nationalities were present within the class. This necessitated conversation in English due to the need for a common language of parlance. This phenomenon was well-illustrated by the experiences of Polish Participant 11:

“I met lots of people, lots of foreign, all foreign...we are all on the same level of English so when we met in the canteen, we no speaking Polish because everyone was from different country, so we have to speak...”

This illustrates the opposite of the phenomenon described in the previous sub-section, instead suggesting a self-reinforcing cycle of language accumulation whereby participants would not only learn English through instruction but also see it bolstered through practice with classmates in a social setting. Therefore, language is learned via both instruction and induction (unlike in the forthcoming upper-secondary segment where language is only learned via induction).

The paragraph above also alludes to the ancillary phenomenon that is the expansion of participants' personal networks. In many cases, this was the first recorded reference of participants expanding their personal networks beyond co-national ties. Whilst such ties were not typically a source of instrumental labour market assistance (although in one case direct employment was gained from a weak tie met at a language class), they were a source of friendship and were explicitly referenced as a source of emotional support by one such participant. However, the key point here is that at this point social ties moved beyond the co-national sphere and into the multi-national which facilitated the inductive accumulation of language cultural capital not only inside the classroom but also outside.

The third and final facet of the language classes which directly impacted upon the labour market experience of participants was the institutional support provided primarily by the teachers themselves. Not only were they instrumental in their primary function of teaching English to their students but also provided advice, support and information which eased the transition of a small number of participants into increased understanding of UK institutions, regulations, and rules. The clearest example is presented by Polish Participant 10 who presents this additional role in general terms:

“...the colleges and the teachers who deal with foreign students, that’s the best way to actually if know completely no one, that’s the people who will help you...”

Therefore, the teachers also perform the function of weak ties highlighted by Granovetter (1973). They act as a bridge between participants’ typically co-national personal networks (up to this point) to that of the teacher, providing useful information which would otherwise be unavailable to the participant undertaking the language class.

7.3.3. Upper-Secondary Labour Market Mobility

The previous sub-sections emphasised the lack of language improvement present in the lower-secondary segment as well as how participants reconciled this with the necessity to learn English for mobility. This sub-section presents the experiences of participants in the care- and customer-facing service occupations (‘Waitress’, ‘Bar Worker’, ‘Barista’) which characterise the upper-secondary segment. In particular, it illustrates how a minimum language threshold and features of the jobs themselves facilitate an environment conducive to learning English. Furthermore, it investigates why participants in care-based occupations spent noticeably longer amounts of time in the upper-secondary segment than participants in customer-facing services.

In contrast to participants in the lower-secondary segment, participants in this tier experienced extensive improvement to their language abilities during their time in care- and customer-facing service employment. This was found to be supported by two significant factors: the minimum language threshold required to gain entry into such jobs, and the nature of the employment itself which was conducive to the improvement of language. Regarding the former, a filtering effect was found to occur where participants who sought to enter into care- or customer-facing service jobs needed to be able to communicate in English to a minimum standard in order to enter employment. Whilst the highest concentration of participants who entered customer-facing service jobs were of the ‘High’ category, those in Care were either ‘Low’ or ‘Moderate’. Nevertheless, in both occupations a number of participants of both ‘None’ and ‘Low’ language abilities attempted to gain acceptance into these jobs only to find that they were rejected due to insufficient language ability:

Polish Participant 22: *“...because I don’t have very good language so I looking for job on factory but first I’m looking for in the restaurant...I have few interview but nobody called me so I must chase factory...”*

Regarding the latter, this minimum threshold led to participants in both occupational groups finding that the concentration of co-national colleagues was either low or entirely English. Moreover, features of the jobs themselves were also readily supportive of incidental language improvement. Both contained either customer- or client- based interaction which necessitated communication in English as well as the collaborative aspect of both jobs which required substantial communication with colleagues. Given the low co-national concentration this also required participants to speak English which added an additional inductive learning opportunity as illustrated by Polish Participant 8 below:

“I was quite happy that I started as a healthcare assistant because I’ve learned English quicker than if someone worked as a cleaner, even easier job you don’t have to interact so much with people like when you are working so I have to say that was a really good thing because then you’re learning English quicker.”

In contrast to the lower-secondary segment findings suggest the presence of a virtuous cycle of language accumulation. The minimum language threshold acted as a filter which sieved participants into those who were able to communicate to a lesser or greater extent in English. This threshold had the additional effect of reducing the co-national concentration of colleagues in employment which provided further inductive opportunities to improve English language ability (due to the spoken language of employment as English). Furthermore, both care- and customer-facing service jobs necessitated communication with clients or customers which added an additional dimension to opportunities for practice. Overall, experiences in these jobs regarding language were the opposite of those in the factory-based jobs which characterised the lower-secondary segment.

However, whilst participants in both industries experienced language improvement, their experiences in other regards were entirely different. Those employed in care-based occupations tended to remain in the occupation for a significant duration (>2 years) whereas those in customer-facing service occupations tended to move out of the industry into a separate lower-primary mobility chain within a similar timeframe. Thematic analysis revealed a dichotomy in participants’ perceptions of the industries whereby as a rule, care-based occupations were seen as fulfilling in terms of job content and work environment. However, customer-facing service jobs did not elicit the same emotions of enjoyment and fulfilment.

Beginning with ‘Caring Personal Services’ the experiences of Polish Participant 8 broadly illustrated the main points of fulfilment touched upon by the sample:

“I like to work in the care industry. I like to work with people...and it gave me the opportunity to do something else later on...”

Participants tended to have a favourable view of their work in this mobility chain. However, they also expressed a desire to advance into more formal and challenging work, typically into the related but separate nursing profession which necessitated further advanced study (and would be considered an upper-primary occupation due to its absolute requirement of a UK university degree). Other participants left the profession entirely in pursuit of lower-primary occupations as a greater test of their abilities. Therefore, although participants did find work in this industry to be generally fulfilling, they did not see it as the limit of their ability and thus over time participants' feelings of satisfaction diminished leading to the desire for the perceived challenge of primary sector employment either through study or career change. Ultimately, the 'Caring Personal Services' occupation did not provide the natural foundation for a career which participants sought.

The eventual realisation described above occurred more swiftly in customer-facing service occupations as participants more readily saw employment in this occupation as instrumental to their primary goal of improving their language ability instead of the basis for a fulfilling and long term-career. This far more functionalist relationship to work led to a swifter erosion of job satisfaction which caused participants to more readily reflect upon their ambitions in the UK labour market. Participants considered the limited promotion opportunities available to them (as evidenced in the quotation below), as well as their increasing levels of dissatisfaction at the inertia and stagnation they felt in their employment which resulted in the ultimate desire to leave these occupations for more lucrative mobility chains in the primary sector.

Romanian Participant 6: *“No I'm gonna quit because I'm 30 years old and I kind of had enough. I mean unfortunately its not the type of place where you can be a career, bartender, head bartender, waiter, head waiter whatever no you can't do that, you're here you're just a waiter or bartender.”*

Participant experiences in both care- and customer-facing service occupations reflect the antagonism between emotional attachment to work and participants' greater labour market ambitions. Those in Care felt their work to be more rewarding and fulfilling than that of participants in Hospitality which acted as a bulwark against their eventual realisation that they desired more from their UK labour market experience. Those in Hospitality had no such bulwark which led to a swifter realisation and desire for mobility which in both accounts resulted from participants' unfulfilled labour market ambitions.

Furthermore, whilst not explicitly stated by the sample, the Bourdieusian framework of exchange also presents a plausible reason for why participants in Care spent substantially longer within the upper-secondary segment than those in customer-facing service occupations. Participants in the former subgroup originated from the 'Low' or 'Moderate' initial language endowment categories whereas those in the latter were predominantly of the 'High' category. This implies that in order to reach the level of fluency required to enter into the more lucrative mobility chains of the primary sector a greater amount of labour-time would need to be expended in order for participants to embody fluent degrees of language ability. Therefore, despite the slower realisation that participants desired more challenging and formal employment, it is likely that this also coincided with a more substantial degree of language improvement necessary to pursue their eventual greater labour market goals.

7.3.4. Self-Employment Labour Market Experiences

Not all participants moved on to primary sector employment, a substantial minority instead chose to leave the formal labour market and enter into a form of self-employment. Self-employment for the purposes of this investigation consisted primarily of participants who ran their own businesses be they fledgling home affairs or thriving enterprises with staff as well as, where appropriate, taxi drivers who characterised themselves as self-employed. Their experiences will be briefly characterised and detailed in the following short subsection.

The subset could be broadly divided into two categories in terms of their motivation for entering self-employment: those who did so with a genuine ambition to start their own business and move at their own self-defined pace, and those who did so using self-employment as a stopgap measure whilst they pursued goals related to formal labour market advancement or in the family sphere. Of the former group their motivations were varied ranging from dissatisfaction with labour market competition to insufficient language ability which led to disenfranchisement with the labour market barriers described in the first section. Regardless of motivation this group ran successful businesses which in one case was sufficiently prosperous to hire additional employees. In contrast, those of the latter group entered self-employment out of an external impetus from their original intentions: the most common motivation was a desire to remain productive during childcare followed by a means to raise income during a period of study. Evidently, the former group had greater motivation to commit to their self-defined mobility chain and

naturally experienced greater success whereas the latter group saw self-employment as a means rather than the end point of their personal labour market goals. This contrast is succinctly expressed by the reflections and ambitions of the two participants below:

Polish Participant 12: *“I mean if the business goes fine for me, the brewery, I’m happy to be an owner of it, have a few staff employed, and as long as I earn enough money to have a comfortable living, I’ll be happy. As soon as I do what I like to which is basically being in the brewing industry, have a bar maybe or even other ideas which I have in mind then definitely that’s going to be something which I’m getting towards...”*

Polish Participant 6: *“I’m a cake maker, yes that’s my main occupation and apart from that I am a full-time student, I’m a full-time student I mean I’m doing access course now because I’m planning on going to uni next year, I’m doing my GCSE’s as well.”*

This contrast illuminates the nature of freedom in self-employment which the former group applied fully to advancement in their self-defined mobility chain whereas the latter applied to external pursuits or commitments. To the more successful entrepreneurs they understood freedom to mean that the rewards from their labour would manifest in business growth and eventual occupational progress. To them, this was an enjoyable, rewarding journey through which they embodied experiential cultural capital derived from and reinforced by their efforts in understanding the variety of skills demanded in running a successful business. To taxi drivers (a category unto themselves) freedom allowed them to choose their own hours and work at times which were convenient to their social roles as husbands and fathers. To the more hobby-oriented entrepreneurs, freedom facilitated their pursuit of other goals be they related to the formal labour market or their personal lives. However, as their labour-time was less focused on activities directly related to their businesses this resulted in less success than their proactively motivated counterparts.

Ultimately, participants’ experiences of self-employment have illuminated Bourdieu’s (1986) framework of capital exchange. Individuals have a finite amount of labour-time with which they may convert into efforts pertaining to either the successful growth of a business or their formal labour market or familial goals. Commitment to the former led to the embodiment of relevant experiential cultural capital necessary for the successful growth of a business. Commitment to the latter siphoned labour-time from this endeavour and instead facilitated its application in congruence with participants’ formal labour market or familial goals.

Summary

This section addressed the key aspects of participants' labour market mobility in the secondary labour market. Regardless of the labour market segment, cultural capital accumulation (more specifically language) was prevalent throughout all sub-sections except self-employment. Participants struggled to learn the necessary language skills required for advancement in the lower-secondary segment and hence tended to seek external sources of language accumulation to facilitate mobility into the primary labour market. In contrast, participants in the upper-secondary segment found the working conditions and working environment to be conducive to the incidental improvement of their language abilities. For both sets of participants their ultimate goal was more rewarding and challenging employment in the primary labour market. Finally, several participants chose self-employment in lieu of the formal labour market. Their success in moving through their self-defined mobility chains ultimately depended upon the extent to which their labour-time was allocated to business-related activity.

7.4. Mobility Through the Primary Labour Market

This section focuses on the labour market mobility experiences of participants as they moved through the lower- and upper- primary labour market segments. The first sub-section will primarily focus on the role of NVQ-level qualifications as they relate to occupational advancement. The second sub-section will investigate participants' aspirations for upper-primary employment and the role of UK degree-level qualifications in facilitating them. Finally, the third sub-section will examine participants' mobility experiences in the upper-primary segment focusing in particular upon the facilitators of upward occupational advancement. A snapshot of participants' overall mobility experiences is available in Appendix 26.

7.4.1. Lower-Primary Labour Market Mobility

This sub-section will explore participants' experiences advancing along the lower-primary mobility chain. This includes investigating the characteristics of the mobility chain itself, the differing mobility experiences of participants depending upon their formal validation of experience gain, and the significance of educational relevance in how skills and qualifications translate into meaningful labour market advancement.

Regarding the former, participants who entered into lower-primary employment coalesced almost universally into administration-related office occupations. What contrasts these

mobility chains with those in the previous segments is that here the majority of participants experienced meaningful and, in several cases, substantial occupational advancement. In this sense, the mobility chains formed into an incremental career ladder which participants could climb in a far more regimented and standardised pattern than in the secondary labour market. This style of advancement is emblematic of the mobility experience of Polish Participant 3:

“Yes, when I started, I was a receptionist and like a general sort of office manager and I was doing...business administration NVQs, it was all, mostly funded then I went to the sales sort of department...”

With a small number of exceptions participants’ mobility experiences mirrored the above with advancement in the lower-primary segment defined primarily by within-firm incremental movements along an administration-related mobility chain.

The structure of the mobility chains was not the sole differentiating factor between the lower-primary and secondary segments. Language ceased to be the primary form of cultural capital facilitating movement (although the process of language embodiment was constant which continued into the primary labour market). Instead, a dichotomy was revealed between formalised and informal experience gain. Participants whose experience was institutionalised in the form of NVQ qualifications (as with Polish Participant 3 above) tended to advance along administration-related career ladders more swiftly and farther than those who relied upon experience alone. In numerous cases these participants swiftly advanced into paraprofessional employment whereas those who did not formalise their experience gain were far more widely spread across the lower-primary sector with the majority clustering around entry-level administrative occupations. This illustrates the significance of the formal institutionalisation of experience in this segment and speaks to the highly regimented structure of its constituent mobility chains.

A comparison between Polish Participant 3 above and Polish Participant 21 below illustrates the differing experiences of participants perfectly:

“...I been invited to interview, I’ve got a job, and I thought ok I’ll give it a chance and I stayed for a probationary period for 3 months...so I gave it a chance and I see how it goes but yeah the probationary period was good and was like extended and extended and I got a contract so I decided to stay for another 8 years.”

After a period of time in secretarial employment Polish Participant 3 began formalising her experience in NVQ institutionalised form. This resulted in swift promotion into the next station of the administrative mobility chain. This process continued up to present day

where the participant is currently employed in a paraprofessional administration job. In contrast, Polish Participant 21 worked in an entry level administrative job for close to a decade relying predominantly upon experiential gain to facilitate her limited advancement as a finance administrator. These experiences are mirrored throughout the sample with participants who formalised their experience advancing in the lower-primary segment, whereas those who did not experienced limited internal and external promotion opportunities in administrative or other mobility chains.

Beyond the formalisation of experience as significant for occupational mobility, the relevance of participants' qualifications to the task at hand was also found to hold substantial bearing over whether it yielded labour market reward. This was apparent in the cases of two participants who had acquired a UK degree but were unsuccessful in leveraging it for labour market advantage in this segment. The reflections of Polish Participant 2 are particularly poignant in this regard:

"...you don't really have to have degree for loads of jobs but certain ones you do, so I think because I got the degree if I want to move up, I've got the door open..."

"I work in Clinical Cordon...you actually have to study for two years and this you do this massive exam at the end and its really high score, you have to get a really high score to pass."

The participant contextualised the utility of her occupationally specific NVQ-level studies with the UK degree she completed several years earlier. Whereas the degree was only considered useful in the context of potential future mobility in the upper-primary segment, the more specific formal training provided by her employer directly facilitated advancement into her current paraprofessional occupation. This coincides with the experiences of the other participant who experienced no direct labour market benefit from his degree due to its lack of direct relevance to his chosen occupation. Therefore, evidence suggests that despite the greater quantity of labour-time embodied in degree-level qualifications, this yields limited value in the lower-primary segment if employers do not value its contribution to the occupation at hand.

Overall, evidence suggests that qualifications are the drivers of mobility in the lower-primary segment. This is reflected in the highly regimented structure of occupational mobility whereby in order to advance along its incremental career ladders participants tended to require formalised NVQ-level qualifications. These served to convey participants' levels of experience to employers and as such served as a useful tool not only of signalling competence but also in facilitating occupational mobility. However, not all qualifications

yielded fruitful labour market results with participants' degree-level qualifications failing to command occupational purchase in the lower-primary segment. This presents the segment as one in which task- and occupation- specific experience is valued highest when it is institutionally validated, and whilst specific cultural capital may facilitate mobility it is moderated by the extent to which employers recognise such experience to be sufficient.

7.4.2. Education as a Barrier to the Upper-Primary Segment

This sub-section focuses on participants' labour market experiences surrounding their efforts to gain access into the upper-primary labour market. In particular, it investigates why participants sought to advance into upper-primary professional employment, their varying abilities to realise this ambition, and the few notable exceptions who attained upper-primary employment without a UK degree.

Naturally, as participants spend increasing durations in the UK labour market this coincides with greater reach in terms of labour market segments (via accumulation of increasing endowments of embodied and institutional cultural capital). However, due to the varying arrival dates in the sample only a minority of participants had reached the point where they endeavoured to gain access to the upper-primary labour market. As such this sub-section is based not only on the accounts of participants who are currently studying UK qualifications to gain access to this segment but also those who noted UK qualifications as a barrier to their future upper-primary labour market ambitions. Thus, one quarter of the sample remarked that a UK degree was necessary for the pursuit of their desired professional occupation. Within this, the majority sought to be teachers but both nursing and office-based professionals also featured.

Concerning participant motivation to advance into the upper-primary labour market, this broadly fell into two categories which were not necessarily mutually exclusive: those who aspired toward professional employment out of a desire to work in the discipline in which they were trained in the country of origin, and more broadly those who sought fulfilment out of their occupation in terms of deriving personal satisfaction out of work- be it through interesting subject matter or a wider positive social impact. Regarding the former, there were strong feelings that their country of origin qualifications had gone unused in the UK which was a source of both demotivation and motivation for participants. It was demotivational in the sense that the accumulated labour-time contained within the foreign degree was wasted but motivational in their desire to stay true to their chosen employment path, and (despite deviations advancing through previous segments) they

continued to aspire to work in their chosen profession. Regardless of their current position in the UK labour market the connection between country of origin study or skills and UK ambition is well-illustrated by Polish Participant 4:

“Participant: In Poland I just finished studies, so I finished university and I was training to be a teacher of English language in Poland...”

Interviewer: So, what would you describe as your dream job?

Participant: ...I think definitely teaching, that’s something I would like to do...”

Regarding fulfilment, this was a broad category in terms of contents as participants’ definitions of what they find fulfilling is subjective and individual. However, their motivation can broadly be summarised by either an occupation’s scope for positively impacting upon the lives of others, or contains subject matter which participants find stimulating such as Polish Participant 6 and her desire to become a maths teacher:

“...I think it would be my dream job, because I find it challenging and interesting...”

However, regardless of participants’ motivations to move on from lower-primary work through the acquisition of a UK-degree, their ability to do so was moderated by both personal attributes and resource-based constraints. Regarding the former, the confidence of participants acted as a primary barrier. They either felt that they would be unable to pass the requisite admissions tests or that they would not succeed in attaining a degree at the end of the process. Naturally, without the confidence to feel achievement was possible, this precluded participants from undergoing the process. Regarding the latter, this pertains to a lack of both time and money necessary to undergo further education. This was found to be moderated by the level of capital contained within participants’ personal networks. In effect, participants faced an antagonism between the need to earn a wage and the desire to attend university to unlock more lucrative upper-primary professional employment. Participants felt that they could not afford to take time off from work in order to study as money was needed to pay for subsistence requirements such as food and shelter. However, in cases where participants operated as family units this antagonism was spread (typically) between members:

Polish Participant 18: *“Interviewer: So, your dad helped you out at the start?*

Participant: Yes, he did, my parents were really good, my mum invested a lot of money since I was little into my education so she like set up various funds, education funds, and stuff so because she said she never know when they could come in handy and when they need money to provide money for my education...”

Polish Participant 1: *“...I know the school really well and maybe do degree at the same time whilst working otherwise it would be very difficult for me because I’m not prepared to study, to take a year off work and study.”*

In the quotations above, both participants possessed personal networks. However, the level of resources contained within them differed dramatically. Polish Participant 18 was provided substantial economic capital from her parents and as such was able to attend university with little attention paid to the antagonistic relationship illustrated above. Polish Participant 1 possessed a significantly lower degree of economic capital within her network and as such faced the antagonism between the need to earn and desire to study much more acutely. These resource constraints at both the individual and network level acted as the primary deterrent for significant portions of the sample who desired to study at UK universities.

In theoretical terms, participants faced the consequences of their limited labour-time. It could be allocated either in the pursuit of the economic capital necessary for subsistence or towards the pursuit of UK institutional cultural capital. Connections to strong ties (friends and family) were found to alleviate this constraint. However, the extent to which this antagonism was relieved was itself subject to either the earning potential of the family unit (as in the case of Polish Participant 1) or its stored economic capital (as in the case of Polish Participant 18). This conflict in the allocation of labour-time has led to a number of participants remaining in lower-primary employment as they consider how their personal network resources may be reallocated to better facilitate the commitment to UK university education necessary for entry into the upper-primary segment.

Alternative routes to advancing into upper-primary employment were exceedingly rare. However, two participants succeeded in leveraging their country of origin skills and qualifications in obtaining work at equivalent level in the UK. In one case the participant was in a management position in Poland and swiftly succeeded in obtaining a similar position in the UK, whereas the other leveraged her country of origin Quality Engineer degree in obtaining commensurate employment instead. The key differentiating factor for these participants was their fortune in finding employers who recognised their embodied (skills) or institutional (degree) forms of cultural capital. This validation unlocked upper-primary sector professional employment and is evident in the quotation below:

Polish Participant 24: *“...I was offered a permanent job because of my degree from Poland as Quality Engineer and they were looking at the time for Quality Engineer and they ask me if I’m happy to stay permanent in company...I said I don’t have experience I’ve only got degree and the guy who interviewed me and I really*

pleased because what he told me he said experience you will gain in the company that you work in, we need someone who is passionate to do the job..."

7.4.3. Upper-Primary Labour Market Mobility

As the analysis moves through the labour market segments natural attrition occurs due to the amount of UK labour-time required to advance through the requisite mobility chains. Therefore, despite the entrance of two participants into the UK labour market at the upper-primary level this sub-section will be comparatively short (as it is based on the detailed experiences of four participants). This sub-section will predominantly focus on the accumulation of cultural capital as it relates to advancement through upper-primary mobility chains as well as the noteworthy theme of occupational satisfaction and how it relates to participants' aspirations for fulfilment in their jobs throughout the labour market experience.

All participants (aside from one additional individual excluded due to personal commitments outside the labour market) experienced continued advancement after having gained access to upper-primary employment. Regardless of the occupation, it was found that participants accumulated a form of experience coined as 'expertise' to facilitate mobility in this segment. Expertise represents the balance of knowledge and experience utilised by participants in order to progress. It amalgamates the experience derived from months or years of practice in a profession which yields unique insight and value with the application of key knowledge derived from education both prior to and throughout the upper-primary experience. This facilitates further and deeper levels of experience described in this investigation as 'expertise'.

Romanian Participant 1: *"I could do my job that I want to do in 10 years...probably 10 years yeah that's a good, with my expertise in catalyst and expertise in the plant I think I'm just meet exactly where I should be so I'm in the right direction there's no doubt."*

'Expertise' began as an in vivo code referring to Romanian Participant 1's benchmarking of mobility in the upper-primary segment (as shown above). However, it perfectly encompassed the type of experience which facilitated mobility in this segment. Regardless of whether participants equated training or experience to be the central factors permissive or prohibitive of their occupational advancement, in both cases participants referenced the application of their university-level education either as a basis upon which further training could build or upon which advanced experience could accumulate. This embodiment of 'expertise' is perfectly referenced by the ambitions of Polish Participant 24:

“The next step is just, go on to higher job, trying to develop myself...you know I’m at the minute applying to be I’m looking for a job to be the quality manager, yeah improving a lot in the companies, seeing more opportunities...going on more courses because the company that I work for they sending us for different course so trying to you know develop myself so that’s the future.”

In theoretical terms, the concept of ‘expertise’ succinctly embodies the Piorian (1975) notion of general traits (reimagined in this investigation as general cultural capital as referenced in the first section). It clearly expresses its core concepts of both the inductive derivation of experience through the identification of complex patterns, as well as the role of extensive formal education in providing the foundation of knowledge upon which this may occur. In this manner it distinguishes itself from experience-gain in the lower-primary segment as it draws upon far greater reservoirs of knowledge and derives experience from the application of this knowledge to complex occupational problems. Over time, participants embody ever increasing degrees of ‘expertise’ which acts as the core driver behind occupational mobility in this segment.

Participants also referenced their sense of vindication at upper-primary employment. This was typically derived from two sources: the knowledge that they are employed in a position consistent with their skills or education, and fulfilment derived from the experiences of intellectual challenge in day-to-day employment. Whilst achieving this level of employment was the primary goal of many participants in the sample, the sense of a journey fulfilled permeated through the manner in which vindication was expressed. However, interviewees also referenced their desire for further personal and professional growth (as is additionally reflected in the quotation above). This suggests that whilst their first labour market goal was to achieve commensurate employment, once this was fulfilled it was replaced by fresh ambitions for yet further labour market mobility. Therefore, a cycle of ambition emerges whereby once one phase of the labour market journey is fulfilled, the next begins with novel aspirations and objectives.

Summary

This section focused exclusively on participants’ experiences of mobility in the primary labour market. The key differentiating factor between this sector and the secondary is that participants experienced meaningful occupational advancement. In the lower-primary segment formalised experience defined participants’ movement along highly structured and regimented mobility chains. However, in order to enter the upper-primary segment a UK university degree was required in almost all instances. In this segment, ‘expertise’ (the

inductive application of both university-derived knowledge and professional experience) was found to account for participants' experiences of occupational mobility. The upper-primary labour market also represented the endpoint of many participants' ambitions. However, once achieved it was noted that these ambitions are replaced by fresh endeavours continuing their occupational ascent thereafter.

7.5. Conclusion

This chapter has answered the following research question in detail:

What are the causes of and constraints to labour market mobility of Polish and Romanian migrants?

In the secondary labour market language was found to be the key form of cultural capital prohibiting participants from entering into the more lucrative career ladders in the primary sector. In the lower-secondary segment participants experienced a vicious cycle of language accumulation. The lack of minimum language requirements contributed to a heavy concentration of co-national colleagues in the factory-based employment which characterised this segment. This resulted in an environment which was far from conducive to the incidental improvement of English. The spoken language at work tended to be Polish or Romanian, and the nature of the work (production line) did not lend itself to high degrees of discourse anyway. Therefore, participants who wanted to learn English were trapped in an occupation which passively opposed their ability to embody the language. In the upper-secondary segment the opposite phenomenon was found. The presence of a minimum language threshold actively reduced the co-national concentration in the caring and customer-facing service occupations which characterised this segment. This gave way to an environment which was conducive to language accumulation in both function and nature. The presence of high concentrations of English or multiple nationality colleagues necessitated discourse in English which was also supported by the customer- or client-facing nature of the jobs which additionally demanded use of English. This resulted in an environment which supported participants' goals of learning the language and facilitated their mobility into the primary sector.

In the primary labour market both experience and qualifications were found to be the critical forms of cultural capital necessary for mobility. In the lower-primary segment NVQ-qualifications, which embody the institutionally recognised forms of occupationally specific learning, were found to be the most successful drivers of mobility. However, participants'

accumulations of occupationally specific experience also yielded positive labour market outcomes. Nevertheless, the relative success of NVQ-qualifications suggests a premium awarded to participants who formalised their experience gain. Moreover, in the vast majority of cases should participants seek to enter into the upper-primary segment a UK degree-level qualification was necessary. A key concern in this endeavour was the antagonism between interviewees' necessity to earn to subsist and their desire to attend expensive university courses. In the upper-primary labour market 'expertise' was found to be the primary driver of mobility. 'Expertise' as a concept represents the combination of institutionally instructed knowledge from university education combined with experience derived from the application of this knowledge to the complex tasks and problems which characterise the professional employment in this segment. This advanced form of experience facilitated movement along the stations of the upper-primary mobility chain.

This chapter has presented the varying pathways and means through which participants experienced labour market mobility. In each segment notable characteristics were highlighted and factors which moderated mobility were detailed where possible. Furthermore, the theories outlined in the previous chapters and at the outset of this chapter were put into effect and successfully presented plausible explanations for the phenomena described. Overall, it is clear that in the secondary labour market language facilitated mobility and in the primary labour market qualifications and experience provided the same. The contributions of these findings as well as those of the previous chapter will be measured against existing literature in the following chapter.

Chapter 8: Implications and Contributions

8.1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to make noteworthy and impactful contributions in the field of migrant labour market interaction. To this end, both the initial and mobility labour market experiences have been studied to provide a holistic approach and perspective beneficial to the literature. The result has been the creation of a novel theoretical framework whose components of Dual Labour Market, Cultural Capital, and Strength of Weak Ties theories have successfully generated results and explanations across the previous two chapters. However, methodological innovations and empirical contributions have yet to be measured against the frontier of knowledge in the field. This chapter will perform that function by comparing and contrasting the results of previous chapters with the current debates occurring within the relevant fields.

Regarding the initial labour market experience, contributions will focus upon the interplay between factors highlighted in the literature review as pertinent to the initial occupational trajectory. Skill-based factors such as language and qualifications, social factors such as networks, structuring factors such as employment agencies and employer preference, and agency-related factors such as migration intention will be measured against the findings of recent literature. Such a holistic perspective differentiates this investigation from previous papers as findings substantiate both relational (broad) contributions between factors as well as focused (deep) contributions within specific topics. In offering a more complete understanding of how migrants utilise their individual skill-based endowments to navigate complex structuring factors to find employment in line with their migratory goals, this thesis contributes an integrated perspective toward migrant decision-making constraints and the factors which shape them.

Regarding the labour market mobility experience, contributions will relate to the analytical framework illustrated in Chapter 4. In contrast to previous literature, this investigation utilised a more analytically rigorous, theoretical approach through which to categorise mobility. This facilitated a better understanding of the extent to which language, qualifications, and experience were useful in the migrant labour market journey. Furthermore, in investigating both initial and mobility experiences in such depth within the same sample this provided unique insight into the role of initial occupations in shaping migrant mobility decision-making constraints. Overall, this chapter will demonstrate how

such insights empirically add to the current literature in the field, as well as how innovations to the methodological framework shaped the overall explanatory potential of this investigation.

To this end, the chapter will be structured as follows: contributions regarding the initial labour market experience will be defined focusing upon both specific and broad contributions within each topical sub-section. Following this, labour market mobility contributions will be emphasised denoting the significance of the methodological framework as well as language and educational factors in comparison to previous literature. Finally, the conclusion will summarise the key offerings of this chapter and define the overall contribution of this thesis.

8.2. Initial Labour Market Contributions

The initial labour market experiences of EU8 migrants have received a substantial amount of attention in the literature (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2007; Parutis, 2014; Ryan *et al.*, 2008; Samaluk, 2016; Vasey, 2016). Topics of interest ranged from a focus upon migrant networks (Ryan *et al.*, 2008) to an interest in the devaluation of migrant qualifications in the UK (Johns, 2013). All such papers have made valuable contributions to the field. Nevertheless, sufficient contributory scope remains for a more holistic approach to investigate the factors which structure the initial labour market experience, as well as a more comprehensive perspective surrounding how migrants applied their embodied skills to navigate such structures. This thesis has endeavoured to build upon previous works through careful, theoretical investigation, the results of which will be compared with the existing corpus of literature below.

8.2.1. Initial Employment

Numerous authors (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) have investigated both directly and indirectly the type and characteristics of jobs in which EU8 migrants were initially employed. Chappell *et al.* (2009), Glossop and Shaheen (2009), and Stenning and Dawley (2009) focused in particular upon the significance of regional labour markets in shaping the initial labour market experience. This hypothesis appears to hold merit in the context of this investigation. Stenning and Dawley (2009, p.285) acknowledged that the low-skilled jobs of 'process operative (other factory worker)', 'cleaners and domestic staff', 'kitchen and

catering assistants', and 'packers and labourers' formed the most common initial occupations in the North East migrant labour market. Within this sample, factory workers also formed the most significant single occupation with 'catering assistant' and 'warehouse worker' also featuring prominently. Stenning and Dawley (2009, p.286) further suggested that some migrants worked in semi-skilled or skilled industries such as Engineering. This was additionally captured in this sample with two Romanian participants achieving initial employment in skilled engineering positions. The parallels between the two sets of findings imply the significant role of the regional labour market in shaping the initial labour market experiences of migrants at multiple skill levels and across time.

Focusing more specifically upon participant experiences in initial employment, the literature (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Parutis, 2014) has instead chosen to focus upon occupational characteristics and migrant tolerance thereof. This thesis contributes an in-depth investigation of participants' feelings of satisfaction and dissatisfaction within initial employment. Related to the literature above, the majority of participants in factory work remarked upon the poor working conditions and long working hours inherent to the occupation. In contrast, in occupations outside of manual labour participants derived satisfaction from multiple sources including learning English and expanding their social networks. This speaks to the broader literature of 'temporariness' (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Parutis, 2014) which argued that migrants of a more permanent orientation tolerate low-skilled employment as a 'steppingstone' to accumulate the skills necessary for mobility. Therefore, the referenced sense of satisfaction may be derived from a sense of accomplishment towards this greater goal, particularly as such migrants were working in customer-facing hospitality and care positions.

Whilst these findings are significant in their own right, they also yield valuable evidence in redefining the manner in which initial employment is viewed in the literature. For example, Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) based upon the findings of Pollard, Latorre and Sriskandarajah (2008), and Johns (2013) amalgamate jobs from factory work to hospitality under the banner of low-skilled work. However, the more nuanced and sectoral-based viewpoint above yields contrasting participant experiences in each industry which will continue to become more profound as further contributions are noted in this chapter.

8.2.2. Language

Regarding language, this investigation placed particular emphasis upon the role of language in constraining participants' decision-making parameters. This was investigated both in terms of narrowing the range of potentially accessible employment, as well as reducing the capabilities of migrants to interface with the labour market directly. The literature (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Friberg, 2012; Parutis, 2014) presented evidence for the former with Friberg (2012) and Parutis (2014) suggesting the irrelevance of language in the construction and cleaning industries respectively. Regarding the latter, Ryan *et al.* (2008), Ryan *et al.* (2009), and White and Ryan (2008) present compelling examples suggesting an inverse relationship between language ability and dependence upon personal network contacts. Against this literary backdrop, this thesis moved away from the dichotomisation of language in terms of 'high' and 'low' which predominated in previous works and sought to holistically investigate the manner in which language constrains migrants' decision-making bandwidth in both practical and psychological terms.

This investigation is unique in its expansion of language gradations into 'None', 'Low', 'Moderate', and 'High' categories. This facilitated a more differentiated understanding of how migrants utilise their scarce embodiments of cultural capital to enter into initial employment. This additional differentiation resulted in a divide between those of the lower three gradations and that of 'High' insofar as the latter category largely evaded labour market intermediary use whereas the others typically did not. This frames the initial contribution of a more nuanced view regarding language and intermediary use than that which is presented in Ryan *et al.* (2008) or White and Ryan (2008). However, further contributions are made when investigating why such a dichotomy exists. Further to the findings of Knight *et al.* (2014) and Samaluk (2016) who comment upon the role of confidence as a key contributor to migrants self-devaluing their employment prospects, this thesis finds that a lack of confidence in one's language abilities also 'self-devalues' migrants' belief that they are capable of interfacing with the labour market directly. This presents language as the key arbiter which determines the extent to which migrants are willing to exercise agency in the labour market. However, as illustrated below, in some cases language alone is insufficient.

As expressed in Ryan *et al.* (2008) and White and Ryan (2008), this investigation confirmed that migrants with high language abilities also tended to be more proactive and independent than those of low language ability. However, refutational findings expressed

in this sample add nuance and depth to the phenomenon. A minority of such participants elected to use labour market intermediaries. For some, they chose to follow in the footsteps of previous waves of migrants entering into agency employment. This lends support to the path entrenchment argument of Vasey (2016) whereby the labour market experiences of forerunners cement the channelling of migrants into low-skilled work through structural, social, and skill-based forces entrenching migrant trajectories into the secondary labour market. However, other participants elected to use family and friends networks out of a sense of trepidation and discomfort. This suggests additional nuance to the relationship between language and agency whereby the degree to which higher language endowments translate into independent labour market outcomes is reliant upon the willingness of the individual to utilise their language ability to source the required information for independent labour market access. Whilst language may provide the ability to engage with employers directly, either for reasons of path dependency or lack of confidence this did not necessarily translate into action. In effect, this presents a novel argument encompassing not only language, but also proactivity in seeking information, and confidence in one's abilities as the trifecta of embodied skills and traits bridging the disconnect between the ability of and willingness to enter independently into the UK labour market.

8.2.3. Skill and Qualification Devaluation

As referenced in the literature review the topic of credential devaluation has been popular to a lesser or greater extent with numerous authors (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Johns, 2013; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016; Vasey, 2016). Debate continues to advance the frontier of knowledge on this topic as Knight (2014), Samaluk (2016), and Vasey (2016) develop the traditional argument presented in Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) orienting around employer devaluation of country of origin qualifications. Knight (2014) challenged the notion that qualification devaluation is inevitable by suggesting that some migrants tend to find work at the appropriate skill- and qualification- level. However, other arguments cemented devaluation in terms of self, referring to perceived Western educational superiority (Samaluk, 2016) or this self-devaluation reinforced within migrant trajectories over time (Vasey, 2016). Nevertheless, the notion of devaluation was further challenged by examples in Ryan *et al.* (2008) which suggested that credential and skill devaluation may not universally apply between professions. This discourse and debate frame the contribution of this thesis which investigated the latter postulation in significant depth.

This investigation revealed that in the case of two highly skilled Engineers who entered into UK employment at the commensurate level, their success was due to the widespread applicability and transferability of their embodied (language, experience) and institutional (qualifications) cultural capital across transnational contexts. This was emblematic of a larger argument found within the sample which demonstrated that migrants' abilities to leverage their country of origin experience and qualifications were ultimately dependent upon their ability to converse directly with employers. Migrants with sufficient language skills unlocked this ability and began the process of convincing management that their embodied skills were transferable. Such findings develop the work of Johns (2013) who attributes the preponderance of EU8 migrants in low-skilled jobs and implicit qualification devaluation to a lack of language ability. Of those who were successful they possessed recognisable experience which could be immediately applied in the new UK position without need for retraining. This lends credence to the argument of Parutis (2014) who suggested that in some industries experience is transferable across transnational contexts. The contribution above develops this argument in introducing sequential necessary and sufficient conditions whereby high language ability provides the means to engage with the employer directly. However, it also acknowledges that employers possess ultimate jurisdiction over whether qualifications or experience are judged to be internationally valid. This develops a Bourdieusian (1986) interpretative element whereby the relative exchange rate of a qualification across transnational contexts in a localised setting is determined by the willingness of local employers to acknowledge the embodied skills of the bearer.

8.2.4. Migration Intention

Thus far arguments seeking to understand why migrants accept work in low-skill, low-wage jobs have centred around 'temporariness'. The literature argues that the willingness of migrants to accept such jobs is either rooted in the intention to return to the country of origin after economic objectives are fulfilled (Anderson, 2010; Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; Piore, 1979), or for more long-term oriented migrants their acceptance is based upon the accumulation of cultural capital necessary for labour market mobility (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Parutis, 2014). Further contributions from Ryan *et al.* (2009) root migration strategies in a familial decision-making framework with notions of 'temporariness' and permanence based upon collective optimisation plans. Developing upon the arguments above, this thesis sought to investigate the suitability of the 'temporariness' argument given its narrow focus upon the employment sphere as well as challenge its jurisdiction over migrants with more

permanent intentions by suggesting that more practical resource-based reasons may drive such migrants into low-skilled work.

Whilst this thesis finds evidence to support the notion of ‘temporariness’ both in the context of eventual return and with the objective of future mobility, findings suggest far more complex and nuanced trade-offs occur in the minds of migrants. Piore (1979) roots the sense of ‘temporariness’ in the accumulation of economic capital and as such migrants’ sense of self is dislocated from the low calibre of work rendering it purely instrumental. Findings suggest that the embodiment of cultural capital (e.g. language accumulation) in the context of country of origin goals (e.g. becoming an English language teacher or more generic desires to upskill for the country of origin labour market) is also sufficient to render migrants’ attitudes towards work as purely instrumental. This implies a more holistic perspective towards ‘temporariness’ moving beyond its narrow focus upon economic capital and towards a more expansive consideration of cultural capital-oriented goals. One further implication is a wider cognisance in future literature of how migrants reconcile ‘temporariness’ with the instrumentality of work.

This investigation also finds evidence to suggest that migrants of more permanent migration intentions do not necessarily insulate themselves from the negative characteristics of work out of an intention for future labour market mobility as per Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) and Parutis (2014). Instead, a portion of migrants in this sample performed cost-benefit analyses of their former lives in comparison to their current work and judged it favourable. This did not insulate participants from the negative characteristics of low-skilled employment but instead revealed a panoply of reasons as to why the poor working conditions and low pay were tolerated. For some, migrants decided that the ancillary benefits of living in UK society in general, such as leading more prosperous lives, was sufficient motivation to endure. Others performed such rationalisations in the context of their family’s migration strategies (as per Ryan *et al.*, 2009) and judged institutions such as UK schools or superior labour market conditions for spouses to be reason enough to tolerate low-skilled work. Overall, this thesis contributes a more holistic understanding of migrant rationalisations for tolerance of low skilled work: it moves beyond the narrow confines of the ‘temporariness’ argument to view migrants more completely as individuals with not only goals, hopes, and dreams, but also responsibilities, families, and transnational labour market experiences which in numerous cases illuminated tolerance of low skilled work in the context of their lived experience and in their role within family.

8.2.5. Employment Agencies and Employer Preference

Employment agencies are one of the foremost structural factors noted in the literature to influence the initial labour market experiences of EU8 migrants. They are reported to perform a matchmaking function channelling migrants into low-skilled, unstable jobs with unpalatable working hours and poor working conditions (Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Parutis, 2014; Vasey, 2016). Fitzgerald (2007) more specifically suggested a proclivity for agency use in the North East food processing sector. The findings of this thesis chime with those above as 76.9% of participants who used agencies found initial employment in an 'Elementary Process Occupation'. Numerous authors (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Datta and Brickell, 2009; Fitzgerald, 2007; Friberg, 2013; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Wills *et al.*, 2009) have sought to understand why such high demand exists for migrant workers in low-skilled jobs. The most common conclusions surround collective notions of 'hard working' and 'reliable' attached to specific migrant groups (EU8) (Vasey, 2016, p.84), and were similarly noted to offer "greater 'value for money'" compared to indigenous workers (McCollum and Findlay, 2015, p.434). These employer perspectives were confirmed in this investigation with a low-skilled factory employer praising Polish migrants in particular as 'hard working' and 'dedicated'.

Regarding a more specific understanding of how migrants continuously enter into agency employment across space and time this investigation offers a multifaceted argument suggesting a hierarchisation of choice based upon the cultural and social capital endowments of participants. Those that used employment agencies were typically low in language ability and therefore relied upon labour market intermediaries to shape their initial labour market experience. They used either strong (first preference) or weak ties (second preference) in order to ease their transition into the UK labour market. This speaks to the discussion presented in Vasey (2016) who argues towards the entrenchment of labour market trajectories as partially due to the interconnected relationship between agencies and both familial and co-national networks. This entrenchment was found to occur not only in a sequential manner with one wave of migrants channelled into agency employment by the prior, but also in parallel whereby a number of pioneer migrants sought information from their concurrent cohort which invariably led to low-skilled agency work. Overall, the findings of this investigation support and expand upon the channelling effect presented in Findlay and McCollum (2013), Sporton (2013) and Vasey (2016), and

emphasise the key role of language as an enabler of information solicitation in evading negative labour market outcomes as per Samaluk (2016).

8.2.6. Networks

The literature surrounding migrant personal networks is well-developed and clear but could continue to benefit from further contributions and greater scrutiny. There is broad consensus that migrant networks either directly or indirectly act as labour market intermediaries (Fitzgerald, 2007; Findlay and McCollum, 2013; Parutis, 2014; Ryan *et al.*, 2009; Vasey, 2016). In this role networks mitigated the lack of language ability many participants endured by acting as a source of not only employment assistance (Fitzgerald, 2007; Parutis, 2014; Vasey, 2016) but also as repositories of informational, accommodation, and in some cases emotional support (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2009; White and Ryan, 2008). Employment assistance manifested as either direct employment provision or recommendations to agencies revealing an open question as to why some participants received direct assistance from a friend or family member whereas others were instead recommended to an additional labour market intermediary. Furthermore, the types of assistance referenced above range widely in terms of substance and significance. Ryan *et al.* (2008, p.679) based on Putnam (2007) alludes to the role of trust in stratifying levels of assistance provision. This investigation builds upon such findings to more holistically investigate trust in the context of migrants as both providers and recipients of assistance, as well as offering a more focused perspective as to how trust reinforces an overall culture of reciprocity within Polish and Romanian communities across space and time.

In addressing the former research gap, the methodological distinctiveness of this investigation in examining participants' complete labour market- and network-related histories facilitated the determination that strong tie occupational mobility is related to the substance of initial employment assistance. The strong ties of participants were noted to offer differential levels of employment assistance which was ultimately bounded by the relative abilities of contacts to hire or recommend, and the industry in which they worked. This in turn was determined to be a function of the amount of time contacts had spent in the UK accumulating cultural (knowledge, language) and social (contacts) capital. Therefore, the quantities of labour-time spent in the pursuit of upward occupational mobility and associated increases in the aforementioned forms of capital form the basis upon which levels of assistance differed within strong tie networks. Such findings were

confirmed over participants' employment cycles as the relative levels they were able to provide depended upon their ability to hire and the industry in which they worked.

The argument above presents the Sporton (2013) and Vasey (2016) hypothesis of networks embedded in structurally reinforced migration trajectories towards low-skilled agency employment in a different light. Whilst findings confirm that skill-based language characteristics led to a greater reliance upon labour market intermediaries, evidence above suggests that the inevitability of network entrenchment within agency recruitment paths is far from guaranteed. In taking a more dynamic perspective this thesis argues that whilst some networks may be embedded in the structural and skill-based processes described in the papers above, networks and the social capital contained within them do not remain static. Whilst the arguments presented in Sporton (2013) and Vasey (2016) may remain true for weak tie networks, within enduring networks of strong ties contact is maintained as migrants experience upward occupational mobility. This facilitates the detachment of migrant trajectories from low-skilled agency jobs and instead towards more favourable labour market outcomes determined by the influence and industry of the strong tie. Therefore, over time networks of strong ties possess the potential to disentangle themselves from low-skilled trajectories as the social capital in Polish and Romanian migrant networks continues to rise.

In addressing the latter research gap, the role of trust was emphasised as a key differentiating factor between strong and weak tie networks as per Ryan *et al.* (2008) and White and Ryan (2008). However, focusing more directly upon the role of trust and its significance to both benefactors and donators of significant forms of assistance yielded sharp focus to its role as a form of social currency. In the minds of participants this currency cemented the probability that provision or reception of assistance would result in favourable outcomes. On a deeper level, the roots of this trust were noted to be founded within a cyclical relationship of obligation and reciprocity whereby the providers of assistance felt compelled to ease the transition of newly arrived strong ties based upon their own reflections of the initial experience. Trust in this context acted not only as a form of influence to be expended in unlocking greater forms of assistance, but also as the social glue without which strong ties would be unable to continue the cycle. In this sense, evidence supports Putnam's (2007, p.137) definition of social capital as "...social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness". Whilst this investigation agrees with the characterisation of the fundamental role of trust presented in Ryan *et al.* (2008), and theoretically within Krackhardt (1992), it also offers a more dynamic and fine-

grained analysis of the social mechanics operating within strong tie networks. This approach offers a novel perspective with Polish and Romanian networks involved in complex evaluations of influence, trust, and risk to determine the levels of assistance provision both requested and received.

Summary

This section has focused upon the most significant contributions made by this thesis in the context of the initial labour market experience. Significant detail regarding the roles of language, qualifications, networks, employment agencies, and migration intention has been added to the debate. As illustrated above, a more nuanced and holistic view of migration intention yielded fresh insight regarding migrant decision-making processes. Furthermore, in encompassing such myriad factors in a single investigatory framework this has provided interesting relational findings between factors such as refutational evidence toward Vasey's (2016) migrant trajectory hypothesis. Overall, this section contributes a novel perspective which moves away from dichotomisation and towards a more complete understanding of migrant decision-making constraints in terms of the interplay between skill, networks, agency, and structure.

8.3. Labour Market Mobility Contributions

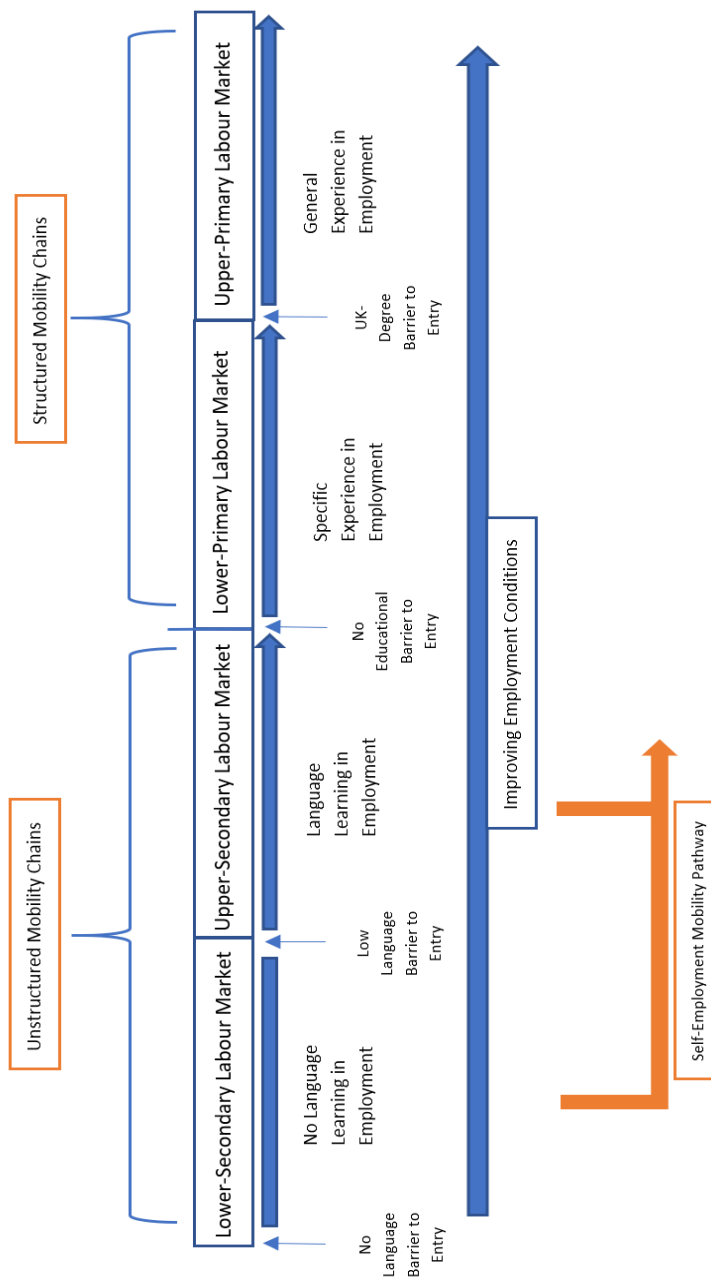
The occupational mobility of EU8 and EU2 migrants is an area which could benefit from additional scrutiny. As stated in the literature review, multiple papers focusing upon the mobility experience (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014) held varying and interpretative criteria as to how occupational advancement was defined. This section emphasises the contributions stemming from the theoretical and analytically rigorous framework delineated in Chapter 4. As such, contributions surrounding the methodological approach, the roles of language and education, and associated motivational factors will be described in detail below.

8.3.1. Methodology

Previous papers have developed their own definitions as to what constitutes occupational advancement. Parutis (2014) offers the useful definitions of 'any', 'better', and 'dream' jobs through which mobility may be categorised. However, categorical inconsistency is present between the first two phases and the latter. Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) follows no specific definitional structure and instead differentiates "skilled or management level jobs" from "low status work" (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011, p.66). Knight, Lever and Thompson

(2014, p.72) divides their sample into rural, urban, and semi-urban sub-samples offering a novel approach to mobility but ultimately defines jobs as '3D', 'non-3D', 'low-skilled', and "positions in the division of labour that would be difficult for recent graduates in Britain to acquire." Knight (2014) offers the most promising analysis of the employment mobility of migrants in the UK by looking at the experiences of her sample in terms of an employment timeline. However, the investigation could benefit from a more objective approach as it continues to fall prey to subjective interpretations of which jobs are categorised as more highly skilled than others: "...the translation job was a stepping stone to the more high-skilled job of a diversity officer at the same organisation..." (Knight, 2014, p.6). This need for a more objective approach to define what constitutes migrant labour market mobility stimulated the innovation of the following model previously presented in Chapter 7:

Figure 8. 1: Analytical Model for Migrant Labour Market Mobility



Source: Created by Author

The purpose of this model was to create a framework upon which migrant labour market mobility could be more objectively investigated. Naturally, over the course of qualitative research numerous interpretative elements enter into investigative research of this nature: participants will have different definitions of what they consider to be highly skilled employment, as will researchers. Indeed, Iredale (2005) and Parutis (2014) both note the differing definitions in research as to what constitutes high skilled work. Furthermore, the descriptive accounts of participants, whilst useful at gauging elements of work such as

working conditions and skill level, should not be relied upon as the sole means of gaining analytical rigour in this regard. Equally, as evidenced in Parutis (2014), relying upon the subjective accounts of participants to formulate the mobility framework itself is fraught with danger when expressing the contribution of the paper. When the framework itself is subjective transferability becomes an issue. Thus, in order to avoid these pitfalls the model operates using Piore's (1975) Dual Labour Market theory as a the overall framework, amalgamating primarily Cultural Capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986) to create an analytical model through which a job's position in the occupational hierarchy can be derived through more objective means, namely: the structure of the mobility chain (whether jobs form into a regular career path or not), the barriers to entry encountered by participants in accessing each labour market segment, and the defining type of cultural capital embodiment which facilitates mobility within and between each segment be it language, experience, qualifications, or none whatsoever.

Whilst significant in its own right the analytical model above facilitated the discovery of significantly more substantial contributions. The findings thereof form the bulk of impactful material unearthed over the course of this investigation. As such, this section will compare and contrast its findings regarding the roles of language and qualifications in facilitating mobility with those of the literature. This will demonstrate areas of substantial contribution unlocked by the analytical model above.

8.3.2. Language

There is widespread agreement in the literature that with increased ability in the English language employment prospects increase (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016). However, what is far less clear is the extent to which language improvement is useful for migrant labour market mobility, the processes through which migrants facilitate language improvement, and the occupational characteristics which may be relevant in assisting or prohibiting such processes. In this sub-section I will compare my findings with those in the literature regarding these three areas of interest before highlighting the significance of migrant agency alongside language improvement as key components of mobility.

Regarding the extent to which language facilitates occupational mobility, it was found to be key for migrants who sought to leave the secondary labour market and enter into the primary. In the analytical model above, migrants were separated into lower- and upper-secondary occupations based upon not only job characteristics, but also the degree to

which the occupations facilitated language improvements. Regardless of the segment, a large proportion of migrants sought upward occupational mobility into the primary sector which was either facilitated by language classes (lower-secondary) or incidental on-the-job learning (upper-secondary). Once participants had successfully entered into the lower-primary segment their mobility concerns typically shifted towards the acquisition and embodiment of UK qualifications and experience. Therefore, the jurisdiction of language as relates to enabling mobility appears predominantly localised to the secondary labour market.

These findings offer a more precise understanding of language as a facilitator of mobility in comparison to previous studies (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014). For example, whilst some papers (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Parutis, 2014) may use a number of Piore's (1975, 1979) descriptive criteria in characterising what is meant by 'better' employment, and others use their own interpretative formulations as to how to define occupational hierarchies (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014) this investigation offered a more rigorous model of labour market mobility focused upon participants' migration histories. This facilitated the more objective categorisation of migrant jobs as per Piore's (1975) mobility chain typology above, which in turn enabled the more rigorous demarcation of the utility of language as relates to mobility.

Regarding within segment mobility, examples were very rare in this investigation with few participants experiencing occupational progression within the largely factory-based occupations which characterised the secondary labour market. This provides largely confirmatory findings regarding Piore's (1975) hypothesis that mobility chains within the sector are random with progression virtually non-existent. However, rare examples existed in which language facilitated limited advancement into supervisory roles. These findings align with those of Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) and MacKenzie and Forde (2009) who acknowledge the lean opportunities for mobility within low-skilled jobs. Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) in particular reference the appeal of migrants with bi-lingual abilities in the eyes of employers. Language facilitates their promotion into positions whereby they may act as interfaces between management and floor workers. Nevertheless, in alignment with the findings of MacKenzie and Forde (2009) examples suggest internal mobility within such secondary labour market jobs does not progress beyond this point.

Focusing more specifically upon the lack of language improvement occurring in the lower-secondary segment, a vicious cycle of language accumulation was discovered. A combination of no language barriers to entry and agency recruitment had channelled large concentrations of migrants with poor language ability into the factory work which characterised this segment. This concentration in combination with the mundane and routine nature of the work resulted in few opportunities to improve English language ability as the spoken language was either Polish or Romanian. Therefore, a vicious cycle emerged whereby those who would stand to benefit most from language improvement entered into jobs which minimised the possibility perpetuating a self-reinforcing cycle of capital inertia. These findings confirm similar phenomena occurring in the samples of Vasey (2016), Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014), and Friberg (2012) in factory work, food processing and construction respectively. This presents an open question as to how such migrants generated the cultural capital necessary to facilitate mobility.

Low-skilled migrants tended to participate in external language classes which facilitated their improvement of not only cultural but also social capital. For many participants this represented their first opportunity to socialise with individuals outside their dense network of co-nationals. MacKenzie and Forde (2007) similarly reference the social aspects of language classes in their investigation of migrant workers, asylum seekers, refugees, and overstayers. Findings presented numerous benefits including inductive language improvement derived from English as the common language of parlance between the myriad nationalities present, as well as the development of emotionally supportive friendships. However, practical informational assistance was not typically forthcoming from classmates, instead this tended to originate from teachers who were found to be significant repositories of advice, information, and support. This speaks to Putnam's (2007, p.143) distinctions of 'bridging' and 'bonding' social capital insofar as classmates tended to be of similar social status to each other and thus did not tend to offer fresh and lucrative sources of information. However, teachers who possessed a wealth of UK-relevant experience and knowledge could act as bridges to relevant and useful sources of information. In essence, although previous literature (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, 2014) has acknowledged language classes as an agent of labour market mobility, this investigation both roots attendance in the context of low-skilled workers' endeavours to achieve occupational mobility, and presents a fine grained analysis of the learning and social dynamics which occur in such classes expanding upon the useful findings of MacKenzie and Forde (2007).

Focusing more specifically upon incidental language embodiment in the upper-secondary segment, this investigation confirms the findings of Anderson *et al.* (2006) and Samaluk (2016) that groups of migrants self-select into the hospitality sector seeking to improve upon their language abilities. However, this is also found to be true for the care sector. Moreover, analysis uncovered a virtuous cycle of language accumulation whereby a minimum language threshold acted as a filter through which only migrants with a sufficient standard of English could flow. This facilitated a low concentration of co-national colleagues which was itself conducive to incidental language improvement. Furthermore, the customer- or client- facing nature of the work provided an additional avenue through which amelioration could occur. Whilst Ryan *et al.* (2008) focuses on the implications of low co-national concentration in terms of network opportunities, this investigation frames its contribution in the relationships between occupational characteristics, hiring criteria, and incidental language improvement. This moves beyond the findings of Anderson *et al.* (2006) and Samaluk (2016) through the illustration of the processes through which language improvement occurs and is maintained. More generally, the dichotomisation of vicious and virtuous cycles of language accumulation emphasise the significance of the initial labour market experience in facilitating mobility out of the secondary labour market.

Within the upper-secondary segment this analysis contributes an antagonism between emotional fulfilment derived from the nature of the work, and participants' overall labour market goals. Interviewees in care work tended to gain emotional satisfaction from their duties whereas those in customer-facing hospitality viewed it in a far more instrumental manner. Previous literature studying fulfilment has tended to focus upon migrants' need for creativity and self-development (Parutis, 2014) or a general desire to achieve commensurate employment in the UK (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014). This desire was reflected in the accounts of participants. However, the findings of this thesis also illuminated how in the context of migrants' overall goals periods of satisfaction emerged which delayed and, in some cases, stalled the overall motivation to reach 'fulfilment' with commensurate employment. Different jobs offer different degrees of emotional satisfaction which may act as a drag to migrants' overall occupational goals. In this sense, this investigation offers a more holistic perspective which acknowledges migrants' quest for creativity and self-development (Parutis, 2014) but also exemplifies that this journey occurs over a matter of years in which other sources of potential fulfilment are able to distract or replace this overarching motivation. Therefore, the embodiment of language cultural capital (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, Lever and Thompson,

2014; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) is not the only obstacle to lucrative primary sector employment, but also emotional forms of cultural capital in focus, surety of purpose, and decisiveness in pursuit of greater labour market goals.

8.3.3. Experience and Qualifications

Within the relatively sparsely populated area of research surrounding migrant labour market mobility, the role of experience and qualifications in facilitating advancement could benefit from additional scrutiny. A small number of papers (Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014; Samaluk, 2016) reference UK qualifications as playing a role in facilitating the mobility of EU8 migrants through the occupational hierarchy. Others (Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014) emphasise the extent to which labour market mobility is possible without having achieved higher education in the country of origin or the UK. Building upon this literary foundation, this investigation contributes: a more fine-grained analysis of the types of experience and credentials which were useful at different points in the labour market journey, how this affected the dimensions of mobility (speed, distance), and explores more deeply the interconnection between migrants' desire for advancement and educational validation.

In the lower-primary segment (within largely administration-related mobility chains) experience and NVQ-level qualifications were found to facilitate mobility. In contrast to previous literature which tended to focus upon cultural capital accumulation in general (Parutis, 2014), or upon degree-level qualifications (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014), this investigation followed the theoretical guidelines of Piore (1975) and outlined a dichotomy whereby NVQ-level qualifications facilitated generally more extensive and swifter mobility within the segment than those who utilised experiential cultural capital alone. Furthermore, degree-level qualifications were found to be of limited use due to their lack of direct applicability to the tasks at hand in the administrative jobs. These findings spoke to the highly regimented nature of the career paths within the lower-primary segment in Piore (1975) through the additional value placed upon institutionalised forms of cultural capital (NVQ-qualifications), as well as the rejection of qualifications (degree-level) which were not interpreted by employers as yielding direct value in the context of the segment. Overall, the focus upon mobility within specific segments has offered a more detailed understanding of the nature of the mobility chains contained within, as well as the relative significance of credentialed task-specific experience in the lower-primary mobility experience.

In order to access the professional and managerial mobility chains which characterise the upper-primary segment, the vast majority of participants identified a UK degree as a barrier to their ambitions. Previous papers (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014) reference the utility of attaining a UK degree in facilitating occupational mobility. However, neither paper directly situates its role as a barrier to or facilitator of highly skilled (upper-primary) employment. The latter paper discloses that “...at some point” a postgraduate course was studied in the UK (Knight, 2014, p.6) and the former implies that “British educational qualifications” aided some participants in reaching “...positions in the division of labour that would be difficult for recent graduates in Britain to acquire.” (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014, p.72). The interpretative definition of post-education jobs in Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) and lack of clarity in terms of timescale in Knight (2014) provided an opportunity for this investigation to make meaningful contributions not only in explicitly denoting a UK degree level qualification as a barrier to the upper-primary segment (in line with Piore (1975)), but also in deepening understanding of the motivations which sustain enduring mobility, and the complicated trade-offs migrants undertake to reach highly-skilled professional and managerial occupations to be emphasised below.

Regarding motivation to enter into the upper-primary segment, participants cited both a desire to work in the discipline in which they were trained as well as a more general need for occupational fulfilment. The former motivation aligns with the findings of Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) and Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) who identify the need to enter into occupations in which migrants were trained as a driving force. However, this investigation isolates this motivation in the context of attaining a UK degree and delves deeper into underlying emotional dynamics. This illustrated how migrants harness their negative emotions regarding resentment of wasted labour-time, and positive emotions surrounding their determination to reach commensurate employment together as a unified source of motivation to overcome labour-market barriers. The latter motivation bares numerous similarities to the “urge for self-development” referenced in migrants’ pursuit of “dream jobs” in Parutis (2014, p.47). The pursuit of challenge and personal growth rang true in both samples suggesting that the desire for upper-primary jobs is not simply rooted in the desire for commensurate employment, but also the pursuit of a career which provides long-term emotional satisfaction. Therefore, this investigation suggests that a UK degree presents not only a barrier to highly skilled employment but was perceived to be a barricade to creative and intellectual fulfilment.

This investigation also identified the pursuit of a UK degree to be a resource-intensive endeavour in terms of both time and money. Participants lamented the antagonism between work and study whereby they needed to earn a wage in order to subsist which would not be possible should they allocate valuable labour time to study. Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) and Sporton (2013) highlight a similar phenomenon in the early labour market experience whereby the nature of agency and low-skilled factory employment imposed prohibitive time restrictions upon migrants negating their ability to attend language classes. Such antagonism was found to exist to a far more acute extent in the lower-primary segment as migrants struggled to gather sufficient economic capital to both afford significantly more extensive university education and generate savings sufficient to buffer lost labour-time. However, strong tie networks were found to be instrumental in overcoming resource-based constraints during this period. Such findings are in line with examples presented in Ryan *et al.* (2008) and Ryan *et al.* (2009) regarding the initial labour market experience, and are theoretically in conjunction with Krackhardt (1992) and Granovetter's (1983) assertions that strong ties are particularly useful during times of vulnerability. Therefore, this investigation argues that strong tie networks continue to be of use to migrants in the mobility experience. Such networks possess the willingness (albeit varying capabilities) to share economic capital and overcome the significant resource-based barriers which require relationships of high trust and influence to overcome.

This investigation also yields further contributions in terms of illustrating migrant mobility experiences in the upper-primary segment. Previous investigations (Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014) although highlighting the pathways of their samples to (presumably) highly skilled employment or more abstract "dream jobs" (Parutis, 2014, p.47), did not explore labour market mobility beyond this point. Indeed, Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011) and Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014) viewed the motivation behind mobility as largely driven by the desire to attain commensurate employment. However, this investigation suggests that once such a goal has been reached migrants continue to yearn for additional personal and professional growth. This ambition is fulfilled through the combination of knowledge accumulated through further education and upper-primary training with the insight and value gained from working intimately in professional and managerial positions. This combination of knowledge and experience was coined 'expertise' to differentiate the more sophisticated process of learning occurring within the upper-primary segment as opposed to the occupation- or task- specific learning embodied in the lower-tier. Nevertheless, such findings not only lend credence to the continued

validity and applicability of Piore's (1975) mobility chain typology, but also offer critical insight into the process of learning through which migrants facilitate continued mobility in highly skilled jobs and beyond.

Summary

This section has framed the contributions of this thesis in the context of previous literature surrounding migrant labour market mobility. Within this domain contributions involving a more rigorous methodological approach to defining the mobility experience were emphasised. This framed noteworthy contributions regarding the relative utilities of language, experience, and education at different periods in the labour market journey. Furthermore, specific contributions with respect to language were highlighted such as the significance of initial occupations in determining language embodiment strategies, and a more detailed investigation as to how language classes facilitate not only improvement in English but also expand migrant networks beyond the co-national sphere. Finally, this section significantly expanded the frontier of knowledge regarding the roles of education and experience. It highlighted the significance of credentialization in the lower-primary segment and explored the role of 'expertise' in facilitating mobility in the upper-primary segment. Overall, this thesis has contributed substantial and impactful findings in the realm of migrant labour market mobility by furthering the understanding of both how and why migrants journey towards professional and managerial jobs.

8.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, results were compared and contrasted with those of the literature in order to illustrate key contributions and advancements derived from the previous two chapters. This thesis has provided substantial and impactful empirical insights into the initial and mobility labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants. Contributions surrounding the initial labour market experience centred around both broad relational findings between factors as well as those more topically focused, whereas contributions regarding the labour market mobility experience yielded substantial insight and knowledge originating from the theoretical analytical framework. This chapter will conclude with a summary of these offerings including a brief consideration as to their overall transferability.

The primary contributions surrounding the initial labour market experience focused upon how migrants utilised their varying levels of socio-cultural capital to enter the UK labour market in occupations in alignment with their migration intentions. For example, a

disconnect between language ability and agency was uncovered whereby high language skill did not necessarily translate into independent labour market outcomes in circumstances where confidence and proactivity were low. Furthermore, this investigation challenges the argument of 'temporariness' both in terms of its focus upon economic capital, and in its application to migrants of more permanent intentions. In addition, analysis took a more dynamic perspective to demarcate the significance of trust, not only as a form of social currency moderating the extent to which assistance was provided but also as the key ingredient maintaining the culture of reciprocity between both donors and recipients of assistance. Overall, substantial and noteworthy contributions have been made adding both breadth and depth to the literature surrounding the initial labour market experience.

The primary contributions regarding the labour market mobility experience focus upon the rigorous analytical framework which provides a more objective means through which to both categorise and characterise mobility in comparison to preceding papers. More specific contributions relate to the precise utility of language in facilitating mobility out of the secondary labour market, as well as how initial employment characteristics shaped migrant decision-making strategies toward attaining the cultural capital necessary to leave the secondary sector. Further contributions relate to the antagonism between emotional satisfaction and ambition with the former acting as a constraint upon the latter. Regarding educational factors, this investigation also illuminated the relative significance of credentialed experience in the lower-primary segment, and the continuing importance of strong ties as sources of significant material assistance in overcoming educational barriers to professional and managerial employment. Finally, this investigation also yields valuable insight into migrant mobility experiences in the upper-primary segment, an area as yet unexplored in EU8 and EU2 research. Overall, the investigation into labour market mobility has provided substantial areas of insight and development to the field.

The final question regarding the significance of these findings relates to how useful they may be when applied to other settings or contexts. Whilst the nature of qualitative research does not lend itself well to generalisability, 'thick description' as advocated by Lincoln and Guba (1985) has been provided in terms of sample characteristics, as well as consistently detailed descriptions of the phenomena in question. Therefore, based upon the methodological and descriptive rigour of this thesis it is possible for readers to come to their own conclusions in this regard. How the research and considerations above impact

upon the potential direction of future research will be addressed in the final summary chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1. Purpose

The purpose of this thesis was to answer the following two research questions:

What are the initial labour market experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants and what determines them?

What are the causes of and constraints to labour market mobility of Polish and Romanian migrants?

Research Question 1 arose out of a desire to provide a more holistic perspective in investigating how Polish and Romanian migrants enter into the UK labour market. Whilst previous literature has extensively and successfully investigated aspects of the initial migrant labour market experience such as migrant use of networks (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; Ryan *et al.*, 2009; White and Ryan, 2008), employment agencies (Friberg, 2012; Parutis, 2014; Sporton, 2013), and the significance of language and confidence therein in facilitating commensurate labour market outcomes (Johns, 2013; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Samaluk, 2016), the cumulative interplay between these factors including those of qualification devaluation (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Samaluk, 2016; Vasey, 2016) and migration intention (Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich, 2007; Parutis, 2014; Piore, 1979) in the context of migrants' overall repertoires of decision-making was determined to be an area which could benefit from additional scrutiny. In contrast to the literature above, this thesis purported a broader investigatory framework encompassing skill-based (language, skills, qualifications), social (networks), structuring (employment agencies, employer preference), and agency-related (migration intention) factors. This perspective was advanced to contribute a more complete understanding of how migrants utilise their finite cultural-social resources to navigate complex labour market intermediary structures to arrive in occupations in line with their migratory goals. In effect, Research Question 1 was designed to contribute a more nuanced and broader understanding of migrant decision-making constraints as well as the conditions under which they were overcome.

Whilst one key purpose of Research Question 1 was to expand upon the breadth of previous investigations, an additional goal was to add depth to existing areas of research. For instance, this investigation expanded beyond the dichotomisation of language presented in previous literature (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; White and Ryan, 2008) in favour of a more differentiated approach in order to more vividly understand how migrants of varying

language abilities interacted with the UK labour market. This fine-grained approach was mimicked across topical areas including: a challenge to the theory of ‘temporariness’ regarding the role of migration intention in accepting low skilled work, a more detailed perspective toward the role of trust in assistance provision within strong tie (family and friends) networks, and a more considered focus upon resource-based differences between strong-tie networks as a potential rationale behind differing initial employment experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants. Overall, Research Question 1 was designed to contribute not only insightful relational findings by virtue of its broad investigatory framework, but also profound topical findings through its detailed approach to specific areas of study.

Research Question 2 arose out of a desire to more accurately categorise and characterise language and education as key facilitators of migrant labour market mobility. Previous investigations which have endeavoured to do so (Parutis, 2014; Knight, Lever and Thompson, 2014; Knight, 2014) introduced varying degrees of interpretation as to how labour market mobility was defined. For instance, Parutis (2014, p.52) defined mobility in terms of a three-step process initiating with “any jobs”, continuing into “better jobs”, and finishing with “dream jobs”. Whilst the first two categories follow largely descriptive criteria broadly related to wages, working conditions, and job stability, the third category introduces highly interpretative and individual notions of “challenge” and “creativity” (Parutis, 2014, p.47). Similar interpretative elements also pervade in the occupational hierarchisations of Knight (2014) and Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014). Therefore, one imperative purpose of Research Question 2 was to create a more structured and analytically rigorous framework which may more accurately determine the relative utility, and significance of both language and education throughout migrants’ labour market journeys.

Within this objective, theoretical framework Research Question 2 sought to investigate how Polish and Romanian migrants achieve occupational mobility as well as the factors which moderate the rate and extent of such movement. Regarding language, this question drew upon the works of numerous authors to identify the significance of initial occupational characteristics in their potential to affect the dimensions of mobility. For instance, based upon the cumulative findings of Anderson *et al.* (2006), Friberg, (2012), Knight, Lever and Thompson (2014), Ryan *et al.* (2008), Samaluk (2016), and Vasey (2016) co-national concentration within industries was determined to be a significant factor which could moderate the passive rate of English language embodiment. Regarding education,

this question utilised a more theoretical approach based upon Piore's (1975) competence-based definitions of 'specific' and 'general' traits to theorise that experience gain would form a core part of the mobility experience once migrants had achieved high levels of language ability. Furthermore, the categorical definitions of Piore's (1975) Dual Labour Market theory also implied the significance of UK degree-level qualifications in accessing professional and managerial employment. Overall, the purpose of Research Question 2 was twofold: its first aim was to theorise an objective framework through which occupational mobility could be characterised, and its second aim was to utilise this framework to identify the relative utilities of language and education in facilitating mobility as well as the factors which moderate their embodiment.

In effect, this thesis was designed to offer both a comprehensive and fine-grained analysis of Polish and Romanian UK labour market journeys from leaving their countries of origin to present day. It aimed to provide both breadth and depth to the ongoing debates surrounding the initial labour market experience, as well as offer a more analytically robust and detailed perspective on how migrants achieve occupational mobility. Subsequent sections will illustrate how these goals were theoretically and methodologically realised, the key results both anticipated and unanticipated which stemmed from this investigation, their primary contributions to the literature, and reflect upon the central limitations of this thesis including areas of potential future significance to the field.

9.2. Theoretical Methods

In order to answer the research questions above, a theoretical framework utilising Dual Labour Market theory (Piore, 1975, 1979), Cultural Capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986), and Strength of Weak Ties theory (Granovetter, 1973) was created. Dual Labour Market theory (Piore, 1975, 1979) provided the structure into which migrants moved, and through which migrants advanced. Bourdieu (1986) offered the means to rationalise migrants as individuals possessing unique levels of cultural (language, education) and social (networks) capital, and Granovetter's (1973) differentiated network approach was used to provide a more vivid understanding of network relationships and the resources which flow through them via their rationalisations as 'strong' and 'weak' ties. Each theory addressed a specific facet of the research questions above coalescing and operating in different ways depending upon the initial or mobility labour market experience. Overall, the three theories worked in tandem to provide a holistic analytical model able to rationalise structure-, skill-, agency-, and intermediary- related factors within a single explanatory framework.

Focusing directly upon Research Question 1, Cultural Capital theory and Strength of Weak Ties theory took precedence in providing substantial contributions to the rationalisation of the initial labour market experience. Bourdieu (1986) facilitated the presentation of migrants' embodied (language, knowledge) and institutional (qualifications) forms of cultural capital in the context of their social networks (social capital) as well as their agency (habitus). This provided the means to rationalise incumbent migrants as individuals with unique levels of language ability (cultural capital), contacts to call upon on arrival (social capital), and objectives which frame the use of such cultural-social resources in differentiated ways (habitus). Strength of Weak Ties theory focused more directly upon network-based relationships and provided the means through which to rationalise both personal networks and employment agencies in terms of 'strong' (personal and familial networks) and 'weak' (formal institutional and informal co-national networks) ties. The rationalisation of these networks in terms of relationships of trust (Krackhardt, 1992) also facilitated the dichotomisation behind both the willingness to provide assistance in periods of vulnerability as well as the substance of that which was provided (employment outcomes). Therefore, these theories combined provided a comprehensive understanding of the decision-making constraints which confronted migrants in terms of their own embodied skills, network relationships, and labour market intermediaries which shaped their trajectory into the Dual Labour Market framework.

Focusing directly upon Research Question 2, Dual Labour Market theory and Cultural Capital theory formed the core theoretical rationale behind the labour market mobility experience. However, Strength of Weak Ties theory continued to inform upon the relationships which proved to be significant sources of assistance during periods of vulnerability. In this context, Piore's (1975) rationalisation of the primary (stable) and secondary (unstable) labour markets in terms of mobility chains formed the key theoretical pillar upon which a more objective rationalisation of the occupational hierarchy could be based. Moreover, Piore's (1975) characterisation of the types of learning which occurred in the lower- and upper- tiers of the primary labour market formed the basis upon which experience and qualifications were formulated to facilitate labour market mobility. Bourdieu (1986) theorised the process of learning which occurred alongside occupational advancement in terms of the embodiment of language and experiential cultural capital as well as the accumulation of institutional forms of cultural capital in qualifications. Combined with evidence presented in the literature review (Cook, Dwyer and Waite, 2011; Knight, 2014; Parutis, 2014) and Piore (1975), this presented the embodiment of language

as paramount for leaving the secondary labour market, the embodiment of experience as critical for advancing in the lower- and upper- primary segments, and the acquisition of a UK degree as critical for entry into the upper-primary labour market. Therefore, Dual Labour Market theory introduced the theoretical rationale behind the structure of the UK labour market, and Cultural Capital theory provided the means through which to discern how migrants achieved occupational mobility.

9.3. Sampling and Analytical Methods

In order to answer the research questions above, qualitative methods were chosen as the most suitable option. Given that the purpose of this thesis is centred around the search for patterned meaning focusing upon potentially complex, subjective, and sensitive decision-making processes a qualitative form of analysis was selected. Within this qualitative framework semi-structured interviews were discerned to be the most suitable method for gathering data. This was borne out of the desire for flexibility, adaptability, and the particular suitability of interviews in examining decision-making rationales (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011). Moreover, the semi-structured approach was utilised to provide a stable foundation upon which comparison between transcripts could occur whilst also facilitating lucrative unanticipated lines of inquiry. These considerations formed the basis of the research design process upon which sampling and analytical frameworks could be constructed.

Regarding the sampling frame, the author enacted multiple subjective decisions which shaped both the populations studied and information gathered. Polish and Romanian migrants were chosen in particular due not only to their position as the largest stocks of EU8 and EU2 migrants in the UK but also their different accession dates which added an additional comparative element to the investigation in terms of shared or divergent labour market experiences. 30 Polish and 10 Romanian migrants were recruited using a combination of online and offline nationality-based communities as sources of participants. This ratio broadly reflected the relative populations of the two nationalities resident in the North East of England at the time of sampling (ONS, 2019b). An extensive interview guide was created to both act as a memory aid and to promote consistency between audio-recorded interviews. Questions were broadly ordered in terms of least thought-provoking to most whilst also maintaining logical cohesion. This was aimed to both put the participant at ease as well as reinforce the credibility of the researcher. The result was the production

of orthographic and detailed transcripts which were instrumental in the process of data analysis.

Regarding the analytical framework, a process of deductive and inductive coding facilitated the creation of a coding repository utilised in the thematic analysis applied to answer Research Questions 1 and 2. The creation of the coding hierarchy followed a three-step process: the first stage involved the familiarisation of the researcher with the transcripts to increase sensitivity to the data; the second stage involved the coding of the data which was either deductively derived from previous literature or theory, or inductively drawn from the data itself; and the third stage involved grouping the codes into coherent and logical groupings of similar interests. Following a lesser or greater degree of manipulation the resultant coding repository was thematically analysed to discern pattern and meaning pertaining to the objectives of Research Questions 1 and 2. This process broadly followed the system prescribed in King and Horrocks (2010) whereby descriptive codes underwent a process of interpretation based upon shared meaning and commonality. This encompassed not only deductively derived codes but also unanticipated and interesting inductive codes. The result of this hierarchisation was the creation of overarching themes which either considered interpretative codes through the lens of relevant theories or generated abstract themes derived predominantly from patterned meaning induced from participant accounts.

9.4. Results

The desire for both breadth and depth yielded a panoply of broad and insightful findings regarding Research Question 1. The initial labour market experience was predominantly defined by work in low-skilled, secondary labour market jobs with manual factory labour as the most popular type of employment. English language ability was found to possess a singularly dominating influence in producing and reproducing this employment outcome. Those who could not speak English to a 'high' standard found their initial labour market experience to be broadly shaped by labour market intermediaries (employment agencies, networks). However, those with both 'high' language ability and internationally recognised skills and qualifications were able to enter the UK labour market without substantial devaluation. Nevertheless, the majority of the sample were channelled into low-skilled work either by their personal networks or employment agencies. This raises the important question of why migrants were willing to work in such occupations. Tolerance was ultimately defined by participants' aspirations either for themselves or their families which

provided either a means to render the work instrumental or provided external impetus to endure its negative characteristics.

A more focused synopsis of findings regarding networks and agencies yields a lucrative summary of key evidence. Regarding the former, participants' personal networks were far more likely to provide significant forms of assistance (employment, accommodation) in comparison to the wider regional co-national network. Trust was found to form the basis of this proclivity acting as both a form of social currency and a guarantor that negative outcomes would befall neither the donor nor recipient of assistance. Regarding the latter, participants were channelled into agency employment either by friends or family without the means to provide direct aid, by advice provided by the wider co-national community, or by utilising their own stores of knowledge on how previous or concurrent migrant waves tended to interface with the labour market. Overall, results presented a dichotomy between largely (but not entirely) independent migrants with 'high' language ability able to enact greater agency over their initial employment outcomes, and those of lower language abilities who yielded their independence to intermediaries which ultimately channelled the vast majority into low-skill, low status work.

The desire for a more structured and analytically rigorous approach to investigating and characterising labour market mobility provided wide-ranging and detailed findings pertaining to Research Question 2. The characteristics of initial employment were found to exact a significant influence upon mobility between the secondary and primary labour markets. Factory-based occupations in particular were found to promote an environment particularly un conducive to the embodiment of English necessary to advance into primary sector employment. A combination of high co-national concentration, no minimum English language standards, and the routine, production-line nature of the work both encouraged participants to speak in their native languages and lowered the opportunity for overall discourse. This resulted in significant numbers of participants seeking external sources to practice and improve their English (language classes). In contrast, participants in care- and customer-facing- service jobs encountered an environment largely well-suited to the incidental improvement of English. The presence of a minimum language threshold filtered work colleagues into those with the ability to speak English to a minimum standard, and the necessity to engage with customers or clients provided a lucrative opportunity to practice. Therefore, language improvement occurred both through colleague and customer interaction. Overall, evidence presented a dichotomy in the secondary labour market characterised by the vicious- and virtuous cycles of language accumulation described

above. The varying degrees of language improvement therein moderated participants' abilities to advance into the primary labour market.

Once participants had entered into the primary labour market education of various forms took precedence as the type of cultural capital necessary to enable mobility. In the administration-related career paths which characterised the lower-primary segment, a dichotomy emerged between experiential and credentialed occupational mobility. Whilst job- and task- specific experience gain facilitated within-segment movement, those who credentialed their increasing embodiments of knowledge found their advancement to be typically swifter and farther than those who did not. However, in almost all instances participants found their pathway to the managerial and professional mobility chains of the upper-primary segment to be blocked by the necessity to obtain a UK degree. Such a significant time and monetary commitment was prohibitive to many but was also alleviated by the willingness of strong tie networks to contribute resources. Those who reached the upper-primary segment found their mobility to be facilitated by 'expertise'. This concept embodied the Priorian (1975) notion of 'general traits' and represented the cumulative application of knowledge derived from extensive formal education alongside the experience accumulated from months or years of practice in professional employment. Overall, evidence suggested that mobility through the primary labour market was largely facilitated by experience or qualification accumulation with subsets thereof enabling or gating advancement within or between their constituent segments.

9.5. Contributions

Derived from the results above substantial and noteworthy contributions have been made relating to the initial and mobility labour market experience. Regarding the former, significant depth and nuance has been added in terms of how and why migrants interfaced with the UK labour market in differentiated ways. Key findings include a renewed qualitative emphasis upon regional labour markets in how they shape the overall breadth of occupations migrants may access, as well as a more differentiated understanding of language and confidence therein. This resulted in a deeper comprehension of how migrants' perceptions of their own embodied skills shape not only occupational reach but also the psychological underpinnings of labour market intermediary use. Beyond this, a broader perspective on the topic of migration intention and low-skilled work yielded a more nuanced understanding of why such jobs were tolerated, particularly regarding migrants with more permanent intentions. Findings moved beyond notions of transience

presented in previous literature and towards a more holistic perspective incorporating more inclusive concepts of family, aspiration, and lived experience. Furthermore, this investigation studied migrant networks from a typically more dynamic viewpoint than those in previous works. This resulted in a detailed and comprehensive understanding of the role of trust in assistance provision from the dual perspective of both donors and recipients, as well as a more panoramic perspective of how networks evolve and grow over time. In contrast to previous theories which embedded networks in trajectories of low-skilled agency employment, this investigation offered a mobility-based outlook rooted in the iterative improvement of employment outcomes over time. In essence, contributions fulfilled their purpose of expanding upon previous works by adding both breadth and depth to the literature.

Regarding the mobility experience, the rigorous theoretical framework described above facilitated a greater and more precise understanding of the causes and constraints to mobility, both skill-based and psychological. In the literature language was determined to be a key facilitator of migrant occupational advancement. This investigation offered a more fine-grained analysis of the processes through which language was learned and a more detailed understanding of the decision-making processes which underpin this embodiment. In particular, the significance of initial employment characteristics was emphasised as a key factor which moderated not only the opportunity to learn English but also the overall mobility strategies of the migrants involved. Likewise, the literature suggested education to feature prominently in the upward occupational mobility of migrants. Contributions in this regard centred around a comparative perspective between credentialed and non-credentialed experience in the lower-primary segment with the former found to typically offer swifter and more extensive mobility than the latter. Furthermore, a UK degree was found to form a substantial bulwark against the professional and managerial ambitions of migrants. This investigation found support for the continued relevance and significance of strong tie networks in assisting participants to overcome this barrier and enter into the expertise-driven mobility chains beyond. Likewise, this thesis shed new light upon the psychological and emotional antagonisms which featured throughout the mobility experience as migrants endeavoured to rationalise short-term emotional satisfaction against long-term ambition. Overall, the dynamic, theoretical perspective offered by this thesis yielded greater understanding and depth to the complex skill-based and psychological constraints which characterise the migrant mobility experience.

This investigation successfully answered the research questions initially presented in the introduction chapter. Novel insights were gleaned as to how migrants with differentiated skill-based and social resources navigated complex intermediary relationships to enter into the UK labour market with or without assistance. Furthermore, the rigorous analytical framework presented in the theory chapter facilitated a more structured and detailed understanding of how language, education, and qualifications aided or abetted mobility throughout occupational advancement. These insights coalesced into meaningful and significant contributions providing an incisive perspective into the migrant labour market experience overall.

9.6. Limitations

Whilst the findings above have amounted to substantial and noteworthy contributions to the field it is also imperative that the limitations of this investigation are addressed. One key limitation results from the sampling timeframe whereby participants were asked to reflect upon their labour market history and journeys. This naturally results in less accurate information than had it been recorded concurrently to participants' experiences. Despite this shortcoming, accounts reflected significant detail and precision even when addressing events which occurred over a decade ago. Furthermore, the investigation focused upon a relatively modest regionally focused sample which impinges upon the transferability of results to other migrant populations in different settings. Nevertheless, contributions highlighted in the previous chapter demonstrate how this thesis enmeshes with the arguments of the wider literature which suggests the potential for greater explanatory appeal. It is also possible that the researcher's lack of ability to speak Polish or Romanian may have deterred potentially less linguistically able participants to take part in the investigation which could have biased the sample in favour of those more confident with language. Pair-based interviews were used to compensate for this as much as possible but slight bias may potentially remain. Finally, it is important to acknowledge that this thesis occurs in the shadow of Britain's exit of the European Union. This implies a diminishing significance upon the focus of Research Question 1 due to the potential end to the free movement of persons enshrined in EU citizenship. However, this also places the thesis in the vanguard of a new and increasingly important wave of research focusing upon the labour market integration and mobility of the existing stock of EU8 and EU2 migrants. In effect, although the investigation is subject to a number of methodological and contextual limitations, these are not thought to impact upon the overall epistemological and contributory distinction of this thesis.

9.7. Future Research

This thesis has presented a comprehensive account of the initial and mobility experiences of Polish and Romanian migrants in the UK. Nevertheless, over the course of this investigation areas which could benefit from future detailed analysis were revealed. As alluded to in the limitations section above, Britain's exit from the European Union marks a radical change to established population flows and migratory processes occurring in the field. Whilst potentially limiting the longevity of previous research it also presents increased opportunity to examine migrants' strategies of return and how successfully they reintegrate into country of origin labour markets with UK embodied and institutional cultural capital. Furthermore, regarding the stocks of EU8 and EU2 migrants in the UK current research (including this investigation) could benefit from a comparative perspective between migrant and British mobility experiences and advancement strategies. This would add additional depth to the phenomena described in this thesis and offer a measure against which migrant mobility could be compared. Likewise, a more nomothetic quantitative investigation focusing upon migrant mobility pathways would yield much needed breadth to a field currently dominated by idiographic qualitative research. In effect, this investigation offers not only a myriad of interesting and relevant findings, but amongst such contributions it provides a point of departure from which numerous lucrative future lines of inquiry could diverge.

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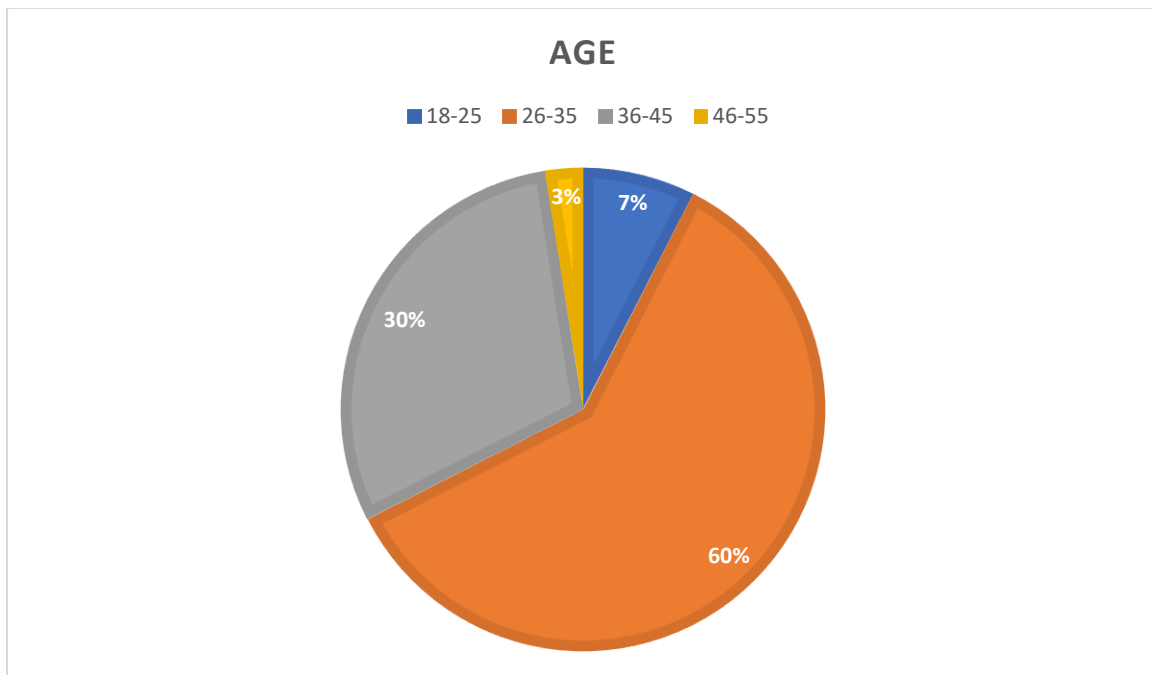
Appendices

Appendix 1: Strengths and Weaknesses of Face-to-Face Interviews

Strengths	Limitations
Rich and detailed data about individual experiences and perspectives	Time consuming for researchers to organise, conduct and transcribe
Flexible: you can probe and ask unplanned questions	Lack of breadth because of smaller sample sizes (compared to qualitative survey study)
Smaller samples: you often need only a small number of interviews to generate adequate data	Not necessarily ideal for sensitive issues: some people feel may more comfortable disclosing sensitive information in a group setting or in an anonymous survey
Ideal for sensitive issues: a skilled interviewer can get people to talk about sensitive issues	Time consuming for participants: an interview often takes at least an hour to complete
Accessible: can be used to collect data from vulnerable groups such as children and people with learning disabilities	Lack of anonymity: may be off-putting to some participants, especially those who are 'hard to engage' in research
Researcher control over the data produced increases the likelihood of generating useful data	Not necessarily 'empowering' for participants: participants have less control over the data produced (compared to qualitative surveys and email interviews)

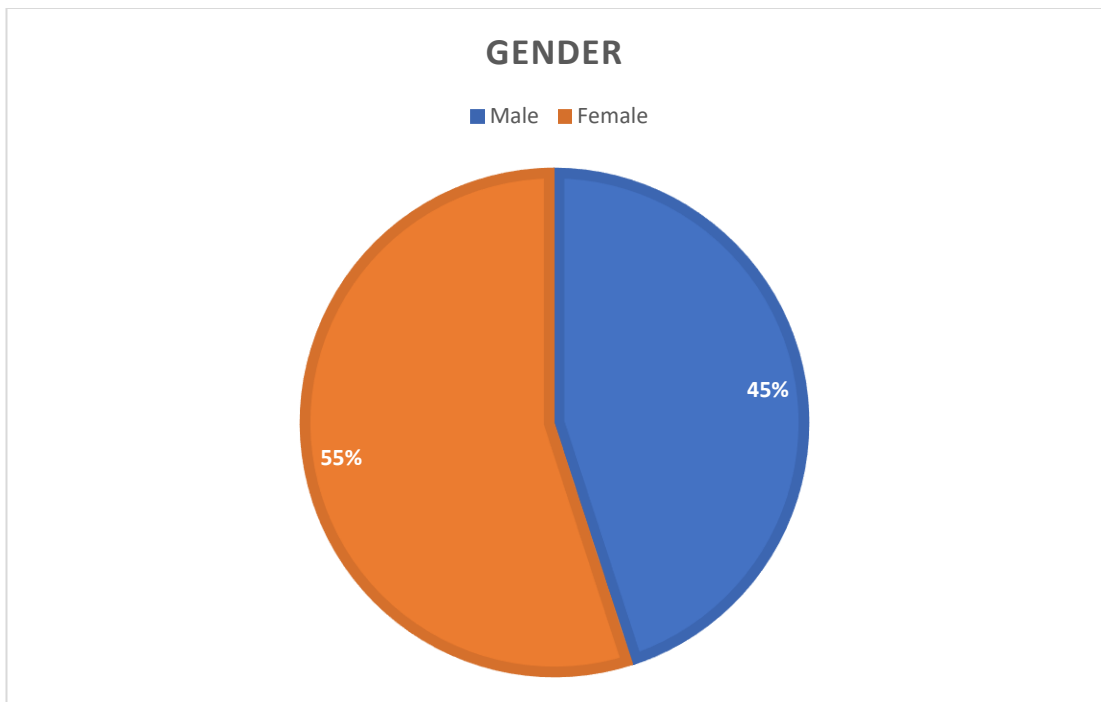
Source: Braun and Clarke (2013, p.80)

Appendix 2: Sample Demographic Characteristics- Age



Source: Created by Author

Appendix 3: Sample Demographic Characteristics- Gender



Source: Created by Author

Appendix 4: Polish Recruitment Poster



Durham
University
Business School

LOOKING FOR POLISH
PARTICIPANTS
**RESEARCH PROJECT
OPPORTUNITY**

£10 PARTICIPATION REWARD

My name is Dorrian Affleck and I am a PhD student at Durham University Business school. I am doing research on Poles in the North-East labour force; looking into your work and employment experiences.

The aim of the project is to help the research, business and wider community understand the types of jobs Poles were employed in after arriving in the UK compared to today as well as to compare this information with other nationalities of residents in the North East.

The research would take the form of a face-to-face interview that should not take more than 45 minutes and **all information will be strictly confidential with all names of participants anonymised**. The interview can take place at a location that is convenient for you as I am more than willing to travel.

I would be looking to interview residents of Polish origin in the North East of England who moved to the UK between 2004 and 2016 with the conversation centred around your experiences in work and your progression through jobs since arriving in the UK. A good standard of English would be needed to get the most out of the interview. If this is a project that would interest you, please contact me for more details at the email address below.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT: D.A.L.BECKKOK@DURHAM.AC.UK

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 5: Romanian Recruitment Poster



LOOKING FOR ROMANIAN PARTICIPANTS

RESEARCH PROJECT OPPORTUNITY

£10 PARTICIPATION REWARD

My name is Dorrian Affleck and I am a PhD student at Durham University Business school. I am doing research on Romanians in the North-East labour force; looking into your work and employment experiences.

The aim of the project is to help the research, government and wider community understand the types of jobs you were employed in after arriving in the UK compared to today as well as to compare this information with other nationalities of residents in the North-East. The effects of the recent referendum and Brexit on your working lives will also be looked into. **This is a chance to tell your story.**

The research would take the form of a face-to-face interview that should not take more than 45 minutes and **all information will be strictly confidential with all names of participants anonymised.** The interview can take place at a location that is convenient for you as I am more than willing to travel.

I would be looking to interview residents of Romanian origin in the North-East of England who moved to the UK between 2014 and 2016 with the conversation centred around your experiences in work and your progression through jobs since arriving in the UK. A fair standard of English would be needed to get the most out of the interview. If this is a project that would interest you, please contact me for more details at the email address below.

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT: D.A.L.BECKKOK@DURHAM.AC.UK

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 6: Research Ethics Consent Form



Research Ethics Consent Form

An Investigation into the Labour Market Experiences of Polish and Romanian Migrants in the UK

Dorrian Affleck, Ph.D. student Durham University

d.a.l.bechkok@durham.ac.uk

Please Tick Box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information contained in the email and had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw consent at any time without giving reason.
3. I agree to take part in the study named above.
4. I understand that my data will only be accessed by those working on the project.
5. I understand that my data will be anonymised prior to publication.
6. I agree to the use of my anonymised information in research publications.
7. I agree to the publication of verbatim quotes.
8. I understand that the interview will be audio-recorded and that the recording will be stored securely and destroyed after completion.

Name of Participant	Date	Signature
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Name of Researcher	Date	Signature
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Source: Created by Author

Appendix 7: The Interview Guide

Background Questions

What is your name? (Randomised for the purpose of confidentiality in the thesis)

(Gender also noted at this point)

Where were you born? (What country were you born in? If misunderstood)

Which age category do you fall into? (18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66-75; participants expected to be more likely to give accurate information if given a category than asked to give exact age as it may be considered too personal)

What is your first language? (What is your mother tongue? If misunderstood)

*Do you speak any other languages? (**Rephrased** to- 'Do you speak any other languages apart from English and 'first language'?)*

What is your current occupation? (What job do you perform at the moment? If misunderstood)

How long have you been working in that position? (How long have you worked in 'job'? If misunderstood)

What was your previous occupation(s)? (What job(s) did you do before this? If misunderstood)

Primary Questions (Employment Experiences, Network Questions, Labour Market Journey)

When did you first arrive in the United Kingdom?

What made you choose the United Kingdom as a destination for work?

*What made you choose the North East? (**Added** after pilot interview)*

*How long do you plan to stay in the United Kingdom? (**Rephrased** to 'Are you well settled in the UK?' after pilot interview as a less intrusive question given the context of Brexit)*

*Who did you come to the United Kingdom with? (Family, friends, alone) (**Rephrased** to 'Did you come to the UK with family or friends?' after pilot interview)*

Do you have family living in the United Kingdom?

*Follow up question- **If 'yes'**: Are they located in the region where you work?*

***If 'no'**: Do they have any plans to follow you to the United Kingdom?*

(Logical place in interview to place a question beginning to map out personal network of participant)

In what industry are you employed?

Follow up- How long have you worked there?

Follow up-Is this your first job in the United Kingdom?

If 'yes': Why did you choose this job? (Literature suggests that EU8 migrants' choices are limited therefore I expect in several cases for participants to not have had a choice- fruitful line of inquiry)

If 'no': where did you work previously?

Do you consider your current job to be better than your old one? (If unclear, specify 'better' in terms of wages, working hours, permanent employment, working conditions)

Are there many co-nationals that work with you in the same job? (If misunderstood- 'Do you work with many people from your country of origin?')

If 'yes': Do you know if they arrived in the UK at a similar time to you?

If 'no' are there many other European migrants working with you in the same job? (Press for specific nationalities)

(Over the first few interviews as I grew more comfortable with what to expect the participants to say the above questions were expressed in a manner giving participants more freedom e.g. 'Walk me through your labour market experiences/job history in the UK?' with the interviewer occasionally referencing questions above if they were missed from the participants' account)

Did you have assistance from a co-national in obtaining your current job?

If 'yes': Was it a relative or an acquaintance?

Follow up: Has this person helped others find a job too?

*If 'no': Did you use an employment agency? (**Added** as an unconditional question after pilot interview, **rephrased** as 'Have you ever used an employment agency to find a job in the UK?')*

Follow up: Do you know if many other co-workers used an employment agency?

Do you have much contact with co-nationals in the UK?

Do you have much contact with co-nationals in your country of origin? (Questions focused on assessing the social mindset of the participant- whether their frame of reference is primarily country of origin or country of destination)

Follow up: Does social media help you to maintain contact with friends and family back home? (Social media and migration remain understudied- adds to the contribution of the thesis)

Do you know if your employer recruits personnel from an agency or whether there are migrants who recommend workers to them?

If 'agency': Cease line of questioning

If 'recommendation': Do the recommenders tend to supply the company with workers from the same country of origin?

(As above, questions broadened over time into wording more open-ended to facilitate participants to talk in greater detail beyond the scope of smaller questions- larger questions surrounding agencies: Have you had any experiences with employment agencies in the UK?

If 'yes': Could you describe those experiences in greater detail?

If 'no': Cease line of questioning)

Do co-nationals often help other newly arrived co-nationals?

Follow up: What form does this help normally take?

Follow up: Is any help expected in return, either in the present or in the future?

Do you know many co-nationals in the area?

Follow up: Do you trust or distrust other local co-nationals? (Designed to gauge how the participant regards co-nationals to help inform their use of the migrant network)

Do you ever feel an undue burden or responsibility to other co-nationals and does it impede your progression in the labour market? (Designed to see how participants feel about providing assistance to other co-nationals and whether it comes at any self-cost)

Do you feel a sense of camaraderie (**changed** to community after pilot interview due to misunderstanding) or competition with other nationalities of EU migrant at work?

If 'community': Cease line of questioning.

If 'competition': What form does this competition take? (Potentially fruitful to see how different migrant groups compete for opportunities in a workplace)

Follow up: Is there competition between different nationalities to attract positive attention from employers?

(During your time with this company, have more or less co-nationals than other nationalities been hired? – Question cut after pilot interview due to lack of participant knowledge)

Was your initial intention to come to the UK for temporary employment?

If 'yes': What changed your mind?

Follow up: As your length of stay in the UK increased did you find that your status in UK society mattered more and your status in your origin society mattered less? (Testing for migrants' transitioning sense of self to the UK context and acclimatisation to UK society)

If 'no': Cease line of questioning.

Was the type of employment you initially had access to satisfactory?

Follow up: Did you feel that your foreign qualifications were recognised in the UK?

What type of job did you hope to attain in the UK?

Is your current job the type of employment you were looking for?

If 'yes': *Did you find that language played a pivotal role in your ability to succeed in getting that job? (Move on to ask: Did your understanding of the UK labour market also help you to succeed? These questions seek to establish the role of cultural capital accumulation as an important factor of advancement)*

If 'no': *What factors do you think hindered you in getting the job you desired?*

Would you say that learning the English language was the most important factor in your accessing better job opportunities? (I understand that 'better' is a subjective statement, but I add it in here to assess how participants view good/bad jobs from their perspective, and what facilitates their access to them)

(Added: *Follow up: How about UK qualifications?)*

Do you have much knowledge of workers' rights in the UK?

If 'yes': *Please elaborate*

If 'no': *Have any trade unions tried to contact you with information?*

(These questions aimed to investigate participant levels of knowledge about their workers' rights as the theory predicted it to be a potentially important factor explaining exploitation in initial labour market occupations. However, as interviews progressed they were noted as unimportant as many had no union contact or knowledge of their rights in the UK which is interesting in and of itself)

Have you ever asked for higher wages, better working conditions, more sociable working hours, or increased safety during your employments?

If 'yes': *What resulted from this request?*

If 'no': *Are you satisfied with your employment conditions?*

(After pilot interview participants were asked about their comparative reflections of the above factors in each of the workplaces they were employed in)

Have you ever felt discriminated against in employment in the UK?

Are the majority of your friends in the UK co-nationals? (Questioned aimed at mapping out current personal network of migrants)

If 'yes': *Did you find that lack of UK-specific experience limited the ability of your friends and acquaintances to help you achieve the job you desired?*

If 'no': *Did you find that your UK friends were helpful in the provision of information, advice, and other assistance?*

What would you describe as your dream job?

Follow up: How close are you to achieving this dream job?

Do you think that achieving your dream job is more possible in the UK than in your country of origin?

(Aim to be a measurement of participant's personal ambition)

Brexit Questions- Questions necessary to give context to participants' future decisions (participants were also eager to express their opinions and experiences on this matter and thus after the pilot interview more detailed questions were asked)

How has Brexit affected you? (General Question facilitating an expected wide range of answers)

Do you seek to remain in the UK?

If 'yes': *Has the Brexit decision affected any of your employment plans in the UK?*

If 'no': *Why? (I understand this question may be difficult for the participant to answer so I will be ready to reassure them that it is not compulsory, and we can move on)*

How do you feel about the recent referendum and its result?

Follow up: Has it changed your opinion of the UK as a place to work and reside?

The following questions were added after the pilot interview:

Have you experienced a change in attitude towards you from your employer or co-workers as a result of the referendum?

The North East voted strongly in favour of Leave, has this influenced your decision to move to and work in another region in the UK?

Do you know of any friends or family who have changed their decision to move to the UK after the referendum?

(These additional questions are designed to focus the thoughts of participants surrounding the emotive topic of Brexit whilst also linking directly and indirectly to their labour market experiences)

Closing questions:

What is your view on the role Polish (or Romanian depending on the participant) people play in the UK workforce? (If misunderstood, 'Which jobs do you think Polish (Romanian) migrants are most heavily concentrated in in the UK?')

Do you have any anecdotes or stories you'd like to tell me about your experience working in the UK? (Let the participant continue to discuss anything they wished to mention that did not come up naturally in the interview)

End

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 8: Preliminary Analysis Compiled Methodological Memo

Creation of Summary Sheets

The summary sheets created possessed 6 six categories (as shown in Appendix 9 below). These categories consisted of:

- Identify the ways in which family, friends and acquaintances influence the migrant labour market experience.
- Identify the role of the co-national network in the working lives of migrants.
- Identify the role of agencies in the working lives of migrants.
- Discuss the role of language in defining the migrant labour market experience.
- Discuss the role of qualifications in defining the migrant labour market experience.
- Identify how participants reflect on the role of their nationality in the UK labour market.

The selection of these categories was based on the interests of the research questions and distilled from relevant theory and literature gaps. As is evident in Appendix 9 single-sentence answers were given relating to directly relevant passages of text which were indexed with line numbers in the transcript. In addition, age, year of arrival, gender, first job and current job were noted to present a snapshot picture of the participant which can be easily referenced at any stage of analysis to refresh knowledge on the researched and to facilitate comparison between cases. Of further note is the methodological memo included alongside each summary sheet which contains both manual notes made directly after interviews as well as researcher reflections on the summarisation process. Such information proved valuable as a recollection of interview answers noted as atypical were remarked upon, and commentary (including rationale) for information omitted from the summary sheets gave direction for future analysis in CAQDAS.

The rationale behind using summary sheets for analysis is based on the advocacy of Miles and Huberman (1994) who remark upon the benefits of data summarisation. They argue that one of the main boons lies in the ability of summaries to assist with focusing on the key points in the data and hence avoid distraction and confusion with ancillary details. In addition, summaries are also noted to be compatible with the constant comparative method which was used in preliminary analysis. Performing such analysis manually in a preliminary setting was thought to not only generate useful similarities and differences but also familiarise the researcher with the primary analytical tool of the investigation. Manual methods were chosen for this analysis for a similar reason: the desire to remain close to the data and learn the method without the additional burden of learning CAQDAS.

Constant Comparative Analysis

Constant Comparative Methods followed the structure advocated by Harding (2013:66):

1. *Make a list of similarities and differences between the first two cases to be considered.*
2. *Amend this list as further cases are added to the analysis.*

3. *Identify research findings once all the cases have been included in the analysis.*

Following the completion of the summary tables, the process above was followed in the pursuit of commonality and difference (an example of a table created to facilitate this can be seen in figure 8 appendix). On the subject of commonality, as the comparison between each section of the transcript continued, the level of similarity became broader. For example, whereas similarities on the subject of agency employment may have begun as 'two participants felt discriminated against by the agency', the similarities would have ended as 'fifteen participants had negative experiences with employment agencies'. Naturally, not all participants could be identified with commonalities in each section therefore analytic induction (seeking surrounding context to identify common factors in difference) was necessary to explain such difference. In examining areas of difference, it was possible to find three different types of divergence: broad, narrow, and common. The first relates to major distinctions in the sample, for example 'Participants had positive experiences with the local co-national community' and its negative inverse. The second relates to differences within difference such as 'Participants experienced jealousy from the local co-national community' and 'Participants received little assistance from the local co-national community'-both contributory factors to the overall negative experience but different, nevertheless. Finally, commonality in difference was sought, for instance whilst the above example presents differences in participants' experiences with the local co-national community, commonality exists insofar as all had contact to a lesser or greater extent with the community.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 9: Preliminary Analysis Summary Sheet Example

Summary Sheet- Polish Participant 3 (26-35, Arrival: 2005, Female, First job: McDonalds Worker, Current job: Customer Accounts Manager

1. Identify the ways in which family, friends and acquaintances influence the migrant labour market experience.

Friends helped with accommodation initially (Lines 156-159)

Friends recommended she apply to agency with 2nd job (very brief employment) (Lines 278-283)

Used contacts to recommend friends to recruitment agencies (Lines 411-414)

Currently helps friends with employment due to position in company (Lines 767-771)

2. Identify the role of the co-national network in the working lives of migrants.

Worked with very few Polish in office jobs (Lines 427-425)

Didn't want to work in food factory; competition, toxic atmosphere (Lines 480-483)

Co-national stranger helped with McDonalds job: currency of co-nationalism (Lines 487-490)

Jealousy- Polish community: dislike participant for her success; cut ties with network (Lines 611-617)

Strangers approach participant and husband with CVs for work recommendations (Lines 741-746)

3. Identify the role of agencies in the working lives of migrants.

Friends got jobs via direct recruitment in Poland of factory in Consett (Lines 232-236)

Used conventional methods to get receptionist job (dropping off CV) (Lines 289-292)

4. Discuss the role of language in defining the migrant labour market experience.

Spoke academic English initially, learned from a young age (Lines 885-887, 105-107)

Language never been a problem for progression (Line 931)

5. Discuss the role of qualifications in defining the migrant labour market experience.

Whilst receptionist studied business admin NVQs, funded by company (Lines 298-300)

Self-taught the necessary skills for 3rd job, felt underqualified (Lines 318-323)

Company developed skills a lot: invested in people; leadership and mgmt. qual. (Lines 340-344)

Came to UK straight after GCSE's (Lines 873-875)

6. Identify how participants reflect on the role of their nationality in the UK labour market.

Jobs no one else wants to do: factory work (Lines 1287-1292)

More skilled jobs also performed: doctor (Lines 1298-1299)

Methodological Memo- Factors Excluded from the Summary of Polish 3 Interview

This was a fruitful interview with a participant who began as a McDonalds employee and worked her way up to a management position through ambition, determination, and self-improvement. Her career trajectory really took off during and after her receptionist job as the company had an internal policy to invest in their employees: the participant then took courses to improve her abilities which eventually led to management. Language was never a severe hinderance and the participant had very little contact with the wider polish community. In terms of friends, they helped her to initially acclimatise and also recommended her to an agency for a very briefly held job in an engineering company. In turn she has helped other friends with employment where she can. The vast majority of the interview has been outlined into the summaries, however, parts where she discussed her husband were omitted.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 10: Coding Repository Utilised for Data Analysis

Name	Description
Characteristics and Features of Initial Employment	This parent node is used to contain all participant experiences pertaining to initial employment including their feelings towards the work, as well as its defining features.
Co National Concentration in Initial Employment	This categorical node contains participant quotations surrounding their assessments of the quantity of co-nationals they worked with in initial employment.
High Concentration of Co Nationals in Initial Employment	This node describes instances where participants reported working predominantly with co-national colleagues in initial employment.
Low Concentration of Co Nationals in Initial Employment	This descriptive node contains participants' recollections of working primarily with indigenous British colleagues or a wide variety of non-co-national colleagues.
Participant Accounts of Job Preference	The node contains the accounts of participants as to their relative gradations of job preference from initial employment to present day. Participants comment upon the features of employment such as working conditions, job stability, fulfilment, promotion opportunities.
Participant Feelings Towards Initial Employment	The categorical node contains participants' feelings towards their initial employment experiences.
Dissatisfaction with Initial Employment	The descriptive node contains participant reflections upon feelings of dissatisfaction in initial employment.
Satisfaction with Initial Employment	This descriptive node contains participants' reflections upon their feelings of satisfaction in initial employment.
Factors Affecting the Migrant Labour Market Experience	This bucket node contains all nodes of interest as defined in the literature review or theory sections relating to the labour market experiences of participants.
Co-National Community	This node acts as the bucket node for all descriptive codes relating to the role of the co-national network also known as the local co-national community in the labour market experience of participants.
Assistance Provided by Co-National Community	This node contains all instances of participants receiving assistance from members of their local co-national community.

Name	Description
Informational Assistance Received by Co-national	This node continues in the tradition of the accommodation and employment assistance nodes in describing instances where participants received informational assistance from a co-national stranger, not a friend.
Assistance Provided to Co-National Community by Participant	This node contains all instances of participants providing assistance to co national strangers in the wider co national community.
Information Assistance Provided to Co National Community by Participant	This node records instances where participants help strangers via the provision of information be it social, cultural, societal, or potential job vacancies.
Co-National Network Usage over Time	This node contains instances of participants' co-national network usage changing over time.
Declining Contact with Co-National Community Over Time	This node is designed to describe instances where participants experienced declining contact with co-nationals over time.
Participant Connections to the Local Co-National Community	The node contains participant accounts of how they engaged with the wider local co-national community network.
Connection to Co-National Network via Community Organisation	This code encompasses instances where the participant references a community organisation as their conduit to the polish co-national network
Connection to Co-National Network via Employment	This node represents instances where the participant comments on their connection to the community primarily via the medium of work.
Connection to Co-National Network via Social Media	This node describes instances where participants are connected to the co-national network via the likes of Facebook and twitter for example.
No or Minimal Contact with Co-National Community	Self-Explanatory node to describe instances where participant remark upon their lack of contact with the local co national community.
Participant Experiences Involving the Co-National Community	This node contains the experiences of participants interacting and engaging with the local co-national community.

Name	Description
Negative Experience with Co-National Community	This is a node for accounts where participants remark upon instances of competition on the basis of material possessions such as a car and house. It also includes other less prevalent sources of negative interaction.
Positive Experience with Local Co-National Community	Self-explanatory, represents instances where participants remark upon positive interactions with co-nationals (but not friends) in the area.
Employment Agencies	This node acts as a bucket node for all descriptive codes relating to employment agencies during the initial labour market experiences of participants.
Experience with Employment Agency	This node is a categorical node for participants who have used an employment agency in the UK labour market.
Negative Experience with Employment Agency	This node is for instances where participants mention they have had a negative experience with an employment agency.
Hearsay	This node is a child node under Negative Experience with Employment Agency represents negative experiences but not directly experienced by the participant.
No Experience with Employment Agencies	This node encompasses all instances whereby participants report they have no experience with employment agencies.
Positive Experience with Employment Agency	This is a categorical node to account for instances where participants remark positively about employment agencies.
Rationale Behind Agency Usage	This categorical node contains participant accounts of why they used employment agencies.
Why Use Agencies Hearsay	This node contains participant accounts of why they think other migrants use employment agencies or why friends of theirs have used employment agencies.
Why Use Agencies Independent	This node contains the instances where participants elected to use employment agencies directly without a recommendation or information from a personal or co-national network.
Why Use Agencies Network	This node contains instances where participants were channelled into agency employment via personal or co-national networks.

Name	Description
Co-National	This node contains instances where participants were channelled into agency employment via information provided by the local co-national community.
Personal	This node contains instances where participants were channelled into agency employment via recommendations from friends or family.
Language	This acts as the bucket code for all descriptive codes relating to language in the initial and mobility labour market experiences.
Co-National Concentration Impacts upon Language Accumulation	This categorical node contains instances where participants remark upon how co-national concentration inhibited or facilitated their ability to improve their English language ability.
High Co-National Concentration Negative Impact Upon Language Accumulation	This node describes instances where participants noted that high co-national concentration negatively impacted upon their ability to improve language. This was predominantly due to English not being the spoken language in the workplace.
Low Co-National Concentration Positive Impact Upon Language Accumulation	This descriptive node contains instances where participants reported that having predominantly native or other nationality colleagues assisted in their language learning. This was due to the spoken language at work being English.
Initial Language Gradations	This node contains all information utilised to determine the initial language endowments of participants, be it None, Low, Moderate, or High.
Initial Language Endowment High	This categorical node describes participants' initial language ability who expressed prior language training, practice, or experience in the country of origin and reported no difficulties with language during the initial period.
Initial Language Endowment Low	This is the descriptive node relating to participants who possessed more than no language ability but still at a low level during the initial phase of their labour market journey. Reported incidents of difficulty communicating in English.
Initial Language Endowment Moderate	This categorical node is designed to describe participants who could initially express themselves better than those with low initial language skill but lacked the training and fluency of those with Good initial

Name	Description
	language endowment. Participants initially experienced some difficulty in expressing themselves or understanding indigenous British citizens.
Initial Language Endowment None	This node is a categorical one which contains remarks of participants expressing that they possessed absolutely no English language ability upon arrival in the UK.
Language Requirement for Initial Employment	This categorical node contains instances where participants noted that they either needed to speak English to a particular standard in order to attain initial employment or no English ability at all was required.
Language Necessary for Initial Employment	This node describes instances where participants stated that their language ability was a necessary component of their initial employment experience. In other words, their language ability was required for initial employment.
Language Not Necessary for Initial Employment	This node describes instances where participants remark that language was not necessary in their initial labour market experience (predominantly factory work).
Language Accumulation in Initial Employment	This node contains instances where participants remarked upon their experiences of language improvement or lack thereof in initial employment.
Incidental Language Accumulation in Initial Employment	This node categorises instances where participants comment on language gain in initial employment.
Lack of Language Accumulation in Initial Employment	This node represents instances where participants note that they did not practice English in their initial employment.
Language as a Facilitator or Inhibitor of Mobility	This node contains instances where participants remarked upon the role of language as either a facilitator of their upward occupational attainment or as a barrier prohibiting them from doing so.
Language as an Inhibitor of Mobility	This node is designed to encompass all mentions relating to instances where participants remarked upon language as responsible for a lack of mobility or a barrier to mobility.
Language as Barrier-Confidence	This node represents instances where the participant notes language as a barrier to mobility via the medium of confidence. In other words, due to participants' lack

Name	Description
	of language ability they lacked confidence to attempt to progress in the labour market.
Language as Facilitator of Mobility	This node is for instances where participants remark upon the importance of language as a facilitator in achieving upward occupational mobility.
Participant Experiences in Language Classes	The node describes instances where participants took language classes to improve their English skills and their experiences therein.
Migration Intentions	This node includes all codes regarding whether participants initially viewed their stay in the UK to be permanent, temporary, or uncertain. In addition, it contains participant comments upon when and whether their migration intention changed during their labour market journey.
Migration Intention Inflection Point	This node represents participant accounts of the point at which and rationale behind their migration intention transitioned from temporary to permanent.
Permanent Migration Intention	This node contains all instances of participants initially referring to their stay in the UK as permanent.
Temporary Migration Intention	This node contains all instances of participants initially referring to their stay in the UK as temporary.
Uncertain Migration Intention	This node contains all instances of participants initially referring to their stay in the UK as uncertain.
Miscellaneous Codes	This categorical node contains information considered to be noteworthy in the entire labour market experience but did not quite fit into one of the other key categorical nodes.
Declining Number of Co-National Colleagues as Mobility Occurs	This descriptive node references participant accounts of declining co-national concentration as they ascend the division of labour.
Desire for Mobility Lacking	This node is a subjective node relating to the quotations of participants whereby they express no further desire for mobility based upon contentment with their current situation.
Family Considerations in the Labour Market Experience	This node catalogues instances throughout the entire labour market experience whereby participants have factored in family considerations in a meaningful way into their labour market decision making process. In

Name	Description
	other words, family consideration has affected participants' willingness to accept certain jobs, withdraw their labour from the labour market, or work part-time for childcare reasons.
Future Employment Plans	This node contains all instances where participants reference their employment intentions beyond the date of the interview.
Positive Comments on Co-National Work Ethic	This descriptive node encompasses all instances where participants remarked upon positive comments by employers concerning their work ethic in an employment setting.
Self-Employment Mobility Experience	This descriptive node contains participants' experiences of leaving the formal labour market and entering into self-employment as well as their experiences in self-employment.
Personal Network	This node acts as the bucket node for all codes relating to personal networks in the initial labour market experiences of participants.
Composition of Personal Network at Time of Interview	This node contains participant responses to the question of whether their personal networks were predominantly co-national, English, or a variety of both at the time of interview. It was thought that this would give some insight into potential links between English ties and language improvement as well as a better understanding of the UK labour market.
Personal Network a Variety	This node describes instances where participants remark that their personal friendship networks are a mixture of co-nationals and natives/others.
Personal Network Mainly Co-National	This node encompasses all instances where participants refer to the contents of their personal network as predominantly co-nationals.
Personal Network Mainly Natives	This node describes instances where the participant is primarily friends with natives.
Family	A simple parent node for all other nodes in the Personal Network category relating to Family.
Participant Provided Assistance to Family	This is a categorical node to include all instances where the participant provided assistance of any sort to a family member be it employment, informational, or accommodation when they were in a position to do so.

Name	Description
Role of Family in Defining Initial Experience	This categorical node describes instances whereby participants were provided informational, employment, or accommodation assistance as well as contains participant quotes surrounding how family defined participant's locational choice in the UK.
Family as Reason for Moving to Specific Location in UK	This node catalogues the experiences of participants where an established family member or members were responsible for determining the region, town, village, or city where the participant settled to work in the UK.
Family Provided Initial Accommodation Assistance	This node encompasses all instances where a participant received accommodation assistance from a family member.
Family Provided Initial Employment Assistance	This node includes the codes where participants were provided initial employment assistance by a family member. i.e. help obtaining their first job.
Family Provided Initial Informational Assistance	This categorical node describes instances where a family member provided information to a participant during the initial labour market experience. Typically, shortly after arrival.
Friends	Categorical node to contain all child nodes relating to Friends, assistance provided, received etc.
English Friends Helpful	This is a descriptive node for instances where participants remark upon the utility of English ties in learning UK-specific capital such as language and the way things work
Language	This node contains instances where participants remarked upon the utility of English friends in learning English.
Understanding Labour Market and Society	This node contains instances where participants remarked upon the utility of English friends in learning the way institutions work in the UK.
Participant Provided Assistance to Acquaintance	This is a descriptive code related to instances where a participant provided any type of assistance to an acquaintance when they were able to do so.

Name	Description
Participant Provided Assistance to Friends	This is a descriptive node to describe instances where participants provided assistance of any kind to friends when they were able to do so.
Role of Friends in Defining Initial Experience	This categorical node describes instances where participants were provided informational, employment, or accommodation assistance as well as participant quotes surrounding how friends defined participants' locational choice in the UK.
Friends as Reason for Moving to Specific Location in UK	The node contains all instances where participants reported moving to a specific location in the UK due to the existence of a friendship network.
Friends Provided Initial Accommodation Assistance	The node categorises instances where participants reported receiving accommodation assistance from a friend immediately or shortly after arrival.
Friends Provided Initial Employment Assistance	This node categorises all instances where participants report receiving assistance from friends in obtaining their first job.
Friends Provided Initial Informational Assistance	This node categorises all instances where participants report receiving informational assistance from friends, this includes national insurance help, bank account help, local area help, vacancy information etc.
Independent (No Network Use)	The node describes participants who received no help initially from either friends, family, or the co-national community and instead were proactive in establishing themselves in the UK.
Maintains Contact with Friends or Family in Country of Origin	This node represents instances where participants reference maintaining ties with friends or family back in the country of origin.
Qualifications	This node acts as the bucket node for all descriptive codes relating to qualifications in the initial labour market experience.
Country of Origin Skills and Qualifications	This categorical node contains all information pertaining to participants' country of origin careers, skillsets, and educational achievements. It also includes participant feelings toward how their skills and qualifications were valued in the new field-context of the UK labour market.

Name	Description
Employment in Country of Origin	This node contains any information relating the participants' labour market experiences in the country of origin.
Qualifications and Skills Undervalued in Initial Labour Market Experience	This node describes instances where participants felt their country of origin skills and qualifications were undervalued due to their inability to attain initial employment commensurate with their skills, education, or experience.
Studied at University in Country of Origin	This categorical node is for participants who studied at university in the country of origin.
Studied at University level in the UK	This node is categorical for instances where participants report having studied in a UK university.
The Role of Experience and Qualifications in the Mobility Experience	This categorical node contains all instances where participants referenced either experience or qualification accumulation as necessary for their mobility in the UK labour market.
Education or Experience as a Barrier to Ambition	This node describes instances where participants referenced either education or experience as a barrier to future ambition. It discusses instances in the present in which participants remark upon occupational inertia due to lacking education or experience.
Experience as a Barrier to Mobility	This node describes instances where participants' lack of experience acts as an impediment to attaining their desired occupation or promotion.
Experience as a Facilitator of Mobility	This node describes instances where participants remark upon the accumulation of experience as instrumental in facilitating occupational mobility.
Qualifications as a Barrier to Mobility	This node describes instances where participants' lack of qualifications acts as an impediment to attaining their desired occupation or promotion.
Qualifications as a Facilitator of Mobility	This node describes instances where participants remark upon the use of UK qualifications (NVQ- and degree-level) as instrumental in facilitating occupational mobility.
Utility of Country of Origin Cultural Capital in Initial Labour Market Experience	This node contains all instances of participants commenting on whether their country of origin skills and qualifications were useful or not.

Name	Description
Country of Origin Degree Not Useful in Initial Labour Market Experience	This node represents all instances where participants referenced their degree as useless in the initial labour market experience.
Country of Origin Degree Useful in Initial Labour Market Experience	This node represents all instances where participants remarked positively upon the utility of their degree from the country of origin in the initial labour market experience.
Country of Origin Experience Not Useful in Initial Labour Market Experience	This node represents all instances where participants with country of origin experience referenced instances where their former skillsets in the country of origin were of little use.
Country of Origin Experience Useful in Initial Labour Market Experience	This node represents all instances where participants referenced some aspect of their country of origin skillset as useful in the initial labour market experience.
Participant Employment History	This node contains all job information pertinent to defining participants' employment experiences and will be used to chart their initial employment and labour market mobility path.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 11: Methodological Memo Decision Log Example

Romanian Interview 9 is now added to the nodes as it is mentioned in notes as being another typical interview. It is therefore useful in building a cluster of typical interviews against which more outlandish ones may be compared and added.

1. Polish Participant Employment History has been recoded as Participant Employment History in order to be more efficient with space as the number of nodes is already relatively high.
2. Node added to Research Aim Personal Network with Family Provided Initial Informational Assistance, this node is in the tradition of the other Assistance nodes but covers strictly information provision such as national insurance number, local information, generally defined as 'the way things work' advice.
3. Coded a passage into Migration Intentions Node: important as migration intention linked to not investing in education in UK- here to earn a wage.
4. In order to avoid loss of within-case detail, manual illustrative memos will be created and scanned as an image into NVivo capturing intricate details on a timeline from arrival to current day. This is primarily useful for progression and noting at which point participants did what in order to determine the temporal significance of events.
5. My own manually coded diagrams are being imported into the Polish + Romanian Interviews Internals tab as personal memos. This will facilitate future between-case comparison to determine which factors are relevant and when during mobility.
6. Relationship node created to represent the link between migration intention and qualifications as a barrier to progression. The participant wants to be an engineer, but he states he is there to work not to study and hence cannot justify the lost wages that he would otherwise accumulate during study.
7. Changed node from Maintains Contact with Friends Back in Poland to '...Back in Country of Origin' as this was a relevant node for Romanian participant 9 as well. Further amended to Maintains Contact with Friends or Family back in Country of Origin.
8. Added in a categorical node for Family in which all nodes relating to family in participants' network experiences will be contained, also added a node for Friends which will fulfil the same function for friends.
9. Renamed 'Polish' Network nodes to 'Co-National' Network nodes (in the co-national community category) to encompass Romanian perspectives and engagement with the local co-national community of the sample.
10. English Friends Helped Understand UK node was created to note instances where participants commented on the utility of having English friends to assist in labour market and social understanding.
11. Romanian Community Provides Assistance to Co-Nationals was created to describe instances where participants note their local co-national community as a helpful entity in terms of support: could include work, social, or other forms of assistance.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 12: Language Typology Utilised for Analysis

Gradations	Description	Example
None	No language ability whatsoever	<i>I didn't speak at that time, nothing at all (Polish 11)</i>
Low	Claim to have struggled with English	<i>...my biggest disadvantage was English I couldn't speak much English... (Polish 10)</i>
Moderate	Possess some English language training but report some difficulty	<i>I could speak English...and although I learned in Poland it was always found that the language...its completely different to like live language if you know what I mean (Polish 18)</i>
High	English not a barrier initially, prior English language training	<i>...we start to learn English...from him and I think that's why it was so easy... (Romanian 8)</i>

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 13: Language Typology Compiled Methodological Memo

A key focus of this thesis was to eliminate as much subjectivity from the analysis as possible. However, regarding language gradations it was necessary to create a criterion upon which participants' differing language ability could be categorised into groups of similar proficiency. Ultimately, I as the researcher become the arbiter of how participants' quotations regarding their initial language ability are interpreted. Therefore, it is important that the rationale behind each delineation is clearly defined for the purposes of methodological rigour and validity. Consideration was put into the creation of a decision tree illustrating the potential necessary and sufficient conditions for a participant to be considered for each category. However, given the levels of interpretation in this endeavour it was deemed best to describe my own experiences in categorising participants' language abilities.

None: This was the easiest language gradation to characterise as it is an absolute value. Participants who reported possessing no language ability arrived with zero ability to interact or engage with the indigenous population. They could neither understand nor speak English at all and thus their expressions regarding this fact were very clear as illustrated in the example quotation in Appendix 12. In all cases participants expressed their inability to speak English in absolute terms.

Low: This was the hardest language gradation to characterise due to the difficulty in differentiating participants in this category from that of the Moderate category. Participants in this category may or may not have studied English at school. However, the key differentiating factor is that at the time of arrival participants claimed that they had either struggled significantly with learning English in class or that they had forgotten all of their language training at that point. Therefore, for the participants who did study English at school, at the time of arrival it was of no functional use to them and was in effect treated as if participants had had no language training. The majority of participants in this gradation discussed their language ability in terms of "basic" English, able to communicate at the most rudimentary level with basic phrases but found communication to be particularly difficult. The quotation in the typology above is emblematic of this difficulty. It is important that I also clarify what the dividing line was between those of 'Low' and 'None' language gradations, whilst participants of no language ability whatsoever were completely unable to communicate, those with low language ability had some level of ability to do so albeit with substantial difficulty. The example presented above illustrates the very basic ability participants of this gradation possessed. Even though in some cases it may appear that their ability was functionally None, their small level of language ability did facilitate some degree of communication which participants attempted to leverage (albeit mostly unsuccessfully) in the employment or social sphere.

Moderate: As with the previous gradations this was relatively difficult to characterise due to the difficulty in differentiating participants in this category not only from those of the Low gradations but also those of the High. Participants in this category all remarked that they had either studied English at school or had practiced English in some capacity in their former lives. For example, a Romanian Pastor had studied with an American member of the clergy from whom he picked up some English. I fully acknowledge that it is impossible to fully equate a level of inductive practice to a level of deductive training. Therefore, an additional means was necessary to equate participants to this category. However, first of

all it is important to note that the vast majority of participants studied English at school and retained that knowledge when they moved to the UK. Furthermore, in all cases whether via practice or study participants reported struggling upon arrival in the UK. For all participants they recognised that the language they had learned at school or through practice did not equate well to the practical difficulties of communicating in English on a daily basis. Whilst participants did receive training in the country of origin, they found that it translated poorly into the practical context. This manifested in substantial difficulties understanding accent, idioms, as well as general comprehension. Whilst these participants were able to express themselves to a greater extent than those with low language ability, their abilities to express themselves remained limited. Indeed, participants in this category did not possess the level of language capital of those in the High category and still strained to communicate with both indigenous British in a social context, as well as with prospective employers in the work context.

High: This gradation was relatively easy to delineate as whilst it is not an absolute value this group represents the pinnacle of language ability in the sample. Participants in this gradation had typically studied language at university level either because the degree itself was taught in English, English was the subject of study, or participants took language classes alongside their main degree. Therefore, for the most part participants had studied language for a substantial amount of time and at the most advanced level. A minority of participants in this category who did not have university-level training were permitted to be in the High sub-sample as they expressed a high degree of practice either occurring as a function of their former jobs in the country of origin, or as a result of working (summer jobs) in an English-speaking country previously. Whether by practice or university level training this resulted in the clear ability of participants in this category to communicate in English. Participants were able to communicate with employers directly without significant problems, and for the most part did not lean on social contacts to ease their transition into initial employment. Participants in this category did not tend to report difficulties in their English language ability initially which differentiates them substantially from the Moderate category in which all participants encountered difficulties and were typically unable to interact directly with the labour market themselves.

Overall, the general trend between those of no language ability and those of High relates to the amount of time participants invested into their English language capabilities. However, as illustrated by the Low category this is not quite so clear cut as some participants either struggled with the content or forgot their training upon time of arrival. Therefore, this general tendency is moderated by both participants' understanding the material they are being taught and the devolution of knowledge into obscurity due to lack of practice.

Source: Created by Author

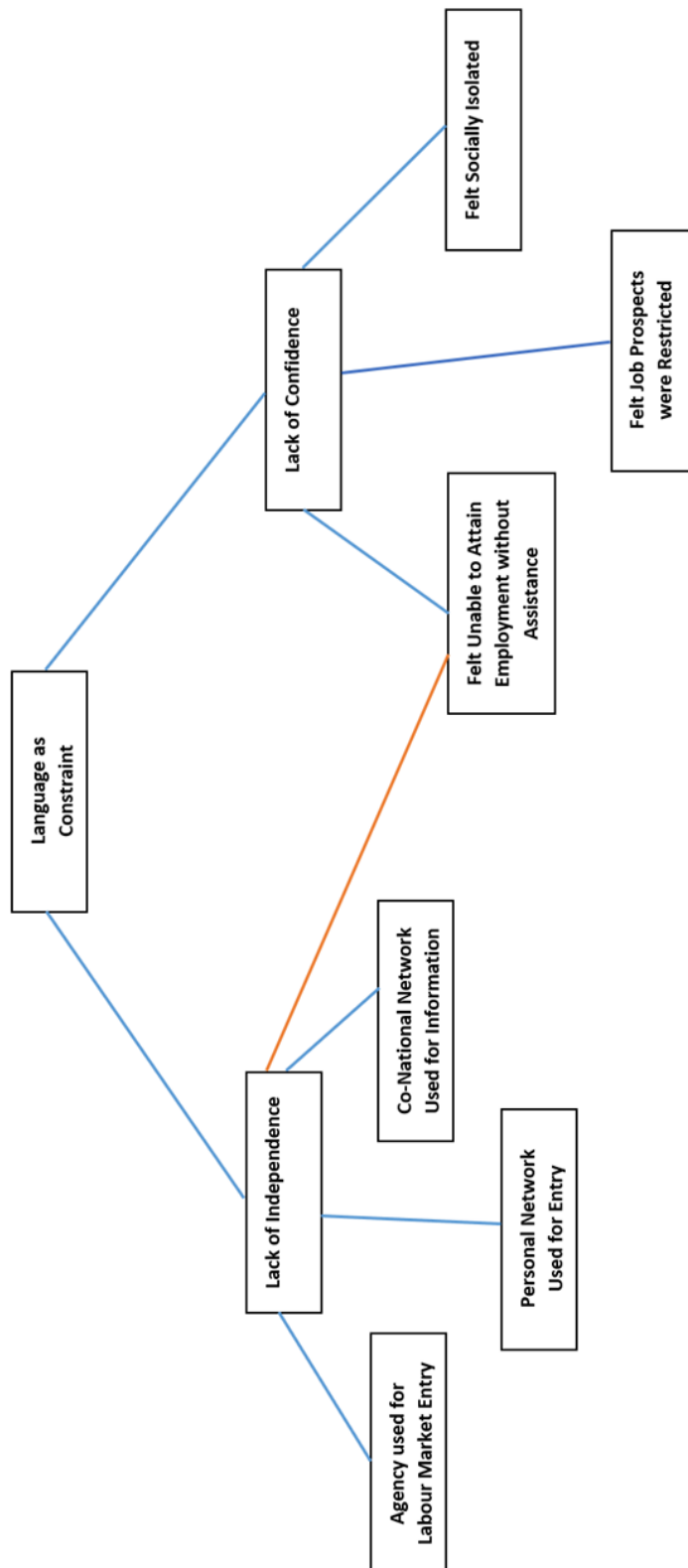
Appendix 14: Table of Key Participant Characteristics

Participant	Gender	Initial Employment	Language Ability	Most Recent Country of Origin Occupation or Qualification	Initial Employment Agency Usage	Initial Employment Assistance from Friends or Family	Migration Intention	Date of Arrival	Nationality
P1	Female	Waitress	High	Polish Literature Degree	No	No	Temporary	2005	Polish
P2	Female	Care Worker	Low	School	No	Friend	Temporary	2004	Polish
P3	Female	Catering Assistant	Moderate	School	No	Co-National	Permanent	2005	Polish
P4	Female	Waitress	High	English Language Degree	No	No	Temporary	2005	Polish
P5	Male	Catering Assistant	Moderate	Unfinished Degree	No	No	Temporary	2006	Polish
P6	Female	Housewife	Moderate	Assisted in Running Mother's Business	No	No	Permanent	2010	Polish
P7	Female	Factory Worker	High	Did not Finish English Teacher Degree	No	No	Temporary	2007	Polish
P8	Female	Care Worker	Low	Unfinished Degree	No	Family	Temporary	2005	Polish
P9	Male	Housekeeper	Moderate	Business Administration Degree	No	Family	Permanent	2005	Polish
P10	Female	Au Pair	Low	Non-Specified Degree (Of No Use)	No	No	Temporary	2009	Polish
P11	Female	Catering Assistant	None	Supermarket Cashier	No	Family	Permanent	2007	Polish
P12	Male	Bar Worker	High	Hospitality College	No	No	Temporary	2012	Polish
P13	Male	Factory Worker	Moderate	Security Guard	Yes (Friend)	Friend	Temporary	2016	Polish
P14	Female	Catering Assistant	None	Classics Degree	Yes (Friend)	Friend	Temporary	2007	Polish
P15	Male	Factory Worker	High	English Language and Literature Degree	Yes (Independently)	No	Temporary	2004	Polish
P16	Female	Au Pair	Low	Postgraduate Degree (Of No Use)	No	Family	Temporary	2005	Polish
P17	Female	Factory Worker	Low	Hospitality College	Yes (Independently)	No	Temporary	2006	Polish
P18	Female	Aministration Worker	Moderate	School	No	Family	Permanent	2005	Polish
P19	Male	Barrista	Low	Retail Store Manager	No	No	Permanent	2013	Polish
P20	Female	Factory Worker	Low	Unfinished Degree	No	Friend	Temporary	2006	Polish
P21	Female	Factory Worker	None	Sociology Degree	No	Family	Temporary	2005	Polish
P22	Female	Housekeeper	Low	Tea Shop Owner	No	Friend	Permanent	2014	Polish
P23	Female	Factory Worker	Moderate	School	No	Friend	Temporary	2007	Polish
P24	Female	Warehouse Worker	None	Quality Engineer Degree	Yes (Independently)	No	Permanent	2007	Polish
P25	Male	Catering Assistant	Low	Bank Teller	No	Friend	Temporary	2005	Polish
P26	Female	Warehouse Worker	None	Unfinished Degree (Accounting)	Yes (Friend)	Friend	Temporary	2002 (Entered Labour Market in 2004)	Polish
P27	Male	Factory Worker	Low	Unemployed	Yes (Friend)	Friend	Permanent	2011	Polish
P28	Female	Factory Worker	None	Production Management Degree	Yes (Friend)	Friend	Permanent	2011	Polish
P29	Male	Factory Worker	Low	Grape Picker	No	Friend	Temporary	2014	Polish
P30	Male	Warehouse Worker	Low	Joiner	Yes (Acquaintance)	Acquaintance	Temporary	2006	Polish
R1	Male	Engineer	High	Engineering Degree wth Plant Manager Experience	No	No	Temporary	2013 (Entered Labour Market in 2014)	Romanian
R3	Male	Care Worker	Moderate	Mechanic	No	Co-National	Permanent	2014	Romanian
R4	Female	Waitress	High	Restaurateur	No	No	Temporary	2013	Romanian
R5	Male	Engineer	High	Engineering Degree with Naval Systems Installation Experience	Yes (Friend)	Friend	Uncertain	2011	Romanian
R6	Male	Bar Worker	High	Bar Worker (On English Speaking Cruise Ship)	No	Family	Temporary	2015	Romanian
R7	Female	Care Worker	Moderate	Economics Degree	Yes (Friend)	Friend	Temporary	2012	Romanian
R8	Male	Driver	Moderate	Metal Fabricator	No	No	Permanent	2014	Romanian
R9	Male	Warehouse Worker	Moderate	School	Yes (Independently)	No	Temporary	2015	Romanian
R10	Male	Factory Worker	Moderate	Psychology Degree	Yes (Independently)	No	Permanent	2015	Romanian
R11	Male	Driver (Self-Employed)	High	Salesman	No	No	Temporary	2015	Romanian

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Appendix 15: Experiences with Language of 'None', 'Low', and 'Moderate' Groups Coding Hierarchy



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Appendix 16: ‘None’, ‘Low’, and ‘Moderate’ Language Ability Compiled

Methodological Memo

This node contains the accounts of a significant number of participants. However, the coding hierarchy itself is relatively simple. This is primarily due to the desire to find commonality of experience within this group via the imposition of a 25% minimum threshold on potential descriptive nodes pertaining to the significance of language in determining one’s own labour market experiences. More detailed perspectives pertaining to employment agencies and networks exist within their respective hierarchies. Therefore, it is best to view this as an overview of the general significance of language when considering those of the lower 3 gradations.

Key

----- = Primary Connection Between Nodes

----- = Secondary Connection Between Nodes

Agency used for Labour Market Entry: This is a relatively simple descriptive node containing instances where participants of these three language groups utilised employment agencies for labour market entry. The idea behind these descriptive nodes is to investigate the extent to which participants forfeit their ability to interact with the labour market directly within the lower gradations.

Personal Network Used for Entry: This descriptive node follows in the wake of the previous whereby it contains descriptive accounts of participants from the lower gradations using personal networks in order to interact with the UK labour market. Unlike the more emotive accounts contained in the “High” section this hierarchy is more concerned with numbers at this descriptive level particularly due to the potential myriad of reasons why participants might choose or be channelled into using labour market intermediaries. Therefore, it was deemed best at this stage to keep descriptive accounts of intermediary usage relatively simple with more focused analyses coming later.

Co-National Network Used for Information: This descriptive node contains accounts where participants used the online or offline local co-national network to source information pertaining to employment, society, or “the way things are done”. The aim of these three nodes is to inspect and analyse the extent to which participants of lower gradations forfeit their independence in terms of ability to interact with the labour market directly.

Felt Unable to Attain Employment without Assistance: This descriptive node contains participants’ emotional accounts of why they felt unable to enter employment directly. I hasten to add that regarding emotional nodes all were linked to language ability. Therefore, the emotional accounts here relate to participants citing their lack of language ability as their reason for using labour market intermediaries.

Felt Job Prospects were Restricted: This descriptive note relates to an additional emotional facet whereby participants self-assessed their language ability and deigned it insufficient for entering the labour market at their chosen level, and therefore redirected their ambition to a lower level of employment (secondary labour market).

Felt Socially Isolated: This descriptive node contains a third facet of the lower language gradations whereby participants expressed a desire to expand their friendship groups beyond that of the co-national but were unable to do so because of language ability. This often resulted in feelings of isolation and segregation whereby participants' social lives were inextricably linked to the co-national community despite participants' desire to integrate further into UK society.

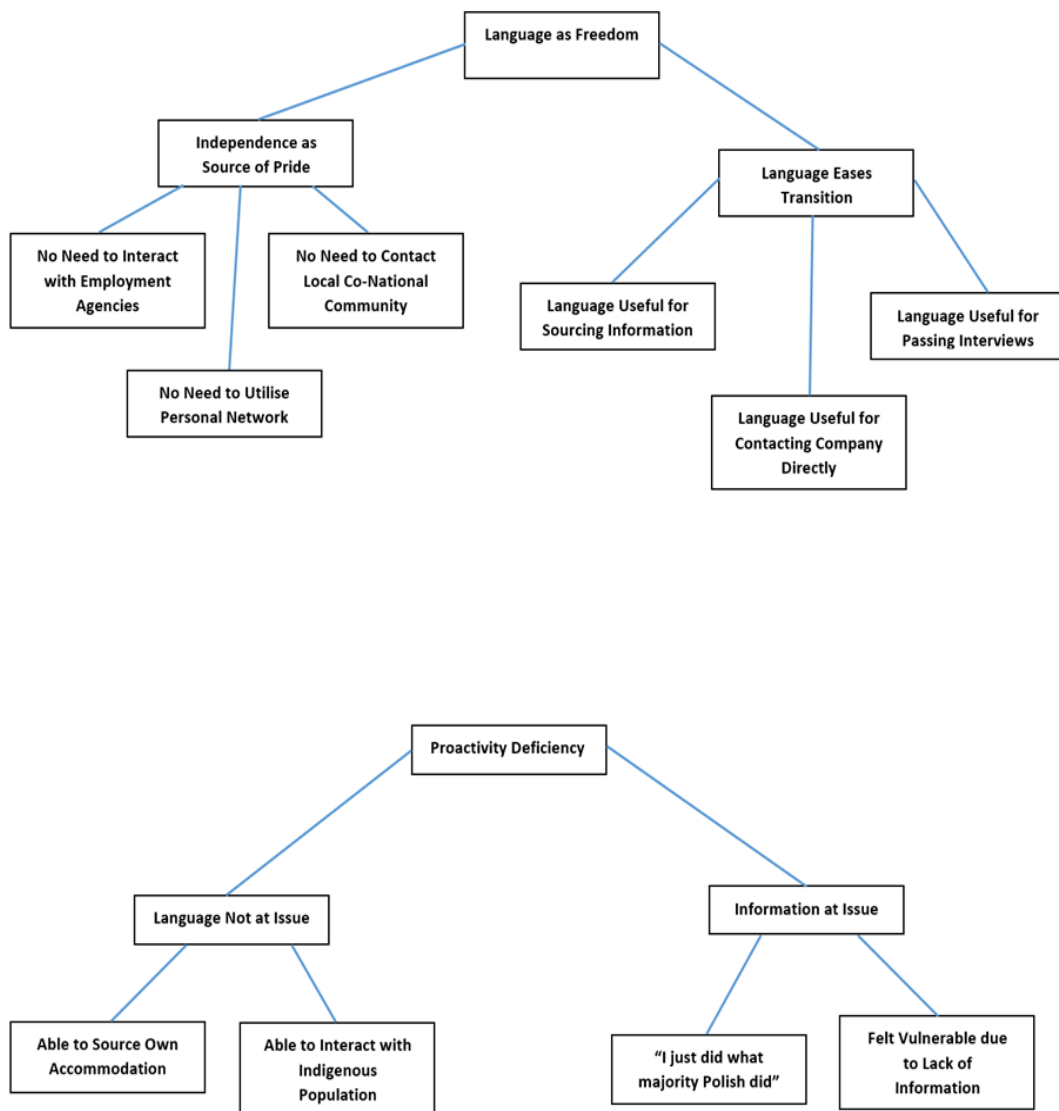
Lack of Independence: This interpretive node considers both the experiences and sheer numerical weight of its constituent nodes in order to make the relatively self-explanatory interpretations that participants of lower language gradations have tended to forfeit their labour market independence by placing their employment prospects in the hands of employment agencies, personal networks, or to a lesser extent in seeking information from the co-national community. Naturally, the emotional node of participants feeling unable to attain employment without labour market assistance is substantial in explicitly linking their use of intermediaries to language with many quotes expressing the powerlessness and constraints of language. However, ultimately, whether explicitly or implicitly almost the entirety of the sample of these language gradations utilised intermediaries which suggests a clear link between language and independent interaction with the labour market.

Lack of Confidence: This interpretive node considers participants' emotional interactions as a result of None, Low, or Moderate language ability. It combines participants' accounts of social isolation, feelings of restricted job prospects and feelings of inability to attain employment without assistance into the interpretation that an ancillary effect of lower language abilities is one of lower confidence. The emotional undercurrents surrounding these three descriptive nodes suggests that participants lacked the confidence to apply for jobs commensurate with their abilities, lacked the confidence to attempt to apply for jobs directly, and lacked the confidence to interact with the native population. Therefore, associated to lower language ability is also lower confidence which prohibits migrant interaction with the labour market directly and at commensurate level. This provides a level of emotional rationale for why the proclivity to use intermediaries is so high: participants simply did not feel able to apply for jobs directly due to a lack of faith in their ability to do so.

Language as Constraint: This thematic node encompasses the experiences and interpretations of all constituent nodes to conclude that in the experiences of participants language acted as a constraint upon several key facets of the initial migrant labour market experience. The preponderance of participants using labour market intermediaries for labour market entry or information purposes suggested a lack of independence on the part of participants. In this sense, language has clearly affected and constrained participants' abilities to interface with the labour market directly diverting them to use intermediaries who may be able to compensate for their lack of language cultural capital. Likewise, an associated consequence of lack of language ability was reduced levels of confidence which not only contributed to the proclivity to use intermediaries described above but also lowered participants labour market ambitions as well as their social aspirations to integrate further into UK society. This ultimately presents the image of language as a significant constraint upon participants emotional and practical ability to apply for jobs directly and solidifies language as a key dividing line between participants who needed to use labour market intermediaries and those who did not.

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Appendix 17: Experiences with Language of 'High' Group Coding Hierarchy



Source: Created by Author

Appendix 18: 'High' Language Ability Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)

A great deal of consideration was placed into what constitutes independent entry into the UK labour market. Initially only participants who entered the UK then used their language ability to interface with firms directly were considered suitable. However, this perspective ignored those who independently leveraged their language ability to contact and engage with firms in the UK from the country of origin. In this respect, participants who sourced initial employment without using labour market intermediaries were also considered suitable candidates for this grouping as the only difference between those who engaged with firms in the UK or from the country of origin is the location from which they did so.

No Need to Interact with Employment Agencies: All of the “no need” descriptive nodes were carefully named to reflect expressions of necessity. Whilst in other nodes it was sufficient to simply note that participants either used or did not use a particular labour market intermediary, these nodes focus upon a preponderance in participants’ accounts to dwell upon their lack of need to do so. Therefore, this node focuses on participants’ accounts of their lack of need to use employment agencies due to their High language ability.

No Need to Utilise Personal Network: This descriptive node follows in the same pattern of that above, describing instances where participants felt no need to use their personal networks as labour market intermediaries. It was felt that there was added value to be gained by focusing upon how participants felt about their lack of requirement to use intermediaries which in the case of these three nodes manifested in the manner in which they discussed their lack of need to do so.

No Need to Contact Local Co-National Community: As with the previous two descriptive nodes this one reflects the accounts of participants who stated they had no need to seek out and contact the local co-national community for assistance. Participant accounts concerning their emotions and perspectives surrounding this issue were coded and attributed to this node.

Language Useful for Sourcing Information: This descriptive node contains instances where participants discussed language as useful for accumulating information. This could be from a variety of sources including but not limited to the internet, citizens advice bureau, helpful British, or information from employers directly. The information participants sought could be job, society, or culture related ranging from inquiries about accommodation to working hours.

Language Useful for Contacting Company Directly: This descriptive node differs from the previous one insofar as it contains instances where participants cited language as useful specifically for contacting and engaging companies directly not for the purpose of information but for the purpose of employment. Participants tended to reflect on their language ability as critical for being able to engage and apply for jobs conventionally and contrast it to friends/family members who were not as fortunate and needed to instead apply via labour market intermediaries.

Language Useful for Passing Interviews: This descriptive node contains instances where participants stated that language was especially useful for passing interviews to gain initial employment. Participants in this node tended to be those who applied for jobs from the

country of origin and therefore employers used interviews as a means of not only testing participant competence in terms of expertise but also testing to see if participants possessed suitable language ability to work in language-intensive occupations such as Engineering or Bar Work/Waiting.

Independence as Source of Pride: This interpretive node distils the contents of the “No Need” descriptive nodes and concludes that participants tended to discuss their lack of need to utilise labour market intermediaries as a source of pride. Whilst in many cases participant accounts were enough to derive this interpretation, in others the language of the participants themselves had to be analysed as the manner in which participants described their experiences was decided to be as important as the experiences themselves. Participants tended to contrast themselves against those who had to use intermediaries in terms of fortunate and unfortunate, lucky and unlucky, but also as independent and dependent. In this contrast, participants expressed their pride at setting themselves apart from their peers by their ability to interface with the labour market directly. This pride was reflected particularly strongly in the accounts of some participants but runs through the expressions and emphasis of most.

Language Eases Transition: In contrast to the previous interpretive node, this one focuses upon the more practical benefits of language ability. It distils participant accounts of the most common instances in which language was found to be useful and concludes that overall language eases transition into the UK labour market and society. Language facilitates migrants to source their own information, interact with companies directly, and then pass interviews in order to enter into their chosen occupation. In many ways the practical benefits of language are the source of independence which participants draw upon as their source of pride. Overall, the combined ability to use language ability in the labour market, and social spheres yields the interpretation that language provides the key function of easing the transition into UK labour market and society.

Language as Freedom: This thematic node considers not only its attached interpretative nodes but also their constituent descriptive nodes in its interpretation of participant experiences of High language ability engaging with the UK labour market and society. Its two branches consider both a practical element as well as a pseudo-emotional one. On the one side language fulfils very practical functions of being able to act independently and enter the UK labour market without the friction of intermediaries. On the other side, participant accounts of this lack of need illustrate a source of pride in their experiences which is derived not only from this independence but also at their exceptionalism as they see it- different from the majority of their peers. For these participants language not only enabled them to evade the most vulnerable aspects of the UK labour market for the most part but also facilitated their ability to directly apply for jobs with employers and attain information critical to their labour market and social engagement. In this sense language allowed participants to not only evade the negatives, but also should they so choose to engage in the positive. Therefore, language provides participants with far greater labour market choices than those of lower gradations and as such can be equated to freedom.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 19: 'High' Language Ability Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)

This coding hierarchy contains the accounts of four participants. Therefore, its interest is more focused upon understanding this group as a counterexample to the norm than trying to derive sample-wide commonality. Fortunately, many of the descriptive nodes applied to all four participants with only the In Vivo "I just did what majority Polish did" applying to two. Therefore, whilst simplistic the coding hierarchy is incisive in cutting toward the commonality of difference. It is also worth noting that constant comparative methods were used prior to coding this hierarchy dividing the sample into those who used agencies and those who used networks as well as their rationale for doing so. This formed a powerful foundation for the descriptive, interpretative and thematic nodes below.

Able to Source Own Accommodation: This descriptive node contains instances where participants used their language ability to source their own accommodation. The purpose for coding this and including it in the hierarchy is to reiterate and determine that their language was indeed "High" and that in matters outside the labour market they were not hindered in any way by their language ability.

Able to Interact with Indigenous Population: This descriptive node contains instances where participants were perfectly comfortable upon arrival to interact with native British people, this ranged from police on matters of crime to teachers and parents at children's schools. Participants were perfectly able to use their language ability to gain necessary information or aid when the need arose for them to do so.

"I just did what majority of Polish did": This descriptive node references the experiences of participants who used employment agencies and represents the total lack of information some participants possessed upon entering or seeking to enter the UK labour market. Whilst their language abilities were high, they did not know how to properly engage with the labour market and instead used knowledge derived from how their predecessors entered the labour market and thus used employment agencies.

Felt Vulnerable due to Lack of Information: This descriptive node refers to instances where participants felt vulnerable due to the experience of transitioning labour market and society, and struggled to comprehend the great many informational aspects of this- e.g. what the government expects of them financially, or even what the best way to enter the labour market was. In some senses this node also represents descriptions of culture shock but oriented around a cacophony of information participants through was needed to interact with the labour market directly. This vulnerability they felt therefore channelled them to seek help from labour market intermediaries who could provide the assistance they were looking for.

Language Not at Issue: The purpose of this interpretive node was to discern whether participants' language ability acted as a hinderance in any way. In viewing participants' abilities to use their language ability very ably to source their own accommodation or interact with state and social actors when necessary suggests that it was not at issue. Interlaced amongst these quotes is also the interpretation that participants' confidence was perfectly intact in terms of dealing with the actors defined above. Therefore, if participants' confidence was diminished in some respects it would have to be derived from another source.

Information at Issue: In contrast to participants' language ability, they either felt overwhelmed by what they perceived to be tremendous amounts of labour market and societal differences which required significant quantities of information in order to understand, or due to a lack of information instead chose to follow in the footsteps of predecessors they knew and apply for employment agency work. Therefore, a lack of information either led participants to use agency employment or instilled within them such a level of discomfort that they sought comfort either in the support networks of personal networks or employment agencies which took care of the majority of informational issues on behalf of participants.

Proactivity Deficiency: This is a relatively simple thematic node incorporates its constituent interpretative nodes as well as descriptive nodes into the conclusion that participants in this group lacked the proactive dimension in terms of sourcing information which was almost taken for granted in the main group. Participants in this group were perfectly capable of using their language ability when necessity demanded it i.e. for shelter, children, crime, and other essential social matters. However, they appeared uniquely unwilling to use it proactively in order to source information necessary to ease their transition into the UK labour market. Instead, participants were either overwhelmed by the stress of transitioning labour markets and societies or simply did not bother to source information directly. Therefore, a key difference identified with this group was that whilst their language cultural capital was high, their willingness to leverage it to labour market advantage was lacking and thus the process of conversion into informational cultural capital and eventually more substantial economic capital could not occur.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 21: Transferability of Country of Origin Skills and Qualifications

Compiled Methodological Memo

The coding hierarchy regarding transferability of country of origin skills and qualifications is a relatively complex one but ultimately follows the traditional sequence used in this thesis of descriptive, interpretive, thematic. It attempts to identify the significance if any of qualifications and skills transferred from the country of origin and utilises some higher-order interpretations and theme to do so. Significant levels of work were put into the naming of nodes, interpretive nodes and especially the thematic node which yielded a more detailed look not only at the predominance of language over that of qualifications but also additional facets surrounding the significance of employers in assessing the relative worth of qualifications and skills.

Language Dissuaded from Trying: This descriptive node contains instances where participants were dissuaded from attempting to enter employment at their commensurate skill level due to lack of confidence in their own language abilities. In effect, even though participants possessed degrees or experience, they felt jaded by the prior experiences of friends or family and instead measured their language abilities wanting and decided against even trying for commensurate employment. This was the most prevalent of the three nodes.

Country of Origin Experience Unused (Language): This descriptive node contains instances where participants with country of origin experience in a particular field sought to enter into UK employment in a similar profession. However, they found that their language abilities were insufficient to either pass through the screening process of interviews or simply were dismissed outright due to their inability to express themselves appropriately in the UK context.

Further Education Unused (Language): This descriptive node contains instances where participants with university-level country of origin qualifications attempted to leverage them in initial employment and instead found that their language ability was insufficient to either convince employers to hire them or pass through interview screening tests. In one rare and outstanding case a participant with an economics degree applied over 100 times for commensurate employment in accounting but found that employers simply did not contact her after interview procedures.

Feelings of Loss: Mourning: This emotive, descriptive node (with elements of interpretation) is attached to the three descriptive nodes above. It illustrates a collective feeling of loss which pervaded through the accounts of all three instances whereby participants were either dissuaded from trying to apply for commensurate employment due to lack of confidence in language ability or failed to leverage their skills and qualifications due to lack of English. In almost all cases this resulted in intense expressions of loss oriented around their lost labour-time invested in their education and experience. In this sense the interpretation was made beyond that of the descriptive that participants were effectively mourning the lost labour-time which was embodied in their degrees or habitus.

Degree Taught in Country of Origin Language Useless: This descriptive node contains instances where participants who possessed country of origin degrees, or skills from

unfinished degrees which were taught in the country of origin language (an important distinction to be clarified later) were found to be of little use in the UK. Two reasons were posited for this lack of utility, the first was that the degree was in a subject which would be unable to be taught in the UK such as Polish Literature, or that participants simply could not leverage their degree to any meaningful effect in the UK labour market due to their own lack of language ability (accounting for the secondary orange line link to Further Education Unused (Language)).

Language Degree Useful: This descriptive node contains instances whereby participants commented on the utility of their degrees in English Language, or Language and Literature in gaining access to the UK labour market. Participants remarked upon how learning and knowing the language assisted them in better understanding and interfacing with the UK labour market and society. Whilst this node contained less than the minimum threshold of 25% it was considered noteworthy enough for its own descriptive node due to its illumination of how language was a transferable skill across international boundaries.

Language Taught at School Useful: This descriptive node discusses the utility accounts of participants who studied English at school. In general, these participants certainly claimed that the language they learned in school was useful. However, the extent to which it was found ultimately helpful in a labour market context was questionable. What was agreed upon by the vast majority of participants was that the language participants learned at school did help in better understanding the UK labour market to a lesser or greater extent depending upon the quality of teaching, duration of teaching and extent to which participants had forgotten their training.

Degree Taught in English Language Useful: This descriptive node underwent numerous iterations in determining what it should be called. However, in the end this was determined to be most appropriate as it encapsulates the notion that language was found to be the most transferable of skills for participants who were taught their degrees in English. This node also accounted for less than 25% of the sample as is to be expected by the majority of degree-oriented nodes. However, it expresses the contrast between this node and Degree Taught in Country of Origin Language Useless very well to express that such participants who possessed language degrees and those who possessed degrees taught in English tended to be those who experienced the greatest level of transferability of skill embodied within their degrees.

Language Valued by Employer: This descriptive node is the first of those related to employer recognition. Even though the accounts of these instances come from the participants' perspectives, they still contain valuable insights into what is and is not valued by employers. In this instance language was found to be a skill which employers placed particular importance upon with participants referencing it as a significant factor in attaining their desired job, and of particular significance in customer-facing jobs where language would be of use on a daily basis.

Degree Recognised by Employer: Naturally this descriptive node lies below the 25% threshold. However, it contained valuable insights into the very rare instances of the two Romanian Engineers whose degrees were recognised by employers. The recognition of these degrees and no others certainly suggests that some professional degrees undergo lesser degrees of devaluation than others.

Experience Recognised by Employer: This descriptive node contains instances whereby participant experience was recognised by employers. This occurred particularly within engineering and customer-facing hospitality jobs such as waiting and bar work. In these instances, participants reported that employers assessed and valued their country of origin experience either through an interview process or through demonstration.

Experience Discarded by Employer: This descriptive node contains instances where participants directly attempted to leverage their country of origin experience for enhanced occupational position either to employment agencies or to their prospective employers. However, in all such cases experience was discarded and participants were typically relegated to menial, manual secondary labour market employment and associated tasks. Participants recounted in particular that employment agencies do not value country of origin skills and instead desire only to channel migrant workers into manual occupations.

Degree Devalued by Employer: There is some overlap between this node and that of Degree Taught in Country of Origin Language Useless. However, despite containing mostly the same participants the quotes contained within focus upon participants impressions of employer devaluation of their degrees. In this way, quotes centre around participant instances of failure and their attempts to leverage their country of origin degrees but ultimately failing for whatever reason be it language or otherwise. It was ultimately the judgement of the employer that deemed it devalued. Therefore, citations here orient in particular around employer judgements of failure as interpreted through the eyes and accounts of participants.

Combined Recognition: Success: This is an interpretative node which encompasses the three instances in which participants found their skills and degrees to be valued by employers. In some senses it represents the result of comparative analysis seeking to understand why the participants with engineering degrees experienced commensurate employment in the upper-primary labour market whereas all others bar one found initial employment in the secondary sector. Ultimately, the two engineering participants are the only two who are members of all three descriptive nodes. Whilst some participants in waiting and bar work may possess occupationally relevant language and experience, only the two engineering participants held language, experience and requisite degree which unlocked their entry into the upper-primary segment immediately. In effect, the results of this interpretation constitute the necessary and sufficient conditions found in this sample to be required for entry into the upper-primary segment, based upon a comparison between engineering participants and others who were less successful. However, it is also important to note that migration intention and goals play a strong role in the types of occupations participants desired in the UK labour market as well as their willingness to accept them. Therefore, when discussing necessary and sufficient conditions the intention to enter the labour market at the pinnacle of one's embodied and institutional skills is also necessary.

Discarded Endeavours: This interpretive node considers the constituent descriptive nodes relating to the role of language in impeding participants' ability to attain commensurate employment as discarded endeavours. What this interpretation represents is the accumulation of participants' efforts in their countries of origin to gain experience, or attain a degree which ultimately results in a level of demoralisation so severe as a result of insufficient language ability that participants do not even try to attain commensurate employment, or that the effort of doing so ultimately ends in fruitless results. The natural

consequence of this being intense feelings of loss akin to mourning. At the heart of all of these nodes is the notion of time, time either successfully applied (not in these instances) or time wasted due to their inability to leverage their degrees to labour market success. Discarded Endeavours represents participants' labour-time cast aside as they are forced to start fresh careers in the secondary labour market due at least in part to the key role of language inhibiting their ability to attain commensurate work.

Language Components Utilised: This interpretive node encompasses the constituent nodes relating primarily but not exclusively to participant evaluations of the language components of their country of origin learning experience. It considers the aspects of the participant country of origin learning experience which were considered useful and which were considered useless. A key trend within this sample is that participants held particularly favourable views of the utility of the language components of their former nation learning experiences, whereas participants who held degrees from their countries of origin which were not taught in English tended to express less favourable views of their transferability either due to the subject matter or their lack of English language ability necessary to leverage their institutional cultural capital. The end result is the interpretation that language components of participants' learning experiences were of particular use as a skill in the initial labour market experience, particularly when factoring in the necessity of language to express one's other embodied skills, and the necessity of language to interact with English-speaking employers.

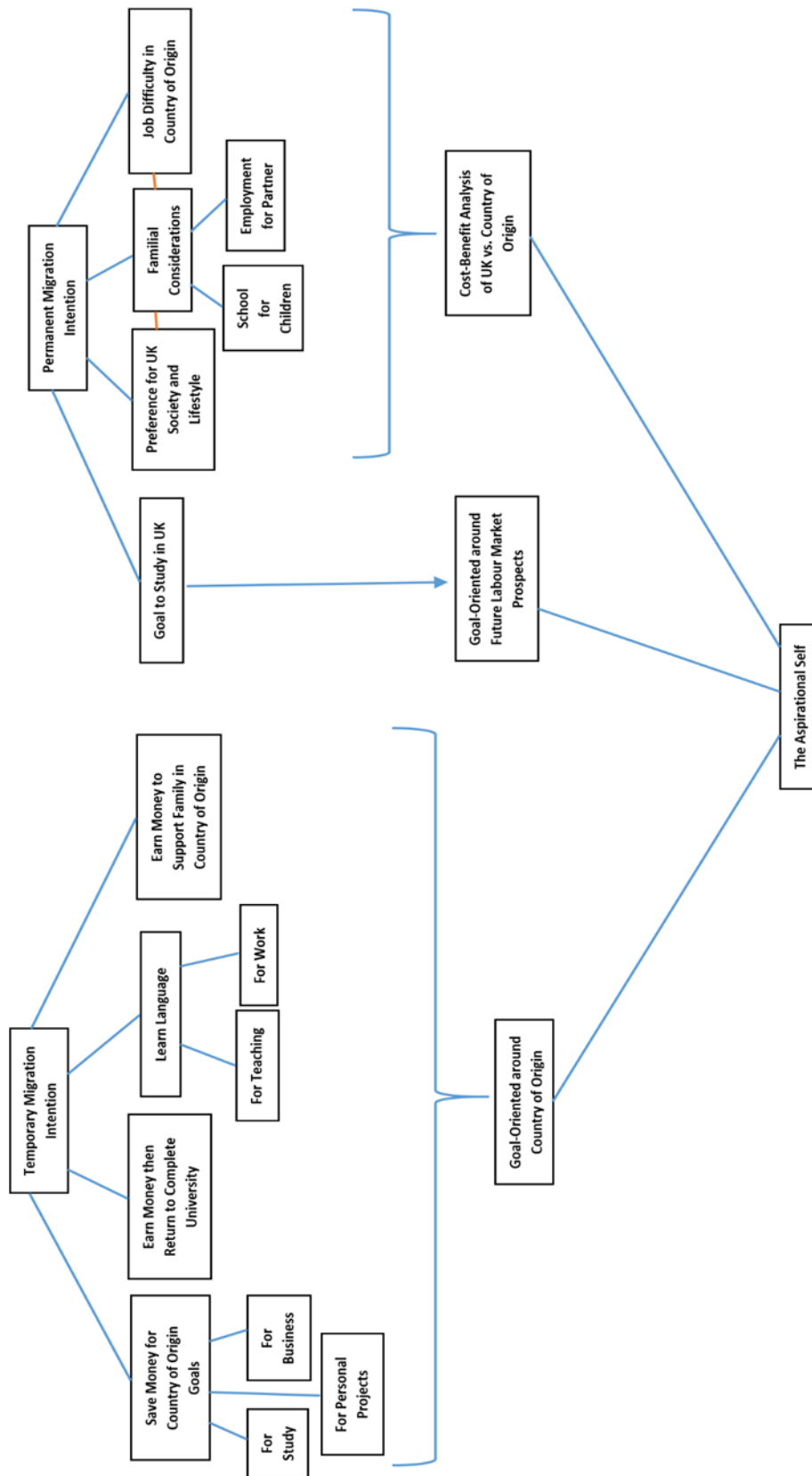
Employer Recognition Significant: This interpretive node considers participant accounts of their experiences in which their embodied or institutional skills were either valued or discarded by employers. The emphasis of this interpretation lies in the realm of employer recognition whereby employers were judged to be the ultimate arbiters of whether participants held requisite amounts of cultural capital necessary for the relevant occupation. Indeed, a combination of experience, degree and high language ability was found to be necessary for entry into the upper-primary engineering mobility chain. However, high language ability was found to be sufficient to work as a bar worker or waitress. In other instances both participant experience and their degrees were discarded as employers found them to be insufficient or irrelevant for the occupation applied for. This ultimately presents the value of degrees and experience in terms of tangible labour market outcomes as significant only insofar as employers acknowledge such cultural capital and ascribe it a labour market value.

Transferability Across Transnational Context Critical: This thematic node encompasses the conclusions of the interpretative nodes as well as their constituent descriptive nodes in order to produce an overall theme which captures the spirit and essence of the experiences of the sample. In this coding hierarchy Transferability Across Transnational Context Critical was considered to do so. Discarded Endeavours contains the experiences of participants who sought (or indeed did not seek) to leverage their country of origin non-language skills and qualifications in the UK labour market and failed due to insufficient language ability. This emphasises the importance of capital transferability from one field to another as the labour-time embodied in participants' skills and degrees has ultimately gone to waste due to participants' inability to transfer this across the transnational context. Language itself is a form of cultural capital which perhaps more than any other form of cultural capital undergoes extreme re-valuations depending on the field-context. It was found to be the more transferable form of cultural capital in this sample as participants frequently noted

the language components of their degrees or language degrees themselves as well as language taught at school as particularly useful in the UK field context. Of course language itself is the method through which participants are able to convey their other forms of cultural capital to employers so it is not only a form of cultural capital in its own right but also the medium through which non-language forms of embodied and institutional cultural capital may be expressed and ultimately judged. It is the employers themselves who were found to do the judging. They are the ones ultimately responsible for determining whether a participant has sufficient or insufficient language, experience, or education necessary to perform a prescribed function under their employ. Indeed, employers judged the combination of language, experience, and education possessed by participants R1 and R5 to be sufficient for entering the UK labour market at the upper-primary level. However, a number of others who tried to attain jobs at various levels from customer-facing employment in the secondary labour market to administrative jobs in the lower-primary found their skills and qualifications to be judged misaligned by employers with language as a running theme as to why in a great many cases participants failed to attain commensurate employment. Therefore, ultimately transferability across transnational context is critical for ensuring a return upon country of origin investment in skills and qualifications. Language in this sample is the most important skill in which to invest due to its unique role as the method of conveying endowments of other non-language forms of cultural capital to employers as well as a necessary capital in the eyes of employers for primary sector work (as illustrated by the instances of failure in the discarded endeavours subgroup). Ultimately, employers will determine what level of cultural capital is necessary to perform in their enterprise and whether migrants' institutional and embodied capitals are transferable into the UK context.

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Appendix 22: Migration Intention Coding Hierarchy



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Appendix 23: Migration Intention Compiled Methodological Memo

This coding hierarchy follows a somewhat different structure to the others. It reflects a union between comparative and thematic methods. The sample has been divided into two sub-samples, those with permanent and those with temporary migration intentions. The purpose of this is to investigate the reasons why participants are content to accept for the most part, secondary labour market employment with the expectation that those who hold a temporary migration intention will maintain their social identities in the country of origin and those with more permanent migration intentions will hold their identities in the context of expected future labour market position as per Parutis (2014).

Save Money for Country of Origin Goals: This descriptive node contains instances where participants referenced their intention to return to the country origin after a set amount of money had been achieved. They tended not to pass judgement upon the negative characteristics of their working environment as they focused upon earning money either for study, for business, or for other personal projects such as building a house in the country of origin.

Earn Money then Return to Complete University: This descriptive node contains instances where particularly younger participants would reference their temporary migration intention in the context of paying off their university fees which they had accumulated during study, then returning to their countries of origin to finish their university course. Once again, participants tended not to pass judgement upon employment conditions as their goal was to earn money, most often over summer holidays but in some cases over gap years to return to study in the country of origin.

Learn Language: This descriptive node contains instances where participants entered the UK labour market with the intention of learning or improving their English in order to fulfil labour market goals in the country of origin. These goals included either becoming a teacher of English or learning English in order to distinguish themselves as candidates for jobs in the country of origin. As long as these goals were underway participants tended not to pass judgement upon their employment conditions. However, should participants be removed from their goal of working in an occupation in which English language usage was common participants tended to express their frustration not necessarily at their working conditions but more focused upon the time they felt they had wasted in occupations which were not furthering their country of origin goal.

Earn Money to Support Family in Country of Origin: This descriptive node contains instances where participants entered the UK with the intention of earning money to support family in the country of origin. As with the other money-oriented accounts, such participants tended not to pass judgement upon their working conditions. However, within this node there was one exception of a participant working in a job she deemed particularly hard in the Care sector and which occurred over a long period of time (>2 years). In this one case there is evidence that over time the temporary perspective's immunity erodes, but in the majority of cases within this node participants remained unphased by their working conditions and instead held monetary quotas in mind to send back to the country of origin before stating the intention to return.

Goal to Study in UK: This descriptive node is particularly interesting as it stands alone amongst the intentions of permanent migrants in focusing upon a future ambition in the

UK labour market or society. These participants tolerated low skill, secondary labour market employment in order to save up for study in a UK university. This was their overriding and defining goal which was intrinsically linked to their future ambitions and as such these participants did not render judgement upon their surrounding working conditions in initial employment. One participant even went as far as to say she would work in any job in order to afford going to university in the UK. This node was just under the 25% minimum occurrence threshold but was deemed so significant and unique within the permanent migration intention nodes that it merited mention.

Preference for UK Society and Lifestyle: This is the first of three descriptive nodes oriented around participant acknowledgement of poor working conditions/characteristics yet drawing upon external sources as rationalisation for that tolerance. Participants within this category arrived in the UK with a permanent migration intention and also were channelled into secondary labour market employment. They acknowledged that working conditions were poor yet rationalised why they tolerated them in the context of their lived experience in their countries of origin. These participants, whilst acknowledging their negative experiences in initial employment also acknowledged that they would far rather do such work in the United Kingdom where wages could buy holidays, cars, and other ancillary societal benefits than in their country of origin where no such benefits existed.

Familial Considerations: Likewise, participants within this descriptive node acknowledged that their working conditions were poor but reconciled their employment prospects in the context of their families. That is to say that participants reconciled their poor working conditions in the context of their role as husbands, wives, fathers, and mothers- they noted that their children had better education in the UK or that their partner was able to find employment in this country whereas they could not in the country of origin. In this manner participants, whilst fully aware of the negative working conditions which pervaded their working life, drew strength and resolve from their role in the family sphere acknowledging that their loved ones had far better prospects in the UK. Such participants also had an air of noble duty about them understanding their employment was the necessary price to pay for their loved ones to “have a better life”.

Job Difficulty in Country of Origin: These participants follow in the same vein of the previous two descriptive nodes. These participants acknowledged the poor working conditions in their initial employment yet reconciled it in the context to their lived experience working in the country of origin. Participants made a value judgement that in the context of their working lives they preferred to do menial, or manual employment in the UK than in their country of origin. This was based on the analysis that despite working conditions, promotion prospects, and employment stability being poor, in the context of their employment in the country of origin they considered it to be favourable. This was the least populated of the three participant acknowledgement nodes but still delineates an important facet of migrant labour market reconciliation.

Goal-Oriented around Country of Origin: This interpretive node has distilled its constituent descriptive nodes into the perspective that all migrants with a temporary migration intention have centred their sense of self around goals firmly held in the country of origin. In other words, they are all goal-oriented around the country of origin. Whether participants are saving money to study at university in their country of origin, saving to pay off student debt, studying the language for country of origin goals, or earning money to support family in Poland or Romania they were all living and working in the UK with the

intention of returning as soon as their goal was complete. This orientation gave them relative immunity to the negative working conditions which characterised their initial employment much in line with Piorian theory.

Goal-Oriented around Future Labour Market Prospects: This is the only interpretive node in the entire thesis drawn from so few descriptive accounts. However, it is unique in migration intention interpretations insofar as it is the only account of participants who tolerated poor working conditions in the context of future labour market prospects. These participants were saving up money to go to UK university which they envisaged as having distinct long-term labour market advantages for their careers. As such they were willing to tolerate immediate poor working conditions in order to pave the way for significant future labour market payoff.

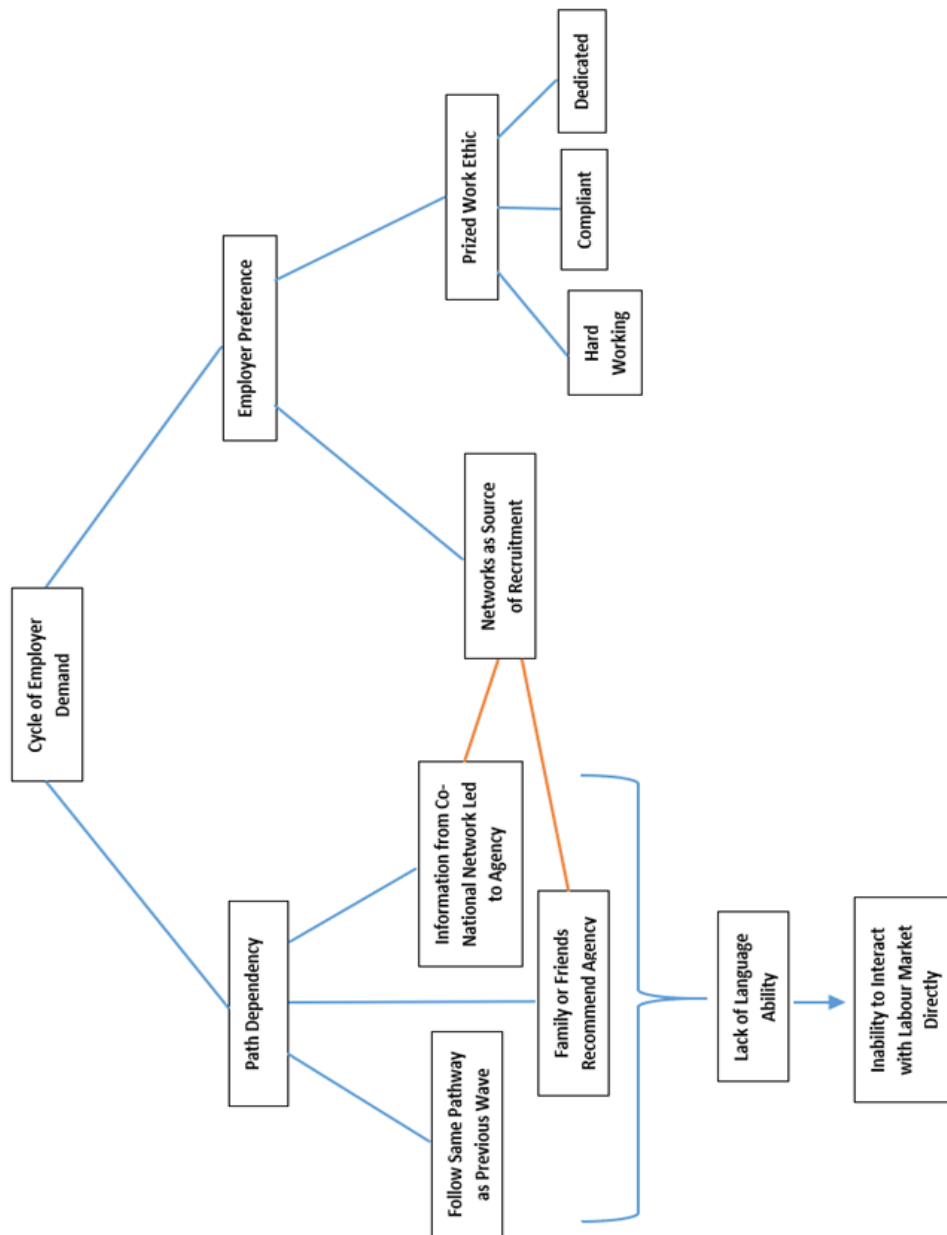
Cost-Benefit Analysis of UK vs. Country of Origin: This interpretive node brings novel insight to the field of migrant labour market research as it illuminates the mental and emotional reconciliation of migrants who held permanent migration intentions yet did not hold on to future labour market payoffs. Instead these participants all performed cost-benefit analyses of their situations both in the country of origin and in the UK and determined that either their working, social or family lives were better off here. Some in the sample reconciled their poor working conditions in the context of their relative purchasing power in the UK compared to the country of origin, able to afford more leisure-related activities and possess more disposable income. In this sense their social lives in comparison to that which they held in the country of origin compensated for the poor working conditions they tolerated. Others reconciled their poor working conditions with their duties as parents or as partners. They considered how life in the United Kingdom might benefit their loved ones and, in this sense, drew strength from their roles in the familial sphere to tolerate acknowledged poor working conditions. Their sense of self located in their roles of family provided some degree of tolerance for low skilled, secondary labour market employment. Finally, others performed a more direct cost benefit analysis of their occupation held initially in the United Kingdom with that in the country of origin and concluded that whilst working conditions were poor, they were yet superior to that which they hold in Poland or Romania. Therefore, despite working in secondary sector employment, in the context of their lived experience it was still preferable to that which they held in the country of origin and therefore tolerable. Overall, it is clear that whether it was a comparison between the social context, family context or employment context all participants within these nodes performed a cost-benefit analysis between the country of origin and the UK.

The Aspirational Self: This thematic node brings together the interpretations of its three attached nodes as well as those of all constituent descriptive nodes into a theme which characterises the spirit of the coding hierarchy. In this coding hierarchy The Aspirational Self was chosen to encompass how participants in all three strains reconciled their labour market position in the context of their aspirations. Participants of temporary migration intention held their aspirations firmly in the context of their countries of origin, in this way they were mostly shielded from the negative employment characteristics which defined the initial labour market period. Participants who sought to study in the UK held their aspirations in the context of future labour market payoff, they aspired to study and then attain upper-primary jobs and it was this aspiration which held the negative employment characteristics at bay. The most complicated reconciliation of The Aspirational Self lies in

the context of those who performed cost-benefit analyses relative to their countries of origin. In these cases, participants were aware and endured the negative employment characteristics yet their aspirations either for themselves or others rendered them able to tolerate this employment. Participants' aspirations were either rooted in the benefits of living in UK society and the concomitant lifestyle they could afford here, in the context of their roles in the family sphere with their aspirations for their families taking precedence over their aspirations for themselves, or in the context of their lived experience whereby participants reconciled their poor labour market position with that which they held in the country of origin and in this sense their aspirations "for a better life" were fulfilled. Therefore, throughout the sample participants aspirations either for themselves or others is what renders participants able to tolerate poor working conditions which characterised initial employment in this sample.

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Appendix 24: Employment Agency Coding Hierarchy



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Appendix 25: Employment Agency Compiled Methodological Memo

This coding hierarchy contains the descriptive, interpretive and thematic nodes relating to participant agency use. It is relatively simple in its structure seeking to understand both supply (why participants used agencies) and demand (why employers/agencies predominantly in factory-based employment hired members of the sample in such significant numbers). Given that the sample is entirely migrant focused it is important to note that the employer-side is achieved through participant perspectives alone, which could be interpreted as a methodological weakness. However, in several cases as participants ascended the division of labour, they themselves became social contacts of such indigenous employers and therefore presented a unique insight into the mindset of such factory employers. This was particularly useful in one case where the participant knew the owner of a factory which was a prominent employer of a number of migrants in the sample. In this manner, investigating participants' labour market experiences as a whole yielded value for the initial experience as alongside their work-life evolution so too did their social lives evolve to typically incorporate increasing numbers of British citizens. Regarding agency employment and the employer perspective this yielded fruit.

Follow Same Pathway as Previous Wave: This interesting descriptive node contains instances where participants (particularly those who arrived closer to the date of accession) arrived with knowledge of how previous waves of migrants interfaced with the labour market and possessed no personal network to draw upon. They used this knowledge which was invariably to seek out employment agencies to interface with the labour market. In effect these migrants represent a facet of some pioneer migrants whereby their networks both personal and co-national appear not to have fully formed (at least in their experiences) and so they used their knowledge of labour market practices derived from what information they could gather in the country of origin to enter the UK labour market. This contains less than the 25% minimum threshold set for this subsample but was considered interesting and unique enough to merit attention.

Family or Friends Recommend Agency: This descriptive node contains instances where the family or friends of participants recommended them to employment agencies. Fairly self-explanatory, yet it is interesting to note that from the perspectives of participants the friends and family members did not tend to view this as condemning their friends and family members into poor employment, more this was the initial labour market experience they underwent or were undergoing at the time of recommendation and simply saw it as "the done thing". This suggests a cultural element to the reinforcement of channelling into agency employment within this subset, but the primary piece of information contained within is the act of recommendation. This was by far the most common experience of participants in this subset.

Information from Co-National Network Led to Agency: This descriptive node contains instances where participants, typically those who lacked personal networks, sought informational assistance from co-national networks as to how best attain employment in the UK. This invariably led to co-nationals providing information as to how to contact employment agencies with co-nationals in some cases providing contact details themselves. However, in no instances were direct employment assistance or recommendations provided.

Lack of Language Ability: This attached descriptive node is present simply to illustrate that the participants contained within its associated descriptive nodes were mostly derived from those of “None” “Low” or “Moderate” language ability. In this sense it connects this coding hierarchy to that of the overview language coding hierarchy and illustrates more focused labour market consequences of these language groups as a result of their inability to engage with the labour market directly.

Inability to Interact with Labour Market Directly: This interpretive node is present to further interpret the findings of the lack of language ability node and attached path dependency nodes to illustrate that participants lacked the ability to engage with the labour market directly which resulted in use of agencies via various means in the initial experience. As with the lack of language ability node it is present to connect employment agency participants to the overall language ability coding hierarchy. In essence, it illustrates that the consequence of the inability to interact with the labour market directly, as regards agencies, is the associated three pathways to agency use.

Networks as Source of Recruitment: This descriptive node contains instances where participants claimed that employment agencies had used either the personal or co-national network as a source of recruitment. That is to say that agencies either maintained a presence within the online co-national network with the goal of catching the eye of new arrivals seeking information or used the family and friends of participants as proxy recruiters in some cases offering monetary incentives for the recruitment of fresh labour. The secondary links to both the co-national and family or friends nodes represents the link between demand and supply in terms of how agencies act with networks, and how the recruitment dynamic interacts with both co-nationals and friends and family members.

Prized Work Ethic: This descriptive node contains instances, from participants’ perspectives, as to why employers (particularly factory-based) sought Eastern European, but predominantly Polish migrants for work. Participants consistently noted comments from employers regarding their work ethic, which tended not to be ascribed at the individual level but instead at that of the nationality level. Comments consistently referred to the hard working, compliant nature of Polish workers but also their dedication to the tasks at hand which was contrasted in some cases to that of the indigenous population. In this comparative context Polish workers in particular were deemed favourable.

Path Dependency: This interpretive node distils the experiences contained in its constituent descriptive nodes to provide an interpretation which harmonises the experiences of all. Path Dependency encompasses the experiences of all three constituent nodes as in all instances participants drew upon the experiences of previous migrants in order to define their own initial labour market experience. Participants who followed in the wake of previous migrants used information as to how they engaged with the labour market (agencies) in order to generate their own initial employment pathway. Participants who used their personal ‘family and friends’ networks had their initial labour market experience defined by their personal contacts who utilised their established ties to employment agencies to recommend them. Participants who used co-national networks as a source of information were channelled towards employment agencies by advice and information donated by co-national ties. In all instances participants drew upon the information and experiences of previous migrants and as such it illustrates a rut in the migrant labour market experience whereby new arrivals draw upon the experiences and

advice of previous waves in order to understand how best to enter the UK labour market. In these instances, this path dependency invariably led to agency employment.

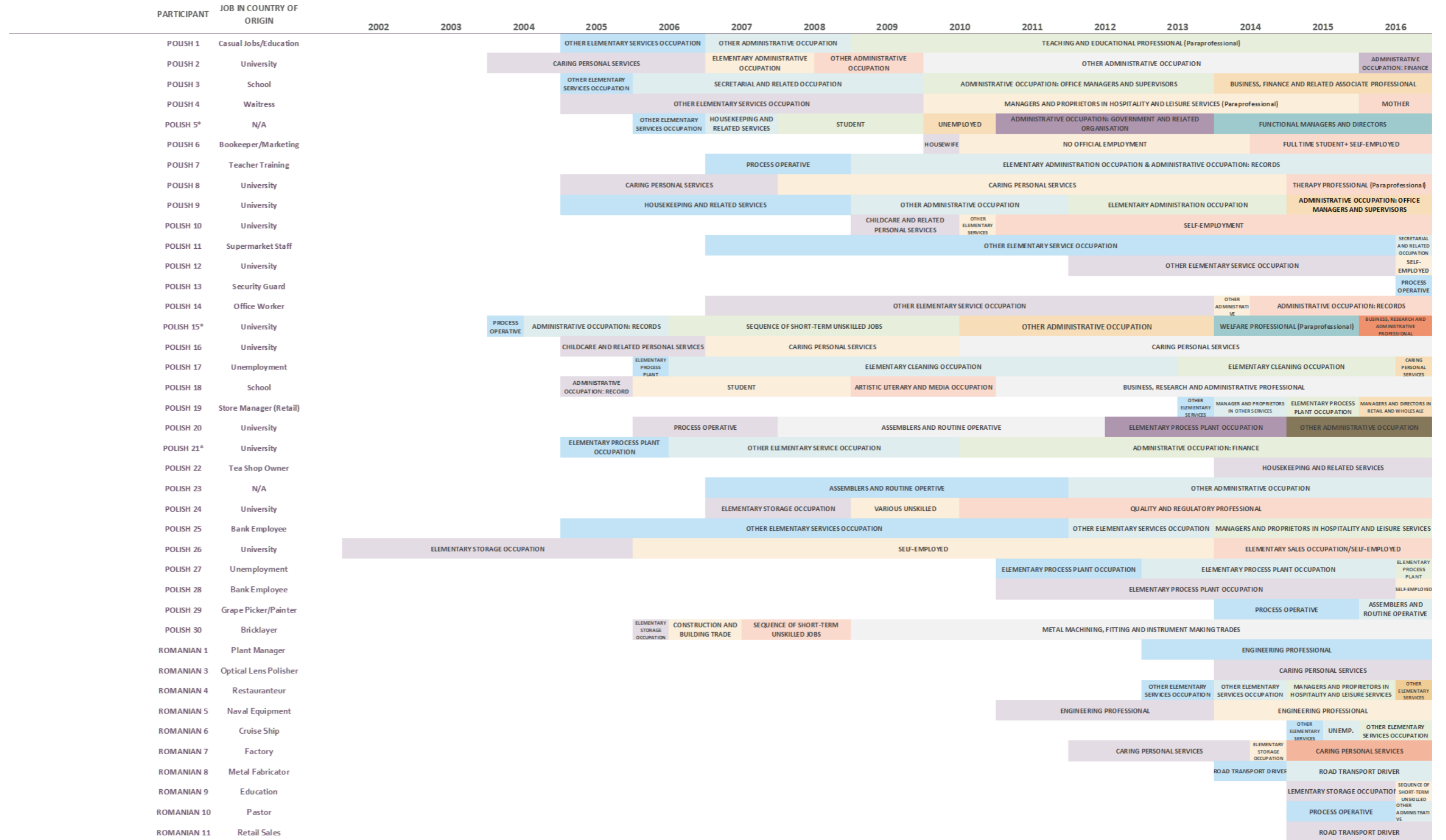
Employer Preference: This interpretive node distils the information contained within its constituent descriptive nodes to offer an interpretation which synthesises the experiences of participants at the descriptive level. Employer Preference regards the view that Eastern European, particularly Polish migrants were valued highly by employers due to their work ethic, as well as the utilisation of migrant networks as a means to fulfil employer demand (via agencies) and concludes that employer preference is an appropriate interpretation of both nodes. Employer Preference for Polish migrants is derived from the view that they are hardworking, compliant, and dedicated. Employers place a higher value upon these migrants as their work ethic leads to greater profit. The second facet of this Employer Preference is how is this demand fulfilled. Networks as a Source of Recruitment illustrates an avenue which was particularly prominent in this sample whereby agencies acting on behalf of employers would advertise and lobby migrant networks for fresh recruits. Therefore, the constituent nodes of employer preference illustrate both the roots of this demand for Polish workers as well as how the demand is fulfilled. It could be argued that the two constituent nodes describe features of Employer Preference and thus insufficient interpretation has occurred between the two levels. However, given that all information is sourced from migrant accounts, employer preference was considered to be an interpretive node as it interprets employer action, and statements of favour through the experiences of migrants themselves. Therefore, employer preference is an interpretation of these views.

Cycle of Employer Demand: This thematic node reflects upon the interpretations of its constituent nodes as well as the contents of all linked descriptive nodes to present an overall theme which reflects the spirit of the coding hierarchy as a whole. Cycle of Employer Demand was chosen as it illustrates the experiences of participants as a process which encapsulates all nodes. On the demand-side, employers prize participants' work ethic of which they find makes them particularly suitable for manual employment. This demand is then fulfilled by employment agencies who use the networks of existing employees as well as the local co-national communities as sources of potential recruitment. On the supply side migrants, due to their lack of language ability are unable to interface with the labour market directly, this results in participants having to use either their knowledge of how previous waves interacted with the labour market, or personal or co-national networks to guide their initial labour market experience. This invariably leads to agency recruitment. However, concealed within the supply side nodes are participants of differing arrival dates and methods of entering agency employment. This suggests a cycle whereby the migrants who arrived closer to the date of accession used the limited available information to discern how to enter the UK labour market (based upon the few accounts of participants who had arrived prior to accession or immediately upon it). This initiates the cycle of employer preference whereby they are deemed to be hard working, compliant and dedicated. This then leads to agencies interfacing with the networks (and forming local co-national community) of these initial participants to recruit future waves of Polish migrants. Indeed, participant accounts from the earlier migrants of both Polish and Romanian groups report that employers and agencies both asked them if they had any relatives who would be willing to work for them in predominantly factory work. Provided that work ethic continues to be prized this cycle should continue unbroken pending freedom of movement.

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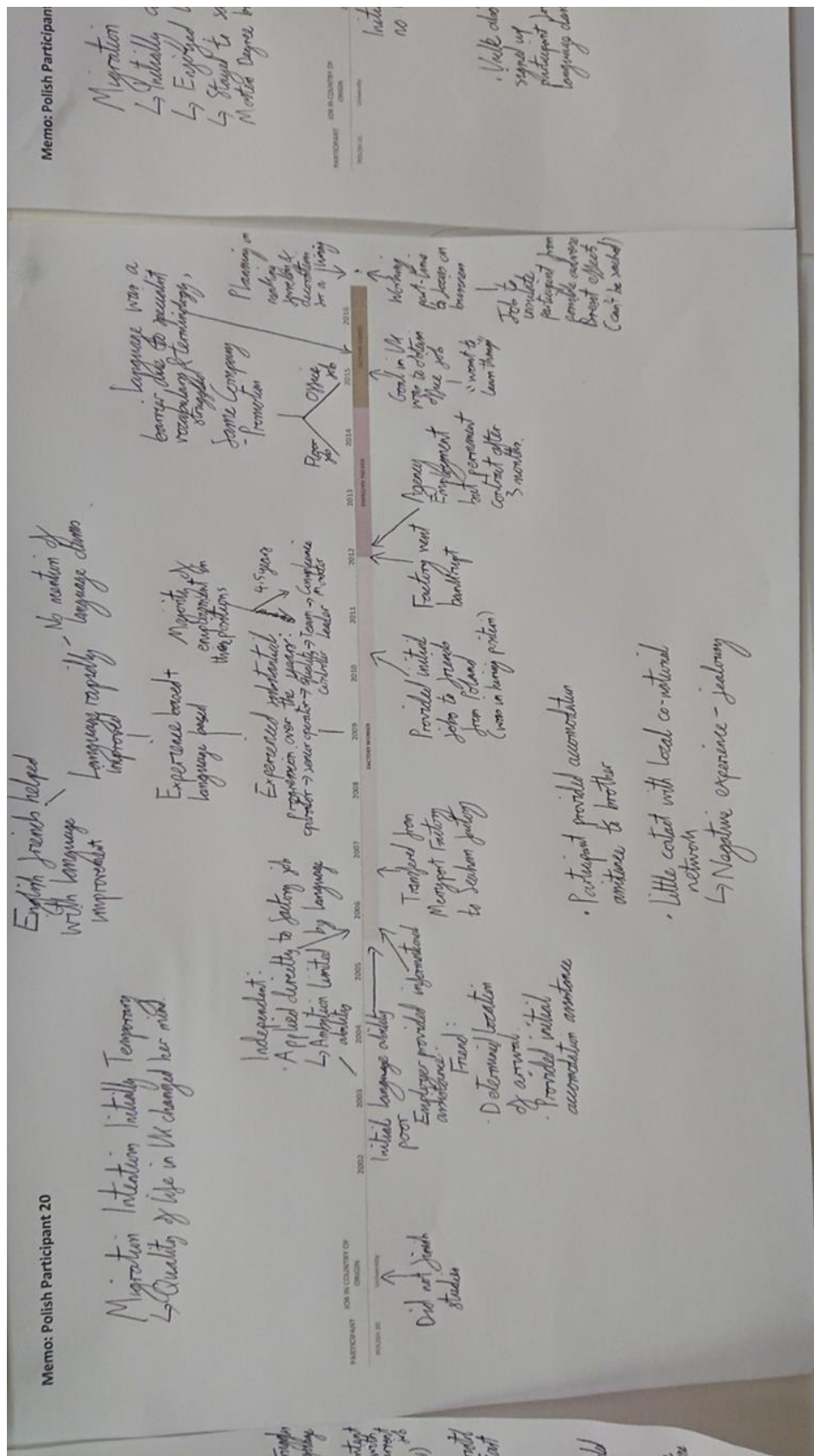
Appendix 26: Timeline Labour Market Mobility Diagram



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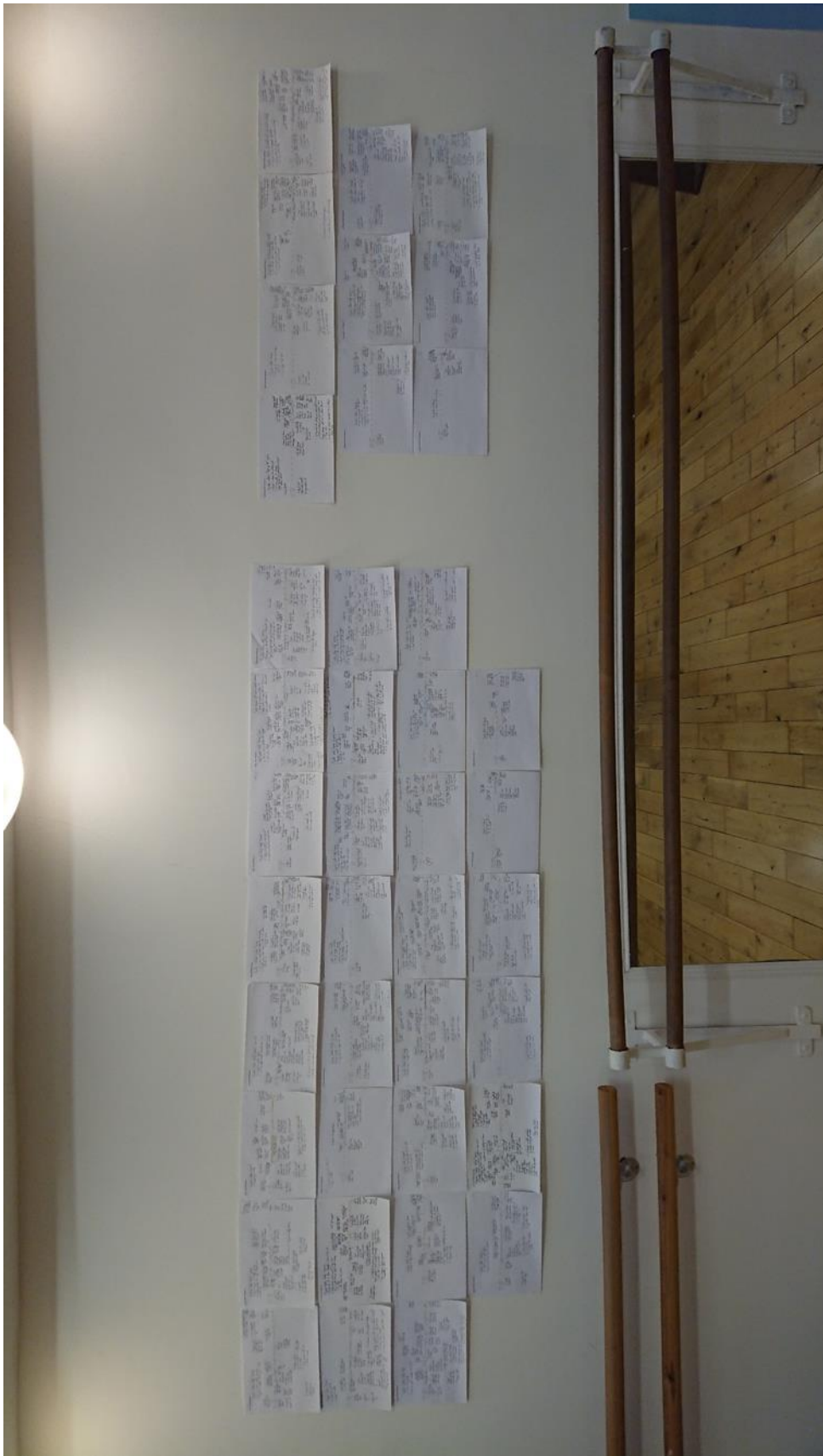
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Appendix 27: Manual Timeline Diagram Complete Image



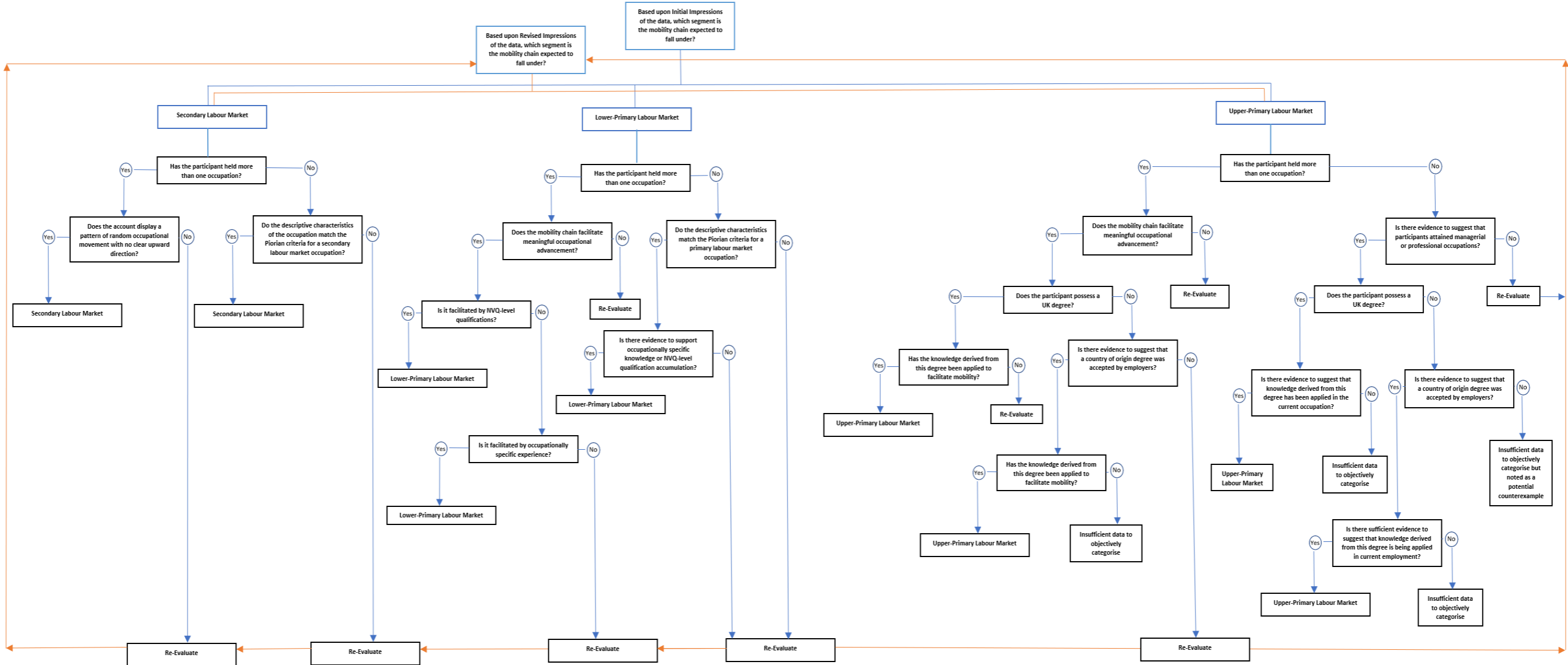
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Appendix 28: Participant Employment Timelines



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Appendix 29: Dual Labour Market Decision Flowchart



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Appendix 30: Secondary Labour Market Decision Log Rationale

The decisions made in concluding that an occupation or sequence of occupations falls under the secondary labour market structure were divided into two camps. Those where the random mobility chains evidenced in Piore (1975) were clear and those where due to the lack of occupational sequence only the characteristics of a single occupation were able to be utilised as evidence. Regarding the former, concluding that a sequence of occupations should be considered as secondary labour market random chains was relatively easy to characterise thanks to the use of employment timelines as well as detailed participant description of their occupational duties and experience in work. This provided sufficient evidence in the eyes of the author to confidently conclude that a sequence of occupations could be considered as belonging to the Secondary Labour Market. Where a participant held only one occupation which was suspected to belong in the Secondary Labour Market, participant descriptions were relied upon as evidence. This was considered to be sufficient if the participant remarked upon 50% or more of the Piorian characteristics of low-pay, poor working conditions, poor promotion opportunities, unjust application of work rules or favouritism, and instability of employment. As instability was remarked as a defining feature of the Secondary Labour Market in Piore (1979) this was seen as a necessary criterion in all cases. Should the evidence provided by participants not match the expectation derived from the data sensitisation phase, then the case was re-evaluated again with a fresh perspective.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 31: Lower-Primary Labour Market Decision Log Rationale

The decisions made in determining whether a mobility chain or occupation falls into the lower-primary segment follow a more complicated approach. As with the Secondary Labour Market a distinction is made between participants who held more than a single occupation (station) within a lower-primary mobility chain, and those who only show evidence of one (e.g. it is the highest position reached in their labour market experience). Regarding the former, first it was investigated to see if participants experienced meaningful occupational advancement (defined as moving from one station of a mobility chain to the next, or in non-theoretical terms if they experienced promotions within or between organisations). It is entirely possible that participants could advance along more than one mobility chain during this labour market segment, in such cases the mobility chains suspected of being lower-primary would be fed through the flow-chart again. Should it appear that there is no meaningful advancement occurring between potential stations on the mobility chain then the information would be fed back into the system at the secondary labour market level.

Beyond this, should meaningful occupational advancement be found, an additional check is made to ensure that the characterisation of labour market mobility is as objective as possible. In the theory section it was argued that NVQ-level qualifications represent an easily identifiable indicator of the accumulation of specific traits (reimagined as specific cultural capital). As such this was used as a Piorian identifier of the type of cultural capital accumulation suspected to occur during advancement of lower-primary mobility chains. If no evidence was found to suggest or reference NVQ-qualification acquisition, then evidence was sought to confirm whether occupationally specific experience was accumulated (defined as any form of learning unlikely to hold relevance outside a given occupation- e.g. how to prepare administrative reports in Word). Should evidence be found that such learning took place then a subjective decision was made that the mobility chain in question is likely to reside within the lower-primary segment, otherwise the information was fed through the flow-chart once again as it is possible that the mobility chain could be located in the upper-primary segment.

As with the secondary labour market, not all participants reported mobility chains. Some held only single occupations suspected to be lower-primary (particularly administrative jobs which were reported in Piore (1975, p.134) to belong to lower-primary mobility chains). As such, the occupations would be tested against the Piorian criteria for primary labour market occupations exhibiting higher wages, superior working conditions, better promotion opportunities, equity and due process in the administration of work rules, and employment stability (Piore, 1975, p.126). Naturally, this could apply to either the lower- or upper-primary segment. Therefore, for those occupations which match the Piorian characteristics (with a particular focus upon employment stability and following the same method as ascribed in the Secondary Labour Market memo) the type of learning which occurred on-the-job was investigated even though such learning has not yet manifested into concrete labour market progress (those not exhibiting sufficient descriptive characteristics were re-input into the flow chart as they may be Secondary Labour Market occupations). Should evidence be found of NVQ-level qualification accumulation or occupationally specific experiential learning then the subjective decision was made to classify the occupation as located within the lower-primary segment. However, should no

such evidence be found then the information would be re-input into the flow-chart as the potential exists for the occupation to be present in the upper-primary segment.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 32: Upper-Primary Labour Market Decision Log Rationale

As is evidenced in the flow chart, the decision tree relating to upper-primary labour market mobility chains and occupational classifications is the most detailed. As with the lower-primary and secondary labour market decision trees an initial distinction is made between mobility chains (evidence of sequential occupational advancement) and single occupations identified as potentially upper-primary. This division is to channel participant accounts into different groupings due to the different analytical tools applied to the information in order to determine whether a mobility chain or occupation is upper-primary in nature. Should a participant have held more than one occupation this facilitates the analysis of the data in line with Piore's (1975, p.129) definition that mobility chains in the primary sector form into career ladders sequentially granting access to higher pay and higher status jobs. Thus, meaningful occupational advancement is defined in this way. Should it be found that the sequence of jobs does not form in this manner then the information will be re-input into the flow chart as it is likely to be a secondary labour market occupation. Should meaningful occupational advancement be found then the type of mobility must then be identified as that characterised in the upper-primary labour market. To this end the flow chart asks whether participants possess extensive formal education. Piore (1975, p.133) suggests this to be grounding upon which the general traits (reimagined as general cultural capital in this thesis) are reproduced and reinforced.

Should this be found to be the case, then the next stage is to investigate whether the knowledge (general embodied cultural capital) learned during the process of attaining the degree is used in actually facilitating movement between stations on the upper-primary mobility chain. In other words, whether the knowledge contained within the degree is applied in the context of the upper-primary occupation and whether it is useful in the supposed intellectual, creative, and intuitive tasks theorised to be central to upper-primary jobs to facilitate mobility (Piore, 1975, p.127). This contrasts with the learning which occurs in lower-primary occupations based upon its wider applicability (e.g. incisive critical thinking, or journalistic analytical skills are more easily transferable between mobility chains than the ability to operate an HP M5035xs A3 industrial printer. This type of general knowledge and skill was sought after, and if it was found that its application could be linked to meaningful occupational mobility between stations on an upper-primary mobility chain then the sequence of jobs was identified as belonging to the upper-primary segment of the labour market. If not, then the information would be re-evaluated and fed back into the flow chart as even though meaningful occupational advancement has been identified and the participant possesses a UK degree, the possibility exists that the participant has not yet applied that degree in the context of an upper-primary mobility chain and hence may yet be working in a lower-primary mobility chain despite having attained a degree.

Should participants not be found to possess a UK degree then it was decided that the relevance of a country of origin degree ought to also be investigated at this stage as Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2005) allude to the potential albeit varied transferability of country of origin qualifications and experience across transnational context. Therefore, this decision point seeks to understand whether the accumulated abilities and knowledge from a country of origin degree were acknowledged by employers and thus grant access to upper-primary mobility chains in the same way as a UK degree. The assumption behind the placement of this inflection point upon the decision tree is that participants will have either accumulated the necessary language and experiential UK-labour market skills up to this

point in order to be able to leverage their country of origin capital for access to the upper-primary segment (as Piore (1975, p.130) argues extensive formal education is necessary for access to the segment), or that a newcomer to the labour market with appropriate language and UK-field specific experiential cultural capital will have been able to enter the UK labour market at this highly-skilled level. However, naturally as this part of the decision-tree looks into mobility chains, it is necessary that there is evidence to show the direct application of degree-level knowledge in a participant's craft facilitating mobility. For example, should a Romanian engineer arrive in the UK at the upper-primary level and show evidence of internal or external promotion then it would be expected that some level of evidence be presented which harmonises the application of knowledge and continued experience gain with that mobility. Should that not be the case then unlike the sister-tree regarding UK degrees, this dataset would be discarded. This is because meaningful occupational advancement was identified, as was employer acceptance of a foreign degree, but that by itself is not enough to objectively categorise the placement of the mobility chain in the upper-primary segment. Given that the degree was accepted by employers, it has also not suffered devaluation by definition. Therefore, whilst likely to be upper-primary, without evidence of the application of general cultural capital it would not meet the threshold of evidence desired by this investigation. However, participants identified experiencing meaningful occupational advancement without a degree would be submitted for re-evaluation and re-input into the flow chart as, as referenced above advanced formal education is theorised to be necessary for entry into the upper-primary segment.

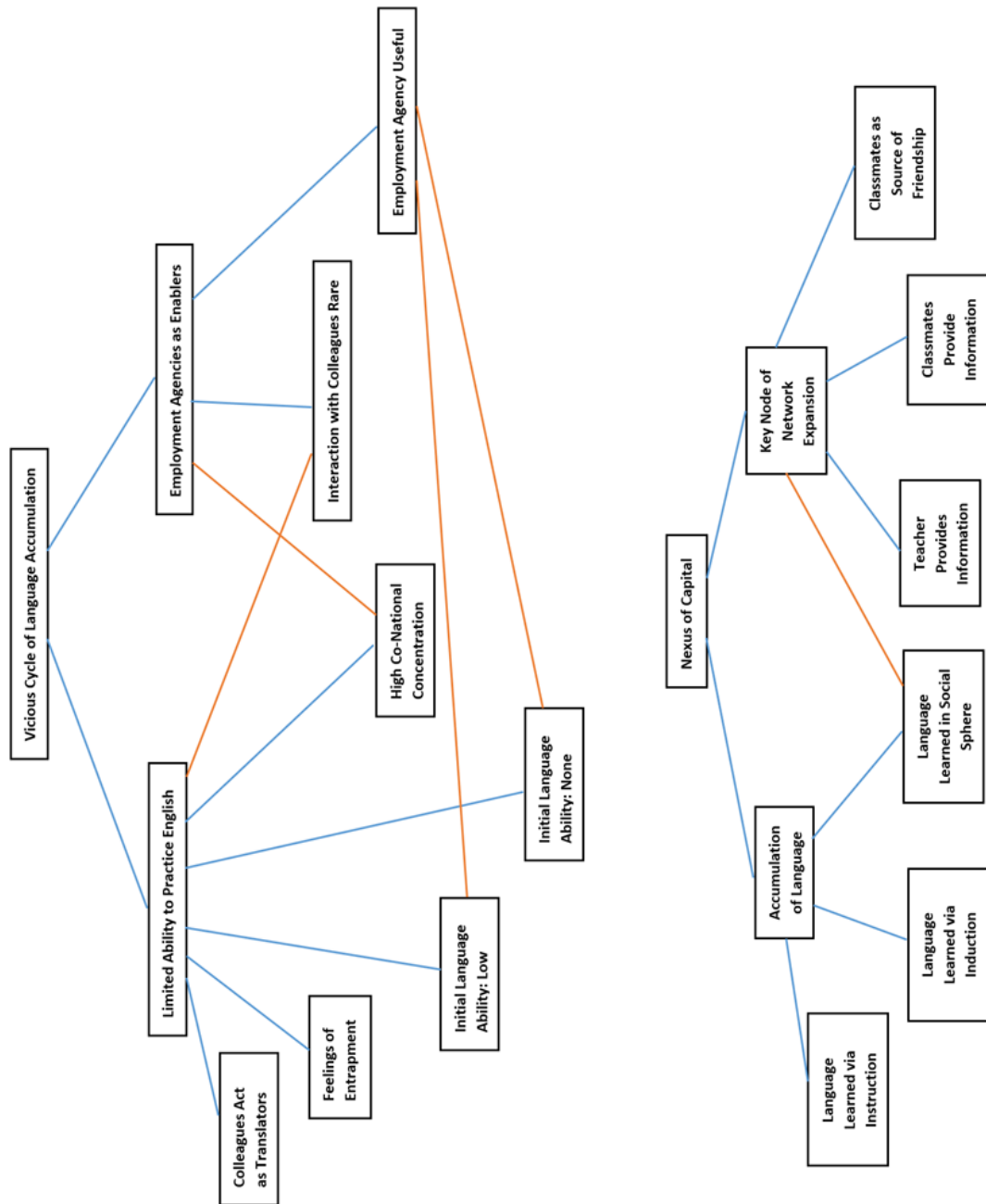
For participants who have not held more than one occupation a similar approach was taken to that expressed in the Lower-Primary and Secondary Labour Market memos. However, it is more specific than that of the Lower-Primary Labour Market decision tree as Piore (1975, p.126) explicitly references upper-tier primary jobs as professional and managerial. This was chosen as an indicator instead of "higher pay and status, and greater promotion opportunities" compared to the lower-primary segment as whilst a comparison between secondary and primary characteristics was feasible to an acceptable level of objectivity for the lower-primary segment, comparing such characteristics through the descriptive accounts of the participants were considered to detach reality and meaning too far from the lived experience of the participant. In other words, interpreting the account of the participants through a transcription and interpreted by the researcher in comparison with the (by definition) less stark differentiations with the lower-primary segment was considered to be adding too great an element of subjectivity. To this end the ONS (2010, p.3) categorisations of managerial and professional jobs were used which include: corporate managers and directors; science, research, engineering and technology professionals; health professionals; teaching and educational professionals; business, media and public service professionals; other managers and proprietors. Associate professionals were excluded due to their lack of requirement for degree-level education. If there is no evidence to suggest that professional or managerial occupations were attained, then the information will be re-evaluated and re-input into the flow chart as it may have been mistaken for a lower-primary occupation (or possibly secondary).

Following the identification of an occupation as managerial or professional, the participant's account would be probed to determine whether they possess a UK degree. Even though this was considered to be a part of the definition of managerial or professional occupations in ONS (2010) it was nevertheless felt to be necessary to investigate whether participants explicitly reference their possession of a UK degree. This is a key Piorian

indication of upper-primary employment and a foundation upon which the general skills learned throughout the upper-primary mobility chain are based. Should participants be found to possess a UK degree then, as with the mobility chain branch of the tree, evidence will be sought to support the Piorian criteria that the knowledge derived from degree-level qualifications is applied in participant's current employment. Should this be found to be the case then it would be considered sufficient evidence to support the assertion that the occupation is located in the upper-primary labour market. If not, then unlike the corresponding branch upon the mobility chain side of the tree it would be considered insufficient evidence leading to the information discarded from the sample. This is because unlike the criteria for "meaningful occupational advancement", managerial and professional occupations- whilst considered to embody the principals of meaningful advancement are more specific than simply higher pay and higher status etc. Therefore, whilst it is likely that the occupation is indeed upper-primary the evidence is insufficient to match the Piorian criteria, and in an investigation which prides objectivity as a tenet of its contribution this was not seen as an area in which compromise could be made despite the balance of probabilities pointing towards the likelihood that the occupation is upper-primary located. Similar logic was followed for the country of origin branch of the decision tree whereby the recognition of a country of origin degree by employers was not seen by itself to provide sufficient evidence to indicate the occupation is located in the upper-primary segment, the reproduction and reinforcement of knowledge provided in such a degree was seen to be a necessary and integral component given its significance as evidence in facilitating occupational mobility in the upper-primary segment. Likewise, should a participant provide evidence that they had attained a professional or managerial occupation without possession of a UK or country of origin degree then it would be considered insufficient levels of information to objectively classify the occupation as upper-primary in this model. However, the author is fully cognisant that it may be possible to attain upper-primary employment without a degree provided that the general cultural capital instructively taught at universities was inductively learned via other sources. In such cases despite being marked as insufficient data, information would be carefully analysed in a chronological manner to seek evidence for the accumulation of general traits (cultural capital) via the identification of patterns of specific traits (cultural capital) (Piore, 1975, p.132)- alongside explicit references of employers acknowledging the substitutability of such cultural capital. In such cases, participants would be used as an interesting unit of comparison against those who attained upper-primary employment via instructive methods (and would be fully accredited as having achieved such employment via inductive means).

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 33: Lower-Secondary Labour Market Coding Hierarchies



Source: Created by Author

Appendix 34: Lower-Secondary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)

Colleagues Act as Translators: This descriptive node represents instances in lower-secondary occupations where participants remarked upon the lack of necessity to speak English due to the omnipresence of bi-lingual colleagues who could speak English and act as translators. It also contains instances of participants themselves stating that they acted as translators for other colleagues (particularly but not exclusively participants from the Moderate language group).

Feelings of Entrapment: This descriptive node relates to the expressions of participants where they felt trapped in lower-secondary employment due to the inertia of being unable to practice English. This entrapment is derived from either feeling that the work itself is acting as a major hindrance to their objective of learning English, or that the intrusive nature of long working hours inhibits the participant from learning English in their free time. There is an argument to be made that perhaps this node belongs as an interpretive node reflecting the more emotion-felt side of language accumulation as participants struggled in that endeavour. However, ultimately it was decided that the descriptive level was best for this node as Limited Ability to Practice English could facilitate both emotional and practical facets in its interpretation of attached descriptive nodes.

Initial Language Ability: Low: This node is a holdover from the typology expressed in the initial labour market experience and uses the same data that was used to identify participant's language ability as low. The label was kept the same for the sake of clarity for the researcher. However, in this context it's possible to ascribe the label Unable to Speak English to Colleagues to both Initial Language Ability: Low and Initial Language Ability: None nodes. This node describes a relevant and essential facet of the Limited Ability to Practice English in the lower-secondary labour market.

Initial Language Ability: None: In much the same way as the node above, this one contains examples of participants unable to express themselves in English in the Lower-Secondary Labour Market experience.

High Co-National Concentration: This node describes instances where participants remarked upon how they work primarily or entirely with Co-National Colleagues.

Interaction with Colleagues Rare: This descriptive node contains instances where participants remarked upon the difficulty of instigating discourse of any kind with colleagues due to the nature of the work itself. For example, workers in a food factory were required to focus upon the tasks at hand in a production line in a high-pressure environment and thus no opportunities to talk were present in the context of the work environment.

Employment Agency Useful: This descriptive node contains instances where participants remarked upon using employment agencies as a labour market intermediary in the secondary labour market experience and noted its utility in providing employment for those with English language difficulties. The secondary links to the two language ability nodes reflects that the participants contained within this node are also contained within the language ability nodes.

Limited Ability to Practice English: At this point a level of interpretation occurred to find commonality between the constituent descriptive nodes. The combination of feelings of

entrapment, high concentration of co-nationals, low or no ability of the participants themselves, difficulty to interact on-the-job, and omnipresent translators for the rare instances where interaction in English was necessary led to the interpretation that in this labour market segment participants themselves struggled to practice English in employment. The constituent parts were interpreted as a perfect storm of conditions which limited the ability of the participant to improve their language ability.

Employment Agencies as Enablers: This rather more abstract interpretive node began as a potential descriptive node for a nascent Limited Ability to Practice English interpretive node. However, it was elevated to reflect the central role of Employment Agencies as enablers of the perpetual cycle of channelling migrants of low language ability into lower-secondary labour market employment. This role was defined by the constituent descriptive nodes whereby participants of low language ability explicitly referenced agencies as useful in finding lower-secondary employment, how the agencies themselves were remarked upon as responsible for the channelling of migrants into such jobs yielding the high co-national concentration, and how the agencies too were remarked upon as responsible for a channelling effect into working environments where interaction with colleagues is rare such as in food processing, low-skilled manufacturing, and low-skilled storage occupations. Therefore, combining these features points to the central role of agencies as enabling the characteristics of lower-secondary employment which renders language improvement difficult.

Vicious Cycle of Language Accumulation: At the conceptual level, this node seeks to interpret the interpretations of the Limited Ability to Practice English, and Employment Agencies as Enablers nodes in piecing together a higher-order concept which can be used to explain the process which is occurring regarding language in the lower-secondary labour market. The Employment Agencies as Enablers node presents the scenario whereby migrants of low language ability are channelled into lower-secondary, low-skill employment by agencies with such work containing the features of high co-national concentration and rare interaction with colleagues as features of this channelling effect. The Limited Ability to Practice English node captures the feelings and experiences of migrants once they have entered into such employment, with the high co-national concentration, rare interaction with colleagues, readily available access to translators, inability to interact independently, and feelings of entrapment leading to an overall limited ability to practice English on-the-job. Combined, these nodes present the image of migrants who need to improve their English the most as channelled into employment where it would be most difficult to do so and experience that difficulty consistently in such employment. Therefore, should migrants seek to improve their English then evidence points to entrapment whereby the features of employment appear extremely un conducive to language accumulation either by virtue of the nature of the work, the co-national concentration of colleagues or the working hours themselves limiting ability to practice externally. All evidence points towards a vicious cycle of entrapment where language accumulation is hindered to a significant extent yielding the name of this conceptual theme.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 35: Lower-Secondary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)

Language Learned via Instruction: This descriptive node contains instances where participants remarked upon learning English in the context of a language class. Fairly self-explanatory but nevertheless essential in illustrating the form and function of the classes.

Language Learned via Induction: The descriptive node contains instances where participants remarked upon learning English via interaction with classmates. This was not to be considered in the social sphere as the key characteristic of this node is that part of the classes were dedicated to practicing with classmates. It was included alongside the node above as it illustrates a more practical side to the classes and illustrates an inductive side (much like in the upper-secondary labour market experience overleaf) which facilitates comparison with other thematic hierarchies.

Language Learned in Social Sphere: This descriptive node contains instances where members of the language class interacted and socialised together outside the context of the classroom. The key feature in this node is that the participants remarked upon the lack of common language between participants due to the many nationalities represented and thus during lunch or other social periods participants were forced to interact in English to practice. In a sense it has some comparison with the low-co-national concentration node in Appendix 36 exhibiting similar characteristics. Naturally, through social interaction friendships formed thus there is also an element of network expansion to this node as well.

Teacher Provides Information: This descriptive node illustrates an alternative function to the teachers other than their primary purpose of instructing in English language. It illustrates their secondary role as a source of information, advice and support which several participants found instrumental in the early labour market experience. This support tended to be social with teachers providing institutional information to participants or class members who were struggling to understand the UK institutional context e.g. how to get advice on employer exploitative behaviour.

Classmates Provide Information: Likewise, classmates were also found to be an important source of information for participants. However, given that classmates were noted to be predominantly new arrivals similar to the participants themselves, information shared was typically not employment related. However, there are a small number of examples of job vacancy information being shared.

Classmates as Source of Friendship: Beyond the instrumental, this descriptive node includes instances where participants found their emotional needs to be met by participants in the class. For instance, the classes fulfilled a social function whereby members would not solely go to learn English but also found it to be an activity to expand their networks beyond that of the co-national sphere. This was typically not the intention of participants, but instead a happy by-product of attending the classes.

Accumulation of Language: This interpretive node distils the descriptive nodes of language learned via induction, instruction, and in the social sphere into the next level of abstraction. It finds the commonality between all three nodes to be the accumulation of language. This is a fairly simple interpretive node illustrating that a key process occurring in the language classes is the accumulation of language ability. It is fairly self-explanatory and to be expected, nevertheless it is important to go through the proper processes in qualitative

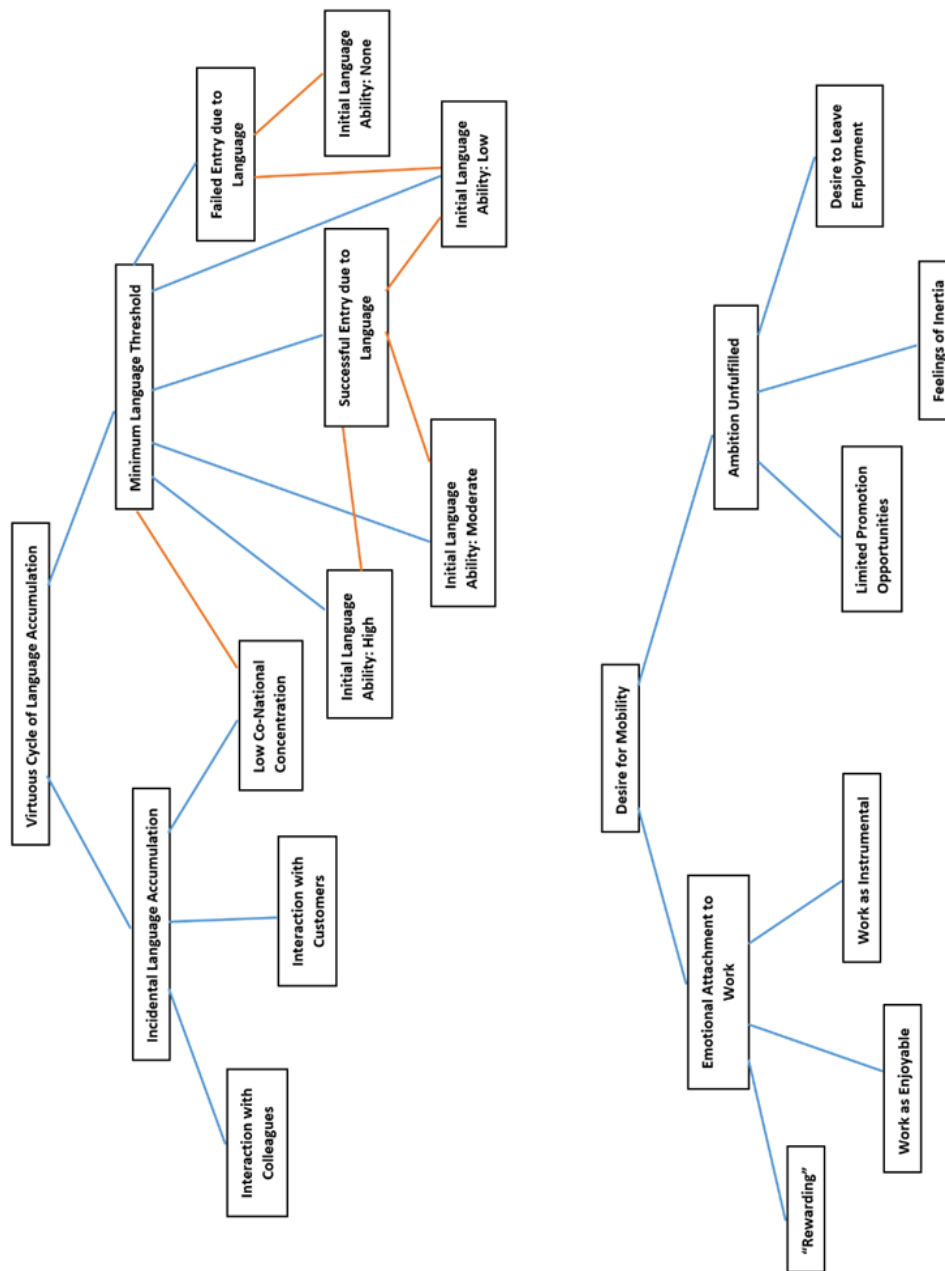
coding to illustrate decision trails and author thoughts on subjective decision-making. There is some argument to be made that the accumulation of language could be a descriptive node and perhaps isn't sufficiently interpretative to be worthy of its position in the coding hierarchy. However, my rationale for including it as such a node is that it is interpreting the nodes beneath it insofar as it is abstracting descriptive instances of language learned and distilling them into a process occurring during their time at the language class. So, in this sense, the node was considered interpretative by the author.

Key Node of Network Expansion: This interpretive node distils participant experiences in participant socialisation leading to language accumulation, assistance provided by teachers, assistance provided by classmates, and friendships blossoming from class interactions into the interpretation that language classes are also key nodes of network expansion. Whilst their primary function may be to improve participant language, there is also a very real and very present secondary function of providing ample opportunities for participants to expand their networks to include multiple nationalities of classmates and that of native teachers. The operative word "key" used in the title illustrates that in all attached descriptive nodes this was the first instance recorded in participant accounts that networks had been expanded to include non-co-national individuals.

Nexus of Capital: Operating at the highest level of abstraction is the conceptual node Nexus of Capital. This distils the interpretations of the Accumulation of Language node as well as the Key Node of Network Expansion into an overall interpretation of all nodes contained within the hierarchy at the conceptual level. Nexus of Capital represents how in the context of the lower-secondary labour market experience the only recorded instances of capital accumulation occur through the medium of the language classes. The accumulation of language is the expected function of the classes and is indeed a primary function. However, as the language classes also operate as a prime location for the expansion of participants' networks beyond that of the co-national sphere it is also a significant source of social capital. Therefore, these classes are a nexus of cultural and social capital accumulation insofar as the process of embodiment of language occurs here as well as the incidental conversion of labour-time into social capital via the medium of conversation.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 36: Upper-Secondary Labour Market Coding Hierarchies



Source: Created by Author

Appendix 37: Upper-Secondary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)

Interaction with Colleagues: This descriptive node represents instances where participants remarked upon interacting with their colleagues in English during the course of their day to day activities in their jobs. Relatively self-explanatory it captures the essence of one of the differentiating factors between the lower- and upper- secondary labour market which is the ability to interact with co-workers in English.

Interaction with Customers: This descriptive node represents instances where participants noted that there was a customer- or client- focused aspect to the job. That is to say that participants remarked upon features of their employment which required the use of English to interact with the native population as a part of their job. E.g. As a waiter in a restaurant or a carer in a care home.

Low Co-National Concentration: This descriptive node represents the inverse of that in the lower-secondary segment where participants remarked upon how they worked with very few or no co-national colleagues. This is fairly similar to the Interaction with Colleagues node. However, whilst the former seeks to evaluate the level of interaction in English with colleagues, this descriptive node seeks to simply gauge the nature of employment through co-national concentration as a numerical feature. This is distinct and important in its implications for language accumulation and the type of migrants entering into such employment.

Initial Language Ability: High: As with the language descriptors in the lower-secondary segment this descriptive node is a holdover from the initial labour market experience and was kept for the sake of clarity for the researcher. It represents the calibre of language of participants entering into upper-secondary employment and is heavily linked with the sister descriptive node Successful Entry due to Language. However, it was considered distinct enough as this node contains the information used to distinguish participants of High language ability in the Initial Labour Market typology and thus contains the participant quotes relating to their language ability. It illustrates a proclivity of such participants to enter into Upper-Secondary employment whereas Successful Entry due to Language contains the remarks of participants where they ascribe successful entry into upper-secondary occupations as directly linked to their language ability. Therefore, the two nodes are linked by their assessment of language but distinct in how the assessment is applied be it to evaluate ability or in the context of unlocking employment opportunities.

Initial Language Ability: Moderate: This descriptive node also contains the information used in the initial labour market language typology and was kept for the sake of clarity for the researcher. As above it represents the calibre of language participants possessed upon entering upper-secondary labour market occupations and is similar yet distinct from the Successful Entry due to Language node for the reasons expressed above.

Initial Language Ability: Low: This descriptive node contains the information used to determine the level of participants whose initial language abilities were classified as Low. It represents the calibre of language participants possessed upon entering upper-secondary labour market occupations and holds particular import as members of this group contributes both experiences of success and failure to enter into upper-secondary occupations. This link between both success and failure is demonstrated by the orange supporting link lines between the two descriptive nodes.

Initial Language Ability: None: This descriptive node contains the information used to determine the level of participants whose initial language abilities were classified as non-existent. Unlike the nodes above, it represents the calibre of language participants possessed during their experiences of failure to enter the upper-secondary segment. As such it is linked by the orange supporting line to the Failed Entry due to Language node, but is not directly connected to the Interpretive node of Minimum Language Threshold as whilst this node is a contributor to the Failed Entry due to Language, the Initial Language Ability: Low descriptive node clearly illustrates the approximate location of where the dividing line is located for minimum language ability necessary in this segment. This was a subjective decision made upon reflection after the creation of the conceptual theme, it was thought that this node in particular contributed little in the way of support for this theme and as such although important in the context of the initial labour market experience, its role here was to strictly illustrate the language ability of participants who contributed experiences of failed entry.

Successful Entry due to Language: This descriptive node contains instances in which participants ascribed their successful entry into upper-secondary labour market jobs to be due to their language ability. Whilst it does not comment upon the language ability of participants entering into such employment, it is useful to compare this descriptive node with those of the initial labour market language typology as it presents an image of the calibre of language necessary to enter into such employment. As such the combined explanatory potential of these nodes yields the more interpretative one above.

Failed Entry due to Language: This descriptive node contains instances where participants remarked upon their inability to attain upper-secondary labour market entry due to their insufficient language ability. In essence it contains participants experiences of failure due to insufficient language ability. This is a node which contained fewer than the '25% of participants within the segment' rule of acceptability as a node. However, it illustrated the inverse of the Successful Entry due to Language and in the few participant experiences contained within it did link those of None and Low language ability. Nevertheless, it contained experiences of aspiration and regret at being unable to find employment in the customer-facing hospitality sector and was considered to be too critical a component of the labour market analysis to discard due to insufficient numbers.

Incidental Language Accumulation: This interpretive node represents the culmination of aspects of employment which yield incidental language accumulation on-the-job. Interaction with customers naturally necessitates discourse in English which also serves as a means through which participants may practice the language. Likewise, interaction with colleagues in English as a function of the job will yield additional means to practice the language. Furthermore, the low-co-national concentration generates an environment whereby the pressure to speak in one's own language is non-existent and thus facilitates an environment whereby speaking in English is natural and common. Overall, the environmental characteristics of upper-secondary employment as well as the nature of the jobs provide the attributes necessary for incidental language accumulation to occur on-the-job.

Minimum Language Threshold: This interpretive node agglomerates the descriptive nodes ascribing characteristics to both the workplace (low co-national concentration) and the migrants (language ability, experiences of success and failure) to deduce that one defining aspect of secondary labour market occupations is their minimum language threshold for

entry. This interpretation is based upon the remarks that participants rarely worked with co-national colleagues suggesting an element of filtering, as well as an assessment of the language ability of those who successfully gained employment and of those who failed. Naturally, the experiences of success and failure due to language were necessary to discern that language was indeed the responsible characteristic and not something exterior to the bounds of this investigation. This yielded the interpretation that a minimum language threshold exists to filter participants as suitable or unsuitable for employment in such occupations based upon language.

Virtuous Cycle of Language Accumulation: This conceptual theme reflects the panoply of evidence beneath it both at the interpretive and descriptive level. The Virtuous Cycle of Language Accumulation reflects that migrants ranging from 'low' to 'high' language ability tended to enter into upper-secondary employment. This minimum language threshold also reflects the feature of low co-national concentration which is itself conducive of English language accumulation on-the-job as it renders the common language of parlance to be English. Furthermore, the interaction with colleagues as a feature of the job further necessitates discourse in English as a facet of the job, and indeed interaction with customers further yields opportunity to practice. Therefore, overall a virtuous cycle of language accumulation is evident whereby both the selection aspect but particularly the occupational characteristics of the jobs are conducive to the accumulation of language. In effect, it illustrates the opposite process expressed in the vicious cycle of language accumulation presented in the lower-secondary segment.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 38: Upper-Secondary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)

“Rewarding”: This descriptive In Vivo node represents the immense sense of satisfaction participants derived from their work in the pursuit of helping others. This was particularly prevalent for participants working in the care sector who felt that by helping those in need they were doing good. In this pursuit it generated strong positive emotions which are embodied in the term “rewarding”.

Work as Enjoyable: This descriptive node describes instances where participants remarked upon their satisfaction in work. This differs from the descriptive node above as the satisfaction is not derived from the positive social externality attached to the work, but instead from a more general sense of satisfaction from the work proving to be satisfactory at least in the context of their immediate goals if not their long term labour market goals. There is an argument to be made that this node and that above should be amalgamated into a single node relating to positive experiences in work. However, the sources of satisfaction were deemed to be sufficient evidence to separate the nodes into two distinct descriptive categories. This is based upon the logic that a job can be rewarding but not enjoyable, and vice versa. One may derive satisfaction from helping others, but the work itself may not be sufficient to hold interest or enjoyment.

Work as Instrumental: This descriptive node in effect illustrates the inverse to the nodes above, particularly that of “Rewarding”. It illustrates instances whereby participants remarked upon their experience working in upper-secondary jobs as effectively asocial, generating no particular or specific feelings of enjoyment or positivity. That instead it was seen as useful in the context of their overall labour market goals, and in effect a steppingstone.

Limited Promotion Opportunities: This descriptive node reflects instances where participants remarked upon their difficulty to achieve promotions in an upper-secondary occupation. This does not reflect emotional content, nor does it reflect any desire, but it does reflect material barriers encountered by participants when seeking to attain promotions in this segment. These tended to reflect Piorian characteristics of secondary labour market occupations, in particular the highly personalistic relationship between management and employees.

Feelings of inertia: This descriptive node reflects the immense dissatisfaction felt by participants who were unable to achieve mobility in this segment. It is fairly self-explanatory in that it reflects the emotional side of the limited promotion opportunities node, yet it also gives a distinct emotional insight into how participants felt when experiencing labour market barriers. This will become very relevant at higher levels of abstraction.

Desire to Leave Employment: This descriptive node illustrates participants’ desire to abandon their job in favour of one they perceived to be more lucrative. This includes references to both primary labour market occupations and self-employment as considered by participants. There is an argument to be made that this node could be placed at a higher level of abstraction, and in earlier iterations it was. However, upon reflection of the nodes contained within, there was very little interpretation and the desire to leave employment in this segment was not necessarily linked to either feelings of inertia or a reaction to limited promotion opportunities and was therefore considered to be its only distinct

descriptive node which fed in very coherently to the next level of abstraction which ably unifies the descriptive nodes illustrated here.

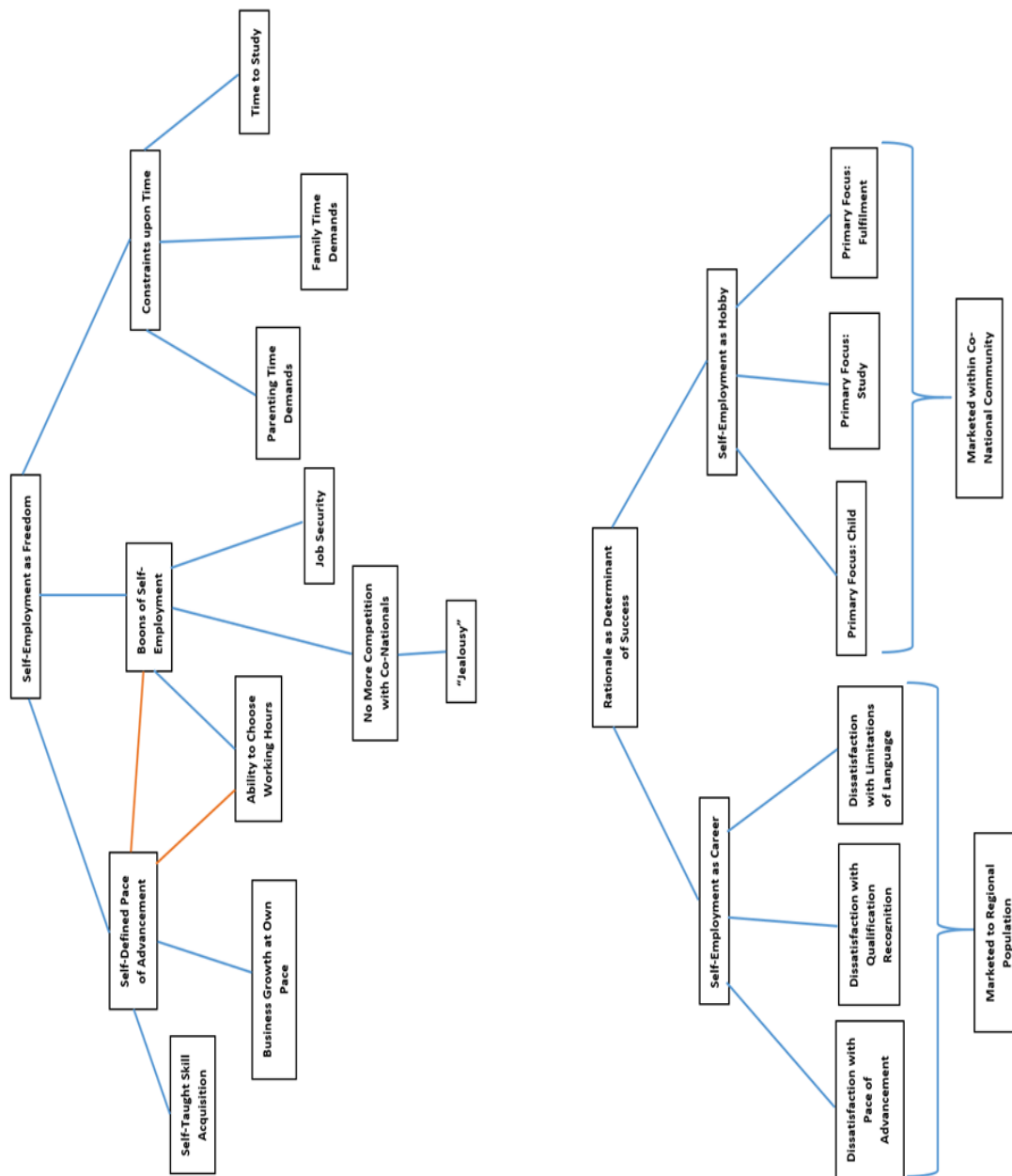
Ambition Unfulfilled: This interpretive node amalgamates, considers, and abstracts the descriptive nodes of limited promotion opportunities, feelings of inertia, and desire to leave employment, and sought to derive an interpretation of what these nodes meant in the context of migrant labour market mobility in this segment. Combined, these nodes point towards the unfulfilled ambition of migrants, their feelings of inertia, their desire to leave the segment for formal or self-employment, and the structure of the labour market itself ultimately proving to be an obstacle to participants' greater labour market goals. Thus, participants' ambitions were considered to be unfulfilled and prove to be a strong interpretation fuelling participants greater desire for mobility.

Emotional Attachment to Work: This interpretive node considers participants' views and emotions in upper-secondary employment and finds that they are all ultimately reducible in a sense to the levels of emotional attachment participants apply to the work they are doing. Therefore, participants who view their work as enjoyable or rewarding place a value of emotion attachment to the work they are attending. Whereas participants who view their work as instrumental instead place no emotional value upon their work. This has implications which will be elaborate upon in the thematic node concerning the will to progress in the labour market out of secondary labour market occupations.

Desire for Mobility: This conceptual theme which appears fairly descriptive in its name illustrates a deceptively simple phenomenon occurring in the minds of participants throughout this segment. On one side of the tree the nodes amalgamate and consider the depth of participants' views and emotions in the context of their emotional attachment to the work and to their jobs. The implication of this is that emotional attachment is considered to affect the desire for mobility. In this regard, participants who derive satisfaction from their work and generate an emotional attachment to it are considered to possess less of a desire to advance in the UK labour market than those who view their work as purely instrumental and thus see their work as useful in the context of their greater labour market goals- a far more functionalist relationship. On the other side of the tree the Ambition Unfulfilled interpretive node reflects an additional, equally significant phenomenon occurring simultaneously to the emotional attachment. Participants are growing frustrated at their lack of mobility within this segment: they encounter limited opportunities for promotion in their places of work and possess general desires to leave their employment for what they perceive to be greener pastures. Over time these practical and emotional considerations reflect an increasing sense of unfulfilled ambition. Combined these two branches present antagonistic forces combating for participants' desire to advance in the UK labour market. It presents the emotional attachment of participants to their work eroding and ultimately yielding to their desire for greater labour market fulfilment, whereas those who had no substantial attachment to their work were preserved to a far lesser extent from the reality of their secondary labour market context and thus their desire for mobility manifested earlier in the labour market experience. This conceptual theme ultimately addresses the speed of advancement in the upper-secondary mobility experience.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 39: Self-Employment Coding Hierarchies



Source: Created by Author

Appendix 40: Self-Employment Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)

Self-Taught Skill Acquisition: This descriptive node contains participant quotes related to instances where they describe teaching themselves the abilities required to run a small business. This ranged from learning how to bake a pizza in an industrial cooker to how to properly compile receipts for business accounting.

Business Growth at Own Pace: This descriptive node refers to instances where participants referred to seeing the tangible results of their efforts in the growth of their business and how this was related to the effort they put into growing the business.

Ability to Choose Working Hours: This descriptive node refers to an aspect of the freedom participants felt by working for themselves. The ability to choose their own working hours was seen as particularly empowering particularly by taxi drivers but was a common feature of self-employment as a whole. This was seen as one of the key favourable characteristics of working for oneself, but naturally this node is also connected to the Self-Defined Pace of Advancement node due to the relationship between time spent at work, and advancement. Should a participant desire more free time, then the ability to choose working hours facilitates this.

No More Competition with Co-Nationals: This particularly common descriptive node was featured throughout the self-employment sub-sample. Participants described their relief at no longer having to work in the competitive environments of the formal labour market which saw high degrees of competition with fellow co-nationals.

“Jealousy”: A particularly pertinent aspect of this competition is that of jealousy, which was so prevalent and widespread that the author felt the need to create a sub-node describing this feature of competition. This node encompasses participants’ comments on the environment they left behind with reference to the jealousy aspect in particular.

Job Security: This descriptive node contains participant comments upon their increased feeling of job security in self-employment. This was a surprising find in the sample as the researcher thought that self-employment would have itself entailed a degree of risk. However, participants noted enhanced feelings of job security which upon reflection is logical due to the vast majority of participants leaving secondary employment for the self-employed labour market.

Parenting Time Demands: This descriptive node is fairly self-explanatory: it references participant remarks upon how throughout their time in self-employment they found their time constrained by their responsibilities to their children. That is to say that their remarks centred around how during self-employment their time was divided between running a business and caring for a child.

Family Time Demands: Whilst this node may appear similar to that above, it instead describes instances where participants found their time constrained by responsibilities to their wider family be it caring for an elderly relative, a sick relative, or simply stating the antagonism between spending time running a small business and taking care of the household on behalf of the family.

Time to Study: This node describes instances where participants reported an antagonism between running a small business and studying UK qualifications in formal institutions. This

node is particularly poignant as it also references a time-aspect whereby some participants in self-employment noted not only an antagonism between self-employment and study but also with respect to daytime antagonism. That is to say that participants ran their businesses during the day, the same period in which classes were also scheduled, adding an additional layer to this constraint.

Self-Defined Pace of Advancement: This interpretive node began its existence as a descriptive node attached to boons of self-employment which is why it maintains a supporting link to its sister interpretive node. However, the accumulation of skill at one's own pace, the ability to grow one's business at one's own pace and the ability to choose the quantity and time of working hours all point towards a unified interpretation that self-employment offers reward proportionate to the effort put into it. This holds true at both the individual level through the accumulation of business-relevant skills, and at the business level through effort invested in business-growing activities. Naturally, the ability to choose working hours is also linked to this as individuals have the freedom to invest the amount of time they see fit in advancing their own business. The culmination of effort and time invested in business-related activities yields a self-defined pace of advancement.

Boons of Self-Employment: This interpretive node reflects upon the ability to choose working hours, the lack of competition with co-nationals, and feelings of job security to suggest that all these descriptive nodes reflect upon positive attributes associated with self-employment in the eyes of migrants and should therefore be interpreted as boons. Boons was felt to be particularly appropriate word as, with particular reference to the job security and co-national competition nodes they contained a comparative element with secondary labour market employment. Therefore, boon was thought to contain an element of gratitude suggesting that participants were grateful for being able to leave secondary employment for less insecure and competitive self-employment. An element of comparison is also contained within the ability to choose working hours as it is of course juxtaposed with the long working hours emblematic of secondary labour market employment. Thus, boon is referenced to in contrast to participants' former labour market experiences.

Constraints upon Time: Of the three interpretive nodes, this one contains the least amount of interpretation as it was relatively easy to distil participants' antagonistic comments regarding time into the general interpretation that they felt their time constrained. However, this interpretation also reflects an element of freedom as in order for participants to be able to experience such constraints they are no longer beholden to the secondary labour market characteristics which typically came before. Therefore, whilst this node acknowledges participants juggling their roles in the family and educational spheres with their duties in the employment sphere, it also acknowledges that self-employment has offered them the freedom to attend to their time demands in other spheres, an opportunity not offered to all participants.

Self-Employment as Freedom: At the conceptual thematic level Self-Employment as Freedom was chosen as a concept which adequately reflected the myriad arguments and phenomena contained within. Regarding Self-Defined Pace of Advancement this illustrates the freedom for participants to choose how hard they wish to work, both improving themselves and their business in the pursuit of advancement down their own self-defined mobility chains. Freedom in this sense refers to the freedom to work as hard as one wishes in pursuit of their self-defined goals. The Boons of Self-Employment reflects the comparative freedom enjoyed by participants in contrast to their former experiences in the

secondary labour market. They are free from competition with co-nationals, feelings of insecurity in employment and may choose to work the amount of time they wish in contrast to the long working hours of the secondary labour market. Thus, the boons of self-employment could themselves be distilled into freedom to define their own labour market experience. As referenced in Constraints upon Time, this node reflects a more subtle form of freedom, which is the freedom to utilise self-employment to pursue one's alternative goals potentially in the formal labour market via study or with goals in the family sphere. Although antagonism was noted in terms of time, this antagonism nevertheless reflects the freedom to be able to fulfil other roles which was never reported to be possible by participants remaining the secondary labour market. Overall, the experiences and emotions of participants in self-employment reflect multiple different facets of freedom which come into stark focus when compared to their previous labour market experience.

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Appendix 41: Self-Employment Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)

Ancillary Methodological Memo

This coding hierarchy operated under a combined approach of constant comparative methods alongside thematic analysis. This approach differed from those of other hierarchies as this one sought to investigate participants motivations for entering into self-employment, and as such the examination of commonality and difference was seen as a more direct method of attaining this. However, upon completion of the tiers of commonality and difference significant consideration was put into a suitable parent theme which captured the essence of the discoveries of constant comparative methods. This resulted in Rationale as Determinant of Success which combined similarities and differences in motivation, as well as differences in marketing to conclude that participant motivations for entering into self-employment had a bearing upon whether their businesses were successful or not based upon participant accounts in their own words.

Self-Employment as Career: This descriptor is fairly self-explanatory, this node groups together participants who envisaged their foray into self-employment to be wholehearted and treated it as a full-time career as they would an occupation in the formal labour market. They entered into self-employment with the full intent of committing full time and effort into generating success for themselves.

Self-Employment as Hobby: This descriptor encompasses the opposite of those who entered into self-employment as a career. These participants did so as a reaction to their changing circumstances and additional demands upon their time. They did not necessarily desire self-employment or running a business as a career but instead felt the need to withdraw their labour from the formal labour market and commit to business as a means to earn a living whilst undergoing other pursuits.

Dissatisfaction with Pace of Advancement: Upon delving deeper into why participants sought a career in self-employment differences began to emerge between participants as to their rationales for doing so. One such reason was dissatisfaction at lack of progress in the secondary labour market. Participants expressed exacerbation at their inability to attain promotions in their previous employment and therefore sought to attain commensurate employment via self-employment.

Dissatisfaction with Qualification Recognition: Some participants were instead dissatisfied with the lack of employer recognition for their qualifications in the secondary labour market and instead chose to start a business in their chosen craft in order to fully unlock and utilise the abilities they learned during their studies in the country of origin.

Dissatisfaction with Limitations of Language: Some participants found that their language abilities were not considered adequate for primary labour market employers yet also felt unwilling to work in secondary labour market occupations. For these participants self-employment was a viable alternative for achieving the career they desired.

Primary Focus: Child: Upon delving deeper as to why participants sought to use self-employment as a hobby it became apparent that this was due to their primary focus located in other pursuits. One such pursuit was in looking after young children, whereby participants started up small businesses in order to act as a source of income whilst raising children. The entire subsample of this group was female reflecting an additional facet of

the labour market experience whereby women in particular in the sample have additional obstacles to navigate in terms of time constraints when attempting to advance in the UK labour market. In essence self-employment as a choice in this domain was a reaction to the time-constraints of parenting.

Primary Focus: Study: Some participants were instead motivated to take up self-employment whilst studying in order to earn supplementary income during the period of study. In some ways, participants taking up self-employment in this manner is a reaction to the time-constraints imposed on participants by the secondary labour market, with self-employment seen as a release from these constraints in facilitating their greater labour market goals. Study being one of these greater labour market goals with the intent to re-join the formal labour market at a higher level.

Primary Focus: Fulfilment: A smaller number of participants withdrew their labour from the formal labour market as they sought to gain some level of fulfilment out of self-employment. This node was considered the most contentious in notes as it does not comfortably fit in either career or hobby but nevertheless errs on the side of hobby as participants' long-term commitment to seeing their self-employment journey through to its fruition was not expressed. Instead, participants expressed a come-what-may attitude whereby they entered into self-employment out of a desire to fulfil a dream but put little planning or thought into the decision and thus it was interpreted as a rebellion against the formal labour market. Their desire for fulfilment was constrained to such an extent that they quit their jobs in pursuit of something more fulfilling. In one instance this was renting a food truck, in two others it was selling self-made ceramics thus creativity was determined to be the primary motivation but no participants had put the proper planning or effort into this endeavour compared to those in the Self-Employment as Career thus these participants were considered to be hobbyists.

Marketed to Regional Population: An additional dichotomy was noted during the process of investigating similarities and differences between the two subsamples. Those who entered into self-employment with the view to commit to it as a career tended to market to the regional population as a whole. That is to say that they did not narrow their market by focusing upon co-nationals and instead utilised methods which would be normal for any British-ran business such as leafleting and flyers to advertise.

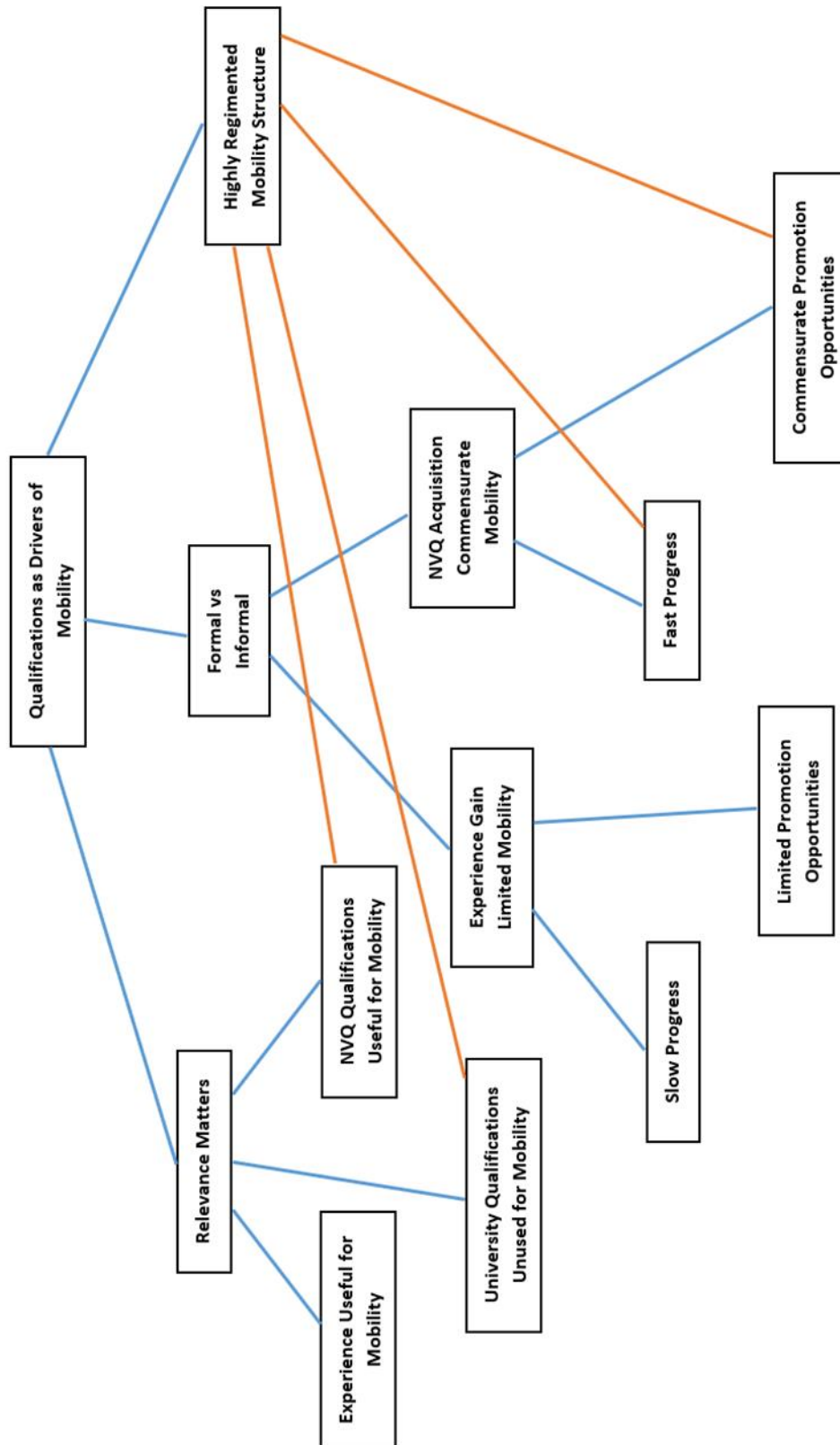
Marketed within Co-National Community: For those who did not seek self-employment as a career naturally their efforts in marketing were not as extensive as those of the other group. Instead, participants primarily utilised online social media groups to advertise their products within the community. This typically took the form of Facebook ads within the Polacy w Newcastle or Polacy w Darlington groups written in the Polish language and designed to appeal to co-national consumers.

Rationale as Determinant of Success: Once the dichotomisation of participant motivation was complete much reflection was put into whether the collection of similarities and differences could be amalgamated into an overall theme describing participant emotion, practice and experience in the self-employment context. A clear link exists between participants' rationales for entering into self-employment and their relative success in this endeavour. Naturally, participants who entered into self-employment with the more proactive motivation of establishing themselves on a career path experienced greater success than those who split their labour-time between establishing a business and looking

after children, studying, or focusing more extensively on their own fulfilment. This manifests in the dichotomy between approaches to marketing, with the careerists taking a far more traditional approach of attempting to appeal to the general population as opposed to those from the hobbyist grouping who exclusively targeted the ethnic niche. There is a Bourdieusian argument to be made here concerning the allocation of labour-time which will be a primary component of this part of the results chapter. Overall, it became clear that participants' motivations, and their rationales for entering into self-employment had a strong bearing upon their relative success in terms of establishing a long-term, profitable business able to self-sustain participants.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 42: Lower-Primary Labour Market Coding Hierarchy



Source: Created by Author

Appendix 43: Lower-Primary Compiled Methodological Memo

Experience Useful for Mobility: This descriptive node represents the quotes of participants who noted that the experience they accumulated on-the-job was useful to their mobility in the lower-primary segment. It is relatively self-explanatory and whilst the purpose of descriptive nodes is to steer clear of theory until the conceptual level of abstraction, this node actively describes the experiences of participants. However, it is clear that this node is deductively derived as it is difficult to entirely remove oneself from years of reading theory when conjuring names for deductive nodes.

University Qualifications Unused for Mobility: This descriptive node accounts for an unexpected but nevertheless very interesting phenomenon whereby participants were commenting upon how their UK university education was not useful in advancing in the lower-primary labour market. For example, a participant who studied a Business degree found that it was of no use at all in advancing along an administration mobility chain in the NHS.

NVQ Qualifications Useful for Mobility: This descriptive node contains quotes of participants who found NVQ level qualifications particularly useful for advancing in the lower-primary labour market. Participants expressed such qualifications as necessary and sufficient conditions in order to attain the next stage of job title in their profession. E.g. Admin to Senior Admin.

Ancillary Methodological Memo

Beneath the Formal vs Informal interpretive node lies the Experience Gain Limited Mobility and NVQ Acquisition Commensurate Mobility interpretive nodes. These two nodes came about from a desire to investigate how participants progressed through the stations of the lower-primary mobility chain. An examination of commonality and difference uncovered that participants who used predominantly experience to facilitate their mobility tended to advance to a lesser extent than those who attained NVQ qualifications. Lesser defined as experienced fewer promotions and spent longer periods of time in earlier stations on the mobility chain. Indeed, more specific facets of the commonality and difference analysis led to a dichotomy whereby Limited Mobility was distinguished between participants: those who progressed but at a noticeably slow rate spending large periods of time (multiple years) in entry level administrative positions but ultimately did experience mobility and those who complained of limited promotion opportunities in their entirety (Indeed some participants experienced both). Naturally, there were exceptions to this rule, but the vast majority of participants adhered to this dichotomy. Indeed, only one participant was noted as truly exceptional as he successfully advanced along a public sector lower-primary mobility chain with experience alone and ultimately attained paraprofessional employment at the time of interview. Likewise, NVQ Acquisition Commensurate Mobility illustrates the alternative side of the mobility experience whereby those who studied occupationally relevant NVQs were rewarded with commensurate employment after having achieved the qualification. This resulted in two features of this type of mobility to be distinguished- fast progress where participants who attained NVQs experienced comparatively fast advancement through the lower-primary labour market compared to their compatriots utilising predominantly experience, and participants remarked upon having achieved advancement commensurate to their qualification. It is difficult to fully quantify what fast is

in terms of labour market mobility but for the purposes of this investigation it was considered to be 3 years or less operating at a station on the lower-primary mobility chain. Slow progress naturally is considered to be more than 3 years. This was found to be the most coherent dividing line between the two groups in terms of dichotomisation, although as mentioned above rare exceptions were evident but were ultimately considered to not significantly disrupt this dichotomy. Fast Progress and Commensurate Promotion Opportunities typically went hand in hand with most participants experiencing both fast mobility through lower-primary mobility chains and commensurate promotion opportunities.

Experience Gain Limited Mobility: This interpretive node is the result of careful examination of how participants advanced through the lower-primary labour market. It takes much of the evidence used to determine whether a mobility chain ought to be considered as lower-primary and examines it in a chronological context, evaluating the extent and velocity of participant advancement through this segment of the labour market. Participants experienced both slow and limited mobility due to the near exclusive use of experience gain as the primary means of advancement.

NVQ Acquisition Commensurate Mobility: This interpretive node is likewise the result of careful examination of how participants advanced through the lower-primary labour market. In comparison to those who used experience as their primary generator of mobility, these participants primarily used NVQ qualifications to facilitate their advancement. There is an argument to be made that participants accumulated experience alongside NVQ level qualifications and that is accepted and included in this analysis. However, in order to more clearly differentiate the two pathways for mobility NVQ Acquisition was chosen as the title. The key difference between this node and its sister node is that participants in this grouping validated their experience with formal qualifications. This formalisation in the vast majority of cases engendered a stark difference in both speed and extent of mobility.

Formal vs Informal: This higher-level interpretive node in effect interprets the interpretations of Experience Gain Limited Mobility, and NVQ Acquisition Commensurate Mobility which are themselves based upon lower order interpretations of the speed and extent of mobility. The lower-order nodes as mentioned above applied constant comparative methods in order to discern the key differences between mobility facilitated by experience accumulation and mobility facilitated by NVQ qualifications. This ultimately resulted in an assessment of one side being declared fast and commensurate, and the other declared slow and limited. Thematic analysis at the lower orders is ultimately impossible as the information used does not exclusively use experiential accounts but also author observations of mobility and their characterisation in the dual labour market structure. Therefore, information in this tree was interpreted through this lens and as such constant comparative methods were best suited to generate meaning by examining commonality and difference both between and within each subset. Nevertheless, at this higher-level of abstraction an interpretive node is possible. At the heart of its constituent interpretive nodes is the evaluation of formal vs informal experience accumulation and how it succeeds or fails to translate into meaningful, evident occupational mobility. The dichotomy between formal and informal perfectly illustrates the significant divergence of mobility experience in this segment and lays the foundations for an aspect of the highest

order thematic node Qualifications as Drivers of Mobility given the favourable experiences of mobility alongside NVQ accumulation.

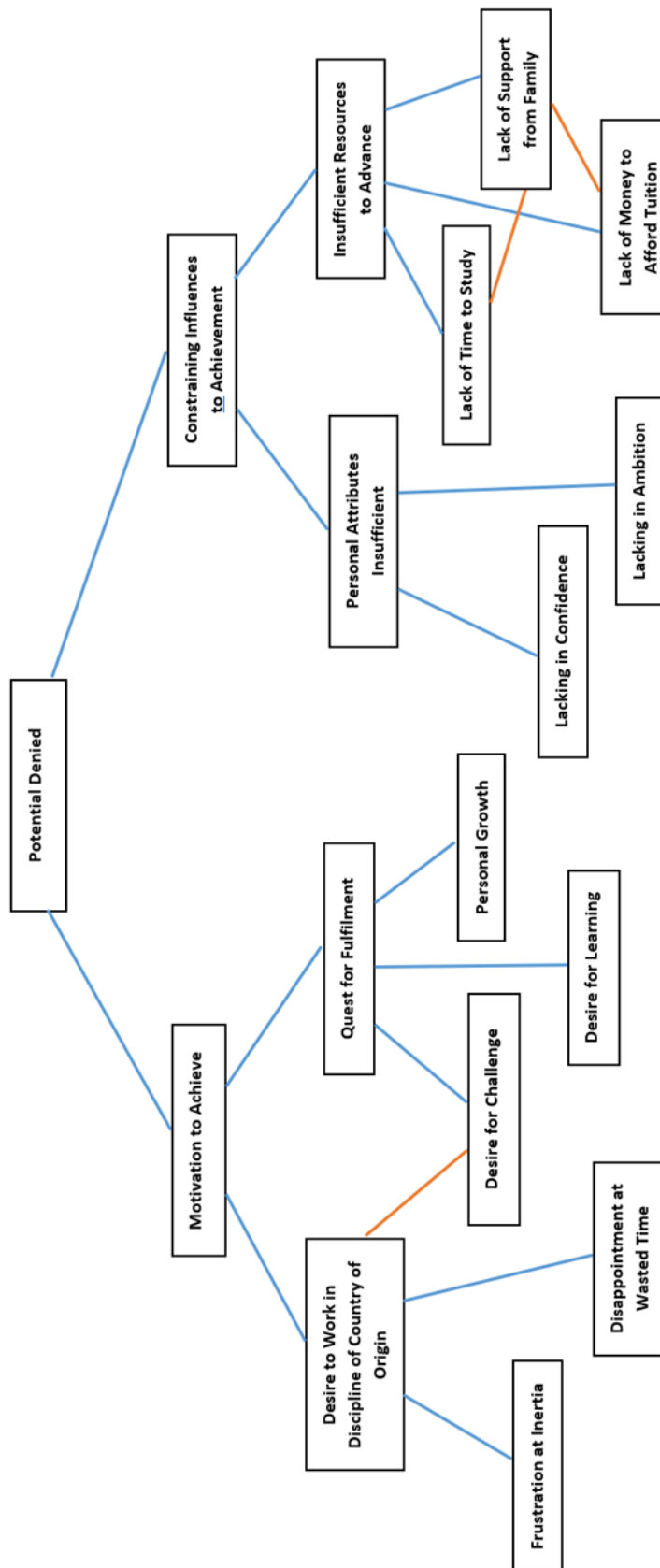
Relevance Matters: This interpretive node captures a very interesting aspect of its constituent descriptive nodes. Both experience and NVQ qualifications were found to be useful to a lesser or greater extent for the purposes of facilitating mobility. However, UK university qualifications were found to have no impact upon participants' mobility in the lower-primary segment. NVQ qualifications are by their very definition qualifications of direct relevance to the occupation or task at hand and experience is itself derived from the repeat activity of task- or occupationally- relevant activity. University qualifications by their own nature cover a wide variety of topics and subjects, and the participants who studied such qualifications did not successfully apply them to lower-primary mobility chains with one participant explicitly referencing how "useless" it was. In all cases, experiential or NVQ qualifications were the driving force of mobility in this segment, and in comparison to unrelated university degrees, this illustrates the importance of the relevance of qualifications if one is to expect their application to yield labour market reward.

Highly Regimented Mobility Structure: As is illustrated in the coding hierarchy, this interpretive node distils the information derived from NVQ Qualifications Useful for Mobility, University Qualifications Unused for Mobility, Fast progress, and Commensurate Promotion Opportunities to interpret the structure of the lower-primary segment. The fact that NVQ level qualifications were found to be useful for mobility and also yield the most favourable mobility opportunities in this segment speaks to the highly regimented structure of its mobility chains. Evidence that university qualifications proved to have no discernible positive influence upon participants' opportunities for mobility in this segment also yield evidence to this interpretation. The structure of this segment is interpreted to be one of substantial rules and regulations whereby the necessary and sufficient conditions of promotion are highly regimented insofar as specific qualifications yield the desired result, but more general ones are found wanting. This interpretation contains Piorian elements yet focuses upon the qualification aspect to illustrate its point that the most successful migrants in this segment are those which obeyed the rules necessary for promotion.

Qualifications as Drivers of Mobility: This conceptual, thematic node compiles the works of the connected interpretive nodes as well as the information of the coding hierarchy as a whole and distils it into a key theme which express the spirit of the information contained within. This theme was named Qualifications as Drivers of Mobility. It illustrates the clear role qualifications played as a defining aspect of the lower-primary mobility structure, their comparative utility in facilitating mobility in this segment, and also contains the relevance aspect whereby the facility of qualifications to act as drivers of mobility is moderated by the relevance and applicability of that qualification to the task or occupation at hand. In this sense, the thematic node is broad enough to encompass the antagonism between formal and informal experience gain, the structure of the mobility chain itself, and the aspect of relevance. It is somewhat deductive in nature harking to the Piorian notion of specific traits, or in this investigation specific cultural capital. Ultimately, it represents the core role of qualifications as the drivers of mobility in this segment (whilst also addressing the caveats of relevance described above).

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Appendix 44: University as a Barrier Coding Hierarchy



Source: Created by Author

Appendix 45: University as a Barrier Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)

Frustration at Inertia: This descriptive node contains instances where participants remarked upon their frustration at their inability to advance into upper-primary occupations which they felt would be commensurate with their country of origin education.

Disappointment at Wasted Time: This descriptive node contains the reflections of participants who describe the time they've spent in the UK labour market with feelings of regret. This regret is linked to their opinion that mobility up to this point has been effectively climbing their way up to a labour market position where they are within reach of attaining employment they felt they should have been able to attain initially.

Desire for Challenge: This descriptive node refers to a constant motivator for participants throughout the lower-primary experience which was a desire for challenge. They did not find the work especially fulfilling and sought more challenge from their tasks. This is primarily linked to an omnipresent desire for fulfilment emanating from participants in a more general sense, but also links to participants' desire to work in their chosen discipline in which they were trained in the country of origin as this was perceived to be a potential source of the challenge they sought.

Desire for learning: This descriptive node illustrates participants' desire to learn more than the occupationally specific experience gain inherent in lower-primary occupations. Some participants came to the UK with the idea that the UK is a bastion for learning, the reputation of its universities as some of the best in the world- this manifests, despite the relatively advanced stage of the labour market journey, in a persistent desire to learn in UK institutions as well as in professional and managerial occupations.

Personal Growth: This descriptive node represents participants' desire to continue to grow and improve as individuals. This was not necessarily directly linked to the labour market, but they saw an aspect of personal growth to be attached to the persistent learning which occurs as one advances through the labour market, and indeed in study at a UK university.

Desire to Work in Discipline of Country of Origin: This interpretive node distils participants' quotes surrounding Frustration at Inertia, Disappointment at Wasted Time, and their Desire for Challenge into the view that participants maintained a desire to work in the discipline in which they were trained. A strange amalgamation of emotion was evident in the constituent descriptive nodes whereby whilst participants were both frustrated and disappointment at their labour market experience to date, this did not dissuade them from seeking professional and managerial jobs they felt they deserved. In this sense, participants' disappointment and frustration were a source of motivation to find employment in their chosen discipline. This desire to work in their chosen discipline was also supplemented by a need for challenge which was an additional facet of how participants perceived professional and managerial employment to be.

Quest for Fulfilment: This interpretative node represents a more personal motivation to work in the upper-primary segment. Participants did not tend to find their work in administration to be particularly challenging, as such they desired occupations which were more intellectually stimulating and creative. Furthermore, participants sought to learn, they wanted to experience UK educational institutions as well as access the jobs they saw

to be a source of not only professional growth but also intellectual growth. In addition to this, participants also sought to continuously better themselves as individuals. Exposure to a variety of experiences was seen as necessary to this endeavour, this meant that the lower-primary mobility chains were not fulfilling participants' needs to experience what the UK had to offer both educationally and occupationally. Overall, these myriad desires manifest in participants' quests for fulfilment. Personal, professional, intellectual growth has been interpreted to suggest that participants' motivation to advance in the UK labour market is linked to their own quest for internal satisfaction (fulfilment). There is an argument to be made that this node is perhaps suited to the thematic level. However, the level of interpretation of this node was felt to be best suited at interpreting participants' more positive sources of motivation to advance, in contrast to the somewhat negative motivations stemming from participants' unfulfilled desire to work in their country of origin disciplines.

Motivation to Achieve: This interpretive node could be considered to lie at the sub-thematic level. It encompasses both wings of participants motivations to achieve upper-primary employment. In essence, it represents both personal and professional fulfilment. The desire to work in the discipline of country of origin represents the professional side. One interpretation of this desire is that a sense of failure pervades in the psyche of participants, that their sense of loss at the incredible amount of wasted time and lack of progress (in some cases 10 years or more) acts as a source of motivation for them to continue onward lest their investment be in vain. The other side of this motivation is participants' desire for fulfilment- their need for stimulation and challenge which has been unmet so far in their labour market journeys. The desire for personal growth stimulates their desire to seek ever more varied experiences in order to expand their personal horizons, their desire for learning sparking a desire for UK institutional as well as labour market teaching, their desire for challenge demanding they press on into the more creative and intellectually taxing jobs of the upper-primary segment. All manifest in a quest for fulfilment. This quest and participants' desire to work in the discipline of the country of origin can be distilled into a Motivation to Achieve. Achieve was carefully selected as a word, as it represents what participants seek in all the spheres of life relating to the labour market. It represents the distilled essence of what participants seek from their labour market journey: they wish to achieve their potential.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 46: University as a Barrier Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)

Lacking in Confidence: This descriptive node contains participant quotes where they express a lack of confidence to advance to the next stage of their labour market journey. This represents participants' lack of confidence in their own abilities to attend UK university- they did not feel that they would pass the admission requirements, or that they would not succeed at attaining a UK degree at the end of the process.

Lacking in Ambition: This descriptive node represents participants' expressions of contentment. Not all participants desired to advance further up the division of labour and this node contains quotations of primarily satisfaction at their current position. For some participants a car, a holiday a year, and a level of disposable income was enough for them and as such their ambition was achieved and no further desire to progress was expressed.

Lack of Time to Study: This is the first of the descriptive nodes which expresses material constraints to participants' ability to attend UK university. The first constraint expressed was a lack of time. Participants felt that in their current lower-primary jobs they could not simultaneously attend university. Participants were cognisant of the length of time degrees take and as such felt that they could not justify that level of absence from the UK labour market.

Lack of Money to Afford Tuition: This descriptive node expresses the very real material concern participants held concerning their ability to afford to attend UK university. Participants were cognisant of the fact that should they cease to work then they would no longer be able to afford costs of living and therefore struggled to justify costs participants viewed as "expensive". This manifestly real resource constraint was a significant deterrent to attend university.

Lack of Support from Family: In this descriptive node, a number of participants who were making efforts to attend UK university were operating as a family unit. They expressed resource constraints in the context of support from their partners or families. In this context participants noted that their partners and families would be unable to support them should they attempt to attend University. Therefore, in this sense this descriptive node is attached to that of time and money. Within the family context, participants could not justify the lost income or the lost time in work.

Personal Attributes Insufficient: This is a relatively low-order interpretive node, it expresses the interpretation that participants who lack confidence in themselves to attend university and lacked the ambition to try, possess personal attributes insufficient to advance further in the UK labour market. This node does not render any particular judgement, it expresses two common traits identified in participants with no further desire for mobility and expresses them as insufficient for the purposes of continuing the labour market journey. This can be contrasted with the quest for fulfilment interpretive node which contains the emotions and desires of participants who sought to continue their labour market journey. An alternative interpretation of the quest for fulfilment could be Personal Attributes Sufficient. However, in this node participants' expressions of reticence and contentment illustrate the end of their labour market journey in this investigation.

Insufficient Resources to Advance: This interpretive node possesses theoretical undertones but endeavours to interpret the descriptive nodes below it in an impartial

manner. It illustrates the material concerns participants encountered in their attempts to attend UK university. In this sense time was considered a resource as much as money, with family acting as a moderator of the two in instances where participants had at this time established families to support them. This node illustrates the significant constraints placed upon participants who sought to attend university with a balancing act between the need to earn and the need to study in order to advance. Family was evidenced to moderate this relationship, but ultimately families undergo the same resource constraints as individuals in this endeavour. As a constraining influence material resources were found to be just as impactful as the personal attributes inhibiting occupational advancement.

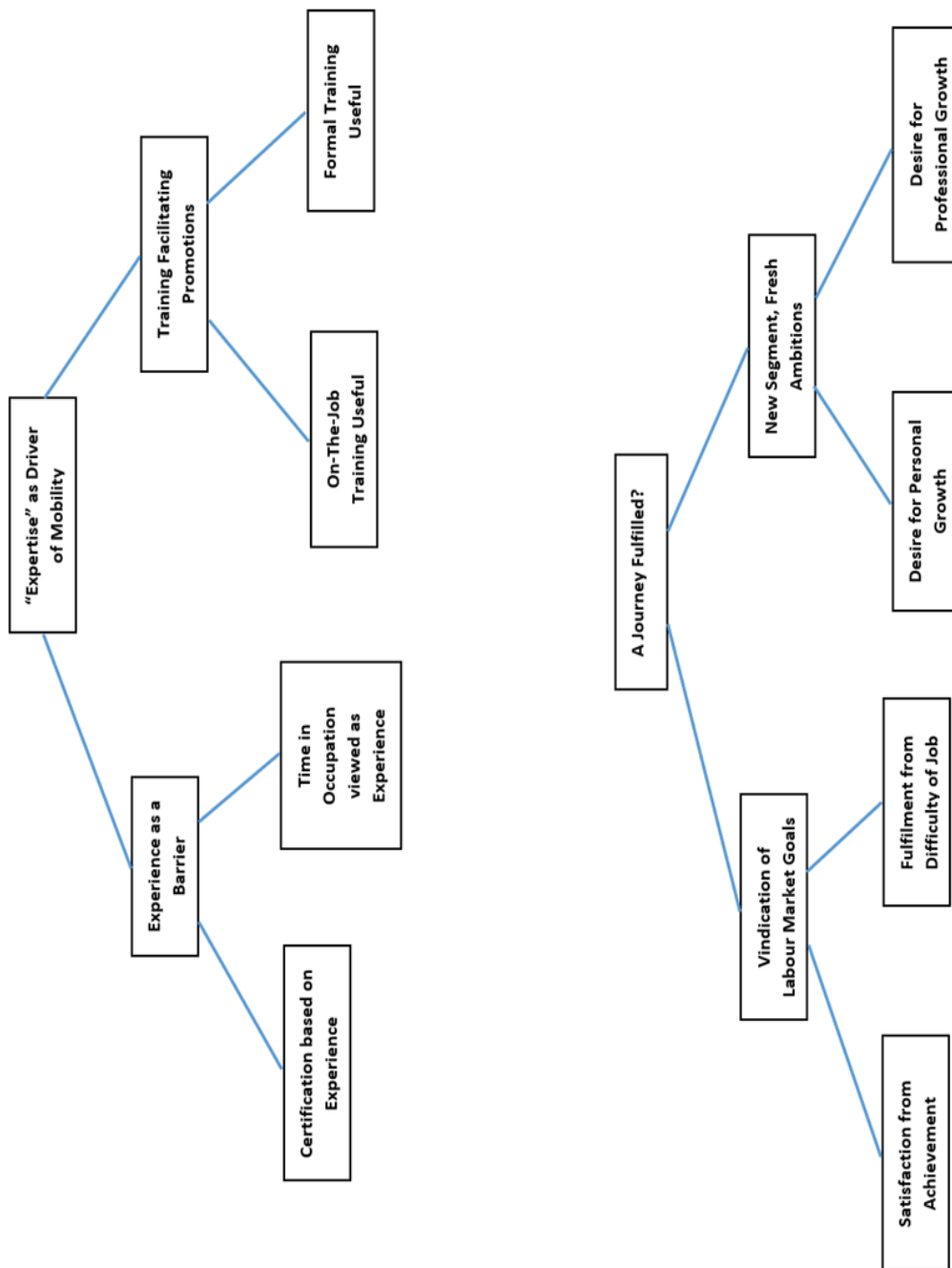
Constraining Influences to Achievement: This interpretive node could be considered to operate at the sub-thematic level. It encompasses and interprets the manifold constraints encountered by individuals when attempting to attend university in order to advance. These influences could be summed up as personal and material. Naturally should an individual seek to attend university then they require the confidence to succeed and ambition for its rewards in order to see the endeavour through. The desire for mobility is in other words essential to provide the motivation to continue in the labour market journey, otherwise achievement is not possible. More material constraints are also encompassed in this interpretation whereby the very real resource constraints encountered by participants in terms of time and money are prohibitive of their ability to attend university. Thus, both personal attributes and material resources both act as constraining influences to achieve upper-primary employment. In essence, this node interprets the experiences beneath it to suggest that participants must be in the right frame of mind to succeed, and also critically possess sufficient material resources to afford university tuition.

Potential Denied: This high-order theme began its existence as Education as a Barrier to the Upper-Primary Segment (and this will be kept as the overall title to its associated section in the results chapter). However, in order to reflect the significant degree of interpretation which has occurred from the base level of descriptive nodes up to the thematic level Potential Denied was thought to reflect participants' experiences and antagonisms at facilitating occupational mobility. One side of the thematic tree represents participants' myriad motivations for entering into the upper-primary segment whereas the other represents their manifest ability to do so. Motivation to achieve encompasses participants' enduring motivations to work in the discipline in which they were trained in the country of origin- this invariably represents graduate level occupations. Furthermore, participants are motivated by their desire to grow personally in terms of intellect, ambition, and experience. However, this motivation operates in tandem with the practical constraints to achieve upper-primary employment. Within the Constraining Influence to Achievement node exists the very relevant personal constraint of confidence. It is possible that participants with the ambition to continue their labour market journey may find confidence to be a constraint upon their willingness to attend university. More practical and central to this argument lies the material constraints of time and money which participants juggle in order to chart a course through the difficult antagonisms of time spent to study and time spent at work earning a wage. Thus, the potential embodied in participants' motivations to achieve upper-primary employment is tempered by the constraining influences to attend UK university. Whilst participants may possess the ambition, the drive, the desire to advance into the upper-primary segment this potential remains unrealised provided that participants are unable to navigate the resource-based paradox of allocating labour-time to work for consumption and thus be unable to save for university, or to find a trade-off

between consumption and saving either alone or as a family in order to be able to afford university education and achieve upper-primary employment. Potential Denied was considered to be an appropriate name for the theme as it fully encompasses the aspirational aspects behind Motivation to Achieve and all the inherent potential which encompasses it, as well as the real-world material considerations which forced participants to temper their almost dream-like accounts and desires for the future into pseudo-mathematical problems of resource constraints at both the individual and family level.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 47: Upper-Primary Labour Market Coding Hierarchies



Source: Created by Author

Appendix 48: Upper-Primary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 1)

Ancillary Methodological Memo

Naturally as participants ascend the division of labour there is a drop-off in the number of participants who are able to attain each stage. At this stage numbers reached 10% of the total sample and as such the coding occurring in this segment is far more intimate in nature. Given that only 4 participants were determined to have reached or entered the UK labour market at the upper-primary segment the 25% of local sample restrictions were lifted in order to generate a richer coding hierarchy both in determining the drivers of mobility and the more emotional, motivational aspect of mobility in this segment. Therefore, descriptive nodes may be considered to be experimental, but nevertheless provide a valuable insight into the labour market experiences of participants at this level- a facet noted to be relatively sparse in papers in the literature review.

Certification based on Experience: This descriptive node represents quotes from participants in the engineering profession who noted that their occupational advancement in terms of job title gradations is based upon the certification of their experience. In many ways this represents a similar form of certification to that of NVQ-level qualifications. However, the skills which were being measured relate to advanced engineering concepts drawing on vast reservoirs of knowledge.

Time in Occupation viewed as Experience: This descriptive node represents quotes where participants equated time in a particular station of the mobility chain to be the operative facilitator of mobility. That is to say that in order to advance to the next stage, a certain amount of time in a particular occupation was necessary. In this sense time has been used in these participant accounts as a proxy for experience whereby the next station of the mobility chain is gated by the requisite amount of time thought to be sufficient to embody the skills necessary for the next station.

On-The-Job Training Useful: This descriptive node, which is derived from the accounts of a participant who did not work in engineering illustrates that participants even in upper-primary mobility chains still experienced on-the-job training, and that it was found useful in the pursuit of occupational mobility. However, this training was described as self-development which implies that it is a form of on-the-job training which is designed to assist the participant in completing her duties as a Quality and Regulatory professional. Nevertheless, the participant remarked strongly on its utility in aiding her in her duties.

Formal Training Useful: This descriptive node also derived from the non-engineering participants illustrates the fairly extensive quotes relating to formal training received during their upper-primary occupations. One participant remarked it to be “very very complex training” which suggest that it builds upon the education participants received at the university level or the experience they accumulated in professional life in the country of origin and facilitates additional high-level learning.

Experience as a Barrier: This interpretive node reflects the central role of experience as a barrier to attaining occupational mobility in this segment. Participant accounts reflect the authentication of experience in certificate form as necessary for occupational mobility in engineering, whereas in other accounts time was treated as a proxy for experience in attaining mobility. It is clear from these accounts that not only the mobility chain (at least

in engineering) appears highly regimented with strict rules for mobility almost akin to the lower-primary segment, but also that experience acts as the key arbiter of mobility with either time used as a proxy of assessment or forms of certification used as proof of embodied levels of experience.

Training Facilitating Promotions: This interpretive node is relatively low order. It illustrates that both formal and informal training was found to be useful by participants (especially in non-engineering occupations) to facilitate advancement. Formal training was described to be significantly more complex than that received in the lower-primary and builds upon the high degrees of embodied capital participants bring to such occupations to begin with. On-the-job training was also found to be useful. However, the participant in question referenced it in the context of self-development so whilst it was not directly responsible for facilitating promotions it did provide the participant with more general skills needed to complete her duties and thus indirectly facilitated promotion.

“Expertise” as Driver of Mobility: This thematic node embodies and encompasses the experiences and interpretations of all constituent nodes. Having accounted for the roles of both experience and training in facilitating and hindering mobility an In Vivo quote was used to express a word which encompasses the type of experience required to progress in this segment: “expertise”. Upon reflection and re-evaluation of participant quotes in this segment as well as interpretations of such quotations the word expertise conveys the correct balance of knowledge and experience which participants in all occupations required in order to progress. Expertise reflects a combination of environmentally derived experience as well as the application of university-taught knowledge which could be considered a higher form of experience. It amalgamates the experience derived from years of practice in a profession which yields unique insight and value, with the application of key knowledge derived from education both prior to and throughout the upper-primary experience in facilitating further and deeper levels of experience- described in this investigation as expertise. In essence, migrants combined their insights and knowledge derived from practicing their craft with institutionally taught knowledge to create this higher order form of experience. In theoretical terms this reflects the accumulation general traits in Piore (1975): a combination of the deduction of general traits from a series of specific traits- experience facilitating the identification of patterns from seemingly unrelated processes, and the application of institutionally derived knowledge to a problem or set of problems to facilitate a higher level of deduction which combines both previous methods of knowledge accumulation in facilitating the accumulation of expertise.

Ancillary Methodological Memo

This section has drawn quite heavily from the theory in order to form both the structure of an interpretations to this coding hierarchy. This was due to the lower quantity of participants who reached this labour market segment and thus overall a higher level of theoretical interpretation was introduced at lower levels of the coding hierarchy which was used to guide analysis to the higher levels of abstraction. This could be considered a deductive coding hierarchy particularly as the thematic node reflects the investigation’s theory that at this level “expertise” facilitates mobility. However, the insight offered by this analysis and the coining of the term “expertise” as a higher form of experience nevertheless yields valuable insight and contribution.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 49: Upper-Primary Compiled Methodological Memo (Part 2)

Satisfaction from Achievement: This descriptive node represents participant descriptions of the feelings of satisfaction they felt from having achieved their primary labour market goals, which was to enter or achieve an occupation which they viewed as commensurate with their skills. Fairly self-explanatory but it stands in stark contrast to the feelings of dissatisfaction felt by the majority of the sample in their inability to achieve what these participants have.

Fulfilment from Difficulty of Job: This descriptive node represents a different source of fulfilment to that described above. Instead of referencing the satisfaction derived from attaining highly skilled employment, it instead represents the day to day feelings of fulfilment participants expressed from feeling that they were challenged and tested in their occupations at this level. No participant expressed exasperation at the difficulty of the job, but instead focused upon the challenge and the fulfilment they derived from it.

Desire for Personal Growth: The descriptive node represents the hunger participants expressed to continue their personal growth through additional labour market mobility. The need for this self-development was a central tenet for one participant who frequently referenced her desire to self-develop. Therefore, even in the upper-primary labour market some participants seek continued opportunities to learn and grow- increasing their knowledge and understanding.

Desire for Professional Growth: This descriptive node represents the desire of participants (particularly the two engineers) to continue their professional advancement. This stands in contrast to the personal growth node which is primarily concerned with knowledge accumulation, and instead focuses upon the ambition and desire of participants to increase their professional standing through the expression of increasingly impressive job titles. In other words, some participants sought to continue to advance along the upper-primary mobility chain out of a desire for the increasingly more impressive recognition associated with job titles. Whilst money was not mentioned in this context, it was clear that what professional growth meant to the two engineers was the recognition of their peers through the validation of job titles.

Vindication of Labour Market Goals: This interpretive node distils the satisfaction participants derived from having achieved upper-primary employment alongside the fulfilment they felt at the day-to-day difficulty and challenge derived from the job activity itself into the vindication of participants' labour market goals. For many participants achieving this level of occupation and experiencing the degree of challenge inherent in such professional occupations is the culmination of their labour market ambitions. For these participants, it is a vindication of the efforts they have put into ascending up the division of labour and having finally achieved desired employment they view as commensurate with their skills and qualifications. In effect it represents the completion of this phase of participants' labour market journeys, whereby they have achieved the employment they desired upon entry.

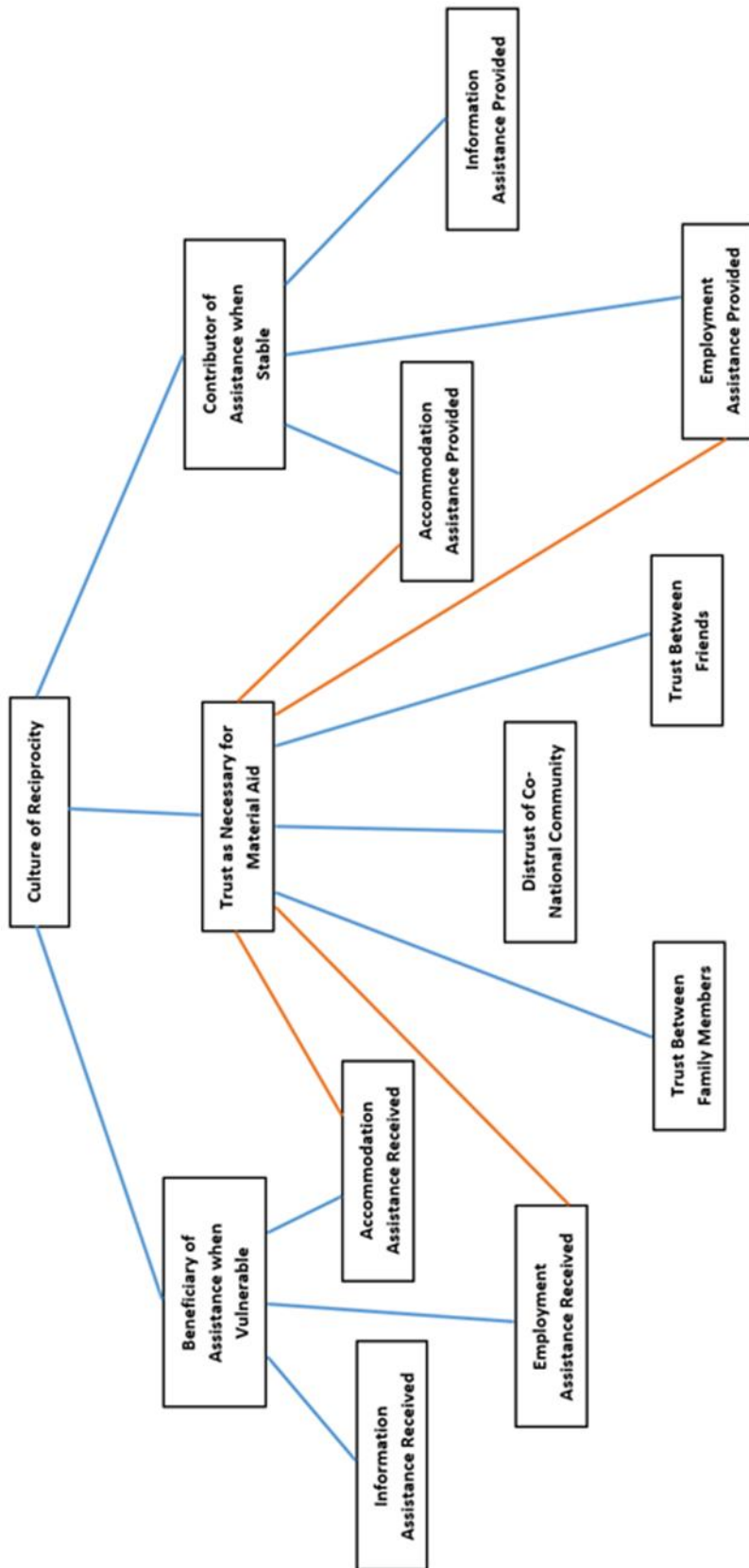
New Segment, Fresh Ambitions: In many ways this interpretive node represents the beginning of a potential new phase of labour market mobility. It distils participants' continued desires for personal and professional growth into an interpretation of participants' fresh ambitions. Participants sought to continue their journey of learning and

occupational advancement which suggests that the ambitions of some participants were not sated, instead new ambitions replaced those of the old which suggests that participants may consistently possess a desire for personal and professional growth. Whilst goals in this regard may be met in one segment, loftier ambitions may replace them as they continue their journey. That certainly was the case here where the original goals to achieve commensurate employment and learn in UK institutions were replaced by the desire for increased professional growth and more learning.

A Journey Fulfilled?: This thematic node reflects upon the constituent interpretive and descriptive nodes to abstract findings to a higher conceptual level. The name given to this theme is particularly abstract and is deliberately a question as the findings of this motivational coding hierarchy have raised almost as many questions as they have answered. Whilst this hierarchy has clearly displayed that participants have felt a sense of vindication at having achieved upper-primary employment- the level they felt commensurate with their own skills and education, it also suggests that participants have undertaken a new journey in further increasing their professional standing and knowledge with continued mobility in the upper-primary labour market. This node reflects upon the concept of a labour market journey and whether the journey participants have undertaken in this segment constitutes a truly fresh journey or whether it is simply a continuation of the motivational themes which participants have pontificated upon through their labour market experience. In a sense participants' journeys as migrants could be considered to be fulfilled at this point as the goal which has defined their ambitions for large swathes of their UK labour market life is complete. Beyond this point it could be considered that the mobility chain advancement which occurs is little different from that of the native population. However, in the context of the results section this author would not like to speculate with such subjectivity upon this matter. In another sense, if one distils migrant labour market motivations into their constituent parts the desire for personal and professional growth has remained a key motivator throughout participants' entire working lives in the UK so this is in effect the same journey participants have been on for the last decade (sometimes less sometimes more). Ultimately, this node expresses the cycle of ambition and its fulfilment as it culminates in the upper-primary segment, and reflects upon the nature of this cycle in both a macro sense across the labour market journey in its entirety and in a micro-sense within each segment as participants' ambitions and sense of fulfilment (or lack thereof) has driven them to advance.

Source: Created by Author

Appendix 50: Network Coding Hierarchy



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Appendix 51: Network Compiled Methodological Memo

Unlike the directly related labour market coding hierarchies, these network nodes could not be drawn from a specific labour market segment as participants' engagement with networks was unique and varied substantially between participants. However, there were broad trends related to the amount of time spent in the labour market and between the secondary and primary sectors if not the segments contained within. Therefore, the examination of networks over time, whilst not attached to labour market segments, was related to participants' relative degrees of vulnerability between the two sectors. In essence, this resulted in network nodes divided into two, those of the early labour market experience encompassing the period of arrival and time in the secondary labour market, and those of the later labour market experience encompassing self-employment, and the primary sector. This division provided an interesting dichotomy to be detailed in the coding memos below and provides the context against which the descriptive nodes were compared during the interpretation phase. In this sense, thematic analysis is combined with a form of chronological analysis with nodes derived from different parts of the dataset, and indeed the interpretive node concerning trust drawing from the entire labour market experience.

Information Assistance Received: This descriptive node contains instances where participants received information assistance relating to potential vacancies; or societal, cultural, or social information or advice. In effect, this information encompassed the broad range of advice provided to participants which aided their functioning in UK society and labour market (invariably sought upon arrival or early in the labour market experience). This advice was derived from a variety of sources including friends, family, the local co-national community, as well as the online regional network for the co-national community.

Employment Assistance Received: This descriptive node contains instances where participants were provided direct or indirect employment assistance. In other words, a friend or family member (in almost every case) either directly wielded their influence in a company or with an individual who had control over hiring to guarantee employment for the participant or lobbied for the hiring of the participant with those who could (either with an agency or with a company). This took place almost entirely upon the participant's arrival in the UK but there are some instances of enduring help granted throughout the secondary labour market experience.

Accommodation Assistance Received: This descriptive node contains instances where participants were provided accommodation assistance. Friends or family members either shared their accommodation with the participant or provided alternative lodgings for them. This exclusively occurred upon the participant's arrival in the UK.

Trust Between Family Members: This descriptive node contains instances where participants have referenced the significance of trust between members of their family throughout the entire labour market experience. This contains instances where participants have referenced trust in both the receipt and donation of assistance. Its significance cannot be understated, particularly given the context of these references which will be elaborated upon in the interpretive node.

Trust Between Friends: This descriptive node contains similar instances to that of the Trust Between Family Members node above. Participants referenced the significance of trust as

both donors of and receivers of assistance. The context of these references is particularly important when considering the type of assistance donated and received.

Distrust of Co-National Community: This descriptive node contains references to the many instances where participants described a level of distrust for their fellow co-nationals in the region. This distrust stemmed from feelings of jealousy expressed to participants from other co-nationals, negative interactions in the workplace, and a concern that in the context of assistance provision a co-national would not necessarily have their best interests at heart, or that as receivers of assistance a co-national could not necessarily be trusted to not take advantage of the participant. In effect, the feelings of distrust expressed towards the co-national community as an entity represents the opposite of the trust expressed between friends and family.

Accommodation Assistance Provided: This descriptive node contains instances where participants provided accommodation assistance. This assistance was provided in most cases when participants had stable jobs in self-employment or the primary labour market and was typically provided to friends or family of participants.

Employment Assistance Provided: This descriptive node contains instances where participants provided employment assistance. This refers to instances where participants wielded their own influence either as the owner of a business, or in a hiring position to provide employment to typically friends or family. This also accounts for instances where participants recommended friends or family into employment or employment agencies. This occurred primarily in self-employment and the primary labour market. However, in one instance a participant in a supervisory position in a factory provided jobs to her friends.

Information Assistance Provided: This descriptive node refers to instances where participants provided information assistance. This refers to any form of information ranging from job vacancy information, to more general cultural, societal or social information such as the best schools in the area for children. This type of assistance provision was less localised to the primary segment, but the majority of instances occurred as participants were employed in this segment. Furthermore, this assistance was provided much more freely than the other two types with participants happy to help (up to a point) on online co-national network sites, or to acquaintances who asked for assistance.

Beneficiary of Assistance when Vulnerable: This interpretive node incorporates participant quotations regarding the receipt of information, employment, and accommodation assistance as well as the labour market context of their receipt in concluding that participants were the beneficiaries of assistance during a period in which they were most vulnerable. That is to say that upon entry into the UK labour market and society as well as in the early period participants sought to leverage their contacts into material and immaterial assistance, this was due to the vulnerability surrounding their situation whereby they had just or recently entered into a foreign country with their primary source of stability and reassurance being friends and family. This may be interpreted in the context of their overall labour market experience as the reception of assistance during the period in which they were most vulnerable. Naturally, not all participants could be considered vulnerable in terms of their ability to learn and adapt to UK institutional, labour market, and societal contexts, but the large number of participants contained within these nodes suggests that in this early period of relative vulnerability they were the beneficiaries of material and immaterial forms of assistance.

Contributor of Assistance when Stable: This interpretive node reflects upon participants changing roles within their networks in relation to their position as net-benefactors of their personal networks (and to a lesser extent their local co-national network). It focuses primarily upon how participants, when they attained a position of relative stability in the UK labour market, tended to provide material and immaterial assistance to primarily friends and family but also co-nationals (with information assistance). In effect, this reflects a second phase regarding participant use of networks whereby they begin as net-benefactors and accept help from friends and family, then once they are self-sufficient and relatively successful their role shifts into one where new arrivals seek accommodation, information, and employment assistance from them.

Trust as Necessary for Material Aid: This interpretive node reflects upon participant comments concerning the role of trust between family members, friends, and the co-national community. It examines these quotations in the context of instrumental assistance provision and reception. Participants tended to discuss the relationship of trust between family and friends as a reason why they were willing to accept employment assistance or accommodation assistance. They reflected upon this both in their role as acceptors of assistance as well as in considering their relationship with family and friends. In the context of assistance provision this bond of trust represented a willingness on the part of participants' contacts to provide assistance out of a perceived desire to want to help them, as well as a means to mitigate the potential risk that participants might take advantage of their contact (as had happened in the case of one participant). In essence, in the early part of the labour market experience trust acted as almost a form of currency whereby they could leverage this resource to access more substantial forms of assistance provision (as predicted in the theory). It was also a necessary component on the part of the provider of assistance too as a means to mitigate the risk of potential theft, or disadvantage to be gained from aiding the participant. This secondary facet is corroborated by the quotations of participants themselves as they ascended the division of labour and as their roles within their respective networks evolved to that of net-contributors. Participants expressed an unwillingness to provide accommodation and employment assistance to co-nationals out of a lack of trust that a potential negative outcome would befall them. On more than one occasion participants presented instances of theft, labour market disadvantage, and in one case violence which arose out of their provision employment and accommodation assistance to "weak ties". However, in the vast majority of cases participants only provided such assistance to friends and family members as bonds of trust solidified a sense of obligation which will be delved into further in the thematic node. Overall, trust acts as a key moderator as it quantifies the level of assistance provision between participants and their contacts and vice versa. This trust both reinforces participants' belief that sharing resources will yield a positive outcome as a donor and a receiver, and enhances their willingness to help those closest to them with more substantial forms of assistance due to accumulated feelings of obligation over time.

Culture of Reciprocity: This thematic node encompasses its constituent interpretive nodes, as well as the contents of the descriptive nodes in order to produce a higher order theme which appropriately presents the spirit of the coding hierarchy. This theme encompasses the transitioning roles of participants within their personal networks as they advance up the division of labour as well as the identified role of trust in moderating the provision and acceptance of more substantial forms of assistance. As one views the repetition of this transition of role between high numbers of participants it becomes possible to interpret

this phenomenon through a cultural lens. In the early labour market experience participants received informational, accommodation, and employment assistance from primarily strong ties, and in their later labour market experience tended to provide the same forms of assistance to primarily strong ties. This implies a culture of reciprocity whereby the sense of obligation expressed in the interpretive node above does not simply apply on an individual basis but could be expanded to encompass a culture of reciprocity unique to the migration experience. Within this culture participants acknowledge the feelings of vulnerability they encountered in the early labour market experience and seek to mitigate it for other new arrivals in the later period. However, this culture is moderated by trust insofar as the feelings of obligation and reciprocity are bounded by the migrants' sense of self-preservation (in terms of potential negative outcomes generated from assistance provision) and when considering the cost to themselves to help others. In this sense, trust moderates the substance of assistance within the overall culture as the providers of assistance must feel a sense of obligation to the recipients in order to undergo the significant resource or reputational risk in providing accommodation or employment to the individual. Therefore, trust acts as the stabiliser which renders the culture of reciprocity cyclical. Indeed, there was some debate as to whether this theme should be called a cycle of reciprocity. However, the widespread nature of this process and its significance in the background of participants' labour market experience yielded the opinion that Culture is the appropriate word particularly given its self-reinforcing nature.

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