

Motivations and Trajectories: A Study of Polish
Migrants in Cardiff, Wales

Julie Porter

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Thesis Summary

The aim of this thesis is to understand how the actions and the motivations of the Polish migrants who entered the United Kingdom post-2004 have evolved throughout their migration period using the concept of migration trajectories. The existing literature on Polish migrants in the United Kingdom after enlargement points to these migrants being solely economic actors, relying on their economic motivations to dictate their actions throughout their entire migration. Using data collected in 2008 and 2011 in Cardiff, Wales, this thesis seeks to highlight the range of complex motivations held by Polish migrants over time. As the data collection period coincided with the global recession, the impact of the recession on the migrants' motivations was also taken into account. Five trajectories were created from the sample of migrant respondents focusing on various phases of the migration period including the migrants' experience in the labour market, the migrants' use of social networks and the migrants' future plans. Trajectories are a valuable aid to an in-depth account of the evolution of the migrants' motivations and actions throughout their migration period. In summary, the migrants in the sample have a variety of motivations to stay in the destination country longer than what they initially expected. With caveats, these findings can be generalised to the wider population of post-2004 Poles in Cardiff and in other cities in the UK. Due to the continuous enlargement of the European Union, the findings from this thesis have implications for future national and supranational migration policy.

Contents

Title Page	i
Summary.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Thesis.....	1
Introduction: Why is Polish Migration in the EU an Important Subject?.....	1
EU Background to Free Labour Movement: 1957-2011.....	4
Contextualising Polish Migration to the UK: A review of classic migration flows to the UK.....	10
Commonwealth Immigrants to the UK Post-WWII.....	10
Irish Immigration to the UK post-WWII.....	16
Contextualising Polish Migration to the UK: A review of contemporary intra-EU migration flows.....	18
Polish migration to the UK: WWII – 2004.....	18
A8 Migration Post-2004.....	20
Polish Migration to EU countries Post-2004: Open Door Policy.....	22
Polish Migration to EU countries post-2004: After the transition arrangements.....	25
Polish Migration to Germany.....	25
Polish Migration to Austria.....	26
The Impact of the Polish Migration on National Policy.....	27
Polish Migrants in the UK: A homogeneous group?.....	30
Chapter Signposting.....	32
Chapter 2: Review of the Existing Literature on Migrant Motivations.....	36
Introduction.....	36
Classifying Polish migrants in the UK.....	37
Typologies and Trajectories.....	37
Migration Patterns.....	42
Analysis of Migrants’ Motivations.....	44
Economic Motivations to Migrate.....	45
Economic Migrant Motivations and Neo-Classical Economic Theory.....	45
Economic Migrant Motivations in a Neo-liberal framework.....	48
The ‘Cost’ of Migrating and the Migrant Labour Market: An Economic Motivation Assessment.....	49

Division of Labour Dynamics in the Ethnic Economy.....	52
Social Networks as Facilitators of Economic Migration.....	53
The Ethnic Economy as an Economic Motivation to Migrate.....	55
The Economic Motivation to Stay in the Destination Country.....	59
The Economic Motivations to Return.....	59
Non-Economic Motivations.....	61
Non-Economic Motivations to Migrate.....	62
Cultural Capital as a Non-Economic Motivation to Migrate.....	63
Migrant Identity as a Non-Economic Motivation to Migrate.....	64
Social Capital & Social Networks as a Non-Economic Motivation to Migrate.....	66
The Ethnic Economy as a Non-Economic Motivation to Migrate.....	69
The Non-Economic Motivation to Stay in the Destination.....	70
The Non-Economic Motivations to Return.....	73
Concluding Remarks & Research Questions.....	74
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	76
Introduction.....	76
Biography.....	77
Poles in Cardiff?: Research Location Review.....	78
Contextualising the Sample for the Thesis.....	83
Methods Employed during Fieldwork.....	89
Case Study: Ethnographic Participant Observation.....	89
Semi-Structured Interviews.....	92
Interviews: Phase 1.....	93
Interviews: Phase 2.....	94
Analysis of the Qualitative Data.....	96
Questionnaires.....	98
Secondary Sources.....	100
Limitations of the fieldwork.....	102
Generalisability.....	102
Choosing an Interview Type.....	104
Reflexivity, Positionality & Interviewer Bias.....	105
Access to Participants.....	108
Ethics.....	111
Conclusion.....	111
Chapter 4: The Economic Motivations of the Polish Migrants in the Ethnic Economy	113
Introduction.....	113
The Emergence of Migrant Trajectories in the Ethnic Economy.....	114
The Ethnic Entrepreneur Trajectory.....	115

Original Migration Motivation.....	116
Social Networks Utilised Prior to Self-Employment.....	116
Transnational Friend.....	117
Transnational Family.....	117
Pre- Entrepreneurship Employment.....	118
The Role of Human Capital.....	119
Starting a Business.....	120
Social Networks Utilised by Entrepreneurs.....	122
Social Networks for Business Finance Acquisition.....	122
Social Networks for Co-Ethnic Labour Recruitment.....	123
Social Networks and Building the Co-Ethnic Consumer Base.....	127
Future Plans.....	128
The Co-Ethnic Employee (workers) Trajectory.....	129
Original Migration Motivation.....	130
Social Network Usage.....	132
Transnational Friend.....	132
Employment Experience of Co-Ethnic Workers.....	133
Human Capital Development.....	134
Future Plans.....	135
Conclusion.....	136
Chapter 5: The Economic Motivations of the Polish Migrants in the Non-Ethnic Economy.....	138
Introduction.....	138
The Emergence of Migrant Trajectories in the Non-Ethnic Economy.....	139
The Careerist Trajectory.....	139
Original Migration Motivation.....	141
National Economy.....	141
Pull.....	142
Social Networks.....	142
Transnational Family.....	143
Transnational Friend.....	143
Employment.....	144
Hotel.....	145
Restaurant.....	145
Future Plans.....	147
The Linguist Trajectory.....	149
Original Migration Motivation.....	150
Social Network Usage.....	151
Employment.....	152
Human Capital Development.....	154

Future Plans.....	155
The Credentialist Trajectory.....	156
Original Migration Motivation.....	157
Social Network Usage.....	158
Employment.....	158
Future Plans.....	160
Concluding Remarks.....	161
Chapter 6: The Social Aspects of Migration.....	165
Introduction.....	165
Social Aspects of Migration.....	166
Language Acquisition for Non-Economic Means.....	167
Cultural Variations as a Reason to Stay in the Destination Country.....	170
Tolerance as an Attraction to Stay in the Destination Country.....	173
The Role of Family in the Migrants' Future Plans.....	174
The Catholic Factor: How Poland's religious inclinations influence migrants' future plans.....	179
The Migration Adventure.....	181
Conclusion.....	182
Chapter 7: Discussion Chapter.....	184
Introduction.....	184
Existing Literature Confirmed by the Thesis Findings.....	185
Initial Migration.....	185
Ethnic Economy.....	186
Variations between the Literature and the Thesis Findings.....	187
Migration Trajectories.....	187
Social Network Usage.....	192
Employment in the Non-Ethnic Economy.....	194
Ethnic Economy Employment.....	198
Ethnic Entrepreneurs.....	199
Co-Ethnic Workers.....	203
Human Capital Development.....	205
The Evolution of Migrant Motivations: From economic motivations to social aspects of migration.....	208
The Non-economic Motivations of Migrants.....	210
Temporary Migrants?: The transition from short-term migrants to long-term stayers....	213
Lack of Return Migration Motivations.....	217
Conclusion.....	220
Chapter 8: Conclusion.....	224

Introduction.....	224
Thesis Findings Implications for Supranational & National Policy.....	224
Implications of Thesis Findings on EU Structural Funds.....	225
Thesis Findings & UK Policy.....	229
Thesis Findings & Polish Policy.....	232
Future Research Implications.....	234
Methodological Considerations.....	234
Generalising the Thesis Findings.....	238
Future Research.....	239
Predicting the Migrants' Future Plans and the Reaction of Policy.....	242
Predicting the Migrants' Future Plans.....	242
Return Migration.....	242
Long-term 'Settlers' in the UK.....	246
Migration to a Third Country.....	247
Predicting Policy.....	249
UK Policy & Integration of Existing EU Migrants.....	249
UK Policy & Future Migration.....	251
Future Enlargements & Free Labour Movement.....	251
Appendix:	253
Polish Participant Demographic Information from Time of Migration to 2008.....	254
Polish Participant Demographic Information from Time of Migration to 2011.....	257
Discussion of Migrant Numbers.....	261
Worker Registration Scheme.....	262
National Insurance Number.....	264
Labour Force Survey.....	265
International Passenger Survey.....	267
Combination of Welfare Numbers.....	267
Interview Schedule & Sample Questionnaire.....	269
Interview Schedule 2008.....	269
Interview Schedule 2011 (for those re-interviewed).....	271
Interview Schedule 2011 (new interviews).....	274
Questionnaire Sample	276
References.....	280

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Thesis

Introduction: Why is Polish Migration in the EU an Important Subject?

This study draws on a significant amount of data collected primarily through semi-structured interviews with Polish migrants living in Cardiff, Wales in the post-European Union (EU) enlargement (2004) period. Using this data, the thesis seeks to understand what motives drive this international mobility and why many of these migrants are staying in the United Kingdom (UK) long after their arrival.

Theoretically, it seeks to develop a more comprehensive assessment of the factors that inform migrants' motivations throughout the entirety of their migration period. Its strengths are two-fold including: (1) the migrant trajectories that were constructed from the data and (2) a further understanding of the evolution of the migrants who transitioned from being economically motivated to having more complex motivations over time. So what are these 'trajectories'? Through assessing the similarities amongst the migrants in the sample, trajectories were constructed to make sense of the motivations, experiences and actions of those migrant sub-groups working in both the ethnic economy and the non-ethnic economy. The similarities of the sample also provided a further understanding of the complex motivations of the migrants, particularly regarding their future plans that were originally categorised as being solely economic in nature. While trajectories have been constructed for other migrant groups, as well as for Poles, the novelty of this study lies in the way the trajectories were constructed, not relying on following one migrant's path but on the patterns that emerged from the study of many migrants' paths. In addition, one major contribution of the thesis is to demonstrate how trajectories are a promising way to forward our understanding of the more mature phases of a sometimes, surprisingly, heterogeneous migration. Through these trajectories, a more robust understanding of Polish migrants' adaptation to life in the UK is conceptualised.

Migration from Poland to the UK in the post-2004 period was originally downplayed by the British government who thought that the distance between Poland and the UK would stifle migration flows and only anticipated 5,000-13,000 Polish migrants entering the UK after the enlargement (Dustmann, Casanova, Fertig, Preston & Schmidt, 2003). Once the migration of Poles to the UK began in May 2004, the

underestimation of the original migration projections was soon realised. Given the widely reported economic problems in Poland and the rise in Polish migrant numbers in the UK, the media took a pessimistic approach to the Polish migrants in the UK portraying a sizable group of young, educated Poles as cheap labour. Considering the Poles as an economically motivated group of cheap labourers was the basis of the pessimistic stance toward these migrants as the media sought to portray the Poles as a threat to employment in the UK. The term 'Polish plumber', coined by the French government, became a common expression used to describe Polish migrant workers of any occupation within the UK (BBC, 2005). This pessimistic approach to Polish migration taken by the media could have been balanced by considering the benefits of migration including diversity, capacity building, and increased 'European-ness'. However, few attempts were made to consider the positive attributes of the Polish migrants entering the UK. As a result, the media continued to discount the benefits associated with Polish migrants highlighting their main interest as working in the UK and receiving benefits in the UK (BBC, 2006).

Over time, the media have consistently focused on the economic intentions of the Poles entering the UK but they have diversified some of their reporting of the impact of the Polish migration. Through experiencing the influx of Polish migrants in the UK labour market, news started to emerge regarding the positive economic influence the Poles had on the UK economy as well as the types of employment the Poles were taking. As reported by the Telegraph, the ITEM club (Independent Treasury and Economic Model) found that interest rates would be higher and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) would be lower in the UK if the Polish migrants were not here (Watts, 2006). In addition, the BBC reported that Poles were largely filling 'jobs that British people would not take' (Easton, 2010). As a result, the once pessimistic view of the migrants was altered for a short time as the migrants were viewed as supporting the British economy and stabilising the labour market by filling the low-skilled, low-paid positions. The 'short-term' nature of this optimistic view was due to the recession. With the contraction of the British labour market, demonstrated through increasing unemployment rates, Polish migrants in the UK were once again portrayed as problematic (The News-Poland, 2012). This negative stance on Polish inward migration to the UK was proliferated through right-wing organisations such

as Migration Watch who, through their report on ‘Incentives for Polish Migration’, explain the completely economic incentives the Poles have for coming to the UK to take jobs and abuse benefits which exacerbates the effects of the recession (The News-Poland, 2012).

The media’s approach to the post-2004 Polish migration is only part of the migrant perception problem as the British government is equally uncertain about the impact of this migrant group. Nonetheless, the politicians are willing to assign blame. The current (2013) coalition government in office since 2010 points the finger at the previous Labour government, who devised the policy allowing Poles instant access to the UK labour market in 2004 (BBC, 2012). The Conservative party, in office from 2007-2009, is considered to have felt the initial brunt of the Labour oversight regarding the migrant number predictions which informed the open border policy for the 2004 enlargement. Currently, the coalition government attributes the underestimation in Polish migrant inflows to Britain in the post-2004 period by the former Labour government as the reason for high unemployment in the UK during the recession (BBC, 2012). Simply, the coalition government considers the supply of labour in Britain, inflated through Labour’s policy allowing open Polish migration to the UK, exceeding the demand for labour causing high unemployment during the recession. This brief review of partisan politics and the media’s interpretation of Polish migration to the UK highlights the need to better understand the Polish migrants’ motivations for migrating to the UK in the post-2004 period and how these motivations influenced this dynamic group throughout their migration period. In the broader sense, understanding these motivations may have an impact on both national policy in the UK and in Poland as well as future EU policy.

This chapter will continue as follows. The next section will present a brief review of the EU’s free labour movement clause from the post- World War II (WWII) period to 2011 highlighting the most recent, fifth enlargement, to the EU in 2004 and 2007. This will be followed by a section focusing specifically on migration flows to the UK. In an effort to contextualise the Polish migration in the post-2004 period, the classic migration flows to the UK will be reviewed along with the major post-2004 intra-EU migration flows. Once this review of Polish migration to the UK in the post-2004 is completed, the policy implications that the mass migration of Poles to the UK had on UK and Polish national policies will be discussed. This section will

also take into account the impact of the Polish mass migration on future EU transition policies for the UK as well as the return incentives provided by Polish policy. After this section, there will be a review of the Polish migrants' characteristics, as reported by the media and the academic literature which will be followed by an overview of each of the following seven thesis chapters.

EU Background to Free Labour Movement: 1957-2011

Over the last 50 years, since the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 which established the European Union (EU), the number of EU member states has grown from the six founding members of the EU to 27 member states (European Commission, 2007). The original aim of the EU was to prevent future conflict amongst the member states. To meet this aim, the principles of free movement of goods, finance and labour were the core tenets within the EU area to increase cohesion amongst the member states (Dobson, Latham & Salt, 2009, European Commission, 2002). The free movement of finance and goods was widely accepted from the outset, particularly with the creation of the Eurozone in 1999; however, the free movement of labour has traditionally been less accepted amongst member states. For new member states, the right to free movement of labour is traditionally received last, on the date of accession, with the barriers to trade and capital flows being lifted in advance (Guardia & Pichelmann, 2006). The rationale for the free movement of labour is that it would allow supplies of labour to move where a demand for labour exists as well as creating social cohesion amongst the EU member states (Fevre, 1998, European Commission 2002). In addition, there are economic benefits associated with the free movement of labour such as a boost in economic productivity and migrants are less likely to claim benefits (Booth, Howarth & Scarpetta, 2012, p. 5).

While the free movement of labour was intended to support both cultural and economic development between the new member states and the old member states, initially limitations did exist for those interested in migrating within the EU for labour purposes. As an example, from 1990-1993, the EU migrant was expected to be in at least part-time employment in the settlement location which then allowed a 5 year right of abode that was renewable (Fevre, 1998). In 1993 with the Treaty of Maastricht, this limitation was removed which allowed a truly free movement of

labour within the EU member states. This also included the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) immigrants as they were no longer required to register for a visa. In 1997, the Schengen Agreement (1985) which allowed completely free movement, devoid of any passport checks, between 13 of the 15 EU member states, excluding Ireland and the UK, was adopted in the Amsterdam Treaty. This Treaty made the Schengen Agreement a part of EU law which new EU members would have to adopt. More recently, in 2004, the Free Movement Directive, the core legislation on free movement of labour in the EU, was constructed. This allows the free movement of labour but, if the 'EU citizen' in question does not have a job or a means of financial support in the destination country, then the person must return migrate after three months. If the person intends to stay beyond the three months, they could be required to register with the host member state. Under this scheme, it is difficult to track intra-EU migrants and it is equally difficult for the destination country to have them removed after the three month period.

This brief review of EU doctrine relating to the free movement of labour highlights two points. First, there is a changing emphasis on labour movement amongst the member states. Second, with the Free Movement Directive, 'free movement' is still not actually possible in the EU amongst existing members. However, the most severe limitations to labour movement within the EU are established for new member states through transition arrangements which the fifth enlargement of the EU, starting in 2004, clearly demonstrates. The transition arrangements allow a buffer between EU accession and labour movement to reduce the impact of mass migration on the labour markets of the existing EU countries. These arrangements are on a country-to-country basis, subject to a periodic review and can vary from one accession to another. These restrictions do not traditionally apply to students or self-employed migrants (Elsner & Zimmerman, 2013). The transition arrangements for the 2004 accession were set out in the Accession Treaty of 2003 (Guardia & Pichelmann, 2006). In the 2004 enlargement of the EU, 'the provisional arrangements for the transition policy combine a two-phase transition period of five years with a review after two years. There is the possibility for a prolongation for individual member states, if requested, of a period of two years' (Guardia & Pichelmann, 2006, pg. 16). In total, with the prolongation of the transition policy by the member state, the transition period could potentially be seven years. For the 2004 enlargement, the individual member states transition arrangements were carried

out in phases starting on the day of accession on May 1, 2004 and ending, at the latest, on April 30, 2011.

The 2004 enlargement, as the first phase of the fifth enlargement, was arguably the most controversial enlargement of 10 new member states from Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries including: Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Malta, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Czech Republic, & Estonia. The controversy was not based on the number of new member states but due to their economic situation. The new member states had considerably lower GDP than their Western neighbours, which would potentially be a catalyst for mass labour migration from East to West. To protect their labour markets from the anticipated mass migration, the existing EU member countries invoked their right to a transition arrangement requiring visas, visa-like access, or a complete delay to access their labour markets from the expected surge of labour migrants coming from the CEE countries. It should be noted that not all of the CEE countries were treated in the same way, largely due to their individual economic profiles. For example, out of the ten new members, Malta and Cyprus, due to their smaller populations and smaller expected labour movement, were allowed to enter all EU countries for work purposes without any limitations from 2004 onwards, thereby side stepping the transition arrangements enforced on the other countries. For this reason, and for the remainder of this thesis, when discussing the CEE countries in relation to the labour movement issues the Accession 8, or the A8, countries will be referred to. The A8 countries are the 10 CEE countries with the exception of Malta and Cyprus.

The majority of the existing EU members imposed a 2-4 year transition policy to protect their labour markets while the A8 countries' economies had time to adjust and potentially provide employment for the would-be labour migrants. However, other countries went to extremes with their policies either enforcing the maximum transition time of 7 years, as was the case for Austria and Germany, or allowing immediate access to the labour markets, as was the case for the UK, Ireland and Sweden. For the maximum transition policy enforcers, the reason for the extreme limitation had to do with their proximity to the A8 countries, the strength of their economies in comparison, and the historic migration from the A8 countries across

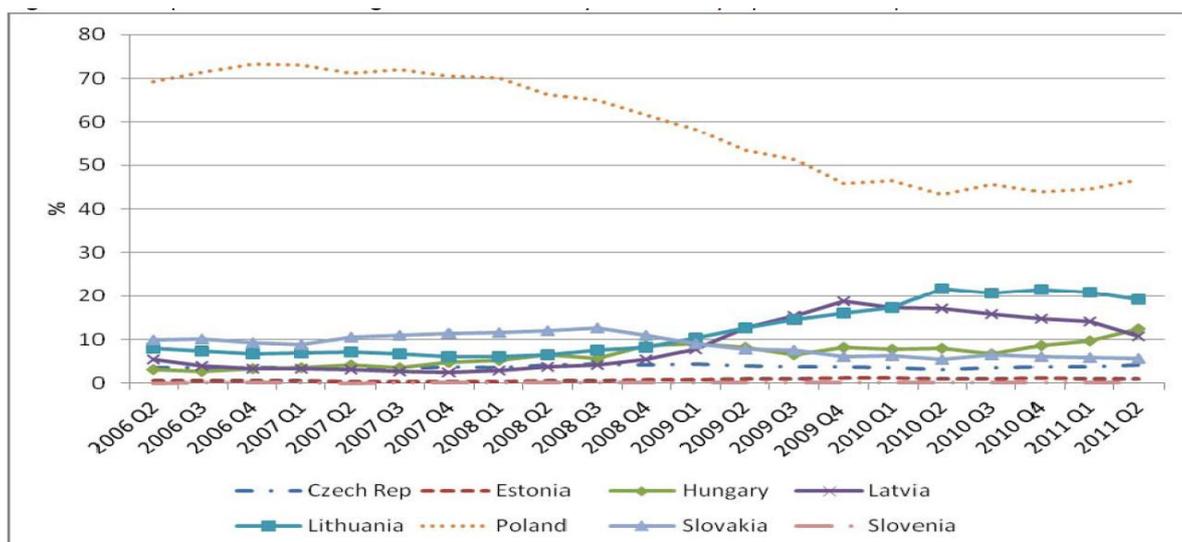
their borders. Alternatively, those countries that did not impose a transition policy on the A8 countries did so because they estimated a low number of inward migration from the A8 countries due to the lack of the similar language, the distance between the sending and receiving countries which influences social networks and the potential devaluation of qualifications (Fevre, 1998; Dobson, Latham & Salt, 2009). These reasons for predicting a low number of migrants were reinforced by EU labour migration history. In 2002, it was found that only 1.5% of EU workers lived in different member states which, according to Recchi, Baldoni, Francavilla & Mencarini (2006), was a statistic that had not changed in 30 years. When creating the transition arrangements, the UK government expected to receive inflows of between 5,000-13,000 A8 migrants (Dustmann, Casanova, Fertig, Preston & Schmidt, 2003). In reality, estimates ranged from approximately 250,000 migrants (Booth, Howarth & Scarpetta, 2012) to one million migrants who arrived in the UK from the A8 countries between 2004-2010 (UKBA, 2012). While other member countries allowed immediate entry in the post-2004 period, due to the mass migration to the UK, as well as the vast differences between the expected inflow of A8 migrants and the actual inflow of A8 migrants, the UK will be the focus for the remainder of this thesis.

Although the UK constructed an open transition arrangement, the A8 migrants who were entering the UK were expected to register with the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS). The WRS was similar to the Free Movement Directive. Registration for A8 migrants on the WRS ended in April 2011, but during the course of the 2004-2010 period, when the scheme was active, it was used for: gathering statistics on the inflows of A8 migrants, understanding the location within the UK of major migration inflows, understanding the economic impact of these migrant inflows and understanding the type of work the migrants were doing (UKBA, 2012). While there was little incentive for the migrants in signing up for the WRS, they were able to claim certain benefits, if working, only when signed up to the WRS. Claiming benefits, such as job seekers allowance, could only occur after the migrant worked in the UK for 12 consecutive months, with no more than a 30 day break (Gillingham, 2010). However, the limitations to the WRS are many:

- The registration fee was high for migrants.
- The migrants who were self-employed or students were not counted through the WRS.
- The statistics did not take into account return migration.
- The statistics were cumulative which made the accurate counting of migrants who re-enter and reapply problematic.
- The regional count did not reflect the actual number of migrants in the area due to intra-UK migration.
- The scheme was not easily enforced for migrants as well as employers who were supposed to have the WRS registration to employ the migrant (adapted from Gillingham, 2010).

The limitations of the WRS in accurately assessing A8 migrants' inflows and outflows, along with other statistical measures used to collect similar information, will be discussed at length in the Appendix. For the present, the above estimations of the number of migrants entering post-2004, according to different statistical resources, underpins the main critique of the WRS statistics that they are inflated due to their cumulative count of A8 migrants. Despite the variation in the counting of the A8 migrants, an issue that is not disputed is the major sending country, amongst the A8 countries, which is Poland. Please see Table 1 to support this claim.

Table 1: Composition of A8 Migrants to the UK by Nationality (April 2006-April 2011)



Source: McCollum, Cooke, Chiroro, Platts, MacLeod & Findlay (2012) analysis of WRS data

While Table 1 was constructed using WRS data, these statistics are supported by Home Office estimates that 540,000 Polish citizens have been working in the UK labour market since 2004 (Home Office, 2006, pg. 8) and, despite decreased inflows in 2008, the number of Polish migrants in the UK continues to rise (Silva, 2012). The Poles comprise almost 70% of all A8 migrants residing in the UK (Home Office, 2006). The migration of Poles to the UK post-2004 for economic purposes is supported through the weak national economies of the A8 countries in relation to the strong national economies of the member states. In 2004 Poland had the 3rd lowest GDP of all of the EU members (25)¹ and the highest unemployment rate of the A8 countries with 18% unemployment (Drinkwater, Eade & Garapich, 2006). This disparity between Poland and the other EU members was recognised by the EU Commission (2012) when it listed all of the regions in Poland as convergence regions from 2007-2013.

There are three regional classifications, which are also general objectives within the regions, in the EU's Cohesion policy: (1) convergence, (2) regional competitiveness and employment and (3) European territorial cooperation (EU Commission, 2012). The convergence regions have access to the most funds from the EU as their per capita GDP is lower than 75% of the EU average (EU Commission, 2012). At this level, the aim of the policy is simply to reduce regional disparities with the help of structural funds that are allocated to the member state and can also be applied for on a project basis. The projects range from providing high-speed Internet connections to job creation and training to more location-specific issues such as stimulating return migration². While many regions that started in the convergence area have successfully emerged as regions for competitiveness and employment, others have not, so, for the case of the regions in Poland, this is potentially the beginning of a long journey.

¹ Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in 2007 and Croatia joined the EU in 2013. These additions take the total of EU countries in 2013 to 28 member states but none of these countries will be featured prominently in this thesis.

² See the 'Re-Turn' project funded by the ERDF to stimulate return migration in Central and Eastern European countries (2012).

In addition to these economic indicators which characterise Poland as having an underperforming national economy, there are other, historic aspects that may have also played a role in the Poles migrating to the UK, immediately after EU accession. The following section will discuss what has historically attracted migrants to the UK. Through reviewing the classic flows of migrants to the UK, the post-2004 Polish migration to the UK can be contextualised.

Contextualising Polish Migration to the UK: A review of classic migration flows to the UK

Although the focus of this thesis is on Polish migration to Britain in the post-2004 period, there have been other influential migration flows to the UK over time that should also be explored to understand why the UK is a sought out destination for migrants and immigrants. However, the main reason for this brief exploration is to put the post-2004 Polish migration to Britain into context by highlighting how this migration flow is quite different from more classic flows of immigrants to Britain. The classic flows of migration to the UK that will be reviewed in this section include: South Asian, Caribbean, African and Irish. It should be noted that this section will focus on the classic flows of immigrants from these countries from WWII onwards who, at the time of immigration, were not classified as asylum seekers or refugees.

Commonwealth Immigrants to the UK Post-WWII

The migration flows that will be discussed in this section are from British Empire/Commonwealth countries to the UK. Those living in the Commonwealth countries were given UK citizenship in 1948 at least in part to encourage migration to fill labour shortages created by WWII (Spencer, 1997). Due to the special relationship between the sending country and the receiving country (UK) until 1962, these immigrants were originally able to migrate without any restrictions to the UK. This unrestricted access to Britain's labour market and its social benefits by Commonwealth migrants was first introduced in the *British Nationality Act* of 1948. According to Spencer (1997), while this act reinforced the rights of the Commonwealth citizens to migrate to the UK, it was largely anticipated that these immigrants would be white and that the *Empire Windrush* delivery of Caribbean immigrants to the UK was an anomaly. Due to the number of migrants that entered

the UK from the Commonwealth in the post-1948 period, and the social and political unrest that followed with riots in 1958, the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962 provided guidelines and limitations for Commonwealth migrants entering the UK ie. restricted access (Spencer, 1997, Castles, 2009a). Interestingly, many of the Commonwealth immigrants in the UK prior to 1962 originally planned on staying in the destination country for the short-term but due to the change in policy, they decided to settle (Castles, 2009a). These guidelines and limitations have changed over time (ex. the *British Nationality Act*, 1981/1983) but still enforce restricted access for Commonwealth immigrants to the UK (Castles, 2009a). Nonetheless, the implementation of these policies has contributed to the large Commonwealth immigrant communities in the UK and continues to shape the immigration debate in Britain in 2013.

Taking into account the changing policies towards these Commonwealth immigrants, this section will discuss the characteristics of the aforementioned Commonwealth immigrant groups highlighting what aspects of their migration flow to the UK make them unique. Initially, across all of the migrant groups, the transition from unrestricted to restricted immigration to the UK made a significant difference with a surge in Commonwealth immigrant numbers prior to the 1962 act and the existing Commonwealth immigrants deciding to stay in the UK often inviting their families to immigrate as well. From that point forward, variations amongst the migration patterns from Commonwealth countries to the UK began to emerge. For example, amongst the Caribbean immigrants in the UK as highlighted above, the initial migration flows to the UK in the 1950s and 1960s were skilled males seeking employment in the UK who heavily relied upon their social networks to lower the 'costs' of migration (Foner, 1977). After earning sufficient wages, they would send for their wives and children with the wives often also working. As time went on, the general skill level of the immigrants declined. In comparison with the other Commonwealth immigrant groups discussed here, it is argued that this immigrant group received the most racially-motivated stereotyping and abuse during their initial migration period (Foner, 1977; Spencer, 1997).

Moving on to South Asian immigrants who came to the UK, the Pakistani immigration of mostly males increased substantially in the 1950s and 1960s to fill labour shortages in manual industries in the UK (Spencer, 1997). Remittance

payments would be made and families would eventually chain migrate. Taking advantage of the high-skilled source of labour, Pakistani doctors, and later dentists, were recruited to work in the UK by the National Health Service in the 1960s (Khan, 1977). These examples demonstrate the varying labour market entry of Pakistanis in Britain which is further highlighted by the ONS statistics that self-employment is high amongst this ethnic group over time, particularly as taxi drivers (Kempton, 2002). Interestingly, women from this immigrant group also contribute to the labour market in traditionally low-skilled positions. Through the savings acquired over time, some British Pakistani report owning homes in both the UK and in Pakistan (Kempton, 2002).

The number of Bangladeshi immigrants residing in the UK has grown substantially in the post-WWII period with 2,000 in the 1951 census and over half a million in the 2011 census (Alexander, Firoz & Rashid, 2011). Bangladeshi immigrants to the UK have always been Commonwealth immigrants despite the changing rule of their country. For example, prior to 1971 Bangladesh was known as East Pakistan. In addition, the number of Bangladeshis living in the UK has increased drastically due to both family reunification and the poor economic conditions in Bangladesh. The majority of these immigrants initially settled in London and then moved further afield to major cities such as Birmingham, Oldham and Bradford (Alexander, Firoz & Rashid, 2011). As a group, the immigrants were young, male and spoke little English, which was a major hindrance to higher education and advancement in the division of labour (Alexander, Firoz & Rashid, 2011). The vast majority of these immigrants are also Muslim which will be discussed further below (Alexander, Firoz & Rashid, 2011). Due to the lack of higher skilled employment opportunities and the burgeoning population of South Asian immigrants within the UK, many of the Bangladeshis, similar to the Pakistanis, sought self-employment options when settling in the long-term.

Many of the immigrants that entered the UK from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh were Muslim. This specific sub-group of nationals from the aforementioned countries immigrated to the UK in the post-war period with their own unique settlement patterns³. According to Gilliat-Ray (2010), the Muslim immigrants from

³ The author acknowledges that later Muslim immigrants to the UK have come from other countries including those from Turkey, Arab nation states and Iran.

Commonwealth countries entering the UK had a specific profile: male, single, economically-motivated, non-religious and employed in low-skilled, precarious positions, often in the textile industry (Castles 2009a; OECD 2008). As these men had no immediate dependents, the Muslim immigrants sent significant remittance payments back to their extended families. This was most noted in the Muslim immigrants from Pakistan (Gilliat-Ray, 2010). Due to the changing policies that were discussed above, Muslim immigrants (not refugees or asylum seekers) established a chain migration pattern similar to the other Commonwealth immigrants in the UK. With the growing Muslim communities arising in the UK, the Muslim immigrants ceased remittance payments and began investing in their UK based community focusing on religious infrastructure and other events (Gilliat-Ray, 2010).

While the Muslim immigrants to the UK arrived from various South Asian Commonwealth countries, the overwhelming majority of Hindu immigrants to the UK immigrated from India (Castles, 2009a). These Hindu immigrants exhibited many of the same migration flow characteristics as those mentioned for the Muslims and the Bangladeshis with a concentration in urban areas, remittance payments, family reunification and initial low-skilled employment (Peach, 2006; OECD, 2008). Similar cultural norms apply with intra-faith marriage being popular and potentially leading to marriage migration (Peach, 2006). Unlike the Muslim and Pakistani immigrants, the Hindu immigrants were more likely to allow their wives to work in the destination country (Castles, 2009a). Furthermore, in regards to work, this immigrant group is regarded as having more mobility in the UK division of labour in contrast to Muslims, Pakistanis and, at the bottom, Bangladeshis (Castles, 2009a).

Similar to the Muslim and Hindu immigrants from South Asia the Sikh immigrants (mostly male) from the Punjab region of India entered the UK from post-WWII onwards for labour purposes⁴, lived in all-male households, sending remittance payments home to their wives and family (Ballard, 1994). Other reports describe these migrants, and the wider Southern Asian migrant group entering the UK at this time, as having low English language skills (Spencer, 2007). Around 1960, possibly due to the expected immigration restrictions, the men initially sent for their wives

⁴ Due to the geographical location of the Punjab region, on the border between India and Pakistan, the immigrants could have left the home country due to conflict particularly prior to the 1960s; however, the main incentive for migration was listed as economic.

and children and later their extended family for settlement purposes. In this way, the short-term male immigrants transitioned to long-term migrants to acquire more funds despite taking low-skilled employment or opting for self-employment. Three to four generations of Sikhs have continued to flourish in the UK until the current time with a presence throughout the division of labour.

While the aforementioned Sikh migration to the UK was from India, other Sikh, as well as non-Sikh, immigrant groups, immigrated to the UK from Commonwealth countries in Africa during the 70s due to individual countries transitioning to Africanisation. This shift of South Asian immigrants entering the UK from Africa was most notable in 1972 with the departure of these immigrants from Uganda (Spencer, 1997). Beyond the Asian immigration from Africa, there is also a sizable Commonwealth immigrant group derived from African nations that began to immigrate to the UK after the Asian and Caribbean migrations to the UK (Owen, 2009). For example, many West African immigrants, from Commonwealth countries such as Ghana and Nigeria, largely a male-dominated group, originally immigrated to the UK for education purposes sending for their families as part of a chain migration (Watson, 1977). Interestingly, many of the male students would take a significant amount of time to complete their degrees as they would take breaks to look for work after their family's (who also immigrated) financial well-being. More recent research on African Commonwealth immigration to the UK characterises this immigrant group as being young, economically-motivated, with an overarching desire to return migrate (Owen, 2009).

When considering 'Commonwealth immigration' there are many variations between the education level, length of stay in the UK, use of remittance payments, and migration restrictions attributed to their nationality. In comparison to these classic flows of immigrants to the UK, the Polish migration to the UK in the post-2004 period is unique in the following eight ways: (1) their migration is unrestricted; (2) the size of the migrant group; (3) they can freely migrate throughout the EU; (4) family based chain migration is low; (5) the level of remittance payments are questionable; (6) gender distribution is relatively evenly dispersed; (7) integration may be easier for Poles; and (8) Poles are a highly employable migrant group.

First, the migration of Poles, due to the open door policy established by the UK government in 2003, that will be discussed extensively below, allows Polish migrants to migrate to the UK for an indefinite period with no major restrictions due to their 'EU citizen' status. Their status is similar to the Commonwealth immigrants' status pre-1962 although they have no claim to UK citizenship. Second, the size of the Polish migration to the UK in the post-2004 period is remarkable, bringing a large Polish population to the UK in a relatively short amount of time. This is supported by the OECD statistics (2011) as well as census data with Indians being listed as the main migrant group to Britain and the Poles coming in second with 10 times as many migrants as the 2001 census (Sudeshna, 2012). The size of the population is further demonstrated in the UK census data with Polish being the second most used language in the UK (Pyzik, 2013)⁵. Third, mass migration of Commonwealth immigrants was only possible to the UK. In comparison, the Polish migrants post-2004 have the option of migrating to several different EU countries with the number of options expanding over time due to transitional arrangement restrictions being lifted and further EU enlargement. Fourth, moving beyond the policy-based limitations of the Commonwealth immigrants, this immigrant group as a whole heavily relied on chain migration which continues to the current time. The Polish migrants at the UK level are largely characterised as being young and highly mobile thereby limiting the chances of chain migration of this type. Nonetheless, specific studies have identified chain migration as a trend for the Poles, particularly over time (Thompson, 2010, White, 2011). The migration patterns of the Poles will be discussed extensively in Chapter 2. Fifth, the Commonwealth immigrants facilitated two 'homes' while initially working away and paid for any additional family members to migrate through remittance payments. Similar to point four, the literature on Polish remittance payments is unclear. This point will be discussed further in Chapter 2. Sixth, unlike the Commonwealth immigrants flows that distinctly send men first to raise funds and, usually through a complex set of circumstances send for their families, the Polish migrants' at the UK level in the post-2004 period gender distribution is relatively even at all phases of migration. Seventh, integration on racial grounds may be easier for Polish migrants in the UK

⁵ The reports of the rise of the Polish language within the UK classify other languages spoken at the base level –ex. Urdu and Punjabi- which could potentially influence this ranking.

post-2004 than for the Commonwealth immigrants who could be the victim of racism and discrimination due to the colour of their skin or their cultural norms. According to the literature, many of the Caribbean immigrants experienced employment and housing discrimination based on their skin colour or ethnicity (Foner, 1977; Spencer, 1997) and the Sikh immigrants originally abandoned cultural norms such as their traditional turbans to avoid this type of racism (Ballard, 1994). These two types of racism may not necessarily be encountered by Poles, making their initial integration in the UK easier; however, examples of discrimination against new Polish migrants based on their ethnicity and language abound (White, 2011). Eighth, the Polish migrants in the UK in the post-2004 period have a very high employability rate, even if many of the migrants are taking low-skilled positions. This is in contrast to the long-term Commonwealth immigrants in the UK that have significantly lower employment rates during the same period (Vargas-Silva, 2011). In view of the differences between the classic migration flows from Commonwealth countries to the UK and the post-2004 Polish migration to the UK, further review of other classic migration flows to the UK, such as the Irish migration flow, will help to put the Polish migration to the UK post-2004 into context.

Irish Immigration to the UK post-WWII

Similar to many of the aforementioned immigrant groups, the Irish have a long and established history of immigration to the UK that will be briefly reviewed here for the post-WWII period. By the post-WWII period, immigration routes from the entirety of Ireland to the UK were well established. The main policy that continues to govern this immigration is the Common Travel Area which was originally an agreement between the Irish Free State and the UK dating to 1923 (Ryan, 2003). Interestingly, this agreement, where there were no restrictions on immigration between the two countries, was enabling the free movement of labour in two European countries before the establishment of the EU. In addition, this agreement tied immigration policy between two different countries, the UK and Ireland, together. For example, the *Aliens Order Act* of 1962 added restrictions to the immigration of British subjects to Ireland similar to the *Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1962 in the UK (Ryan, 2003). This alliance between Ireland and the UK is demonstrated in other border policies such as the *Schengen Agreement* where Ireland is not a part of this free movement area because the UK is strongly opposed to it for

security reasons. Despite the establishment of the EU, the Common Travel Area, with some minor policy-related changes, is still a major part of Irish and British relations (Ryan, 2003).

Traditionally, the main industry the Irish immigrants in the UK were found in was construction. As this is often precarious, irregular work, the Irish immigrants traditionally exhibited circular migration patterns that the Commonwealth immigrants would not be able to partake in due to the migratory restrictions and the physical distance between the destination and origin countries. As a result of this policy, and the history of migration from Ireland to the UK, the UK census data places the Irish as the main immigrant group in the UK in 2001; however, most recently, the immigrants of Indian descent, followed by the Poles, have overtaken the Irish (now in 4th place) as the second largest immigrant group in the UK (Sudeshna, 2011).

Through this brief overview of another major immigrant group to the UK, there are five points for comparison in relation to the Polish migrants. First, similar to the post-2004 Poles, the Irish migration to the UK has been unrestricted. Could these two major migrations mean that unrestricted migration will automatically mean a large influx of migrants? This will be discussed further below in relation to the A8 migrants as a whole. Second, and leading on from this question, both migrant groups are similar in regards to the large number of migrants. While the Irish have had decades to establish these migration trends, it is largely considered that post-2004 Poles did not rely on social networks established from pre-2004 Polish migrants in the UK. If this is the case, in the span of seven years between enlargement and the census, the influx of Poles has been even more significant in comparison to the Irish over time. Third, the Poles are able to migrate to other countries within the EU in the post-2004 period while Irish immigrants, until Ireland acceded to the EU, were unable to enter other European countries unrestricted with the exception of the UK. During this pre-EU accession time, the Irish migrants were acting more like the Commonwealth migrants due to their limited migration options within Europe. However, in the post-accession period, the Irish immigrants have enjoyed the same rights as the Polish migrants (post-2004). Fourth, similar to the Irish, the Poles are able to exhibit circular migration patterns. The migrants employment in low-skilled, precarious employment supports this migration pattern

through short-term living in the UK. Fifth, over time, both the Irish and the Poles have faced significant discrimination on the grounds of their ethnicity when in the UK. The BBC documentary (Lynn, 2009) in Boston, Lincolnshire explains this ethnic discrimination by contrasting the signs they found with ‘no Poles, no Portuguese, no Muslims’ on them in 2009 to the signs from the 1960s stating ‘no Irish, no blacks, no dogs’.

This brief comparison of Irish and Polish migrants in the UK demonstrates that there are significantly more commonalities between these two groups than what there are between these migrant groups and the historic flows of Commonwealth migrants, particularly regarding their unrestricted access to the UK. Furthermore, globalisation has reduced the distance between Poland and the UK in the post-2004 period allowing circular migration to be an option for this young migrant group. The physical distance between the country of origin and the destination country has been reduced through innovations in telecommunications technology allowing for extended contact for the EU migrants that was originally unavailable during the Commonwealth migrations. In addition, low-cost airlines provide routes between the sending and receiving countries. The next section will focus less on the historic migration patterns to the UK addressed here and more on placing the Polish migration to the UK in the context of other intra-EU migration flows over time.

Contextualising Polish Migration to the UK: A review of contemporary intra-EU migration flows

Taking into account the differences between these classic migration flows to the UK, the next section will focus on contextualising the Polish migration to the UK in the post-2004 period with examples of intra-EU migration, particularly the wider A8 migration post-2004, Polish migration to the UK post-WWII, and Polish migration within the EU post-2004.

Polish migration to the UK: WWII – 2004

Historically, Poles have been a highly migratory group (Galgoczi, Leschke & Watt, 2009, Dustmann, Casanova, Fertig, Preston & Schmidt, 2003, Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). There is evidence of significant outward migration from Poland, both legal and illegal, dating back to pre- 19th century Europe. For the purposes of this thesis, the legal migration of Poles to the UK post-World War II, and the creation of the

EU, will be discussed. However, it should be noted that by the time WWII occurred, Poles, through this significant history of migration, had already constructed social networks with strong links in other countries (Burrell, 2006). Immediately following WWII, the UK opened its borders to Polish soldiers who fought with the Allies as well as the displaced Poles in the labour camps throughout Europe (Tannahill, 1958). Although the Poles from the labour camps were settling in the UK as migrants, in reality, they fitted more into the current definition of a refugee. In total, over 160,000 Poles were in the country as a result of these post-war efforts (Burrell, 2006). These groups of migrants were needed to fill labour shortages created by the war and the potential rebuild of the country in the post-war period (Zubryzzcki, 1956). The labour migrants who were willing to help with the reconstruction effort migrated through the Polish Resettlement Act of 1947 (Zubryzzcki, 1956). These migrants had a purpose for coming to the UK instead of other popular Polish migration destinations at the time (ie. Germany, US); however, many of them stayed permanently (Garapich, 2008, Blackburn & Mann, 1979). Although this immigration programme expired when the efforts to rebuild were completed, Poles continued to migrate during the Communism years which followed after the war despite Polish and British government restrictions. During the Communism period, migration of Poles was mainly to Germany but Sword (1996) reports that there was a steady inflow of Poles to the UK, estimated at several hundred to a few thousand who came annually from 1956 to the 1980s.

The fall of Communism in 1989 allowed a more open border for Poland which was taken advantage of by the outward migrants. While the would-be migrants now had the opportunity to leave Poland, the restrictions to enter other countries within Europe and beyond were increasing, requiring the workers to have visas or other credentials to fit the labour market schemes. The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS) in the UK was available to these Polish migrants who were interested in coming to the UK to undertake agricultural work for the short-term (Stenning, Champion, Conway, Coombes, Dawley, Dixon, Raybould & Richardson, 2006). This programme was sufficient for short-term migrants who might have been students in their home country, but it was insufficient for those wanting to earn significantly more wages due to the low-pay associated with the type of agricultural work they were expected to complete. In addition, the 1991 Europe Agreement

(ratified in 1994) between Poland and the EC allowed for Polish nationals to reside in the UK; however, their only legal entry into the labour market was through entrepreneurship (Garapich, 2008). This initiative had limited success in creating new businesses owned by Polish entrepreneurs; any businesses that were formed were largely attributed to the support received by the flow of migrants from the existing social network (Drinkwater, Eade & Garapich, 2006). Most recently, in the post-EU accession period (2004-present) Poles have been able to legally migrate to the UK for labour purposes if signing up for the WRS as discussed above. Interestingly, the lack of connections between the Polish migrants that migrated to the UK prior to 2004 and the newer, post-2004 Polish migrants is widely documented (White, 2011; Garapich, 2008; Garapich, 2011).

A8 Migration Post-2004

While it is clear in Table 1 that Poles are the largest migrant group of the A8 migrants to enter the UK in the post-2004 period, it would be interesting to see if other A8 migrant groups have developed specific migration flows within the EU. This is particularly interesting given the more open nature of the old EU member states in 2008. With the exception of Germany, Austria, Belgium and Denmark, all of the old member states opened their borders to A8 migrants in September of 2008 (EC Commission, 2012) allowing for free movement from Eastern countries to the larger Western EU. It should be noted that Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in 2007 and Croatia joined the EU in 2013 with varying transitional arrangements in existing member states. This group of migrants is not a part of this thesis which is only focusing on the new member states that joined the EU in 2004.

The Irish migration to the UK over time highlights what can happen when migration is unrestricted, but does this unrestricted migration automatically equate to a large influx of migrants? In regards to the A8 migrants, with the exception of the Poles, the answer is simply no. It is clear in Table 1 that Poles are the largest migrant group migrating out of the CEE countries and entering the UK from 2004-2011; however, the other A8 migrants, also having the same level of access as the Poles, had significantly smaller numbers of outflows of migrants to the UK during the same period (McCollum, Cooke, Chiroro, Platts, MacLeod & Findlay, 2012). The WRS figures in Table 1 demonstrate that the most active A8 migrants, beyond the Poles,

were the Latvians and the Lithuanians, largely in the recessionary period. A similar trend was experienced in Ireland with the largest group of A8 migrants coming from Poland followed by Lithuanians, Latvians and Slovaks (Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska, & Wickham, 2009).

While we know that the Poles were the most active migrant group within the larger A8 migrant group, did non-Polish A8 migrants have significant flows to any of the old member states over time? Migration of non-Polish A8 migrants occurred during this time between Hungary and Austria as well as Hungary and Germany⁶. For the former case of Hungarians entering Austria, this was not a new migration flow. Historically, Austria is a major destination country for CEE migrants partially due to its geography and partially due to its immigration policies which are largely based on the US greencard system (Hofer, 2008). As part of this wider Austrian policy, migrants from Hungary and other A8 countries were allowed to work and live in Austria in the period of transitional arrangements if they had been legally employed in the country for 12 months prior to enlargement (Hofer, 2008). Viewing the employment statistics, the number of A8 migrants increased by 7,000 people from 2000 to 2003; however the number of A8 migrants employed in Austria from 2003-2007 increased by almost 18,000 people (Walterskirchen, 2009). This 2003-2007 period is during the transitional arrangement with the pre-enlargement caveat discussed above not applying to these 18,000 A8 migrants. The Hungarian flow of migrants to the country, as part of the larger A8 migrant group, supported these findings and were characterised as being young, male-dominated and highly employable (Walterskirchen, 2009).

The Hungarians were also a major non-Polish A8 migrant group that entered Germany during this time. Similar to the situation in Austria, many of these Hungarian, and other non-Polish A8 migrants, entered Germany during the transitional arrangements. This migration from new member states to Germany during the transition period was largely completed on a temporary basis for sector-specific work, permitted through the existing bilateral agreements between the

⁶ Other non-Polish A8 migrant groups entered Austria and Germany, as well as other old member states, during this period; however, Hungary is focussed on as it contributed the second largest migration flow to these countries during this period. Due to space constraints, each non-Polish A8 migration flow to an old member state cannot be reviewed.

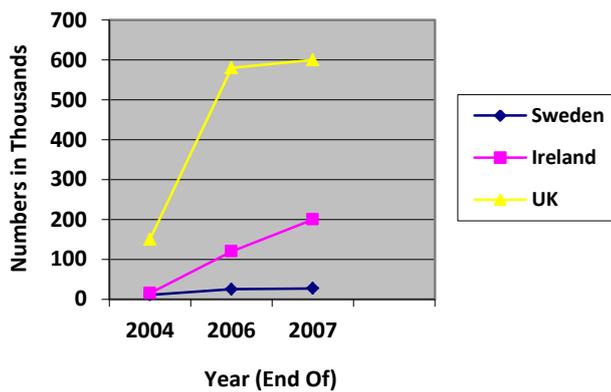
individual countries and Germany (Steinhardt, 2009). Of these non-Polish A8 migrants, the largest group were the Hungarians who increased from 47,000 to 56,000 in Germany from 2004-2007. The characteristics of these Hungarian migrants were slightly older with an average age of 39, 43% were female and they had high levels of education (Steinhardt, 2009).

This brief review demonstrates that the characteristics of the A8 migrants are diverse and their ability to migrate in the post-enlargement period, while outwardly prohibited through the transitional arrangements, is actually quite complex, sometimes due to the relationship between the destination country and the country of origin. The next section will focus on how the Poles, in the post-enlargement period, chose which EU country to migrate to given the number of options available to them.

Polish Migration to EU countries Post-2004: Open Door Policy

Along with the UK, Sweden and Ireland also allowed the A8 migrants open access to their labour markets upon accession to the EU in 2004. While the most significant migration of Poles in the post-2004 period was to the UK which is supported by the literature and the statistics, these countries also received A8 migrants, particularly Poles, as illustrated in Table 2. The statistics that inform this table were gathered by the Central Statistics Office in Poland (2008) and, in comparison to other figures are slightly inflated but still give an idea of the Poles migratory habits immediately after Poland's accession to the EU. In contrast, Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham (2009), using data collected from the Personal Public Service records held by the Department of Social and Family Affairs in Ireland, note that 2006 was the height of Polish migration to Ireland with 96,000 Poles entering the country. This is considerably different than the 200,000 Poles entering Ireland between 2006 and 2007 as listed in Table 2. Despite the differences in the absolute number of Poles entering Ireland and the UK during this time, it should be highlighted that in relation to the native population, the proportion of Polish migrants was higher, which had a significant impact on Ireland, much greater than in the other two countries (Okolski, 2010).

Table 2: Polish Migration to Sweden, Ireland & the UK



The significant difference between the number of Poles entering these ‘open door’ countries in the post-2004 period can be explained in both cultural and economic ways. For a Polish migrant considering migration to Sweden, some potential issues

encountered may be: the culture which is substantially different than in Poland, the distance from Poland to Sweden limiting social network building, and, although learning English may be difficult, learning the Swedish language could be a reason for choosing the UK or Ireland instead of Sweden (Wadensjo, 2007). Economically, Sweden also has a substantially higher cost of living than the UK or Ireland (Galgoczi, Leschke & Watt, 2009). Contrasting the UK and Ireland in this manner is more difficult due to the shared language and the relatively similar distance. Taking into account the similarities between these two countries, the number of Poles entering the UK could be attributed to the migrants’ social networks or the GBP/EUR exchange rate in 2004. Please see the footnote on page 24 for currency details. Due to the previous Polish migrations to the UK, there is the possibility of existing social networks facilitating the migration and aiding the aspiring migrants in their decision to choose the UK. However, due to the number of Poles that migrated to the UK post-2004, attributing this mass migration solely to social networks is a limited approach. The more realistic approach, given the brief assessment of the national economies of Poland and the UK in 2004 listed above, is that, similar to previous groups of Poles leaving Poland, the migrants were motivated by additional economic incentives. This is supported by the academic literature (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006, Anderson, Clark & Parutis, 2007, Conradson & Latham 2005, Booth, Howarth & Scarpetta, 2012).

The open door policy by the UK was constructed because the UK government estimated a much smaller inflow of A8 migrants, the UK economy was strong, and they envisioned the A8 migrants filling the lower paid jobs in the labour market that British workers were unwilling to take. Due to this underestimation by the UK

government, the poor performance of the Polish economy and the perceived opportunity of the younger generation of well-educated Poles with low employment prospects in Poland, the mass migration began. The Polish migrant characteristics for the post-2004 migration consisted of young, well-educated, highly mobile, male and female (relatively equal gender distribution) economic migrants, who were apparently migrating to the UK for the short-term to take advantage of the favourable exchange rate and low unemployment rates (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006, Anderson, Clark & Parutis, 2007, Conradson & Latham 2005, Booth, Howarth & Scarpetta, 2012).

The ‘favourable exchange rate’ discussed thus far, and for the remainder of the thesis, mainly refers to the perceived higher wages that migrants expected to earn in the UK due to the GBP being higher than the PLN. This high wage expectation of the migrants changed over time as in 2004 the GBP was strong in comparison to the PLN; but, with the recession impacting the UK economy more significantly, the strength of the GBP lessened to its lowest point, in relation to the PLN, in 2008.⁷ According to Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer (2006), the Polish migrants in their sample in 2004 were getting paid slightly above minimum wage, which was £4.85 in 2005, at £5.00/hour in hospitality in the UK. Based on a 35 hour week, this would equal a total of £700/month for hospitality. These rates were less than the average worker in the same industries during that time in the UK (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006). This variable alone increased the employment options for the migrants entering the UK. Putting this wage into context, in comparison to Poland, the same positions the migrants were taking in the UK, such as hospitality, would receive less than half of that wage (£255/month for hospitality) during the same, Spring 2004, period (Poland Central Statistics Office, 2004). Through currency fluctuations over time as well as an increase in wages in the hospitality sector in Poland, the income for a hospitality worker in Poland could be adjusted to £564/month in July 2008 (Poland Central Statistics Office, 2008). This brief review highlights that a sector that is dominated by migrant labour was providing higher returns in the UK than in Poland, even during the recession. According to Eurostat

⁷ As an indicator, on the day of accession, May 1, 2004, 1 GDP = 7 PLN and 1 EUR = 4.8 PLN (XE.com, 2012). During the recession, randomly choosing July 1, 2008, 1 GDP = 4PLN and 1 EUR = 3.35 PLN (XE.com, 2012).

(2011), across the EU this sector is largely dominated by migrant labour which calls into question whether these Poles would be working in this sector in Poland. Nonetheless, the migrants would receive higher wages in this sector in the UK which supports the migrants' perception of the UK as a destination for increased earnings. As mentioned in the literature (Home Office, 2006, Pollard, Latorre, & Sriskandarajah, 2008, Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006) the migrants' perception of economic success in the UK was the main catalyst for migration at the large scale. This large scale migration had an impact at the national government level as the inaccurate estimation of the migration numbers lead to a change in policy for future EU migrants, as well as several economic incentives to return migrate which will be discussed in later sections.

Polish Migration to EU countries post-2004: After the transition arrangements

Polish migration in the immediate period after enlargement was discussed in the last section focusing on the UK and the other EU countries that implemented an open border: Sweden and Ireland. This section will focus on other receiving countries including Germany and Austria that opened their borders to the Polish migrants at a much later date. Examining the flows of Poles in the post-2004 period to these countries is interesting given the historic migration of Poles to these countries and the transition arrangements that were in place until May 1, 2011. From the review of non-Polish A8 migrant flows in the post-enlargement period above, we know that the transitional arrangements reduced the migrant flows but other policies at the national level allowed migration for sector specific work which will also be discussed.

Polish Migration to Germany

Polish migration to Germany has a substantial history that cannot be covered in this section in totality; but, this history lead to the expectation of a mass flow of Poles to Germany post-enlargement and the subsequent transition arrangements being implemented. Focusing on the enlargement period, Germany's transition arrangements were meant to reduce the inflows of Polish migrants to the country for seven years; however, research on Polish migration to Germany during this period points to a significantly different reality (Elsner & Zimmerman, 2013; Nowicka, 2013). In Elsner & Zimmerman's (2013) study of the inflows of Polish migrants to Germany, the number of migrants increased in the post-2004 period despite these restrictions with fluctuating levels of Poles entering the country between 2005 and

2008. The main receiving country during this time was still the UK (Galgoczi, Leschke & Watt, 2009) but more Poles entered Germany during this time than what was expected given the restrictions. This could be attributed to the pre-existing bilateral agreement between Poland and Germany regarding temporary, sector-specific work (Steinhardt, 2009). The authors (Elsner & Zimmerman, 2013) focus on 2008 due to Germany's stable unemployment rate during the recession which was an anomaly in comparison to the other EU migrant receiving countries such as the UK (Galgoczi, Leschke & Watt, 2009). While Polish migration to Germany was still restricted in 2008, the high level of migration that was experienced in 2004 was reached again in 2008. The Poles entering Germany in the post-transition arrangement period were characterised as being lower skilled leading academics to question whether the transition arrangement benefitted Germany (Galgoczi, Leschke & Watt, 2009).

Polish Migration to Austria

The migration of Poles to Austria was similar to the Polish migration to Germany during this period as the migration continued despite the transitional arrangements. This could be attributed to the aforementioned unique immigration policy in Austria which allowed A8 migrants who legally worked in Austria for 12 months prior to enlargement to live and work in the country in the same capacity during the transition period (Hofer, 2009). In 2003, there were 11,549 Poles working in Austria but in 2007, there were 14,594 Poles working in Austria (Walterskirchen, 2009). The Poles entering Austria in the post-enlargement period had the following characteristics: slightly more males, between 25-35 years of age and employed mainly in the construction industry and the tourism industry (Walterskirchen, 2009). It should be highlighted that the construction industry in Austria, known for being a draw for migrant labour, was dominated by Polish migrants from 2004-2007 (Walterskirchen, 2009).

Through examining the classic migration flows to the UK as well as the migration flows within the wider EU over time, the Polish migration to the UK in the post-2004 period is significant in its size, legality and characteristics. The remainder of the thesis will focus on this specific migration pattern, starting with a review of the impact of this Polish migration pattern on national migration policy.

The Impact of the Polish Migration on National Policy

Due to the unexpected number of Poles entering the UK labour market during the post-2004 period and the effects of the recession on national economies, both the UK and Poland have changed their policies regarding migration. This section will discuss the changes which occurred as a result of the outflow of migrants from Poland post-2004; emphasising the impact of the Polish migration on national policy as well as the economic approach to incentivising migrants.

The second instalment of the fifth enlargement, with Romania and Bulgaria⁸ joining the EU in 2007, was met with a considerably different stance by the UK government than during the first instalment of the fifth enlargement with the A8 countries in 2004. The UK policy response to the accession of Bulgaria and Romania, and the potential inflow of more labour migrants, was to enforce a work permit scheme that is in effect until 2014. This change in UK government policy in 2007 is attributed to the unexpected, high number of Poles that migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period. The change in policy between 2004 and 2007 can be attributed to three reasons, including, but not limited to: (1) the number of Poles that migrated in the post-2004 period exceeded UK government estimates, (2) concern over the political ramifications for having a large, young, legal, migrant population with British youth unemployment at a high level, and (3) policy preparing for the economic forecasting for the pending recession. These three points are linked, particularly in relation to the economy in the UK.

The first possible reason to create a transition policy for the accession of Bulgaria and Romania was based on the large number of Poles that migrated to the UK, considerably more than the UK government expected when allowing for the open labour market in 2004. The large Polish population residing in the UK, prior to the creation of the 2007 policy, is inextricably linked to the second reason for policy change which is the potential political ramifications faced by politicians. Due to

⁸ It should be highlighted that Croatia acceded to the EU on July 1, 2013 with transitional arrangements in place. Similar to the Bulgarian and Romanian transitional arrangements, the transitional arrangements for Croatia are based on the unexpected number of Poles that entered the UK in the post-2004 period and the high youth unemployment in these countries. While there are similarities in the situation of these new EU countries, Croatia will not be discussed further in this thesis due to its recent EU entry.

political interests in increasing employment rates while having a large, young, legal migrant group through the CEE migrants post-2004, and over 20% British (ONS, 2011) youth employment beyond 2004, the 2007 policy had to reflect the need to serve the interests of the British people over diversity. In 2011, with a Coalition government comprised of the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrat Party, there were still on-going criticisms of the Labour Party's approach to EU migration during their lengthy time in office (Gower, 2011). In addition, while the high youth unemployment may be caused by many factors, findings from the House of Lords special report on migration shows that British youth may be losing out to migrants in both entry-level jobs as well as apprenticeships and training opportunities (Ernst & Young Item Club, 'Special Report on Migration', as cited in House of Lords, 2008). Building on the previous two reasons, the third reason for installing a transition policy for the 2007 accession was due to the uncertainty of the British economy in the face of the pending economic recession. With a rising unemployment rate, the UK government did not want to encourage another supply of economic migrants to enter the UK for employment purposes.

Thus far, the emphasis has been on the post-2004 Polish migration's impact on UK government policy. However, even though the sending country has little control over the outflow of their population within the EU, due to the large scale migrant exodus and subsequent labour shortages experienced by Poland in the post-2004 period, the Polish government has also provided economic incentives for Poles to stay in Poland or to return migrate (Boswell & Geddes, 2011). The return migration programmes and 'stay' or retention programmes, for the purposes of economic development in the country of origin, will be discussed in this section.

The Polish government, as well as other interested stakeholders in the Polish economy, have created four schemes for Polish migrants to return migrate or to consider not migrating from Poland in the first place. These incentives are completely economic in nature and address a wide range of migrants due to the vast labour shortage created with the EU enlargement in 2004. The 'Stay with Us' scheme, which was rolled out in 2006 and sponsored by Poland's largest companies at the time, focused on retaining high-skilled, would-be migrants from leaving Poland (Whewell, 2006). Due to the academic literature identifying Polish migrants

in the UK as being relatively high-skilled, these stakeholders were eager to prevent a brain drain by finding ways to motivate migrants to stay in the destination country (Home Office, 2006, Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008, Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006). The scheme offered researchers and scientists who were living in Poland and would consider migrating a one-off payment of £5,000 to stay in Poland and to not migrate. Retaining the existing high-skilled worker supply in Poland is of particular importance as foreign direct investment (FDI) is attracted to Poland based on the economic situation alongside the number of University graduates that are produced annually. However, with the waves of outward migration since 2004, the labour shortage has had an impact on the human resource management within these major companies, potentially lowering the attractiveness of Poland for future FDI.

Beyond the large companies' incentive scheme, the Polish government introduced the 'Have you got a Plan to Return' scheme in 2008 to encourage the return of Poles living outside of Poland (Chancellery of the Prime Minister, 2008). While this was supposed to be an encompassing scheme, it was largely aimed at Poles residing in the UK and the official launch of the scheme, by the Polish prime minister, was done in London. Unlike the one-off payment incentive discussed above, this scheme was more about information on potential employment opportunities for return migrants in Poland. The scheme was not considered successful despite the approximately €1 million cost and the consultation with Polish diaspora (Chancellery of the Prime Minister, 2008). Focusing on sector-specific labour shortages, the 'Come Back to Us' scheme was partly set up to attract construction workers back to Poland as there were concerns in 2007 that the stadiums would not be built for the 2012 Euro Cup due to the labour shortages (Quinn, 2011). More recently, in 2008, the Polish government allowed a tax waiver for Poles living outside of Poland as part of the Tax Abolition Act (Szewczyk & Unterschütz, 2009). It stated that Poles who 'obtained income abroad between 2002 and 2007 could apply for a refund of taxes they already paid in the UK, providing relief from double taxation' (Iglicka & Ziolk-Skrzypczak, 2010, pg. 13). This programme has also been unsuccessful in attracting a significant number of return migrants. As a result of the labour shortages, the Polish government is seeking to attract migrants from other countries such as Belarus, Russia and Ukraine (Iglicka & Ziolk-Skrzypczak, 2010). The

attraction of non-Poles to Poland has been quite successful but the attraction or retainment of Poles has been less successful despite these schemes to encourage return migration.

The lack of Polish migrants returning to Poland was even the case during the economic recession which slowed inward migration of Poles into the UK but did not drastically increase their return migration to Poland (Quinn 2011, Iglicka & Ziolek-Skrzypczak, 2010). The return migration figures for Poles in the UK from 2004-2009 are ambiguous at best as the Poland Central Statistics Office (2012) shows little inflows of Poles while the UK research centres such as IPPR claim anywhere from 350,000 to 750,000 of Poles in the UK have returned to Poland (Berg, 2010). While the recession was global in nature, Poland is considered to have fared comparably well to the UK in response, having higher employment, particularly youth employment. The lack of interest in staying in Poland despite economic incentives including one-off payments (Stay with Us scheme) and better economic conditions, including lower unemployment rates -9.9% in 2012 in comparison to 18% in 2004 (Europa, 2012)- highlights the complexity of the motivations felt by the Polish migrants in the post-2004 period (Boswell & Geddes, 2011). According to the analysis presented in this section and the next, these migrants were acting as rational economic beings when leaving Poland but appeared to have a more diverse, complex range of motivations when considering return migration. The complexity of the migrants' motivations will be discussed at length in the next section and throughout the thesis.

Polish Migrants in the UK: A homogeneous group?

The question of homogeneity amongst the Polish migrants in the UK in the post-2004 period is a major aspect of this thesis. The media and the academic literature alike have suggested that there is uniformity amongst the Polish migrants who migrated to the UK in regards to their pre-migration characteristics, their economic motivations and their capacity for return migration (Home Office, 2006, Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008, Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006). These three points will be given some initial consideration before concluding with an overview of the remainder of the thesis.

First, in regards to the Polish migrants' characteristics, the Poles who migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period have a unique set of characteristics in comparison to other intra-EU migrant groups. As a group, the Poles are characterised as being: young, single, a combination of males and females, economically motivated and well-educated (Home Office, 2006, Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008, Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006). According to the Labour Force Survey (LFS) data from 2011 the Poles in the UK post-2004 have the following characteristics: 65% between 20-34 'young', 52% female 'even gender distribution', and 54% single. The migrants' reasons for migrating are not part of the LFS dataset due to limitations with data collection, but, they are widely reported in the media and the literature (Home Office, 2006, Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008, Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006). The LFS data analysis will be discussed extensively in Chapter 3. Second, Polish migrants have been discussed as economic actors in three ways in this Introduction: (1) the member state policy during the transition period, (2) the history of Polish migration since WWII, and (3) the characteristics of the current wave of Polish migrants in the UK. The majority of the member states used transition arrangements as they were concerned about protecting their individual labour markets from A8 labour migrants who, if allowed immediate entry into their country, would take advantage of their favourable economies. In addition, with the exception of the Polish migrants who were labelled as labour migrants but were actually refugees coming to the UK immediately following WWII, all of the historical evidence of Polish migration to the UK is for economic purposes. This leads to the third point regarding the economic motivations of the Poles. The post-2004 Polish migrant characteristics are defined as being totally economic in nature which is supported by the migrant motivations discussed thus far in relation to how Poles decided where to migrate during this period.

The third issue, regarding the capacity of the Polish migrants in the UK to return migrate, is linked to the economic motivations of this migrant group. Return migration might be paramount for the Polish migrants in the UK given the changing national economies since the beginning of the recession. In addition, with the national policies that have been constructed to encourage return migration through economic incentives, the migrants might be interested in return migrating due to the uniformity of the group and the emphasis on economic gain. Given the economic

characteristics of this migrant group and the economic incentives to return migrate, this thesis will explore the motivations of individual Polish migrants from the sample, collected in Cardiff, to further understand their motivations and migration trajectories. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, trajectories are novel ways of explaining the evolution of an individual or a group, such as the Polish migrants in the UK, over time. Creating trajectories to explain the changes an individual or a group of individuals have encountered over time has been used extensively in the social sciences in studies of educational transition (Fevre, Rees, & Gorard, 1999; Gorard, Rees, Fevre & Welland, 2001), in studies of religious participation (Smith & Snell 2009; Hervieu-Leger 1993) and beyond. This thesis seeks to demonstrate what trajectories can contribute to our understanding of migrant motivations and how these motivations change during their migration period and beyond, potentially allowing us to better understand the future plans of the migrants. Detailed research questions relating to the overall objective outlined here will be presented at the end of Chapter 2.

Chapter Signposting

The thesis will continue as follows. The next chapter will be the literature review which will highlight the relevant literature on migrant trajectories and migrant motivations. The literature on migrant trajectories is relatively limited; therefore, the existing literature on migrant typologies will also be reviewed. The literature focusing on migrant motivations is quite diverse including economic motivations, social motivations and cultural motivations. In addition, as the thesis reviews the entirety of the migration period, as opposed to only focusing on the initial migration, the return migration motivations, or lack thereof, are also reviewed from the existing literature. Where possible, the literature specifically focusing on Polish migrants in the UK in the post-2004 period will be assessed. This chapter will end with the research questions which are based on the issues identified in the literature and briefly mentioned in this Introduction.

The following chapter will review the methodology used during the whole of the thesis; the methods employed during the actual fieldwork which was collected at two different points in time; and the sample used in the fieldwork. The methodology chapter will also discuss the shortcomings associated with the methods used in this

study. A participant observation was completed for exploratory purposes in the beginning of the fieldwork in 2007 at a restaurant in Cardiff, Wales. The findings from the observation lead to the semi-structured interviews with Poles in both 2008 and 2011 in the same location. Although the LFS dataset was analysed as part of the fieldwork, these analysis findings were used for exploratory purposes only. Based on the extensive use of qualitative methods to collect the data, this thesis is considered a qualitative contribution to the field of migration studies. Qualitative methods were chosen due to their ability to provide a robust understanding of the Polish migrants' changing circumstances and changing motivations throughout their time in the UK. The incentive to use qualitative methods coincides with the limitations in finding or creating accurate data sets for quantitative analysis as well as the limitations of using quantitative methods which was first explained above in relation to the LFS dataset being unable to provide information on the migrants' economic motivations.

After the methodology chapter, there will be three findings chapters. The findings chapters were constructed from the responses received from the Polish migrants during the fieldwork period outlined in the methodology chapter (chapter 3). In the individual findings chapters, the aforementioned roles of the migrants, as well as their changing motivations over the course of their migration period, will be used to construct trajectories which emphasise the evolution of the migrants' characteristics and motivations over time. The findings chapters (chapters 4, 5, & 6) were organised around trajectories created from the data, using the migrants' position in the labour market as a guide. The roles that will be highlighted are: ethnic entrepreneurs, co-ethnic workers, and Polish migrant workers who were working outside of the ethnic economy.

Chapter 4, the first findings chapter, focuses on the economic motivations of the Polish migrants that are employed by the ethnic economy. The ethnic economy in this case includes both the ethnic entrepreneurs as well as the co-ethnic workers. Trajectories based on the evolution of the entrepreneurs motivations and, separately, of the co-ethnic workers motivations, were constructed as part of this findings chapter. Chapter 5, the second findings chapter, focuses on the economic motivations of the Polish migrants that are employed by the non-ethnic economy.

The non-ethnic economy is considered the British economy or the British labour market. While the migrants in this section may work for a non-British person, they are in this category because they do not work for, or are not a Polish entrepreneur. Due to the multitude of routes that the Polish migrants who contribute to the non-ethnic economy take, three trajectories were constructed in this chapter, based on the responses in the fieldwork: the careerists, the credentialists and the linguists. Throughout these two findings chapters, significant emphasis will be placed on the economic motivations of the migrants.

Chapter 6, the third findings chapter, focuses on the non-economic motivations or the social aspects of migration of the Polish migrants from the sample, both those employed by the ethnic economy and the non-ethnic economy in Cardiff. Unlike the previous two chapters, the third findings chapter examines the non-economic motivations that the Polish migrants developed while in the destination country which had an impact on their future plans. The motivations at this stage of the migrants' journey are highly individual so no trajectories will be created in this chapter; rather, the emphasis will be on the multiple cultural and tolerance issues that the Polish migrants identified. Through considering the abundance of migrant motivations, the findings from this thesis demonstrate that migrants do not act in a narrow, one size fits all, way.

Chapter 7, the discussion chapter, largely relies on connecting the wider literature examined in the literature review chapter with the findings from the previous three findings chapters. Due to the number of findings presented in the previous three chapters regarding the changing motivations of the Polish migrants, the discussion chapter will focus on nine main points where the findings from the fieldwork are a variation to the existing literature. The discussion chapter will be followed by Chapter 8, the conclusion chapter. Using the information presented in the thesis, the conclusion will come full circle and address issues first identified in the Introduction, such as the national policy implications of the Polish migrants in the UK. In addition, the conclusion chapter will highlight how the research could have been completed differently as well as explaining the potential areas for future research on the topic.

In regards to the formatting of the chapters, it should be noted that there will be three levels of subsections used throughout this thesis. The chapter titles will be in bold text at the beginning of each chapter. The first subsection level will also be in bold text throughout the chapter. The second subsection level will be in italicised text. The only exception to this occurs with the italicised quotes used in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. The third subsection level will be underlined. This format will be adhered to for the duration of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Review of the Existing Literature on Migrant Motivations

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on migrants' motivations during their migration period. The first section of this chapter considers the literature on how to classify migrant groups. Using the characterisation of the Polish migrant population in the UK post-2004, this account will include a review of the typologies and the trajectories that the Polish migrants were assigned to by academics. The following section will review the migrant motivation theories starting with those where economic considerations seem to be predominant. Next, there will be a review of the migrant motivation theories that have a non-economic base, which focuses on the social aspects of migration. Several of the theories analysed are present in both fields due to their dual nature. To assess these various motivations throughout the duration of the migratory period, the theories reviewed in both sections will revolve around subjects such as: economics, social networks, ethnic economy, ethnic entrepreneurship and return migration. While this is a broad literature to analyse, each subject or combination thereof, can be a significant motivator for migrants and review is needed. However, in focusing solely on migrant motivations, some theories will not be analysed in their entirety, only their implications for the way they conceptualise migrants' motivations will be assessed. If possible, theories relating to, or examples of Polish migrants will be referenced focusing on the Polish migrant characteristics outlined below. The structure of the theoretical analysis will be guided by the migrant's journey ending the chapter with research questions which are the basis of the research conducted for this thesis.

The brief historical account outlined in the previous chapter demonstrates what motivates Polish migrants to move to a new country over the span of six decades and takes several factors as given: the migration is legal⁹, the migration is for labour purposes and the migrant is motivated by economic means. Other characteristics of the post-2004 Polish migrant population in the UK will be set forth at this point.

This group can be considered the migrants who took low-skilled jobs in the UK in

⁹ 'Legal' in the sense there is an open border; however, all of the Polish migrants entering the UK between 2004 and 2011 may not have signed up for the WRS making them 'undocumented' EU labour migrants. Both documented and undocumented Polish migrants in the UK from 2004-2011 will be taken into account when using the broader term 'Polish migrants' for the remainder of this thesis.

spite of their migrant characteristics: young, well-educated, economically motivated and highly mobile (Home Office, 2006, Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008, Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006). The well-educated nature of these migrants is documented extensively and yet the migrants are still most commonly found in low-skilled employment that Favell coined as possessing the 3D's –dirty, dangerous and dull (Stenning, Champion, Conway, Coombes, Dawley, Dixon, Raybould & Richardson, 2006, Mackenzie & Forde, 2007, Favell, 2008, p. 704). This high-skilled worker/low-skilled job reality for Polish migrants is a paradox well documented by scholars and attributed to the economic advantages of employment in the UK, even in low-skilled positions (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006, Anderson, Clark & Parutis, 2007, Conradson & Latham 2005). Furthermore, the highly mobile nature of their migration has earned this group the title of 'Transnational Commuters' due to their use of low cost airlines to shuttle them between the country of origin and the destination country (Meardi, 2007). To further understand these characteristics, the typologies created for migrants will be examined, followed by a review of the various types of migration including circular, transient and chain before defining further terms used in this chapter.

Classifying Polish migrants in the UK

Typologies and Trajectories

There are many ways to differentiate between migrant groups such as asylum seekers, economic migrants, immigrants, chain migrants, circular migrants and so on. This brief list mentions both legal and spatial differences, as well as alluding to the varying motivations the migrants had for migrating such as wealth (economic migrants) and family (some chain migrants). The academic literature also provides more novel ways to categorise migrant groups as well as migrant sub-groups through the creation of typologies and trajectories which will be discussed in this section. However, it should be noted that the construction of typologies and trajectories is not new. Trajectories have been created to explain the transition of individuals or groups of individuals over time in the wider social sciences context as highlighted in Chapter 1 in the education literature (Fevre, Rees, & Gorard, 1999; Gorard, Rees, Fevre & Welland, 2001) and the religious studies literature (Herveiu-Leger 2001; Smith & Snell 2009). In addition, the changes of migrants and non-migrants positions in the labour market have been conceptualised using trajectories.

Burchell's (1993) study of non migrant workers work history, including the reasons for leaving employment, in six British labour markets does not openly construct trajectories due to the inability to scale job quality. Nonetheless, due to the large sample size, the findings contribute greatly to the wider literature regarding how specific work-related decisions can influence a worker's trajectory. For example, if a man is on an upward employment trajectory, Burchell's (1993) findings suggest that working in a medium-sized firm with the ability to move up is more suitable than working in a small-sized firm. Furthermore, Chiswick, Lee & Miller's (2005) work on migrants' transition in the labour market of Australia also contributes to the understanding of the trajectory literature while not actually creating trajectories and will be discussed at length below.

Based on this brief review of the wider social science literature, the creation of trajectories is not new to the field. Nonetheless, it is unclear from this review what the difference is between typologies and trajectories. A simple approach to comparing these two types of migrant classifications would be to consider typologies as static categories that the migrant is placed in at one point and time and the trajectories would be considered dynamic categories that focus on the evolution of the migrant over time with some predictive capacity for the future plans of the migrant. Again, this is a simple approach to this comparison that, through the review of the literature below, will be further complicated with some typologies focusing on migrants at one specific point in time and other typologies taking into account the development and change of the migrant over time.

Keeping the time aspect central, it could be argued that trajectories would be constructed from a sample of migrants that have either been interviewed or questioned on more than one occasion or that have contributed to a longitudinal study. As a result, the researcher would have a better understanding of the migrants' actions and motivations for those actions over time being able to then, through having this extensive information of the past, elaborate on the migrants' future actions. On the other hand, the typologies could be constructed from a sample of migrants that have participated in the study at one point in time. This would provide the interviewer with a reference point during the migrants' migration period to explain their situation at that time and a typology could be created. Nevertheless, if the migrants' in the sample of the typology based study have been in the destination

country for a substantial amount of time, then the information they could provide for the duration of their migration period would be similar to the information provided from a longitudinal or more long-term engaged sample. This is where typologies that migrants can move between are derived such as the classic ‘sojourners’, temporary migrants, and ‘settlers’, long-term migrants, who share a ‘myth of return’ (Siu, 1952, Dayha, 1973). For example, the migrant in a circular migration pattern can become a settler by foregoing the return part of the circular migration pattern and staying in the destination country. However, as the transition of the migrant from being a circular migrant to a settler is considered using a typology, the explanation of this change and the path created by this change would not be charted. Further review of the existing literature is needed to understand the differences between these migrant classifications to see if the sampling issue raised here is relevant.

Triandafyllidou takes these basic typologies and provides an additional dimension through discussing them in relation to the historical relationship between the sending and receiving countries (2011). Her research on migrant typologies is based on ‘migration pathways’ research conducted by Psimmenos & Kassimati (2001) on labour migration to Greece. This work focussed on the conditions such as the demand for migrant labour, policy and perception of migrants in Greece during specific phases of increased inward migration throughout history. In providing this national account of what an incoming migrant could expect, the research enabled Triandafyllidou to have a basis for linking the existing typologies, or migrant categorisations, in a historical context. In addition to the growing literature on typologies reviewed thus far, other research focusing on Polish migrants in the UK also created typologies based on their findings (See Duvell & Vogel, 2006, Grabowska-Lusinka & Okolski, 2009, Trevena, 2009). However, the same issue associated with the typologies above are identified in this work.

Focusing particularly on Polish migrants in the UK, Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich (2006) create specific typologies based on the sub-groups from their sample of Polish migrants in London. The mixed-methods study relied on LFS analysis and 50 in-depth interviews with Poles from different social groups in London (Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich, 2006). Four typologies were created: storks, hamsters, searchers and stayers. The ‘storks’ are synonymous with circular migrants who are relying on economic motivations to migrate, use the ethnic economy significantly

and return migrate to start the cycle again. The 'hamsters' are similarly economically motivated but focus more on human capital development to be exploited upon return to the country of origin. The 'searchers' are the most fluid migrants who are open to return migrating or staying in the UK. As a result, these migrants are the most likely to exhibit a transient identity and capitalise on accession through legal mobility in the EU. The 'stayers' are those migrants who will stay in the UK for good or what has classically been referred to as 'settlers'. This study focused on providing typologies for Poles which was a contribution to the literature for this new migrant group and these typologies take into account the migration pattern, social class, and employment potential of the migrants. However, these typologies are similarly problematic to those listed above in their view of a migrant at a specific point in time as opposed to over time.

Again, the issue with these aforementioned typologies is that they focus on a migrant at a specific point in time paying little attention to the ways the migrant has transitioned between these classifications over time. However, other migrant typologies have been constructed which are fluid in that the migrants can move between them over time, but the sample in the study related to these typologies have only been interviewed on one occasion. Parutis (2011) described and analysed a sample of Polish and Lithuanian migrants who were classed as being in 'any job, a better job or a dream job'. Based on the migrants in the sample's position in the division of the labour they were categorised into one of these three typologies. While the typologies are fluid in that the migrants can move between them over time, Parutis's sample was not fluid ie. the individual migrants that composed the sample were assigned to a typology and were not assessed over time.

Interestingly, in focusing on occupational mobility whilst in the destination country, Parutis' (2011) work, with albeit somewhat static findings, is relying on Chiswick, Lee & Miller's (2005) longitudinal study of immigrants to Australia to explain the work experience of migrants in the division of labour of the destination country. This study followed a sample of immigrants over time to understand their occupational mobility prior to migrating, at the time of migration and then at several point in time whilst residing in the destination country (Chiswick, Lee & Miller, 2005). These findings are important, not only in regards to the occupational mobility of migrants and the U-shape theory (see below for further details) but also as a

method of understanding changes to migrants circumstances and motivations over time that are not fully captured by typologies (Chiswick, Lee & Miller, 2005).

While Chiswick, Lee & Miller's (2005) work does not cite Burchell's (1993) findings on why people transition from one job to the other, relying on more quantifiable issues such as employment and skill level, there are similarities between their work. Through surveying a large sample, Burchell's (1993) study focuses on the respondents' employment changes over time, particularly explaining why the respondents moved between different positions and the financial and social attributes of that change. In this manner, the findings from the two studies are complimentary with Burchell's (1993) more abstract work focusing on the employment changes, and the motivations for those changes over time and Chiswick, Lee & Miller's (2005) work explaining the employment paths of migrants from their pre-migration period over time.

The trajectories briefly mentioned in Chapter 1 are a way of organising data to understand the migrants' changes over time, highlighting their dynamic actions. Burchell's (1993) earlier work, where the author explained the migrants' changing employers and the reason for employment changes over time, would be an example of a trajectory. The research took into account the evolution of migrants' motivations throughout having several employers; however, this migration story can be constrained using quantitative methods. Alternatively Chiswick, Lee & Miller's (2005) mixed methods study has both a representative sample and the qualitative data but does not explain the reasons the migrants' employment status changes.

Refocusing on Polish migrants in the UK, the findings from a pilot study of 4 Polish migrant entrepreneurs in Glasgow were used to construct trajectories (Helinksa-Hughes, Hughes, Lassalle & Skowron, 2009). The findings from this study are also discussed below in relation to Polish ethnic entrepreneurship in the UK. The majority of the entrepreneurs migrated and set up their business in the post-2004 period with one being a more long-term migrant. The authors explained their findings using a trajectory approach through reviewing major themes over time including why the migrants decided to start a business, and the role of social networks as a source of finance and demand for the business. Beyond the small sample size used in this study, there is little consideration of any non-economic

motivations of the entrepreneurs whilst setting up a business or any findings regarding the future plans of the ethnic entrepreneurs (Helinksa-Hughes, Hughes, Lassalle & Skowron, 2009). A more recent study of post-2004 Polish migrants in Belfast is based on narrative interviews with three respondents; the findings explore the different trajectories migrants can take over time (Bell, 2012). While the author provided an in-depth account of the sample's complex motivations during the migration period, the major limitations to the study is the exploratory nature and the small sample size.

Most recently, research conducted on Polish entrepreneurs in Munich used trajectories to examine the shifting cultural capital (discussed further below) of the Poles who have ties to both their country of origin as well as the destination country (Nowicka, 2013). The sample of seven Poles living in Munich, interviewed in 2006/2007, have similar characteristics to the Poles living in the UK in the post-2004 period as both migrant groups are characterised as exhibiting circular migration patterns which may occur over years. Beyond this point, the similarities between the sample and the Poles in the UK in the post-2004 period are few, the Poles in this study migrated prior to 2004, through sometimes illegal means and were able to find high-skilled employment relatively quickly once in the destination country (Nowicka, 2013). Despite these differences, Nowicka's (2013) construction of trajectories over time for migrants embedded in the ethnic economy as well as the non-ethnic economy, sometimes in high-skilled professions, is a significant contribution to the literature reviewed thus far in this section. The 'significant contribution' Nowicka makes is to the literature regarding Polish migrants in the UK, however, Ho (2011) used trajectories to describe her findings from research on Singaporean high-skilled migrants in London. The emphasis in this research is on the changing role of the visa system for the high-skilled migrants and their motivations to adapt quickly to these changes in order to remain in the destination country.

Migration Patterns

The term circular migrant refers to migrants that exhibit short-term, repetitive migration patterns who are often in the destination country for specific seasonal demand. These migrants fill the demand for low wage positions that would not be filled by the native labour market (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). In addition to

receiving low-wages, these jobs are also characterised by the aforementioned 3D's (Favell, 2008). Alternatively, the transient migrant is highly mobile and will migrate to one country after another. While the 'country-hopping' could occur within an open border region such as the EU, in reality these migrants will often be crossing borders illegally (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). Another option for migrants is chain migration which could be completed in one of two ways. First, chain migration can unite a family with the first family member migrating thereby starting the chain and the additional family members trickling into the destination country forming the rest of the chain (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). According to White (2011), this is a type of migration used extensively by Poles in the UK. Second, chain migration can involve migrants from one community settling in a destination country and starting a chain of migration from their country of origin community to the destination country. Both types of chain migration can reunite family members in the destination country and both types of chain migration can be facilitated by recruitment agencies (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007).

The use of recruitment agencies as facilitators of Polish migration, and A8 migration more widely, to the UK has received a significant amount of attention from academics (Green, Owen & Jones 2007; Jones 2008; Jayaweera & Anderson, 2008; Thompson, Chambers, & Lukasz 2010). Jones (2008) found that the use of recruitment agencies to facilitate migration to the UK has led to unlikely migrant destinations arising within the UK outside of large cities. Interestingly, through the recruitment agency facilitation, these migrants are exhibiting 'herd behaviour' (Epstein, 2002) with the population of many small towns in Poland being transported to work in non-urban locations in the UK. It should be noted that 'herd behaviour' within migrant groups does not require recruitment agency facilitation but is greatly supported by it. In addition, the literature mentions that the recruitment agencies recruit migrants for lower level positions in the service sector or for agricultural work that often becomes available on short-notice. As a result, the migrant is expected to migrate quickly once receiving the call from the agency, leaving in days instead of weeks or months. A link is established between precarious, undesirable, 3D working conditions and recruitment agency-based migration. Furthermore, through considering the recruitment agency as a facilitator of migration, which lowers the risk of migrating through taking a fee from migrants to arrange work in

the destination country, the trip and accommodation that is repaid through the migrants' earnings, it could be argued that these agencies are similar to the illegitimate coyotes aiding illegal immigration from South America to the US (Stoddard 1976; Spener 1996). In this way, the recruitment agency is a manufactured social network for migrants, facilitating their initial migration and potentially influencing the migration of the rest of the 'herd' (Epstein, 2002).

While the existing literature outlined above does discuss other migration patterns for Poles to the UK, namely chain migration in its various forms, the circular migration pattern is most suited to the average Polish migrant who is young, single, and highly mobile. Family members may be involved in this type of migration but due to the circular migration patterns they would be considered circular migrants instead of chain migrants. Given their emphasis on work, the recruitment agencies can be a facilitator to start this circular migration pattern. To further understand what motivated a new wave of migrants, from an established highly migratory group, to migrate to the UK for the short-term, migrant theories will be analysed in this section focusing on what motivates people to migrate.

Analysis of Migrants' Motivations

The motivations of migrants can be complex and somewhat confusing if considering the motivations from the time the migrant considers migrating from their country of origin to the time the migrant considers returning to the country of origin or staying in the destination country. Regardless of the time the migrant is in the destination country, there are at least ten different scenarios ranging from 'what motivates a migrant to move to a specific region' to 'what motivates a migrant to work in a low-paid job' that could be discussed. Due to the broad scope of the term, 'migrant motivations' need to be defined and parameters need to be set relating to what will be reviewed in this chapter.

In regards to the definition of a migrant motivation, it can be considered the stimulus for a migrant to act in certain settings. The 'stimulus' can be economic or non-economic, or a combination thereof. The 'settings' will include all aspects of the initial motivations to migrate from the country of origin and all aspects of the motivations to stay in the destination country or return migrate. The following theoretical analysis will focus on all of these migrant motivation aspects under the

themes of economic motivations and non-economic motivations. Several of the theories that will complete this analysis can be categorised under both of these themes. To provide context, the author will attempt to arrange the theories under each theme in the order in which the migrant would have to consider this motivation. For example, the migrant's motivation to return migrate will be discussed last in each section.

Economic Motivations to Migrate

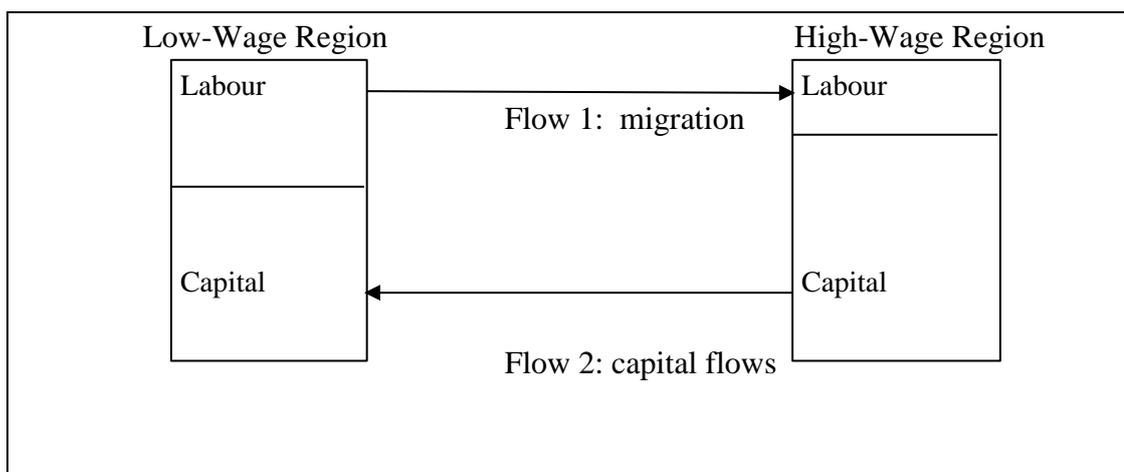
The role of economics in motivating migrants is significant (Becker, 1992). According to Becker (1992), who argues that there are many seemingly non-economic human behaviours that are intrinsically economic, migrants are rational actors whose motivations are utilitarian and economically based¹⁰. These characteristics are similar to Blackburn & Mann's (1979) conceptualisation of migrants as exhibiting traits of 'the rational economic man'. This conceptualisation highlights the migrant as being committed to the economic aspects of the migration, thereby making every decision based on the perceived economic benefits for maximum utility. Both characterisations imply that migrants are motivated by economic means which will be the focus of this section. However, it should be noted that the economics-based theories that will be reviewed do not hold economics as the sole motivating factor for migrants. Rather, they hold economics as the paramount migrant motivation (Mitchell, 1959).

Economic Migrant Motivations and Neo-Classical Economic Theory

The neo-classical economic theory, in relation to migration, will be analysed first due to the central role that economics plays in the theory through its focus on the relationship between supply and demand. It relies on the migrant embodying the homo economicus persona, as described above, with the economic motivations trickling down from the initial decision to migrate. This theory considers the sending and receiving countries as systems that, ideally, are in equilibrium. This equilibrium is contingent on the flows of real wages in two phases as seen in figure 1.

¹⁰ Becker has more recently (2011) supported his comments on migrants as economic actors when suggesting that, to curtail migration during a recession, the migrants should be required to pay an extensive fee for admission into the destination country (50,000 USD for immigration to the US and 30,000GBP for immigration/migration to the UK).

Figure 1: Neo-classical mechanisms leading to equilibrium



Adapted from Oberg, 1995, p.6

The first flow in the figure is low-skilled labour from low-wage regions migrating to high-wage regions (Jennissen, 2006). The result of this flow is the capital gained from it flows back to the low-wage region in the form of remittances putting the system in economic equilibrium (Jennissen, 2006). Once real wage equilibrium is set within the system, the high-skilled labourers can begin their migration to the high-wage region thereby allowing the migrants to occupy all parts of the division of labour in the destination country. This model holds economic motivations as the sole incentive for migration where the supply of workers migrate to fill the demand for jobs (Jennissen, 2006). In regards to migration as a whole, this theory has been critiqued over time (see Greenwood, 1975, Clark & Ballard, 1981 and Curry, 1985). In regards to the Polish migration to the UK, this theory has also been critiqued in two ways. First, the Poles migrating to the UK were high-skilled migrants taking low-skilled jobs which upsets the equilibrium-based approach of this theory where low-skilled migration should lead to high-skilled migration. Second, by inaccurately assessing the characteristics of the Polish migrant group, as noted in the first point, this theory does not take into account the globalised world in which the migration is occurring in.

The role of remittances amongst Polish migrants is a source of conflict in the literature. Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor (1993) consider the more historic, household-based migration theories where it was the decision of the family in the home country to have their children migrate for economic purposes

and to send remittance payments to better the household. However, more in line with the 2004 Polish migrant characteristics, Dustmann & Weiss (2007) argue that migrants are attracted to the wages that can be earned abroad but they i.e. not their families, are interested in spending their money in their home country. By doing so, the migrants reap the benefits of the favourable currency exchange rate. When considering remittance payments in this way, this is the reason the migrants do not migrate as a household. Nelson's (1979) previous work supports this claim by noting that, even in relation to developing countries, most migrants come from middle-class families making remittances less likely. In this case, those Poles that are able to migrate in the post-2004 period would come from more affluent homes as opposed to the traditional migrations during the post-WWII period. This change of affluence would end the need for remittance payments and would allow the migrant to use the migration to enhance their human capital that could be leveraged in the labour market when they return migrate.

This argument is disputed by Fihel, Kaczmarczyk & Okólski (2006) since their study of migrants from new member states (A8) in the EU-15 in the post-2004 period pointed to significant remittance payments amongst this group. Taking Fihel, Kaczmarczyk & Okólski (2006) findings in regards to the neo-classical model introduced above, the A8 countries income would rise as a result of the remittance payments which would be depicted in the Gross National Product (GNP). The effects on the EU-15 countries GNP would be minimal given the higher wages found in those countries in contrast to the wages in the A8 countries. Even with the remittance payments, if they are as significant as Fihel, Kaczmarczyk & Okólski (2006) claim, due to the cyclical nature of the theory, real wage equilibrium as a catalyst for high-skilled migration will not be reached. This point ties in with the second point regarding the role of globalisation and migration. In the globalised world, high-skilled labour can be recruited from a worldwide labour market regardless of previous migrations thereby making the neo-classical theory, where high-skilled labour migrates as a result of previous successful low-skilled migration, obsolete.

Economic Migrant Motivations in a Neo-liberal framework

The neo-liberal framework provides an update to the aforementioned economic theory in that it takes into account global markets, making it more contemporary

through conceptualising migrants' actions in the globalised world. This framework can be discussed from the perspective of the government in its role in constructing immigration policy for the nation state (Dreher, 2007), as well as from the perspective of the EU citizen who is free to move throughout the EU (Hansen, 2000). Through globalisation, the role of the nation state in regions such as the EU with supranational governance has become blurred. This is not only the case within the EU as 'globalisation' can relate to a global system; however, given the European emphasis of this thesis focusing on legal migration, the neo-liberal framework will be discussed in relation to EU policy.

While the flow of capital and goods across borders falls in line with the traditional neoliberal rhetoric, according to this framework, the flow of people across borders should be more closely governed at the national level (Dreher, 2007, De Haas, 2010). Essentially, the framework outlines how government facilitated change can alter migration patterns. Keeping the EU as an example, with its expanding open borders, globalisation allows for migration from emerging economies, that are restructuring due to their newly acquired prominence in the free trade zone, to more developed economies. For the individual migrant, the opening of borders equates to less economic hurdles with no visa or work permit required but also reduces the cost in terms of keeping in touch with family, returning home and being mobile (de Haas, 2010). All of the economic benefits associated with globalisation are particularly supportive of the circular migrant lifestyle due to the ability of the migrant to easily transition, in the physical sense, between the two worlds in the country of origin and the destination country¹¹. This framework emphasises the ease of migration at this time due to the highly interconnected world system which could be a motivation to migrate. However, from the perspective of the 'EU citizen' (a term introduced with the main agenda of further integrating the major economies of the EU and encouraging the free movement of capital and goods) participating in intra-EU migration, the reality of this neo-liberal framework could vary significantly as the movement of labour is still not completely borderless as outlined in the previous chapter (Hansen, 2000). Economically, this would make other migration aspects that reduce the 'cost' of migration such as social networks increasingly important for the migrant.

¹¹ The migrant's identity whilst between two worlds will be discussed further below.

The 'Cost' of Migrating and the Migrant Labour Market: An Economic Motivation Assessment

One of the critiques of the neo-liberal framework was the inability to apply it directly to migrant motivations, Borjas' global migration market theory fills this gap (1990). It states that migrants' decisions are made based on a cost/benefit analysis (Borjas, 1990). This theory is an extension of Sjaastad's human capital theory that was the first attempt at describing migration in a cost/benefit analysis format where the most influential motivation is the expected wage prospects at the destination country (1962). Global migration market theory says that migrants will weigh the costs of moving against the commensurate level of wages and chances of finding employment in the destination country (Borjas, 1990). In this scenario, if the latter is more than the former then migration will occur.

Similarly, Drinkwater & Clark (2000) push/ pull theory takes the basic cost/benefit analysis that Borjas used but assigns labels such as push and pull to specific aspects of migrant life to determine what motivates migrants. Taking into account a multitude of migrant motivating factors, this theory highlights the unachievable aspect of the cost/benefit theory (Borjas, 1990) as a migrant would not necessarily be able to consider all of the future costs and benefits associated with migration. Using push/pull theory, there is still an economic focus but considerably less so than Borjas's version. This theory assigns labels to both economic motivations such as unemployment in the country of origin and real wages in the destination country. To distinguish the motivations, the push factors are those factors driving the migrant away from their country of origin and the pull factors are those factors that are drawing the migrant to their destination country. As a purely economic example, a push factor could be high unemployment in the migrant's country of origin and a pull factor could be the existing ethnic economy in the destination country which provides employment opportunities. The theories analysed in the next section will attribute migration to much more specific migrant experiences such as filling a shortage in the labour market or exploiting connections in the ethnic economy. This is a substantial break from previous discussions.

Drawing on labour market segmentation theory, Piore's dual labour market theory focuses less on the migrant and more on the regional labour market conditions in the destination country and the social status of workers in the hierarchy (Piore, 1979).

The dual labour market is comprised of two types of workers: the high-skilled workers and the low-skilled workers. During a period of prosperity, the native workforce moves upward in the division of labour leaving a shortage of labour in the bottom of the labour market. Accordingly, the demand for migrants in the destination country is based on labour shortages and specifically a shortage of labour at the bottom of the labour market (Piore, 1979). When supply exceeds demand the migrants do not have upward mobility in the divided labour market, competition for employment ensues and the migrants' wages decrease due to the increase in supply (Piore as cited in Jennissen, 2006). The low-skilled workers can never become the high-skilled workers as the groups are completely separate (Piore as cited in Jennissen, 2006). On one hand, through keeping the workers separate this theory negates the neo-classical theory, with its cyclical nature and wages as a migrant motivation. On the other hand, while a job is important to an economic migrant, Piore's theory fails to explain migrants who migrate in a time of recession as well as those who rely on the ethnic economy due to a lack of other options (1979). As an economic migrant, the motivation to migrate may be linked to employment opportunities at the destination country which would make it a paramount reason to migrate; but, by making it the sole reason to migrate the theory has drastically limited its applicability.

Parutis focuses less on the labour market demand of the destination country and more on the division of labour and the entry point of migrants to the bottom of the labour market (2011). This acceptance of low-wage, low-skilled jobs by migrants can be attributed to the migrant's necessity to earn. In her study of Polish and Lithuanian migrants in the UK, Parutis describes them using the term 'middling transnationalism' which alludes to the paradoxical nature of the migrants as high-skilled individuals taking low-skilled jobs (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006, Anderson, Clark & Parutis, 2007, Conradson & Latham, 2005, Parutis, 2011). In terms of migrant motivations this 'middling transnationalism' will seek any position when reaching the destination country to earn enough to live (Parutis, 2011). Once savings are accrued, the migrant can then move on to a better job.

Although extending the applicability of Piore's theory in focusing on labour shortage and demand, Parutis' theory does little to address migrant motivations beyond their desire to earn money once they are in the destination country. The theory describes

the migrant's ascent in the division of labour which is in sharp contrast to Piore's assertion that the migrants will remain at the bottom of the division of labour but other than that, this theory does not seek to explain initial migrant motivations nor does it seek to explain return migrant motivations (2011, 1979). Through the migrant starting at the bottom of the labour market in the destination country when initially migrating and then moving up the division of labour, Parutis' theory is based on Chiswick, Lee & Miller (2005) U-shaped pattern of migrant progression in the division of labour of the destination country.

Chiswick, Lee & Miller's (2005) findings, partially discussed above in relation to the fluid nature of migrants work experience in the destination country, can also be related to the migrants' changing position in the division of labour of the destination country. The authors argue that the 'U-shaped' pattern depicts the high level of occupational achievement they had in their home country, the low level position they took when initially migrating and the migrants' ascent up the division of labour in the destination country (Chiswick, Lee & Miller, 2005). To achieve this occupational attainment in the destination country, the migrants will have a high – level occupation prior to migrating, have developed their human capital prior to migrating, and will acquire additional 'location specific' human capital in the destination country (Chiswick, Lee & Miller, 2005). The more non-transferable the skills of the migrant are between the country of origin and the destination country, the more likely the migrant is to immediately have low employment options but, over time, to have significant upward occupational mobility in the destination country because location-specific human capital is acquired (Barrett & Duffy, 2008). In contrast, Parutis (2011) discusses the migrant's ascent up the division of labour from when the migrant enters the country and only mentions the migrants' high-skilled nature prior to migrating through the migrant paradox. Through this comparison, the studies show similar findings of labour market mobility once the migrants are in the destination country, but the pre-migration characteristics highlight the multiple interpretations of 'high-skilled'. Parutis (2011) considers 'high-skilled' to mean a higher education level and higher language levels where the U-shaped pattern (Chiswick, Lee & Miller, 2005) research focuses on 'high-skilled' as employment experience.

It should also be highlighted at this stage that the migrants in the aforementioned studies by Parutis (2011) and Chiswick, Lee & Miller (2005) had several jobs during their migration period. When initially migrating the migrants had several low-skilled positions; however, at this stage, they were not contributing data to the concept of a boundaryless career (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). This concept disregards the historic notions of a career as being a job for life in favour of having several positions contributing to one's career over time. Rather, these initial jobs taken by the migrants were solely as a source of income when entering the destination country. If the migrant was in the destination country for a longer term, as demonstrated by Chiswick, Lee & Miller's (2005) longitudinal sample, the migrants can eventually contribute to their boundaryless career by having multiple positions which enhance their skill level over time.

Division of Labour Dynamics in the Ethnic Economy

Taking the themes from the previous two theories, where high-skilled workers took low-skilled jobs and may have migrated to fill a shortage in the labour market, the question of a migrant division of labour arises. The migrant division of labour would not be considered a migrant motivation but it can explain the dynamics of the migrant community in the destination country. Academics have highlighted the international division of labour for migrants; however, little research is completed on the work relations amongst the workers in the ethnic economy. Vershinina, Barrett & Meyer noted that migrant workers were willing to migrate for these ethnic business positions which could demonstrate the low standing nature of the position or it could be indicative of a shortage of labour to fill the position (2011).

Alternatively, Evans describes the migrant workers in the ethnic community as the 'talent pool' for ethnic businesses which associates the ethnic entrepreneurs as having the upper hand in employing co-ethnics (1989). Could it be the case that migrants who are working for ethnic businesses are a higher class in the division of labour than migrant workers who are working for non-ethnic businesses? If this were the case then ethnic entrepreneurs would be at the top of the hierarchy within the ethnic economy.

This brief conceptualisation of a possible migrant division of labour has introduced several new themes to this discussion, including ethnic economy, ethnic entrepreneurs and social networks. In the most basic sense, all of these themes,

while not obviously economics-based theories, will be discussed in terms of their potential to provide further economic motivations which might explain migrants' behaviour.

Social Networks as Facilitators of Economic Migration

Once the migrants arrive in the destination country, they tend to group into networks based on trust, reciprocity and similarities or social capital (White & Ryan, 2008, Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993). In this context, social networks are not motivating migrants but facilitating migrants to migrate to a specific area. Due to the emphasis on facilitation, social networks will be considered facilitators of migration for the remainder of the thesis. Eventually, a social network can be established which can act as the foundation for an ethnic economy. Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor's (1993) social network theory states that migrants are more likely to move to another country where there is a social network as it 'lowers the costs and risks of movement while increasing the expected net return of migration' (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993, pg. 448). It favours increased migration as it lowers the risk for new migrants due to the expanding network. Accordingly, the migrant networks have many roles, mainly as pull factors encouraging new migration through providing short-term accommodation in the destination country and assistance in finding a job (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993). Through defining the role of the social networks for new migrants as a way of reducing the cost and risk associated with migration, the recruitment agencies described earlier in this Chapter could be considered manufacturers of social networks for new migrants .

Light, Bhachu & Karageorgis, (1993) are critical of Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor's (1993) social network concept, particularly in relation to the benefit the social networks are to migrants in finding employment in the destination country in the long-term. The use of migrant social networks as an efficient social network can saturate all possible migrant employment options and all possible migrant accommodation in an ethnic community. As a result, the research of Light, Bhachu & Karageorgis (1993) points to the ethnic entrepreneur as an employer that is derived from the ethnic community. Through employing co-ethnic workers, the ethnic entrepreneur lowers the saturation point of the migrant labour market by creating new migrant labour positions (Light, Bhachu & Karageorgis,

1993). The role of the ethnic entrepreneur in the ethnic economy will be discussed further below. The following section will focus on the social networks.

Beyond the immediate economic support that social networks can provide, they can also be used as a platform for transnational migrants to maintain several identities; simultaneously connecting themselves with multiple nations at a time (Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1992). Social networks, globalisation, technology and diaspora all support this transnational migrant that has one persona within the ethnic community and another outside the ethnic community in the destination country (Vertovec 1999). In this case, the social network allows the transnational migrant, particularly if involved in a circular migration pattern, to maintain their 'home lifestyle' while living abroad. This explanation draws on theories relating to the ethnic economy where the 'home lifestyle' of the migrant can be maintained in the destination country through shopping at local ethnic stores and working for co-ethnic entrepreneurs, which seemingly overlaps with this transnational version of network theory.

The other aspect of the informal network is the competition amongst migrants for employment opportunities and wealth. In terms of negative results, according to a study completed by White & Ryan, the social networks that are supposed to be available to new Polish migrants (post-2004) are not what they seem (2008). The authors found that the Poles interviewed had little support from the 'social network' in their region as their fellow Polish migrants were focused on making money through work instead of making connections (White & Ryan, 2008). This lack of support for fellow migrants could be attributed to a part of the aforementioned work by Piore on labour shortages where, as migrant supply increases, competition ensues and wages decrease (as cited in Jennissen, 2006). Nonetheless, these findings support Putnam's constrict theory where it was found that when 'in more diverse settings, Americans distrust not merely people who do not look like them, but also people who do' (2001, pp. 148). Both White & Ryan, as well as Putnam's work, highlight the dynamic between new migrants and the existing social network in the destination country. This supports the demand of migrants in using 'social networks' for economic means; considering networks in the broad, transnational sense at the beginning of the migration and potentially the narrow, local sense once settled in the destination country. However, due to the circular nature of the

migration, the migrant will have to tend to both networks simultaneously to reap the economic benefits of migration.

The pull of a social network from the destination country can be considered an encouraging factor to migrate as contacts are made to provide a sufficient amount of comfort when arriving in the destination country. However, in terms of economic motivations, the social network could not be considered as a decisive factor. In other words, the migrant's sole economic motivation for migrating is not the social network. In this scenario, the presence of and contacts within social networks may provide the tipping point in deciding to migrate, but the social networks will not be the only factor in making this decision.

The Ethnic Economy as an Economic Motivation to Migrate

The ethnic economy can be another pull factor in motivating a migrant to migrate internationally; but, after reviewing the social network theories, it is difficult to determine where the social network ends and where the ethnic economy begins. The most popular and most encompassing type of economy for migrants in the new country is the ethnic economy. It takes into account all ethnic businesses (of the same ethnicity) in an area and, as defined by Bonacich & Modell the 'group's self-employed, employers, and co-ethnic employees' (1980, pp 110-11, 124). While other ethnic group members may be employed in the local community they do not count toward the ethnic economy (Light & Gold, 2000). The ethnic economy is solely set up for the benefit of the ethnic community it serves. In some cases, where there is a labour shortage within the ethnic economy, people may migrate specifically for an employment opportunity. However, for the most part, this economy is used solely by those migrants already in the area (Miera, 2008). The ethnic economy, with its ethnic businesses, can provide more than employment opportunities, it can also act as a market for ethnic firms and individuals which can be a motivation factor in itself. In addition, it is also a way for ethnic entrepreneurs to be successful in supplying products otherwise unfound in an area; a home for the social network where social capital can be a form of currency¹²; and a support structure for new migrants in finding employment, accommodation and goods from

¹² Using social capital as a form of currency refers to the ability of migrants to acquire economic gains through their connections. For example, a migrant's friend owns a business so whenever he shops there he receives a discount.

home (Boyd, 1989). Due to these factors, the ethnic economy is a relevant pull factor for migrants, particularly those that are temporary or involved in a circular migration pattern. Furthermore, in addressing the relationship between social networks and the ethnic economy, it becomes more apparent that they rely on one another to exist; however, the relationship is unequal. To have an ethnic economy there needs to be a social network, but an ethnic economy is not needed to have a social network.

The ethnic economy concept falls between two other ethnic-based economy concepts which differ in terms of the geographic proximity of the businesses and the interconnectedness of the group actors. The ethnic enclave economy is the most integrated of the three economies through 'locational clustering of firms, economic interdependency and ethnic employees' (Light & Gold, 2000, pg. 51). A defined location is needed with examples ranging from Little Havana in Miami (Portes & Bach, 1985) to Little Italy in New York. On the other side, the informal economy is based on ethnic groups who have businesses where there are no social or legal restrictions (Castles & Portes, 1989). In this economy there are no taxes (Light & Gold, 2000). Unlike the other types of economy where proximity and social cohesion are central, this informal economy is more loosely defined and less regulated.

Using the ethnic economy definition, the role of ethnic businesses is clearly outlined as it further embeds the ethnic community in the surrounding region. Similar to the discussion at the end of the social networks section, the ethnic economy can be a pull factor, particularly for circular migrants looking to use their native language skills. However, in terms of economic motivations, the ethnic economy could not be considered as a decisive factor for migrants considering their migration decisions. It will now be explained why the ethnic economy could be used as one of many motivations to migrate, but it would not be the sole reason for migration.

An essential part of the ethnic economy is the ethnic businesses that support it. Many of these businesses are owned and operated by ethnic entrepreneurs who are embedded in and rely heavily upon a number of social networks (Granovetter, 1985; Waldinger, 1996). In her recent study of Polish migrants in the UK, Parutis explained the aforementioned Polish migrant paradox in terms of what is needed by

migrants when they initially arrive in the UK (2011). Simply, Parutis mentions ‘any job, better job, and dream job’, meaning that migrants will take any job for income once they arrive, through savings, advanced language skills, and experience, this job can be a stepping stone for a better (and later, presumably, dream) job (2011).

Taking the concept into account regarding ethnic entrepreneurs, the migrant would take any job, notice the niche in the ethnic economy and the devaluation of his/her skills in the current job and focus on self-employment as a better job option (Wang & Lo, 2004, 2007, Anthias & Cederberg, 2009, Ram & Phizacklea 1995). The disadvantage theory describes this scenario when noting that a lack of desirable job opportunities, as most Polish migrant jobs are low-paid and fall into the 3D’s, can be a driving force for ethnic entrepreneurs to start a business (Johnson, as cited in Masurel, Nikmap, Tasthan & Vindigni, 2002). Acs, Arenuis, Hay & Minniti (2005) attribute the many low-skilled positions the migrant takes prior to becoming an ethnic entrepreneur to the low education level making entrepreneurship a necessary employment option rather than an opportunity. In discussing ethnic entrepreneurship in this manner, the migrant is not motivated to migrate in the hope of starting a business; rather, after experiencing the labour market, the migrant is then motivated to start a business.

A more recent pilot study, using a sample of four Polish entrepreneurs in Glasgow, found that the entrepreneurs’ start-up strategy was more strategic as a result of their low labour market mobility (Helinksa-Hughes, Hughes, Lassalle & Skowron, 2009). The trajectories that were created from the findings in this study were discussed above (page 41). In regards to entrepreneurship, the migrants that informed this research were heavily influenced by their parents’ previous entrepreneurial activity and worked in the UK for the main purpose of saving funds to start a business (Helinksa-Hughes, Hughes, Lassalle & Skowron, 2009). The majority of the Poles in this sample migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period. A larger qualitative study of Polish ethnic entrepreneurs in the UK, with 48 interviews in the West Midlands, found a similar strategy as outlined by the Poles in Helinksa-Hughes, Hughes, Lassalle & Skowron’s (2009) pilot study (Harris, 2012). All of the Poles in this sample migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period. The major finding from this study was that Polish entrepreneurs in Harris’ (2012) sample had a business idea prior to migrating and took low skilled positions to raise funds to start a business.

The Harris (2012) findings are a more explicit interpretation of the Polish migrants' strategy for business ownership than the Helinksa-Hughes, Hughes, Lassalle & Skowron (2009) findings; however, the latter findings also take into account familial ties to entrepreneurs in the origin country. Both accounts challenge the traditional stereotypes of ethnic minority entrepreneurship as a way for migrants to move out of low-skilled employment, which is often perceived as being their only other option.

In terms of the workers for the ethnic business, ethnic entrepreneurs will rely on social networks to access the talent pool in the ethnic economy as well as their own personal networks which may extend back to their country of origin (Evans, 1989). The need for co-ethnics can be based on the wages paid as well as promoting the complete appearance of an ethnic business to consumers. From their study on the wages of A8 migrants in the UK, Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer (2006) mention that self-employed Poles, which would include ethnic entrepreneurs, earn more income in the UK and this trickles down to increased wages for their co-ethnic workers. Depending on the situation of the ethnic entrepreneur's family and their contacts within their social network in the destination country, workers can either arrive in a chain migration fashion, with frequent return visits, to help with the business or the local, unrelated, co-ethnics can be used as the labour pool (Evans, 1989). It can be argued that the entrepreneurs would be more willing to exploit the family network that is available to them as the immediate costs relating to the migration of the family member will be offset by the amount of work that they will do for the business. In addition, due to the level of social capital (as will be discussed below) amongst family members, there will be less distrust that an employee will steal or start a similar business in the ethnic economy, thereby increasing competition (Putnam, 2007). Furthermore, someone from a social network that is not family based would not be as easily exploitable due to not sharing in the rewards of a family-based business, even with the proposed migrant division of labour where preference is given to working for co-ethnics.

The Economic Motivation to Stay in the Destination Country

From the classic description of the Polish migrants in the UK in the post-2004 period, outlined in Chapter 1, the Poles are characterised as short-term migrants. While this characterisation may have been supported in the pre-2004 period as well as in the period immediately after the enlargement in 2004, the more current

literature acknowledges that many of these migrants are staying in the destination country for a longer term than what they originally planned. This section will briefly review the literature on economic migrant motivations to extend their stay in the destination country for longer than their short-term expectation.

More recent research focuses on the economic motivations for migrants to stay in the destination country, in spite of the push and pull factors to return migrate. Cook, Dwyer & Waite (2011) undertook a qualitative study of the Polish, Slovakian and Roma (post-2004) migrants in Northern England which focused on the issue of the temporary nature of migrants, highlighting that many of the migrants in the sample initially said they were staying in the UK for the short term but ended up staying longer. The research focuses largely on economic motivations relating to the migrants' occupational mobility and human capital development in providing a temporal approach to migration. Regardless of the economic emphasis, the authors question the homogeneity of the A8 migrants' occupational mobility as well as their clear motivation to stay in the destination country, therefore challenging the traditional notion that economic migrants are temporary (Cook, Dwyer & Waite, 2011).

The Economic Motivations to Return

Until this point, the discussion has been on migrant's motivations to migrate, or stay in the destination country, looking at this decision in terms of the economic benefits associated with migration. This section will shift the aim slightly when analysing return migration theories. According to Holda, Saczuk, Strzelecki & Wyszynski (2010) migration, as a whole concept, considers both the outgoing and return migration as one cycle, thereby allowing existing migration theories to address both the outgoing and the return migration in a similar manner. The theories in this section are diverse in that some of them focus on the initial and return migration (buffer theory), others focus solely on return migration and yet others focus on return migration during periods of economic uncertainty. No matter what the motivation is, the economic aspects will be highlighted.

Bohning's buffer theory conceptualises migrant movements (1972). It views migrants as temporary workers who move to areas of high economic growth to reap the employment benefits and return during an economic downturn (1972). It was

developed post-WWII to explain the influx of workers in Western Europe during the rebuilding phase. The key aspect of this theory is the return migration during the economic downturn which is largely policy-led (1972). Using this theory, the migrants are imported during a labour shortage and exported during a labour surplus (Dobson, Latham & Salt, 2009). In addition, through viewing migration in terms of shortages and demand, Bohning's theory could be considered the basis for Piore's theory mentioned above (1979). Alternatively, Castles is critical of the idea that this import/export strategy for migrants is relevant to the current economic downturn stating that 'it is a mistake to believe that migrants are a safety valve for developed economies, providing labour in times of expansion and going away in times of recession. When economic conditions get bad in rich countries, they may be even worse in poor countries' (2009, p. 5). This is supported by OECD research from the current economic decline and will be further explored throughout this thesis (2009).

Alternatively, the human capital formation theory places the migrant and the migrant's ability to improve their human capital at the core of determining when return migration will occur (Gungor & Tansel, 2006). The return migration would coincide with the migrant receiving the best advantage in their home country on their newly acquired cultural capital¹³. This could be the case for migrants interested in improving their language skills to be more competitive in the labour market when they return to their country of origin. Another potential reason for return migration is the spending of earnings from the destination country in the home country. Due to the favourable currency in the destination country, the migrant would return to spend wages earned in the stronger currency in their home country (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). This use of earnings was questioned in relation to remittance payments earlier in this chapter, but it could be used independently of the remittance argument to discuss return migration motivations. Furthermore, Dustmann & Weiss' (2007) argument could be viewed from another perspective, taking into account Borjas' global migration market theory, where the migrant considers the depreciating value of his earnings in the destination country due to faltering economic conditions and compares that to the wealth that could be made in the home country during the same period (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). Considering the potential missed opportunity to take advantage of the changing economic conditions, there would be a mass return

¹³ Cultural capital will be further explained below in the non-economic motivations section.

migration prior to the ‘recessionary period’ as opposed to during the recession because the longer the migrant was in the recession-blighted, destination country, the more wealth they would be losing. This theory highlights a potential migration pattern based on the recession; however, along with the other economic-based theories, it contradicts Castles’ (2009) work while also focusing only on a national economic downturn as opposed to a global economic downturn.

Although the theories and research reviewed in this section highlight varying aspects of a migrant’s journey, their similarity is in acknowledging the migrants as solely economic actors, motivated by economic means. The following section will review the existing literature on the non-economic motivations of migrants.

Non-Economic Motivations

The conceptualisation of migrants as economically rational actors was presented in the last section focusing on the economic-based theories of migrant motivations. Based on the relationship between economics and rationality, those migrants who have non-economic motivations could be considered irrational. There is a significant literature surrounding economic irrationality including economic sociology and behavioural economics; however, there is also space for considering a combination of both economic and non-economic motivations during a migration period. Migrants, regardless of their migration pattern, may rely on a multitude of motivations throughout their migration period that can be both economic and non-economic in nature. An example of this array of motivations can be found in asylum seekers¹⁴ who are commonly referred to as economic migrants due to the declining economic situation in their home countries. This economic situation may contribute to their migration to more developed countries; but, they also may possess non-economic motivations for migrating as well (Castles & Miller, 2003).

Castles & Miller (2003) highlights the complexity of these motivations in the ‘asylum-migration nexus’ where the person seeking asylum may be escaping ‘failed economies in their country of origin which are generally characterised by weak states, predatory ruling cliques and human rights abuse’ (Castles and Miller, 2003, p.

¹⁴ If the asylum seeker’s application is approved then the new label is refugee which has its own privileges within the destination country; however, while the application is being processed the applicant is considered an asylum seeker. In the case of the application being denied the asylum seeker is deported.

17). This explanation highlights the multiple motivations, both economic due to the failed economies and non-economic due to the human rights abuse that causes asylum seekers to flee their country of origin. In addition, asylum-seeker flight often equates to working illegally in the settlement country not for economic gain but simply to survive; so while the asylum-seekers initially had an array of motivations to migrate, throughout the course of their migration period the migrant may be appearing to act economically but, in reality, is working to survive in a foreign country (Castles, 2003). On one hand, this example demonstrates that those labelled as 'economic migrants', and the stereotypes associated with that term may not necessarily be migrating for economic means but are forced into work. On the other hand, the example provides a foundation for non-economic motivations to migrate if 'economic' is considered accumulation of wealth. The latter will be explored in this section which focuses on non-economic motivations to migrate. In some cases, such as social networks, a theory will have a dual nature and will be analysed in both the economic and non-economic sections.

Non-Economic Motivations to Migrate

Similar to the asylum seekers appearing to be economically motivated whilst having a complex range of motivations to leave their country of origin, intra-EU migrants can appear to be economically motivated whilst having the same complex range of motivations when considering migration. Verwiebe's (2011) research highlights this phenomenon in relation to intra-EU migration in his study of why European migrants (from Italy, Britain, France and Poland) migrated to Berlin between 1980-2002. Given the focus of this thesis, it is important to mention that Verwiebe's sample did not include Polish migrants who migrated to Berlin in the post-accession period. Regardless, the findings from this quantitative study, conducted using a postal survey, demonstrate that intra-EU migrants can have a complex range of motivations including economic, non-economic, or a combination thereof to initially migrate to the destination country. This research did not explore the motivations of the migrants beyond their initial migration and can be viewed as an extension of Halfacree's (2004) work on migrant decision-making which focused on the non-economic aspects of migrant motivations and the capacity of the migrants to consider multiple reasons for migration.

Verwiebe's research on intra-EU migration, using migrants from several EU countries in the sample, has been updated focusing on these migrants integration plans in Ireland (Gilmartin & Migge, 2013). The findings from the study were organised into pathways focusing on integration but had similar findings to Verwiebe's work. However, the majority of the qualitative sample originally migrated for social and/or cultural reasons and, through the pathways, the authors considered the migrants' ability to integrate over time (Gilmartin & Migge, 2013). The findings also introduce social reasons for migration for the post-2004 Poles and more classic migration patterns for post-2004 Polish who migrate for family ties (Gilmartin & Migge, 2013). For the latter point regarding Poles and family ties, this finding could be seen as an extension of Kofman's work (2004) on the prevalence of family ties in the traditionally perceived economic motivations of EU migrants. In addition, White's work (2009) on Polish family strategies of migration calls into question the characteristics of Polish migrants as young, highly mobile, temporary workers. If 'the perception of migration as temporary is linked to an understanding of migration as economic' (Gilmartin & Migge, 2013, p. 4), then the economic rationality of the migration is questioned if the migration is not temporary. The temporary nature of the migrants is a theme that is discussed extensively throughout this chapter. In addition, a smaller study of three post-2004 Polish migrants in Belfast described the non-economic motivations of the migrants to initially migrate including the aim of increasing their cultural capital but the study is more exploratory in nature with weak assertions of a unique case study (Bell, 2012). The acquisition of cultural capital as a non-economic migrant motivation will be discussed next.

Cultural Capital as a Non-Economic Motivation to Migrate

In the economic motivations section above, human capital is referenced several times in relation to migrants who migrate to improve themselves in order to find better employment opportunities when they return migrate. 'Improving themselves' can mean simply working abroad to have that cultural experience or it could mean learning the native language amongst other examples. The main point of this acquisition of skills is to increase the chances of having better employment opportunities when they return through enhancing their human capital while they are away. However, some migrants opt to improve themselves in the aforementioned

ways without seeking the economic rewards. By doing so, these migrants are enhancing their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1997). According to Bourdieu, as cited in Vershinina, Barrett & Meyer, ‘cultural capital is not human capital because it does not directly support personal productivity’ (2011, pp.104).

Through possessing cultural capital, the migrant (particularly circular migrants) can easily move between their destination country and their country of origin, allowing them to fully be transnational. Cultural capital provides the foundation for this transition in understanding the cultural norms in the destination country, the lifestyle/cuisine of the average person and potentially some language skills that were acquired from total immersion (beyond the ethnic community) during previous migrations (Oliver & O’Reilly, 2010). These non-economic features provide the platform for continued migration which is less of a shock to the migrant with cultural capital. This concept can also be tied to a migrant’s identity through lifestyle migration and habitus which will be discussed further in the next section (Oliver & O’Reilly, 2010).

Migrant Identity as a Non-Economic Motivation to Migrate

As discussed in previous sections, the longer the migrant is in the receiving country the chances of expanding relationships beyond the co-ethnics increases. Looking at it from the migrant’s point of view, their identity may change due to integration with the native society and an increase in cultural capital. However, given the constant pull from the sending country, the migrant’s identity will be in a state of flux, neither fully removed from the sending country nor fully absorbed into the receiving country. To further complicate the matter, as the migrant in question is participating in intra-EU migration, the ‘EU citizen’ identity is also assigned. Taking this into account, can the migrant hold three identities- Polish citizen, Polish migrant in the UK, EU citizen-simultaneously?

In the economic motivations section (page 57) Parutis’ term ‘middling transnationalism’ was used to describe the paradox of high-skilled migrants taking low-skilled jobs; however, in this context, the ‘transnational’ characteristic of a migrant, particularly a circular migrant, is not fully explored (2011). ‘Transnational’ was also discussed in regards to social networks in the economic motivations section (page 54) and it is defined more precisely there in describing the migrant as having

two lives, one in the country of origin and one in the destination country (Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1992). Castles discusses the 'transnational turn' of migrants, where the migrant is integrated in the destination country, largely through social networks, but still maintains the national identity, largely through transnational networks (2009). This transnational turn is facilitated through the use of communications technology and social networks.

For a migrant to fully acquire this transnational identity, both social capital and cultural capital are needed. The social capital will assist with social network entry and the cultural capital will ease the transition between the country of origin and the destination country. These forms of capital are components of the transnational identity, but the lifestyle that having this capital brings can bring non-economic motivations through an alteration of social class based on the capital accrued through migrating. According to Bourdieu as cited in Oliver & O'Reilly, if adopting this transnational persona, the migrant who has advanced social status through the transnational identity would always retain certain traits based on memories of life in their previous social class (2010). This is discussed in Oliver & O'Reilly using the example of a middle-class student who starts University at an upper-class institution (2010). In socialising with upper class students and adopting the upper-class norms, the middle-class student will leave University with an enhanced social class position but the latent middle-class traits will still be present. For circular migrants, the constant remembrance of where they came from, no matter how much they achieve or alternatively how far they fall, will help their transition when returning to their country of origin; therefore, the accumulation of cultural capital (while remembering the cultural roots) can be a non-economic motivation to migrate.

The third identity that a Polish migrant in the UK can hold is that of an EU citizen. This identity is held by residents of the EU regardless of their migration status. However, as was discussed in the previous economic-based section, the EU citizen label was originally used to explain the free movement of labour to support the common economic market within the EU (Hanssen, 2000). Based on this use of a social label for economic means, intra-EU migrants are the main example of EU citizens due to their use of the open borders created by the EU. The issue that is not completely understood with this label until viewing it in a non-economic manner is what the EU citizen label means for the identity of the person using it to describe

themselves. Combining sometimes conflicting histories or national practices under one common social identity is difficult for the EU citizens to adopt as an identity due to historical biases, nationalism and, particularly for those intra-EU migrants that are striving to keep their sending country identity intact.

From these examples, the identity of the migrants participating in the intra-EU migration is seen to be an evolving concept. As this section introduced social capital and its non-economic attributes, this will be the focus of the next section.

Social Capital & Social Networks as a Non-Economic Motivation to Migrate

Social capital has been defined in several ways ranging from Fukuyama's 'shared norms or values that promote social cooperation, instantiated in actual social relationships' to Putnam's 'social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness' (Fukuyama 2002, pg. 27, Putnam, 2007, pp.137). Despite the apparent applicability of these definitions to migrants, both of them heavily rely on the exchange of social capital occurring locally such as in an exchange between neighbours (Putnam, 2007). At first glance, this assertion greatly hinders the use of social capital accrued transnationally through migrant groups that utilise circular migration patterns to live two lives. This is where the uses of social capital need to be specified. Social capital for migrants can revolve around the aforementioned transnational exchange; however, it can also be used, as described by Putnam, as a form of social currency amongst migrants in an ethnic community in the destination country as part of the social network (2007). This section will focus on the use of a migrant's social capital to gain entry into social networks and family networks.

In terms of the use of social capital in a transnational sense, this will be needed throughout the period of migration largely due to the circular migration patterns of this group and the inability of migrants to automatically make social capital bonds in the destination country (Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara, 2008). The strong ties associated with transnational social capital through family and close friends can be used to formulate weak ties in the destination country; however, the strength of the ties can change over time. For example, if Marek migrates to the UK, keeping in touch with his uncle Jude in Poland (strong ties), Jude can recommend that Marek talk to Kasia who Jude knows is in the UK. Kasia can then introduce Marek to Damien, Kamil, and Marc (weak ties). Marek then finds out that Kamil knows his brother who lives

in Warsaw near her family, the ties strengthen and Marek's social network, both transnational and local, extends. In this hypothetical situation, Marek would eventually extend his social capital beyond co-ethnics which would return home with him at the holidays, reinforcing his social capital in the country of origin. While this is a seemingly infinite list of contacts related through social capital in two social networks, this scenario cannot easily become reality for new migrants arriving in a new area due to the lack of social capital a migrant has in the country of origin and the general social attitudes, as described by Putnam, toward new migrants in the destination country (Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara, 2008, Putnam, 2007). Nevertheless, the dual nature of the networks the fictitious Marek was a part of are described further by Faist & Ozveren who highlight the differences between the transnational and local social networks in stating that the latter may be loose and informal, but the former, which they refer to as kinship networks, will be transient and long-lasting (2004).

Thus far, social capital in relation to social network entry has been reviewed along with the types of networks; but, how does this influence a migrant's motivation (non-economic) to migrate? Social networks can provide migrants with a cultural link to their country of origin, a source of recreation, information about the social issues in the area of settlement and emotional support (Boyd, 1989). The cultural link can be established through actual ties between individual migrants' networks to the country of origin or simply through the shared language and shared experience. The source of recreation can largely be related to the aforementioned cultural ties where migrants establish themselves within the community with co-ethnics prior to extending their social network to non-ethnics. In this capacity, the 'recreation' can involve following a sports team from the country of origin or making dinner for new, co-ethnic friends. The information about social issues can relate to where to register, if needed, to the migration scheme such as the WRS or, if available, where to seek a National Insurance Number. Alternatively, the social issues may be more personal, in which case the social network may be able to provide information about religious personnel or organisations that have native language –speaking advisors (eg. domestic violence). Lastly, the emotional support the network can provide can relate to the aforementioned social issues; but, it can be more than that due to a large number of people going through the same experience in terms of being homesick and

missing cultural norms. As Faist & Ozveren were cited above in comparing the bonds between family networks and the bonds between social networks, the latter bonds can be strengthened over time, particularly due to the fact that many of those in the loosely constructed social network will be going through the same migration experience simultaneously (2004). Nonetheless, the family networks are also significant, even if the social network becomes temporarily paramount due to the shared experiences of the migrants whilst in the destination country.

Family networks, or kinship networks, can exist for circular migrants in two distinct ways: as transnational networks where the migrant keeps in contact through telecommunications or through a network established in the destination country comprised of family members¹⁵ (Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara, 2008). The former has been discussed extensively in terms of social capital and how the family bonds remain strong despite the distance. The creation of the latter is discussed in Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara's study when noting the need for family networks in migrant society when a child is born in the destination country (2008). In this case, the immediate family that comprise the transnational family network migrated to the destination country to provide support for the new family. As it will be highlighted below in the return migration section where businesses and family are major pull motivations to settle in the destination country, this reliance on the family network can also be discussed in terms of ethnic entrepreneurship. The utilisation of the transnational family network in starting a business can be attributed to more than the aforementioned economic benefits. Through employing family members and engaging the family network in the destination country, the co-ethnic can share in the cultural familiarity, the work ethic, as well as the shared language making it a less stressful experience. Furthermore, the entrepreneur is actively increasing the social capital bonds not only amongst the family network but also the linkages between the family network and the local social network.

The Ethnic Economy as a Non-Economic Motivation to Migrate

The question of where the social network ends and the ethnic economy concept begins was discussed in the economic motivations section (page 55). The main point of having an ethnic economy is to make money for the ethnics involved in it through

¹⁵ This sounds like chain migration but all of the migrants may partake in circular migration at different times, ie. not a family trip, so I still consider it circular migration.

entrepreneurship endeavours based on the niche market that the ethnic community provides and to provide employment of co-ethnics. Despite this, there are additional, non-economic motivations, that can be assigned to the ethnic economy which, as Metykova (2007) states, is a way for migrants in a foreign country to construct familiarity (Burrell, 2010). Rabikowska & Burrell's research found that the ethnic economy was used by Poles in Britain to recreate the feeling of home (2009; Burrell, 2010). These non-economic aspects include: a place to use similar language, a place to find food from the country of origin and a place to catch up on events with co-ethnics.

The use of similar languages has cropped up several times in this section as a non-economic motivation for migrants. This is of particular importance when considering circular migrants who, if possible, will live in the destination country the same way in which they would live in their home country. This transnationalism includes using the same language at the grocery store, with friends and in the work place. While some co-ethnics may work at grocery store chains, the easiest way for a migrant to shop, relying on native language skills only, would be to use an ethnic business in the ethnic economy. In addition to using the shared language, the migrant is also able to find products from the country of origin within the ethnic economy. Furthermore, the migrant who utilises the firms in the ethnic economy can catch up on events from the destination country. This can be in the form of newspapers or general gossip. Given this scenario, the question then becomes: will migrants be motivated to utilise the ethnic economy even if the price of the goods exceeds the price in local supermarkets due to these non-economic features?

Given this account of a migrant's non-economic needs for the ethnic economy, the ethnic businesses are a paramount feature in the description. As described in the economic motivations section, ethnic entrepreneurship is largely based on the economic gains associated with self-employment. One major deviation from this is in regards to return migration. Due to the roots established within the community (both ethnic and non-ethnic) migrant entrepreneurs are less likely to return migrate than migrant workers (Ram & Phizacklea, 1995; Pollard, Latorre, & Sriskandarajah, 2008). In this sense, owning a business has the same effect that having children in the destination country has, it establishes the migrant and reduces the chances of

return migration (Ram & Phizacklea, 1995). This leads to the final discussion on return migration.

The Non-Economic Motivation to Stay in the Destination Country

The classic description of the Polish migrants in the UK in the post-2004 period, outlined in Chapter 1, characterised the Poles as short-term, economic migrants. While this characterisation may have been supported in the pre-2004 period as well as in the period immediately after the enlargement in 2004, the more current literature acknowledges that many of these migrants are staying in the destination country for a longer term than what they originally planned and their migration is not solely economic in nature. This section will briefly review the literature on non-economic migrant motivations to extend their stay in the destination country for longer than their short-term expectation.

Focusing first on non-EU migrations to Britain, Cwerner's (2001) work on Brazilian immigrants in London dissects the immigrants' time in the destination country to understand the connection between the immigrants' time and their social behaviour. Focusing on the sample's entire immigration period, Cwerner (2001) constructed frameworks at eight different points during the immigrants' time in London to understand how and why the immigrant is acting at a specific point. In this way, Cwerner's (2001) 'framework' is a trajectory of sorts for Brazilian immigrants which highlights how the immigrants time extends beyond their initial expected immigration period whilst in London, taking into account social networks, career progression and culture. While the connection Cwerner (2001) makes between the immigrants' social behaviour and their time in the destination country could be applicable to other immigrant or migrant groups in the UK, it should be noted that the Brazilian immigrants in his sample are different from intra-EU migrants mainly due to their immigration being controlled through visas and other legal conditions. As a result of the legal conditions of their immigration, Cwerner (2001) mentions that many of these immigrants marry UK nationals to gain citizenship. This single fact alone confuses the findings as the married couple would need to stay in the UK in the longer term to demonstrate a genuine union as the basis for the Brazilian's dual citizenship. Nonetheless, the constant interplay between the immigrants in London, their career prospects, their family and friends over time are all relevant to other immigrant and migrant groups.

As demonstrated, the length and use of migrants' time whilst in the destination country has been the focus of studies; however, the issue of short-term and long-term migration is particularly important for the Polish migrants entering the UK in the post-2004 period. The significance of the Polish migrant group lies in the number of migrants entering the UK, their characteristics of being young and well-educated, and their legal status. Initial work on Central & Eastern European (CEE) migrants that were in the UK prior to 2004 by Spencer, Ruhs, Anderson & Rogaly (2007) highlights the difference between how long the migrants anticipated staying in the destination country when initially migrating, or how long they think they will spend in the UK, and, how long the migrants actually spend in the destination country. Using both a survey and in depth interviews, the findings from this research demonstrate that once the A8 migrants had a legal status in the UK (May 2004) they were planning to stay longer than originally expected and into the long-term. However, of those migrants that contributed to the in depth interviews, many mentioned eventual return migration for familial reasons. The study is unique in its findings because of its large sample, and the impact of family ties on return migration. Whether these findings can be applied to A8 migrants, particularly Poles, who entered the UK post-2004 is unclear. The migrants in the sample studied by Spencer, Ruhs, Anderson & Rogaly (2007) were in the UK for the short-term pre-2004 due to visa restrictions and their change in legal status should be considered as a main reason for the A8 migrants in the sample to extend their stay. Based on the legal status of those A8 migrants who entered the UK post-2004, the findings regarding the familial ties may apply but the cause of the short-term to long-term stay of the migrants would not necessarily apply.

More specific to Polish migrants in the UK post-2004, Thompson (2010) discusses the migrant's decision to delay their return migration thereby extending their time in the destination country beyond their temporary nature. Through his work on Polish migrants in Wales, Thompson (2010) noticed a definitive social aspect when his migrants moved from being temporary to long-term migrants, despite their initial economic inclinations to migrate. While he mentions the initial economic motivations and the multiple factors that influence the migrants to overstay their expected time in the destination country, even during a recession, emphasis is placed on the 'in-the-moment' nature of the migrants who do not have any clear strategies

for their future plans (Thompson, 2010). This ‘migratory drift’ sheds considerable light on migrants’ motivations to change their temporary status due to family and organisations instead of being solely economic actors (Thompson, 2010).

Thompson’s work on Polish migrants in Wales where he connects the migrants actions to the migratory drift theme references the observations of birds who change course and construct temporary colonies (2010). Literature related to the concept of migratory drift in the social context includes the work on liquid migration (Engbersen, Snel, & Boom, 2010, Engbersen, Grabowska-Lusinska & Leerkes, 2011) concept, which was adapted from Bauman’s (2000) liquid modernity.

Bauman (2000) takes the principles of chemistry in regards to the different stages of fluids being liquid or solid and applies that to human behaviour arguing that ‘fluids neither fix space or bind time’ and, thus, fluid behaviour in individuals allows them to focus more on the temporal aspect and less on the spatial, location-based aspect (pp. 2). Bauman’s (2000) liquid modernity principle can be applied to a plethora of instances that constitute daily life including work, consumption and community.

Additional work extends the liquid modernity concept to migration explaining that the migration experience in an area with open borders is highly individual and often based on the migrants ‘trying their luck’ in the destination country thereby having indefinite future plans (Engbersen, Grabowska-Lusinska & Leerkes, 2011, pg. 3).

The migrants’ option of staying in the destination country longer than expected is one of the main points of the EU’s free movement of labour, where there is no penalty for staying longer than expected which is contrary to those foreign nationals entering the UK on a work permit or a student visa. In the same way that Bauman (2000) focused on the temporal over the spatial, the liquid migration literature cited above, through concentrating on migrants in the EU open border, can focus on the changing length of stay of the migrants without being distracted by their varying visa status in the destination country.

The Non-Economic Motivations to Return

Most migrants anticipate returning to their country of origin permanently. This could be decided before migrating or changed due to unforeseen events such as starting a business; however, the return aspect is a major part of migration. This return motivation has been well documented relating to the economic decline and other economic theories in the previous section. However, in attributing the return

migration solely to economic motivations, the previous section overlooked other factors that influence migrants returning to the country of origin, namely the role of sentiment and social networks. This section will review the non-economic factors that influence the migrant's return migration.

The ultimate decision to return migrate can be attributed to the pull the migrant has to reunite with family and friends in the country of origin. While the use of telecommunications to keep the transnational network open does work, particularly if the migration is for the short-term or very circular, this longing to return permanently indicates that these are sufficient short-term solutions that fail in the long-term (White & Ryan, 2008). This example takes into account the transnational network and the role of sentiment; however, the social network constructed in the destination country can also play a role in delaying the return migration.

Local social networks developed since the initial migration can also influence the migrant's decision to return to the country of origin. Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham's (2009) study of Polish migrants in Ireland during the recession notes that the motivations to migrate will not be the same as the motivations to return migrate. They acknowledge that the initial migration will be motivated by both economic and non-economic considerations; however, as time elapses, the issue of return migration is based more on social networks, in the non-economic sense, in the destination country (Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham, 2009). The social networks provide a base for migrants who feel 'acclimatised' to the destination country and as a result, even with the rising unemployment, they will not return migrate as a result of the recession (Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham 2009, pg. 8). This is supported by previous work which highlighted the lack of push/pull consideration in return migration and the emphasis on networks (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993, Waldinger & Lichter, 2003). However, it should also be mentioned that this argument can only be applied when the migrant spends substantial time in the destination country to nurture the ties with the social network. This research conducted on Poles in Ireland involved the same participants being interviewed several times during the course of the study, which could impact the findings due to their longer migration period and more established social networks.

Concluding Remarks & Research Questions

Throughout this chapter, the migrant's motivations have been discussed in terms of the economic and non-economic motivations they experience during the course of their migration period. The theories that were analysed demonstrated that migrant motivations can be complex; this complexity was further demonstrated through the dual nature of many of these theories which possessed both economic and non-economic features. Taking the Polish characteristics outlined in the Introduction to this chapter and the existing literature reviewed in this chapter, a set of research questions has been developed that will be explored through the sample of Poles in Cardiff collected for this thesis.

While some small scale research has used their findings to construct trajectories for Poles in the UK over time, none of these trajectories were informed by the migrants' motivations. In this way, this thesis, through constructing trajectories which highlight the dynamic nature of the Polish migrants' motivations over time, focuses on migrants' experience in the destination country as well as their future plans. Along with the other concepts introduced in this chapter, such as ethnic economy and social networks, migrant trajectories are deployed to address this major research question: How can we understand the actions and motivations of Polish migrants' who migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period?

More specifically, this thesis seeks to identify the ways in which trajectories can be used to explain the complex motivations of the post- 2004 Polish migrants over time through focusing on these subsidiary research questions:

- (1) What are the characteristics of the individuals who migrated from Poland to the UK in the post-2004 period?
- (2) What has motivated these individual migrants throughout their migration period?
- (3) Are there any patterns that these individuals exhibit when initially migrating or throughout their migration period?
- (4) What does it mean to migrate in search of a better life?
- (5) What makes these migrants stay in the UK?
- (6) What will happen next in their migration timeline?

- (7) All of the above may involve some reference to economic activity but particular care will be taken to find data to address the following:
- a. What can be learned about the individuals constructing an ethnic economy?
 - b. What can be learned about the individuals constructing social networks?
 - c. What can be learned about the patterns of individuals' activity in the labour market?
- (8) Are the existing methods used to distinguish between migrants in the labour market through typologies or trajectories sufficient?
- (9) Do any of the themes identified in the literature review ie. trajectories, social networks, sojourners, help to understand this heterogeneous group as individuals?

Through focusing on these research questions, this thesis seeks to identify the ways in which trajectories can be used to explain the complex motivations of the post-2004 Polish migrants over time. Instead of considering all migrants to have similar traits such as age and gender or similar motivations that are based on economic rationality, this thesis will demonstrate that not all migrants act in the same manner and do not all have the same demographics.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the research methods employed in completing the thesis and to discuss the analysis of these methods, including a critique that highlights the limitations of the methods and the larger study. This research was conducted using largely qualitative approaches with the subsidiary use of quantitative approaches for exploratory purposes. Through this chapter I will describe the methodology I devised, and the choices that I made throughout the fieldwork, to make a serious attempt to identify different types of migrant experiences.

The Poles of Cardiff, who migrated in the post-2004 period, composed the sample used for this thesis. The Polish community of Cardiff is young, yet well-established. This is potentially due to a small group of Poles who relocated to the area as a result of the Polish migration to London during the 1920's (Sword, 1996). The sample was studied using a range of methods. In total, four different research methods were employed to carry out the fieldwork during March 2007- February 2009, of which one of these methods was also utilised to conduct the follow-up fieldwork during August 2011-November 2011. Using the findings from these individual research methods in isolation is insufficient; however, when viewing the data derived from all four methods, there is a clearer representation of where the research overlaps itself and, in the best of cases, the main points are echoed in the responses captured using several methods.

This chapter will continue as follows. The next section will provide a brief review of the background to this thesis in terms of how I became interested in the subject. This will be followed by an overview of the research location, focusing on the characteristics of the region and the ability to attract economic migrants to the region. After this review, the sample used for this thesis will be discussed in relation to the other Polish migrant populations in South East Wales as well as the UK population of Poles. The following section will be a review of the methods used in the fieldwork including: the participant observation, semi-structured interviews, secondary source review and questionnaires. This section will end with the

discussion of the analysis of the data. The next section will have a critique of the methods focusing on the shortfalls such as interviewer bias and generalisation. The final section in this chapter will be a review of the ethical approval received and guidelines adhered to in the fieldwork.

Biography

The research questions, outlined in Chapter 2, have guided the research conducted in the thesis; however, the journey did not start with these research questions. I started my PhD research full-time at Nottingham University in 2005, focusing on the broad topic of Polish migrants in the UK (in the post-accession period) and trade union representation. After being offered a full-time research position in the School of Planning & Geography at Cardiff University (CU) in 2006, I transferred my research to the School of Social Sciences at CU and continued to work on the PhD on a part-time basis. I pursued the same, general line of research during the University transition. For autonomous reasons beyond my PhD research, I became a member of wait staff at a restaurant in the evenings. The restaurant was owned by two young, Polish migrants in a Cardiff suburb.

After a few shifts at the restaurant, I began to notice differences between the way the migrants ran the business to other service sector positions I held in the past. Simultaneously, I noticed an increase in the number of Polish shops, and services available to Poles¹⁶ in the area, arising in traditionally diverse areas of Cardiff. I began to informally make notes about these differences and changes and discuss them with the restaurant owners. At this time, I decided to alter the focus of my research from the rather vague ‘post-2004 Polish migrants in the UK and trade unions’ to ‘The motivations of Polish migrants in the UK in the post-2004 period’. From my original research into the 2004 transition policy for CEE migrants, I had background knowledge of the migration of Eastern Europeans to the area. Even though I could not speak Polish, access to the community was available through the restaurant owners, and later other actors in the Polish community, using them as the gatekeepers for the fieldwork. With this change of focus, the waitress position turned into the beginning of my fieldwork as an overt participant observation which will be

¹⁶ The local branch of HSBC, on Queen Street in Cardiff, and several other local banks, began to employ Polish workers and Polish signage that could cater to the increase of Polish customers.

discussed extensively below. The next section will highlight the city of Cardiff as a hub of diversity and discuss why it was chosen as the location for the research.

Poles in Cardiff?: Research Location Review

The research for this thesis was conducted in the capital of Wales, Cardiff.

According to the 2011 Census, the population of Wales is 3,063,800, of which 345,400 people live in Cardiff (ONS, 2013). Geographically, Cardiff is a coastal city situated in the South Wales area, approximately two hours from London.

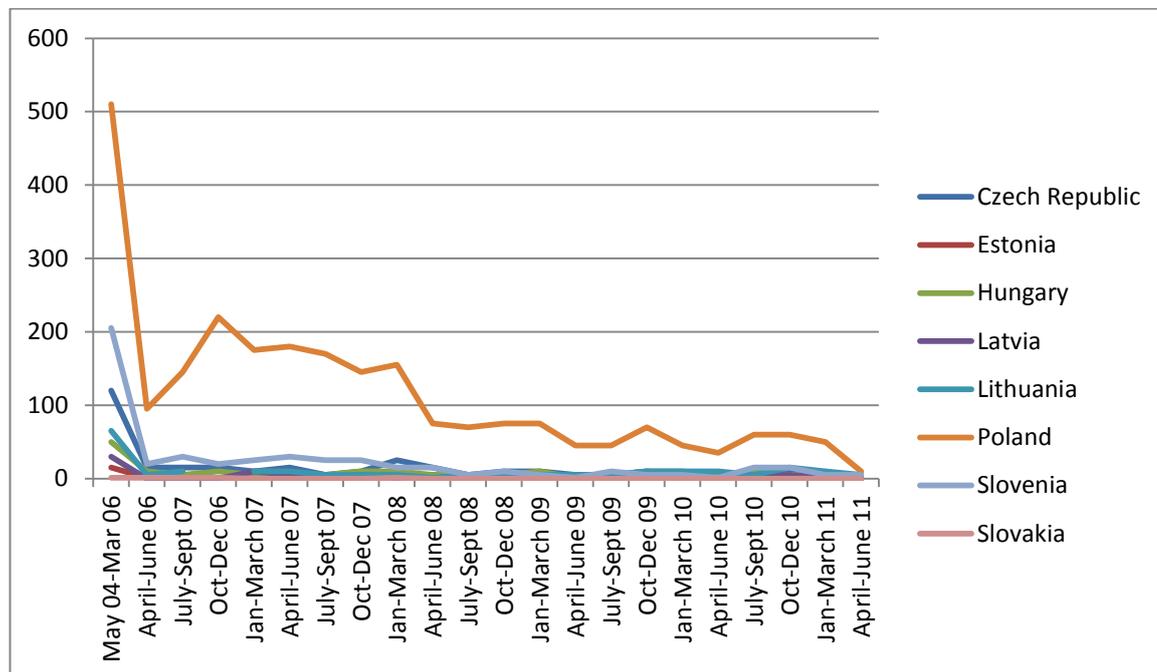
Economically, the main employee jobs in Cardiff (in 2008) are in the service sector (87.9%) which accounts for distribution, hotels & restaurants (20.4%); finance, IT, and other business activities (25.5%); and public admin, administration and health (30.9%) (ONS, 2013). Socially, Cardiff is a diverse city with an established history of migration due to the once prominent docklands area in Tiger Bay bringing inflows of migrants from popular port countries such as Somalia, Ireland, Spain & Portugal (Hooper & Punter, 2006). This inflow of migrants to port cities is common in other UK cities such as Liverpool, Bristol and London (Crawley, 2006). Equally, Cardiff continues to be the most ethnically diverse unitary authority in Wales (ONS, 2013). Through regenerative efforts, the Tiger Bay area is now known as Cardiff Bay, but the wider city still retains a diverse population as it is home to 111 different nationalities (Cardiff Council, 2008). Interestingly, Cardiff's economic growth, making it an EU Regional and Competitiveness zone from 2007-2013 (EU Commission, 2012), is concentrated in certain areas of the city with areas of high deprivation in other parts of the city such as Butetown (Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation, 2008).

The major migrant population in Cardiff, which has historic relevance due to the initial waves of migrants arriving in the late 1800s and early 1900s, are the Somalian migrants. As a result, Cardiff is home to the largest British born Somali population in the UK (Crawley, 2006). These migrants originally came to Cardiff to work and sent remittance payments home (Change Institute 2009: 24, BBC, 2008). It should be highlighted that these migrants were originally not refugees and could live and work in the UK without limitations due to Somalia's colonial status (Hammond, 2013; BBC, 2008). Due to war in Somalia, many of these migrants settled in Cardiff

in the long-term (Hammond, 2013;BBC, 2008). It should be noted that the Somalis migration status has now changed; incoming migrants, who are not completing a chain migration with existing family in the UK are being considered refugees (Welsh Refugee Council, 2008). It is estimated that between 4,000-10,000 Somalis live in Cardiff (The Guardian, 2006). The Somalian migrant population has constructed an ethnic community in the Butetown area of Cardiff, between Cardiff Bay and Cardiff City Centre. As demonstrated throughout the UK, this closed community has not sought to integrate with the wider population of Cardiff mainly due to lack of employment as a result of low English language skills (Hammond, 2013). A significant amount of research has been completed on this migrant group in Cardiff.

In comparison, from May 1, 2004- April 30, 2011, over 2,500 Poles migrated to Cardiff (WRS, 2011). See Table 3 for the inflow of these migrants to the Cardiff area, in comparison to the other A8 migrants.

Table 3: WRS Data for A8 Migrants in Cardiff Local Authority May 2004-April 2011



Source: Radcliffe, J., Welsh Rural Observatory (2013)

For the data used for Table 3 it is important to note two points. First, the May 2004-March 2006 data for Cardiff has been aggregated by the WRS. Second, the WRS finished in April 2011, but for consistency across the reporting period the data is

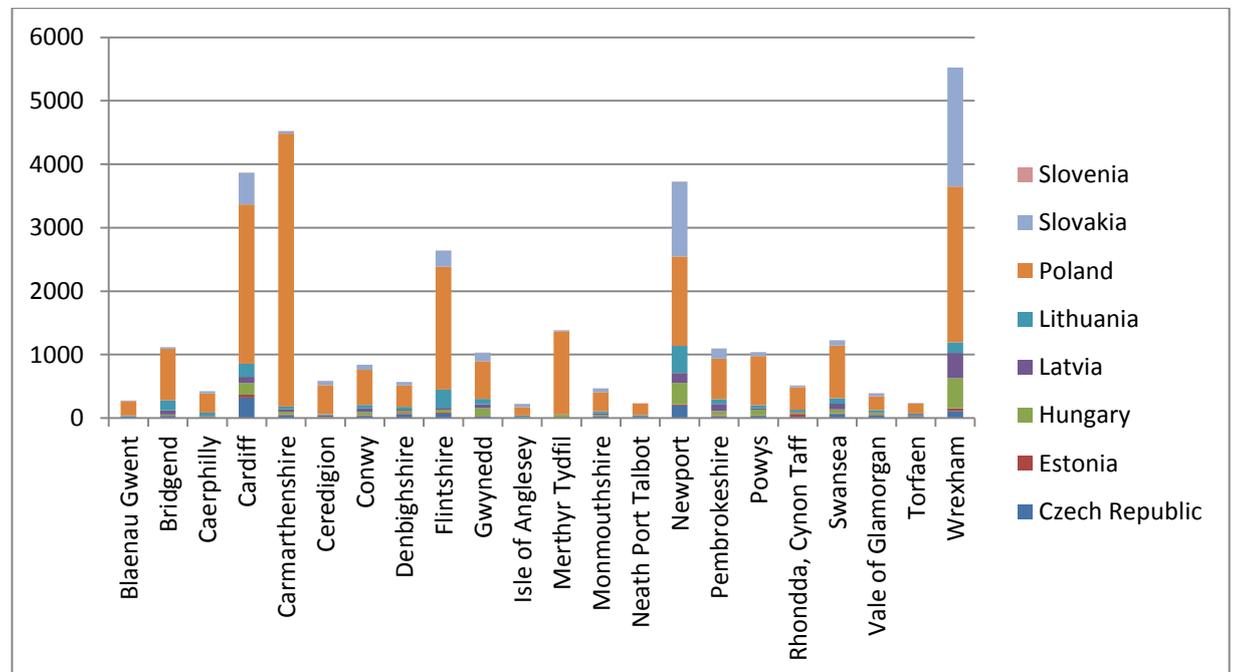
produced for the April-June 2011 period. The number of migrants entering during this final period is considerably less than in the other periods as only one month of this period was actually used for WRS intake. It could be argued that the migrants were aware of the end of the scheme and were failing to sign up thereby altering the periods' numbers. As a brief review of Table 3, similar to the UK level, the largest migrant group to enter Cardiff in comparison to the wider A8 migrant groups are the Poles. According to the WRS figures that were used to construct Table 3, the Poles entering Cardiff compose 65% of the total A8 migrants entering Cardiff during this period. Please see the Appendix for details regarding the limitations of the WRS data.

From the 2011 Census, Polish is now the most spoken language after English and Welsh in Wales (ONS, 2013). As a whole, these migrants exhibited similar characteristics to the Polish migrants at the UK level. It should be highlighted that there are no similarities between the type of migration completed by the Polish migrants currently living in Cardiff and the Somali migrants and refugees currently living in Cardiff. To further demonstrate the differences between these migrant groups, the Poles have sought to establish an ethnic economy and live in 'transient' areas of Cardiff characterised by: walking distance to city centre, diverse population, and short-term, less expensive housing rentals. This supports their highly mobile, short-term nature. Similar to Vershanina & Meyer's (2008) study in Leicester, the proximity to a Catholic church and Catholic school were also factors in Polish ethnic economy creation in Cardiff. While the Poles have an increased visibility within the Cardiff area through ethnic shops, a proven willingness to contribute to the economy of Cardiff, and an established ethnic community within the city, little academic research has been conducted on this group.

The decision to use Cardiff as the location for this research was based on my knowledge of the city, the size of the city, the lack of previous academic studies of this nature conducted there and the contacts I had established at an early stage that would help me to navigate the Polish community. There are other cities within Wales and within the wider UK that have a larger number of Polish migrants; however, ease of access to the community, other research of a similar nature being conducted, and interview exhaustion, were all considered in choosing Cardiff for the

fieldwork location. The information on A8 migrants in Wales illustrated in Table 4 highlights where Polish migrants are working and living in Wales.

Table 4: WRS Data for A8 Migrants in Wales at the Local Authority level
May 2004-April 2011



Source: Radcliffe, J., Welsh Rural Observatory (2013)

Using the WRS data, the local authority of Wrexham has received the highest number of A8 migrants during the WRS intake period (2004-2011). While Wrexham did receive a large number of Polish migrants during this period, the third highest in Wales, the high number of A8 migrants is attributed to the influx in non-Polish A8 migrants, namely Slovakian migrants that are underrepresented in other local authorities in Wales. Specifically focusing on Polish migrants, the Carmarthenshire local authority received the highest number of Poles within the WRS intake period. The local authority of Cardiff received the second highest number of Poles during this same period. Please see the Appendix for the explanation of the limitations to this data.

The Llanelli area West of Cardiff in the Carmarthenshire local authority has a sizable Polish community, including several Polish owned businesses. Llanelli has approximately 1,000 Poles but these numbers are vague with other sources

(Lawrence, 2009; Llanelli Star, 2009; BBC, 2006) citing more Poles living in both Llanelli and the wider Carmarthenshire area (Thompson, Chambers & Lukasz, 2010). Nonetheless, due to the smaller native population in Llanelli, approximately 40,000 people, the migrant population is more noticeable than in a larger city such as Cardiff (Thompson, Chambers & Lukasz, 2010; BBC, 2006). The noticeable increase in migrants has led to the media and academics renaming Llanelli under the Polish context 'Llaneski' (BBC, 2006; Thompson, Chambers & Lukasz, 2010). The noticeable increase in Poles in the Llanelli area is attributed to the large amount of agricultural work and factory style employment available in the rural areas surrounding the town, making it a desirable location for both temporary and long-term workers (Lawrence, 2009; BBC, 2006).

The other research being done in Llanelli was by The University of Glamorgan. Researchers at this university conducted a study examining the influx of Poles in Llanelli using semi-structured interviews and questionnaires (Thompson 2010; Thompson, Chambers & Lukasz, 2010). However, given the close knit nature of the Llanelli Polish community, the researcher was expected to speak fluent Polish as the University feared that many Poles would reject a researcher who could not speak their native language. In addition, there is the issue of interview exhaustion. Through working with the participants in Cardiff, and their basic understanding of the university research environment, several explained to me that a researcher had come from a university to interview them a few months ago and were eager to know if I could use that interview instead of interviewing them again (Jiomek conversation). Although I overcame this issue in Cardiff, due to my negligible level of access in another location such as Llanelli, I feel that I may have failed at recruiting participants elsewhere.

While I did not work with the Poles in Llanelli, the sample used for the University of Glamorgan study will be discussed next in relation to my sample from Cardiff due to the similarities and differences between these samples and the larger UK population of Poles.

Contextualising the Sample for the Thesis

This section will discuss how I acquired my sample in a broad sense as the connections between the migrants in the sample will be discussed extensively in the following sections in relation to the methods used. The Cardiff sample will also be contrasted against the aforementioned Llanelli sample of Poles as well as the UK sample of Poles attained from the LFS. The goal in comparing these unlike samples is to see if the characteristics of the migrants informing the samples - such as age, gender, marital status- are similar.

There are three important issues that need to be highlighted about the Cardiff sample. First, this qualitative sample is not statistically representative of the Polish population of Cardiff as described above. However, despite the size of the sample, efforts are made to generalise the findings so I can draw some conclusions which will be relevant to the wider literature and policy on Polish migrants in the UK. This will be further addressed in later sections and chapters. Second, the sample grew over time as a result of changing the methods used to collect the data. The sample always consisted of Polish migrants who migrated in the post-2004 period, but the sample size increased substantially from the participant observation through to the additional semi-structured interviews. This indirectly brings me to the third issue which was how the sample grew. Due to the limited access I would have had to the participant sample without the help of the gatekeepers, they were my main point of entry into the wider Polish community in Cardiff during both fieldwork periods.

Two different gatekeepers were used during the fieldwork for this thesis. The first gatekeeper, used from 2007-2008, was the Polish restaurant owner, Kinga, from where I did my participant observation and the second gatekeeper, used in 2011, was the University researcher, Igor, who helped me get in touch with the migrants working in a hotel in Cardiff Bay when other referral methods stalled. Igor's assistance in increasing the sample size in 2011 was aided by some of the participants from 2008 who were willing to be re-interviewed. Beyond those Poles that the gatekeepers could get me in touch with, the remaining sample was collected through referrals from existing participants or snowball sampling. This was a convenient way (opportunistic sample) to increase the number of respondents, especially since I do not speak Polish so the existing participants could assess the

questions and refer me to other Poles who had sufficient English language skills to also answer my questions. I do not view my lack of Polish language skills as a disadvantage when acquiring data for this thesis. Through my unique position as an immigrant to Britain, who would not exploit the participants trust to the rest of the Polish community due to a lack of shared language, I actually think that the participants divulged more information than a fellow Polish speaker, or a British person would receive. My positionality while completing this fieldwork will be discussed extensively in later sections of this chapter.

The qualitative sample used for this thesis was composed of 33 migrants with a total of 39 interviews due to 6 migrants being interviewed twice, first in 2008 and then followed up in 2011. There were 20 interviews completed in 2008 and 19 interviews completed in 2011. The characteristics of the migrants that inform this sample are as follows:

- Polish migrants who migrated post-2004,
- Average age of 25 years old,
- Slightly more females (20 females, 13 males),
- Mixed educational background ranging from some high school to postgraduate level,
- Varying levels of English skills at time of interview,
- Plan to stay in the UK for longer than what they originally expected (initially planned to be short-term migrants but stayed longer).

There are two comprehensive tables in the Appendix which display the individual migrant's details both in 2008 and 2011. Table 5 gives a brief overview of the main characteristics of the sample.

Table 5: Background Information of Cardiff Sample

		Background Information			
Polish Interviewee Employment Status		Male	Female	Average Age When Migrating	Higher Education*
	Polish Entrepreneur	5	5	26	4
	Co-Ethnic Worker	3	2	27	5
	Polish Worker in Non- Polish Business	5	13	23	16

*'Higher education' is considered an undergraduate degree or higher.

Where follow-up interviews were conducted in 2011, few of the patterns of variation in migrants' characteristics changed over time. For example, those migrants that were well-educated often went on to get advanced degrees in the UK while those migrants that had fewer qualifications did not pursue further education. Taking into account the characteristics of this qualitative sample, and the characteristics of the UK level Polish migrants identified in the Introduction to Chapter 2, there are significant differences in the way the migrants in this sample are acting in comparison to the larger UK population of Polish migrants.

According to the literature, the Polish migrants that migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period were young, single, well-educated and highly mobile (Home Office, 2006, Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008, Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006). The well-educated nature of the migrants is widely reported and researched as the 'migrant paradox' as despite this advanced education, these same migrants are commonly taking low-skilled employment when arriving in the UK (Parutis, 2011). All of the Polish migrant characteristics identified above are supported by the LFS data from 2011. The LFS findings from previous years are ambiguous due to problems with the questionnaire questions that were corrected for the 2011 survey. Nonetheless, the Polish migrant characteristics in the literature are supported by several sources working independently on the topic in the UK and further afield (Polish Statistics Office, 2012).

Before reviewing the LFS statistics for Polish migrants in the UK in 2011, listed in table 6, a brief review of the LFS will be provided. A similar review was provided in Chapter 1 for the WRS statistics. Both datasets are reviewed extensively, along with other migrant statistic datasets, in the Appendix. The LFS is a quarterly publication conducted by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and is set to collect data on households over time and their surrounding labour market. The questionnaire that informs the LFS dataset does not explicitly discuss migration in regards to migrant motivations; however, it does ask questions relating to nationality, country of birth, and time in the UK. While the LFS utilises internationally agreed upon standards, the main issue lies in the sampling error. For this thesis, the analysis of the 2011 LFS dataset was for exploratory purposes and is depicted in Table 6.

Table 6: 2011 LFS Demographic Statistics for Polish Migrants in the UK, the Rest of the A8 Migrants in the UK, and the Total Sample Collected for the Survey

	Poles		Rest of A8		LFS Total	
	N*	%**	N*	%**	N*	%**
April – June 2011						
<i>Sex</i>	777	0.8	367	0.4	105199	100
-Male	360	47.9	156	44.5	51653	49.3
-Female	417	52.1	211	55.5	53546	50.7
<i>Age[^]</i>	756	0.8	355	0.4	98129	93.7
-0-14	91	9.8	44	9.0	13278	11.3
-15-29	309	44.7	172	54.4	19571	20.1
-30-44	286	37.3	104	27.8	21457	20.4
-45-70+	70	8.2	35	8.7	43823	44.8
<i>Marital Status</i>	777	0.8	367	0.4	105199	100
-Single, Never Married	412	54.4	243	68.2	49064	46.1
-Married, Living With Spouse	300	37.9	81	22.1	42739	39.6
-Married, Separated from Spouse	25	3.1	12	2.6	2226	2.1
-Divorced	33	3.9	27	6.2	7115	6.7
-Widowed	4	0.3	4	0.9	3843	5.3
-Currently or Previously in Civil Partnership	3	0.4	N/A	N/A	212	0.2
<i>Education Level[^]</i>	652	0.6	303	0.3	66460	66.7
-Degree or Equivalent/ Higher Education [^]	197	31.2	70	23.6	20760	21.4
-A Level or Equiv. [^]	125	18.7	61	21.4	30667	30.7
-Other Qualifications	247	38.2	108	34.2	6802	6.8
-No Qualifications	80	11.3	60	19.2	7702	7.3
-Don't Know	3	0.6	4	1.4	529	0.5

*N = numbers of migrants in the sample using data from the LFS survey

**% = percentage of migrants in the sample using weighted data from the LFS survey

[^]Recoded Variables – Degree or Equivalent + Higher Education AND GSCE + GSC Equiv.

The statistics organised in Table 6 are based on the analysis of the 2011 LFS dataset for the April – June period. The Spring season was chosen for analysis as there is no substantial difference between this period and the other periods in 2011. The similarities between the data from this period and the other periods in 2011 were verified through additional SPSS analysis from the other quarters in 2011. The age and education level variables were recoded to improve the quality of the sample. A complete review of the variable manipulation and analysis can be found in the next section on the discussion of the methods.

While the LFS data presented above supports the existing literature regarding Polish migrant characteristics, the sample collected for this thesis is similar in regards to age, gender and year of migration. However, the LFS data, existing literature and my sample are dissimilar regarding other aspects, namely the well-educated nature of the migrant group as well as the migrants' expected length of stay in the UK. In addition, many of the migrants informing the sample for the thesis initially planned on migrating for the short-term but for varied reasons they have elongated their stay with ambiguous plans to return to Poland. The similarities between the samples will support further data analysis regarding these topics; but, having more highly educated migrants in the sample is also interesting as they have the potential to enhance the discussion on Polish migrants in the UK.

In contrast to these two samples, the sample for the Llanelli study was considerably larger than that used in this thesis with 114 Polish migrants being surveyed and 25 Polish migrants being interviewed. Most (63%) of the migrants in the sample were under 40, and the vast majority had no education beyond GCSE level (high school). Of those migrants in the sample, less than 10 noted that their English was 'good' at the time of interview (Thompson, 2010). In addition, the majority of the migrants in the Llanelli sample used a recruitment agency to migrate to the area and were working in a meat packing plant. As first highlighted in Chapter 2, this recruitment can be a way for chain migration to ensue amongst families or amongst towns through transplanting groups of workers from the same town in the country of origin to work in a factory in the destination country. In this way, the migrants in the Llanelli sample are not an isolated case, but their migration pattern does vary considerably to the migration pattern of Poles in the Cardiff sample. Compared to the aforementioned UK sample, this sample varies substantially on every issue. Compared to the sample used for this thesis, the main differences are the level of English spoken, the qualifications, the recruitment method, and the migrants only having one employer during their entire migration period. Therefore, this sample presents a third combination of Polish migrant characteristics in relation to the thesis sample and the Poles at the UK level. Instead of demonstrating a regional preference in South Wales to migrants that do not fit the UK characteristics, the Llanelli sample, in contrast to the other two samples, demonstrates the diversity of characteristics for

this migrant group and the variations amongst the otherwise considered homogeneous Polish population in the UK.

Now that the background of the research and the participants has been reviewed, the following sections will focus on the actual methods used to study the sample as well as the limitations of the methods, starting with a review of these methods.

Methods Employed during Fieldwork

This section will provide a review of each of the methods used throughout the course of this thesis. With the exception of the interviews which were carried out in two phases, the methods will be discussed in the order they were completed during the fieldwork periods in 2008 and 2011. Where possible, the contribution of the data collected to the thesis will also be highlighted as either exploratory or explanatory. In addition, there will be a brief review of the analysis completed on the data collected through each method.

Case Study: Ethnographic Participant Observation

The overt participant observation was the first method employed to collect data on the sample of Polish migrants outlined above. This phase of the fieldwork was dated from March 2007 - December 2007 and was for exploratory purposes, some of the quotes gathered from the observation are used in this thesis in regards to ethnic economy labour in Chapter 5. This section will explain how the participant observation method was chosen for this research and how I gathered the data during the fieldwork. The section below on limitations to the methodology will address any critiques of the method.

The ethnographic research, in the form of an overt participant observation, was carried out in a restaurant run by Polish migrants during the period of March 2007-December 2007. For the duration of the observation, I was a waitress within the restaurant on a voluntary basis. However, when I realised the potential contribution the experience of working for Polish entrepreneurs could make to the thesis, in gaining a deeper understanding of the Polish entrepreneurs' lifestyle whilst in the UK as well as access to the community, I realised the magnitude of this opportunity

in regards to my research. Through this experience, I hoped to gain further insight and contacts within the Polish community in Cardiff.

The owners were a Polish married couple in their late- twenties who lived above the restaurant with family members who worked in the restaurant as back of house staff due to their lack of English language skills. The front of house staff were English speaking but, due to the small size of the restaurant, I only worked with another waitress on one occasion for a Christmas party. Other times the female entrepreneur, Kinga, would assist me in the front-of-house as needed. Informed consent was provided by Kinga. As I was unable to communicate with the back-of-house staff and they were really not a part of the observation, in the same way that Kinga was, I did not get their consent nor were they informed that I was completing the participant observation. As Tedlock notes in Denzin and Lincoln, ethnography is the study of a culture while being immersed in the culture (2000). Likewise, participant observation embeds the researcher in whatever social system that is being studied (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). Through this form of research I was not only being accepted as their employee but also as an extension of their community.

The work was similar to any other waitressing job with the exception that I was constantly observing. For example, jars full of olives¹⁷ were no longer simply olives as they had come from the Polish store that the owners had to take several buses to get to even though the British supermarket easily within walking distance, stocked the exact same item for considerably less money. Upon inquiry, the owners told me that they know the olives are sold at stores closer to the restaurant but prefer to help out other Poles in the area and so they do not mind shopping slightly outside their local markets in order to do so (Participant Observation, 06/04/07). Other signs of community building were observed and noted; however, the negative aspects of migrant entrepreneurship were also recorded, focusing mainly on feared discrimination which forced the restaurant to cater solely to British customers, have English-only spoken by the front-of-house staff, and marketing itself as European instead of Polish.

¹⁷ The olives that are mentioned here were not specialty items. They were the exact same olives that can still be found in local, non-Polish, supermarkets.

Participant observation is based on the gathering of data through conversations and probing; the highly personal process of note-taking - either systematically or when the opportunity presents itself; and the special relationship between the immersed researcher and the subject (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The inability to follow the exact thought patterns of the researcher at the time of the note-taking, along with the relationship between the immersed researcher and the subjects is highly unique, leading to ambiguous methodologies for other researchers to follow (Delamont, 2007). In order to keep track of the data that I collected during the participant observation, a fieldwork diary was kept, using pseudonyms to protect the identities for all involved. To avoid researcher bias, I tried to record everything, ranging from the mundane details regarding the butter formation process to the more exciting details regarding their use of Polish in the back of house but not in the front of house. As I was an active member of the wait staff while completing the fieldwork, I was unable to keep the diary physically on me while at work. I recorded everything I could remember from the shift into the diary when I returned home after each shift. I did not attempt to bring the diary with me in my bag as even if there was down time at the restaurant, I would have felt uncomfortable writing about the participants in front of them. Since I took the position under the guise of a waitress and seemingly altered my role at the restaurant from a friend to an observer with their consent, I felt that any further abnormal interruptions would alienate me from the participants. Furthermore, any disruption to the service provided to customers would have reflected poorly on me, potentially risking the loss of my position thereby ending the participant observation.

The participant/observer relationship during the case study grew into a friendship. While there was never any editing of the notes done on this basis, acts of kindness extended from participant to observer were added where they may have been omitted or potentially not have happened at all had it been a different researcher. I do not believe these acts were a way to sway the research or staged for my benefit as discussed in Hammersley and Atkinson (1995); rather, they were gestures of friendship. However, even with this ethnographic fieldwork, which addressed both the consumer aspect as well as the business aspect of migration, it was only one case study. The level of community amongst people that shared a nationality but had no prior relationship was the catalyst for the second phase of this research that began in

2008 after the participant observation was completed; this took the form of semi-structured interviews. The participant observation notes were analysed using the NVIVO program. The analysis of this qualitative data alongside the interview data will be discussed at the end of the next section.

Semi-Structured Interviews

After completing the participant observation in late-2007, interviewing the wider Polish community was the next logical step in researching Polish migrant motivations in the Cardiff area. A brief overview of how I decided to portray myself to the participants, as well as how I decided to structure the questions will be discussed immediately below. In addition, this section will provide an overview of the interview process during both interview phases, which lasted from March 2008-September 2008 and from August 2011-November 2011. Due to this method being implemented in two phases, the first phase will be discussed at length leading to a discussion of the second phase.

Semi-structured interviews were used during both phases of interviews to allow a measure of control for the interviewer for three reasons. First, I wanted to have the option of sticking to the interview schedule if the participant started to get off track with their response while making the probing option available to access further information as needed (Bryman, 2008). In addition, the interview schedule was altered over time based on lessons learned during previous interviews, namely in terms of clarifying the questions. Second, since I work for the University as a researcher, yet I am also conducting this PhD research, I decided at the beginning of the fieldwork how I would identify myself to the participants: as a student who had worked in a Polish restaurant. I wanted to have a uniform response so there was no confusion amongst the group while suggesting that I had some external knowledge of the Polish community. While referring to myself as a student lowered the pressure placed on the participant, it was also to the benefit of the fieldwork which is supported by the literature. ‘There is some evidence that student interviewers produce larger response rates than non-students in the same way that higher status interviewers produce larger response effects than do lower-status interviewers’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.650). To carry on with the student title, I made myself available for interviews mid-day. While the research progressed, I may have been

hiding my academic work identity because I did not want the participants to think I was less than honest regarding my professional identity at the outset, yet I was not sure if they would understand that I was both a worker and a student.

The final reason for the interview control has more to do with managing the participants trust level during the interview. As I was acutely aware of the fact that the migrants were doing me a favour by partaking in this research and I was asking them questions that could be perceived as being sensitive in nature for this specific sample such as 'what was your motivation for migrating to the UK' or 'do you plan to return migrate', I did not ask more pressing questions regarding wages even though that may have helped my overall research on migrant motivations. This issue of interviewer concern for asking participants sensitive questions is highlighted by Britten (1995). Due to the development of the Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) technology to use when asking sensitive questions during interviews, this is often no longer an issue in the social sciences. However, as I did not have access to this technology, I was not prepared to diminish any rapport I had built with the participants through asking such a sensitive question. Taking these issues into account, the following section will review the actual steps that I took in gathering the interview data and the analysis of the qualitative data.

Interviews: Phase 1

During the 2008 period, I interviewed Polish entrepreneurs, Polish employees of the entrepreneurs and other Poles in the Cardiff area. In total, I interviewed 20 people. Please refer to the Appendix for further details of the participants. Pseudonyms were used for all of the semi-structured interview participants. Since there was a language difference, an interpreter was made available upon request; however, it was never requested. In addition, all of the interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewee. The ethical guidelines that were followed are outlined below.

When I actually started the interviews in March, Kinga, the Polish restaurant owner, was able to act as a gatekeeper by first allowing me to interview her and then putting me in touch with some of the other Polish entrepreneurs in the area. Beyond the initial introduction Kinga gave me, the individual entrepreneurs referred me to other Poles in the area as well. This snowball sampling was highly effective for gaining

interviews with co-ethnic workers in the ethnic economy as the entrepreneurs would give the workers some time off of the shop floor to meet with me (Bryman, 2008). To establish rapport with the participants I composed an introductory letter¹⁸ outlining my research aims, and explaining that I had worked in a Polish restaurant. Once the co-ethnic workers limit was reached, additional interviews, with the broader Polish public, were more difficult to attain as the entrepreneurs were unable to recommend anyone outside of their immediate circle of employees. They may have provided one or two names from the general public who were in their social network; however, the entrepreneurs took the stance that they did not want to inconvenience their customers by asking them to participate. As a result, the co-ethnic workers were used for referrals to their co-ethnic friends and family. This is how the majority of non-ethnic economy based Poles were sampled.

It should be noted here that the majority of interview participants referred to me were female. This was not sought after and was due to availability through the snowball sampling. The hidden reasons for this could be that the female participants felt comfortable speaking to another female or possibly the converse that a male participant would not feel comfortable speaking with a female interviewer. The issue of language is another matter with the possibility that more women speak English than men. Also, similar to their British counterparts, Polish people tend to gather in small groups but most likely these groups are based on gender (as noticed in the participant observation). In this context, if the past participants who refer their friends are women, the chances of the referral being a woman increases. Only one interview during the 2008 interview phase was achieved through an alternative sampling technique. The interview with Jakub occurred as a result of the questionnaires as he listed his contact details for further involvement in the fieldwork.

Interviews: Phase 2

During the 2011 period, I interviewed a combination of Polish entrepreneurs, co-ethnic workers and the Polish general public. In total during this period 19 interviews were completed. The decision to return to the field was initially due to the time it had taken me to complete this thesis on a part-time basis. I completed a

¹⁸ For those that received the letters, only one entrepreneur was not interested in being interviewed.

second round of semi-structured interviews with Polish migrants in 2011 to update my fieldwork. The group of migrants that were interviewed in this phase were a combination of new participants as well as follow-up interviews with participants from the 2008 interview intake. A more in depth description of the migrants that were interviewed in 2011 can be found in the Appendix. This section will provide an overview of the process of going back into the field after a considerable amount of time away and with significant events occurring, such as the recession, that may have had an impact on the Polish migrant sample.

The interviews in this phase of the fieldwork were structured in a similar fashion to the 2008 interview-based fieldwork. However, while similar demographic questions and motivation-based questions were asked, there were also questions asked about whether the recession had an impact on the migrant's decision to stay in the destination country or on their future plans. This was the only difference in regards to the interview schedule between 2008 and 2011. In addition, I continued to present myself as a student to the migrants as I would have found it difficult to explain why I was contacting the participants from 2008 to do follow-up interviews if I was no longer a student. As a result, I made contact with the participants in a similar way as in 2008, including: (1) contact the previous participants from 2008 to do follow-up interviews, (2) get referrals from the previous participants involved in the last phase (3) identify new Polish businesses in the area and contact them directly and (4) establish new gateways to enter the Polish community.

Of the previous participants contacted, six were willing to be re-interviewed in 2011 of which four of these migrants were ethnic entrepreneurs. While these entrepreneurs were willing to meet with me to update me on their time in the UK since 2008, there was a noticeable change both in the characteristics of their business as well as the time they had to meet with me. The changing characteristics, mainly a diversification to reach a wider market, are explained extensively in chapter 4. In regards to the time, when we initially met in 2008 the entrepreneurs seemed to have a lot of time to meet with me and, as mentioned, they were willing to refer me to their workers during work hours. During this second interview period they were less accommodating with both the co-ethnic worker referrals and their time, which could be a reflection of the current ethnic economy business climate. Nonetheless, at least one interview with Amelia, another ethnic entrepreneur was set up through referral

by Tomek. This was the only recommendation made by a ‘follow-up entrepreneur’. The two follow-up interviews that were not with ethnic entrepreneurs were with members of the Polish general public in Cardiff, Gabriela and Donata. These participants referred me to at least one other new participant to add to the overall sample number. Beyond using those participants that were previously interviewed, I also identified one new Polish business from a billboard in one of the Polish shops that was owned by two Polish entrepreneurs, Cyryl and Borys. Although not referred by Julia, these two entrepreneurs knew Julia and said that she had suggested that they put their details on the billboard in her shop. After this interview, I was noticeably running out of referrals and without a gatekeeper it was difficult to infiltrate another group of Poles outside of the ethnic economy but I was not close to the level of data I felt I needed to proceed with the thesis. As a result, I started to think of alternative methods of contacting potential participants, namely using my own personal network to establish contact with Poles. This is how I made contact with Igor who became a gatekeeper to the Poles who worked in a prominent hotel in Cardiff. Although the initial contact was established in a less orthodox manner in comparison to the rest of the qualitative sample, it was beneficial as several interviews were attained that increased the data for Polish migrants working outside of the ethnic economy.

Analysis of the Qualitative Data

The qualitative data –both participant observation notes and interview transcripts– was analysed using grounded theory. From the beginning of the fieldwork, there was a need to be clear about the approach that would be used for analysis of the data throughout the collection period. The qualitative data was in the form of a fieldwork diary, and interview transcripts¹⁹. Ideally, ‘grounded theory is grounded in the multiple layers of codes, conventions, structures and texts of everyday social life’ (Atkinson, 2005, pg.5). This approach is widely used as a well-constructed qualitative approach due to its flexible yet systematic strategy, organized approach to research, and its ability to solve the question of how to produce theory from research (Punch, 1998). This closed-circle type of analysis starts with a theory, collects data, codes data and renegotiates the theory within the context of the new data until all data is taken into account (Glaser & Strauss 1967). The thematic analysis relies on

¹⁹ The questionnaire would later be analysed using SPSS.

coding the data as it is received (Rapley, 2008). Taking into account Glaser's (1992) later warning to the proponents of the Strauss and Corbin variation when coding the data, I did not develop the categories rather I allowed the data to generate categories independent of researcher bias (as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Through using grounded theory, I was able to overcome the hurdles presented regarding the navigation of the research and the research topic itself.

This theory is not without its critics. The main arguments against using grounded theory, for the purposes of the thesis, lie in issues of time for analysis and context retention (Bryman 2001, Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). The first issue relating to the time for analysis is of particular importance due to the part-time nature of my PhD work. The argument being that 'genuine grounded theory analysis with its constant interplay of data collection and conceptualization' takes a substantial amount of time (Bryman, 2001, p.396). While time-consuming, this type of analysis proved worthwhile in both filtering the main themes and keeping the research questions at the forefront of the fieldwork. The second issue regarding context retention is highlighted as a flaw within the theory itself. The content analysis often requires the researcher to pull out chunks of data from the original text. The question then turns to how the researcher is manipulating the data, possibly taking it out of context and throwing a different light on it based on a snippet of information. When using these chunks of text, either as a quote or in reference, I have strived to keep the context and integrity of the original statement intact.

While the 'interactive' part of the research for the thesis started with the semi-structured interviews, the conceptualisation of the research started with the participant observation. In this capacity, I used the grounded theory principles described above to conduct content analysis in the form of thematic coding of my diary notes from the beginning of the fieldwork and built upon them, with the help of further reading of the literature and theory, when analysing the additional qualitative data. The overarching themes that ran through all of the qualitative research analysed (at that time), were then systematically reworked for the questionnaire questions. This was helpful in keeping the consistency of the ideas throughout which helped me to keep bringing the original research question into play after using several methods in the field.

While using Grounded Theory as the basis for analysis, the qualitative data was thematically coded based on categories that were derived from the text. The interview text was initially coded using traditional thematic coding methods and was later coded using NVIVO 2.0. The nodes used to code the transcripts- from the interviews and the participant observation- were generated from the data. This analysis was completed in three stages which, while time consuming, provided me with precise data focused on the migrants changing lifestyle during their migration period. This analysis was time consuming as I had to effectively review the qualitative data three times. As an example, the first time I reviewed the data I focused on coding general nodes of information that emerged from the data such as 'migrating to the UK'. During the second review of the data, I would narrow down the more general nodes as listed above to 'migrating to the UK-intra UK migration', 'migrating to the UK-social networks', 'migrating to the UK-economic' and so on. The third review of the data would, as needed, narrow down these secondary nodes even further such as 'migrating to the UK-social networks-family' or 'migrating to the UK-economic-Poland unemployment'. Through this extensive review of the data I was able to retain the context of the original quotes while focusing solely on the specific issues the migrants were discussing.

Questionnaires

Although this is a qualitative study of migrant motivations, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, subsidiary use of quantitative approaches occurred, namely questionnaires. Due to the qualitative emphasis, any data gathered as a result of the questionnaires was used solely for exploratory purposes. This section will provide an overview of the process of disseminating the questionnaires to the Polish public in Cardiff.

The general critique of quantitative approaches and the data gained from them is that they do not provide background information, are highly impersonal, and can be adjusted during analysis to provide varying results (Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2005). While there are other critiques, the aforementioned are of particular importance when discussing questionnaires. Nonetheless, there are positive attributes related to using questionnaires: large sample, anonymity for the participants, increased generalisability and increased validity in the results due to anonymity. Due to these

positive attributes, and my desire to collect data from a more representative sample of Poles in Cardiff, I chose to disseminate questionnaires to the wider Polish community in Cardiff.

Gabriela, who was interviewed first in 2008 and re-interviewed later in 2011, was also a major facilitator of the questionnaire dissemination in 2009 as she translated the questionnaire into Polish and helped me find suitable outlets for disseminating the questionnaire. I initially presented her with a questionnaire in September 2008 to get her advice about how well it would be received within the Polish community and if it could be translated into Polish. Gabriela accepted the opportunity to use her translation skills and translated it into Polish. The aim of the questionnaire was to get an idea of the basic demographic information from a more representative sample of Polish migrants in Cardiff including their average age, marital status, and hours worked. There was also the aim of attracting more interviews as the anonymous questionnaire respondents had the option of leaving their details on the questionnaire for further contact. Please see the Appendix for a copy of the questionnaire disseminated to the Poles in Cardiff.

Beyond the content of the questionnaire, Gabriela and I also discussed the sampling. Based on the number of Poles living in Cardiff at that time, approximately 1,800 (WRS, 2009), I planned to disseminate my questionnaire to 20% of the Polish population of Cardiff and would ideally have a 25% response rate. To meet this aim, I searched for feasible options for questionnaire dissemination that would allow me to get a high return from a specific sample: Polish migrants who migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period. As a result, I considered leaving the questionnaires in certain highly visible locations such as Catholic schools, which attract a number of Polish students/parents, or Polish shops. These locations were identified as places for this target group to visit from the information provided to me during the participant observation and the first phase of the semi-structured interviews. In addition, in examining how other researchers distributed questionnaires to ethnic communities, I considered contacting the potential respondents via phone, talking with them about the project and then sending them the questionnaire, as discussed in Wang (2004) when researching Chinese immigrants shopping preferences in Canada. However, this was not possible in this situation given my inability to find the phone

numbers of these newly arrived migrants as they would not have been registered in the phone book, as well as the potential language barrier. In addition, I considered advertising the study, and the need for participants, on a Polish based website in Cardiff. This sampling technique was taken from Wang & Lo's second study of Chinese immigrant shopping behaviour in Canada (2007). With this method, the same accessibility issues were raised taking into account the availability of the Internet to recent migrants, as well as the typical use of the website by new migrants as opposed to Poles considering migration. It would be more likely that Poles deciding to come to the area would use the website as opposed to Poles currently living in the area.

Implementing the original plan of disseminating the questionnaires via the Catholic School and the Polish shops, Gabriela, a parent of a student, put me in contact with the principal of a Catholic primary school in the area. The principal consented to the dissemination of the questionnaires on his premises, which had several Polish students. As a result, I was able to disseminate my questionnaire through the school. The sample aim at this stage was not the Polish students at the Catholic school; rather, it was the Polish parents of the children who often visited the school. The dissemination of the questionnaires began in October 2009 and I finished collecting them in December 2009. It was translated into Polish with an introductory cover sheet explaining who I was, the purpose of the research, and the voluntary nature of the research. Simultaneously, I distributed the questionnaire through the Polish shops in the Cardiff area. In total, I distributed the questionnaire to 265 Poles in Cardiff, with 75 people responding and two being interested in further contact for interviews. Due to the small sample size, the use of the questionnaire data was used for exploratory purposes and to acquire further interviews and not for explanatory purposes. As a result, the questionnaires were not analysed with statistical software.

Secondary Sources

While the WRS is the predominant method of monitoring A8 migrants in the UK because it was set up to complete the task, there are other forms of data that are equally available for analysis which may be more reliable than the WRS. The other data sources have been used for information on Polish migrants due to the shortfalls of the WRS as highlighted above and in the Appendix. For this thesis, the LFS has

been used as a secondary source of quantitative information and transformed and analysed using SPSS 18.0 software to provide information on the Poles currently living in the UK. This section will discuss the datasets used for analysis, the modifications made to the dataset and the type of analysis completed on the modified datasets.

LFS datasets were used as a secondary source in this thesis for three reasons: (1) due to the frequency of the survey being conducted, (2) the relatively large sample of A8 migrants that participate in the survey and (3) the type of survey questions asked regarding the participants' demographic information. The survey is conducted annually on a quarterly basis. The findings from the survey are published approximately one year after collection. The second reason to use the LFS statistics relates to the relatively large sample of A8 migrants, when the data is weighted, that can be tested. The surveying technique employed by the Office of National Statistics (ONS) where a surveyor stops by the same household approximately five times to gather information is often faulted in relation to collecting information on migrants due to their propensity to move frequently²⁰; however, the sample size is sufficient for the analysis purposes in this thesis. In addition, when weighted, the LFS data is comparable to other national datasets such as the WRS. Furthermore, in comparison to the WRS data, the LFS data overcomes many sample size shortfalls by providing more robust information on the respondents. This point ties in with the third reason for using the LFS dataset, which is the level of information provided through the dataset. While the dataset does not provide information on the migrant's motivations, it does provide information regarding education level, age, gender and marital status which is needed when analyzing the existing literature on A8 migrants in relation to the statistics.

The LFS datasets were modified prior to the SPSS analysis, using the SPSS 18.0 software. These modifications changed what was available online in the LFS dataset to what was actually used in the data analysis for this thesis. There were two types of modifications made: (1) transforming variables and (2) recoding variables. The variables that were transformed included 'nationality' and 'nationality other'. This transformation was completed to isolate the post-2004 Polish migrants from the

²⁰ There are other limitations to using LFS data which are further explained in the Appendix.

sample as well as the 'rest of the A8' migrants, excluding the Poles, from the sample. The variables that were recoded included the 'age bands' and the 'highest education level'. The recoding was largely completed to strengthen the findings by increasing the response rate in each column and the recoding did not compromise the integrity of each category. After these modifications were made, cross tabulations were run, using both weighted and un-weighted data, with the results presented in Table 6 and in the Appendix. More complicated tests were not completed as the cross tabulations provided sufficient information, in relation to the existing literature.

Limitations of the fieldwork

This critique will focus on the limitations of the individual methods used as outlined above. The limitations of the methods include, but are not limited to: generalisability, interviewer bias, validity and access to participants. Where possible, specific examples of these limitations that arise from the fieldwork will be referenced.

Generalisability

Due to the traditionally smaller sample size accessed when using qualitative methods, researchers are often cited for errantly generalising their findings to a larger group of people by considering their sample to be representative of the larger population (Hume, as cited in Campbell & Stanley, 1963). However, by discounting any qualitative research findings gained from relatively small samples as specific cases that cannot be generalised, the field of sociology is inherently limited. Due to this contradiction, the issue of generalising findings from qualitative studies with small samples has been the focus of extensive sociological research over time (McGrath, 1982; Firestone, 1993; Payne & Williams, 2005). The Payne & Williams (2005) research establishes various conditions which allow qualitative data that is not statistically representative, similar to my data, to be generalised, with specific limits, including: time periods, estimations, specific patterns or tendencies, and the subject area. As a result, where some social scientists may consider the findings from a participant observation in a Polish restaurant and interviews with 33 people one, unique case, other academics provide the platform for applying these findings to a larger group as long as the caveats are adhered to.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, there are some discrepancies between both the characteristics of this sample and the characteristics from other samples of Poles in nearby locations as well as the characteristics of Poles at the UK-wide level.

However, through establishing specific limits, the data acquired from the qualitative sample used in this fieldwork could be generalised, particularly if focusing on the following:

- Polish migrants who migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period;
- Polish migrants who have stayed in the destination country longer than they originally expected.

Through focusing on Polish migrants as *subjects* who migrated at a specific *time* and that, in the broadest manner, contribute to a *pattern* of behaviour through migrating to the UK and overstaying their expected length of stay in the destination country, three of the caveats set forth in Payne & Williams' (2005) work have been established. Through focusing on the Polish migrants in this broad sense (macro-level), it allows for the discrepancies at the individual level (micro-level) to be considered as basic heterogeneous characteristics of the macro-level sample as opposed to barriers to generalisation. Furthermore, through establishing a trend, nationality, and a timeline of events, I am not trying to generalise this data to other migrant groups residing in the UK as reviewed in Chapter 1.

The following findings chapters –chapters 4, 5 & 6- will use the qualitative data acquired through this fieldwork to construct trajectories. Through creating these trajectories from the data, the caveats to the sample mentioned here will be further refined. As an update to this section, Chapter 8 will focus on how the trajectories constructed from the findings of this study can be generalised to the wider population of Poles at the UK level and its implications for migrant-related policy at the UK and supranational level. Nonetheless, there are other limitations to using qualitative methods beyond generalisability of the findings, such as validity. This limitation will be discussed next in relation to the interviews conducted for this fieldwork after a brief discussion on how the type of interviews conducted were chosen.

Choosing an Interview Type

There are inherent problems pertaining to all forms of qualitative interviewing, largely dealing with the temporary relationship between the interviewer and the participant. These problems fall into three categories: trust, control, and expectations (Bryman, 2008). First, even before the interview begins, the issue of trust has to be present in the consent forms signed by the participants which explain the purpose of the interview and the use of the data collected. During the interview, the participant needs to further extend their trust when answering sometimes sensitive questions. After the interview, the interviewer is left to trust the participant and take their explanation of the events discussed at face-value. Second, the interview can be an inherently tense situation which should award control to the participants as well as the interviewer. The control on the part of the interviewer is present in the wording of the questions which progress in a logical manner or in the location of the interview. Alternatively, the participant can also control the interview which can lead to time-consuming, but not necessarily meaningful data. Lastly, the expectations of both parties involved can lead to a misrepresentation of the data. The participants may provide you with the answer they think you want to hear as opposed to the truth. On the other hand, if the majority of the participants are uniform in their answers and there is one outlier, the interviewer may lead the participant to the expected answer.

I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews because I felt that they awarded me a modest amount of control through the use of questions in the interview schedule and the option of probing with follow-up questions. This was my main incentive for choosing this type of interview style over unstructured interviews and narrative interviews, especially because of the language barrier. The language barrier was considered when choosing semi-structured interviews because the less passive role of the interviewer is more predominant than in the aforementioned interview styles which would allow me further guidance over the interview. In addition, because this was the first largely interactive method I was using for the thesis, I did not have any expectations for the interviews, beyond what will be discussed below, as this was the baseline data I needed to further the research. In terms of the participants meeting my expectations, due to the varying responses I've received, and the use of questions specifically structured to be neutral, this was not a problem.

I was able to gain insight into Polish entrepreneurs, co-ethnic workers, and the Polish general public in Cardiff through these interviews. However, there was no way to verify the responses of the participants. The question of the truthfulness of the participants' responses is a limitation to conducting interviews, particularly given the short-term meeting of interviewer and participant, known as validity. Validity is a problem in the wider qualitative research forum, as researchers are using the word of participants who may not necessarily be telling the truth to inform their findings.

Reflexivity, Positionality & Interviewer Bias

Qualitative research is highly reliant on the researcher as the instrument for data collection and reflexivity arises due to the subject/observer relationship that is structured throughout the course of the research alongside the preconceived notions of all involved (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Aligning the researcher's demographics to closely match the participant's demographics could lead to an increased response during the course of the qualitative data collection. For example, a female domestic abuse victim of Indian descent may be more inclined to discuss issues relating to her abuse with a female researcher of Indian descent. However, in aligning these demographics to achieve a better response, the problem then lies in the ability of future researchers to reproduce the same results due to factors outside of the researcher's control such as gender, race, etc. Taking this warning into account, and using the previous example, would a future male researcher be able to have the same access and receive the same reception with the same sample as a female researcher - probably not.

Reflexivity is not limited to the above example where there is an obvious gender/race issue that may disable the reproduction of results. While interviewing and being an 'active analyst', personal biases and preconceptions can come into play that can affect the research (Bryman, 2008). Even body language can influence the participant and the interviewer. Based on this, reflexivity issues, which can be completely inadvertent, may have arisen in three distinct ways during the fieldwork for this thesis which should be addressed: (1) I am an immigrant living in the UK interviewing migrants also living in the UK, (2) I am not Polish and do not speak the Polish language and (3) the UK level migrant profile, where all of the migrants were

characterised as being economic actors, played a prominent role in the early stages of data collection, namely interview phase one. The first and second points about the migrant status, nationality and language usage will be discussed in relation to the positionality of the researcher and the third point about the economic emphasis originally driving the research will be discussed in relation to interviewer bias.

As described in Merriam, Ntseane, Lee, Kee, Johnson-Bailey & Muhamad, (2000), the positionality of the researcher can be based on class, race, gender, or colour. This could create a favourable atmosphere for the researcher who is attempting to get the most information from the participant as possible, while equally contributing to a problematic process in replicating the results for further researchers, similar to reflexivity. Positionality is brought to the forefront in this research through my migrant status in the UK and it will be addressed through five situations. First, although there were some British people that worked at the Polish restaurant (I did not work with them), I may have been hired as my migrant status inadvertently ‘pulled at the heart strings’ of my migrant employer. Second, the very basic idea for this research, that I noticed differences in this service-sector position as opposed to other service sector positions, is based on my experience in past positions, both in Britain and abroad. If the restaurant job had been my first waitressing job I may not have noticed the differences, based on my previous experiences, which lead to the narrowing of my research. Third, when I first migrated to the UK, I used British supermarkets but actively sought out places to purchase American goods. It was not for everyday use but it helped me feel less homesick. Through this experience, I can empathise more fully with the interviewees regarding their use of the ethnic economy.

Fourth, while I did not intentionally inject my biases into the research there may be a clear difference in the way a Polish migrant would answer questions coming from me, an American immigrant, as opposed to a British interviewer or even a fellow Pole (migrant or otherwise). The participants openness with me in comparison to a British interviewer could be due to fear of insulting the native interviewer or simply the fact that the participant may feel that it is easier to tell me things as I might have experienced similar encounters while living in Cardiff. Nonetheless, while I can relate to the ‘migrant experience’ -being away from familiar people, products and

customs- there were some aspects of the Polish migrants' experience, particularly dealing with the participants WRS registration, that I was not privy to as I had to navigate the UK visa system. Interestingly, I think that the participants were also more forthcoming with me than they would be with an interviewer who shared their nationality ie. I am not Polish or shared their native language. This is supported by the migrants never wanting to use a translator as they were concerned about their anonymity in the Polish migrant community²¹. This distrust with the translator was not necessarily because of the shared ethnicity; rather, it was because they were concerned that the translator, as part of the larger Polish community, could leak their responses and potentially ruin the participants' rapport with fellow Poles in the Cardiff Polish community. As the participants viewed me as an outsider to the community due to my lack of language and my nationality, they were open in their responses. While my lack of Polish language skills may have reduced my overall sample size, I believe that because of these aforementioned reasons, I was able to get much more information from the participants who were involved in this fieldwork.

Finally, as cited in Shelley, and echoed in Currie, migrants often work in lower paid jobs in the UK (based on the UK national average) as they recall how much less money they would get doing the same job at home (2007). While I have not purposely injected this notion into my research, I can relate to this statement in every regard through seeking low-skilled, short-term employment when I first immigrated to Cardiff. Based on all of these aforementioned instances, it might be difficult for a fellow researcher to get the same responses from the sample as I did. Beyond my positionality in the research, in hindsight, there was also interviewer bias which will be discussed next.

When describing the role of the interviewer as an 'active analyst' above, it is noted that the preconceptions and biases of the researcher can affect the research which may be the case with the research conducted for this thesis. From the start of the thesis until approximately 2010/2011, I was very focussed on the characteristics of the post-2004 Polish migrants, particularly their economic motivations to migrate.

²¹ This concern amongst the participants regarding their involvement in this fieldwork and their rapport within the wider Polish community was the reason that other qualitative methods such as focus groups were not used.

The interview questions were objective when asking the participants about their motivations for migrating and their motivations during the course of their migration. However, my concern is that since I wanted the response to be economically-based, my body language or tone may have lead the participants to respond with the answer I wanted to hear. Interestingly, I only really noticed my preference for economic responses in early 2011 when I was considering going back into the field. While I did not change the interview questions due to their objective nature, I was more conscientious about any subtle cues I may have been giving the participants during the interview. Either coincidentally, due to the corrections mentioned, or because there were more migrants with non-economic motivations, the 2011 data provided non-economic motivations that were not present in the 2008 data.

Access to Participants

The access to participants that I felt I would have through my participant observation and the gatekeepers I had met within the Polish community were the main reasons I chose this topic. Unfortunately, an increasing number of obstacles, namely lack of Polish language skills, that I encountered provided me with a smaller sample size of Polish migrants than what I originally expected.

As already noted, there were issues relating to access to interview participants due to the language barrier. An attempt to overcome this barrier was made through the construction and dissemination of questionnaires. However, the questionnaires that were translated into Polish were disseminated with a similar result ie. a low response. Clearly, the low response rate for the questionnaires could not be attributed to the language barrier nor could it be attributed to the perceived lack of anonymity of the participants as the questionnaires only asked for personal information from volunteers. Despite these setbacks, future participants were approached at specific places known to be central to the Polish community in Cardiff. While this did not increase the sample size, the process of acquiring further participants will be reviewed here to demonstrate that all opportunities to increase the sample size were exhausted. The three approaches used to increase the sample size were: make contact with the Polish House on Newport Road, contact the Polish Student's Association at Cardiff University and discuss further areas to be pursued with the existing participants, namely Gabriela.

The Polish House on Newport Road in Cardiff is a meeting place for Poles that was created sometime in the late-1970s by Polish migrants living in the area post-World War II. The main function of the house is a gathering spot where people can share in common Polish foods, and language; however, with the influx of Polish migrants in 2004, it has also been the location for information days for new migrants, as well as a place to vote. After hearing about the Polish House from several interview respondents in mid-2008, I tried to find out more information through either Polish friends, further interview sources, or by simply calling them. The impression that I got was that the majority of people who went there were most likely not economic migrants from the 2004 migration but rather older Poles who migrated post-WWII who were still hoping to speak the language occasionally. I had planned to go for an open day in October 2008 to disseminate the questionnaire and see if I could make further contacts, with the help of the translator. The event was cancelled due to the weather and, to my knowledge, not rescheduled. I was given an email address for a supposed Polish House contact that may be able to disseminate my questionnaire at some later date, if only at an informal gathering. The person responded via email, questionnaires were sent, and I never heard anything back from him.

Due to the continuous problems associated with the language barrier, I decided to approach students in the Polish Student's Association at Cardiff University. The logic was that if these students were able to enrol at the University then there would not be a language barrier to overcome. In addition, as fellow students, I was hoping they would empathise with my situation and allow me to interview them or at the very least give them the questionnaire. Initially, I attempted contact through both email and phone calls. However, I did not receive any response from either method of contact. As a result, I was forced to review my notes from the existing participants to see if any of them mentioned another group of Polish migrants within Cardiff that I could access.

The review of the existing 2008 interview data lead me to Gabriela. In the transcripts in 2008, Gabriela mentioned that she knew some migrants who had lived in Cardiff and moved to the suburbs because they had children. She was reluctant to introduce me to them for the purposes of the research as the migrants were a group

of women whose English was at an insufficient level to be interviewed. However, in 2011, after interviewing Gabriela a second time, I brought up the group of women to see if they would be available to be interviewed as an addition to the sample.

Gabriela was initially interested in setting up the meeting which would be a 'co-interview' of sorts as Gabriela was working on her postgraduate degree in translation during the second interview period and she would come to my interview and act as a translator as needed. After discussing the details at length, Gabriela said she would contact the women about setting up a time for the interview. The women responded that they were not interested in being interviewed by me but Gabriela, as their friend, could interview them. Due to the lack of trust by the participants and my lack of confidence in having Gabriela conduct the interviews on my behalf, the interviews did not occur.

There are three main points that I learned from this experience. First, the access to these migrants had less to do with their language capacity and more to do with their trust in me. They trusted Gabriela who shared their language and their culture but they did not trust me, even if Gabriela was present as a translator. Second, these migrants would have been an interesting case within the larger study as it would be quite difficult, beyond living in a very small, completely Polish community, to live in rural South Wales without having any English-language skills. Third, and related to the second point, this migrant group would have also been an interesting case within the study due to the time that passed (2008-2011) and their reluctance or inability to integrate with the wider, diverse population, as noticed through their lack of English language skills.

From the above examples, I attempted to counteract the initial language barrier that was a limitation to the access to participants. Despite my creative approaches to gather further participants both in 2008 and 2011, I was unable to do so.

Ethics

Accompanying the need for transparency in all research is the need for the research to be ethically sound. While past research has produced exemplary results and insight into the human psyche and the sociology of human nature through the covert

studies, there are now extensive measures in place to protect the institution, the participant, and the researcher (Marzano, 2007). In particular, qualitative research is heavily scrutinised in the ethical spectrum because of the amount of control inherited by the researcher. The ability to deceive, by a discreet lie to fit in with the participants you are observing or by covertly observing a typically confidential situation, draws concern that may not be present in quantitative research (Marzano, 2007).

This research adhered to the ethical standards set forth by Cardiff University established by the British Sociological Association. In order to protect the participants, which were categorised as a vulnerable group due to the potential language barrier, informed consent was obtained from each person involved in the qualitative research, meaning those who participated in the participant observation or the semi-structured interviews. For the thesis, pseudonyms were used. The questionnaire was completely anonymous and included a cover letter regarding the purpose of the study. Due to the small, close-knit nature of the Polish community in Cardiff, there were problems revolving around the anonymity of the Polish shops, as well as the participants from the Polish shops. It was not an issue with the participant observation, mainly due to the closure of the restaurant and the subsequent departure of their staff. However, for the entrepreneurs at the Polish stores in town, it was difficult to maintain their anonymity when interviewing others in the field.

Conclusion

This chapter has explained the methodological approach used in this thesis, the methods used to gather the data, the analysis of the data as well as the limitations of both the methods and the researcher in collecting the data. Taking into account the review of the qualitative approach in this Chapter, in contrast to the research questions posed at the end of Chapter 2, I think that the correct approach was chosen for research of this kind. The success of this approach is further supported by the lack of usable data acquired through the quantitative research of Polish migrants in Cardiff. This section will provide a brief review of the main points in this chapter as well as an introduction to what will follow in Chapter 4.

There are four main issues that have arisen in relation to the sample throughout the fieldwork. First, there are dissimilarities amongst the samples including other Polish migrant samples in the UK, both at the national and local level. This will be a major point of discussion throughout the remainder of the thesis in regards to the homogeneity of the Polish migrants that came to the UK in the post-2004 period. Second, the bias of the researcher, which largely focused on economically-based intentions during the 2008 period, should be considered by the reader. This predisposition was noticed and seemingly corrected when re-entering the field to conduct further interviews in 2011; however, the economic emphasis, and the alteration in 2011, could have had other, unintended consequences during the second data collection period as well as the writing up period. The third issue, common in qualitative studies, is the issue of generalisability of the data given the relatively small sample used in the fieldwork. Through defining the specific group that this data could relate to, the findings may be able to be generalised to the wider Polish population of either Cardiff, Wales or the UK. This will be discussed extensively in Chapter 8. Fourth, it would be extremely difficult for another researcher to replicate this study based on the attributes of the researcher as well as the research methods employed for this study.

The following chapter will build on this chapter by outlining the findings generated from this fieldwork. Using patterns that emerged from the data, the findings from the fieldwork will be broken down into three chapters: the Polish migrants in the ethnic economy of Cardiff, the Polish migrants in the non-ethnic economy of Cardiff and the social aspects of migration.

Chapter 4: The Economic Motivations of the Polish Migrants in the Ethnic Economy

Introduction

The sample outlined in the methodology chapter will be analysed in this chapter, focusing on the economic motivations of the migrants involved in the Polish ethnic economy in Cardiff. The migrants' daily interaction with the ethnic economy of Cardiff separates this migrant group from the migrants discussed in Chapter 5. The migrants discussed in both chapters utilise the ethnic economy as well as the wider economy in Cardiff in their daily lives; however, the division of the sample for these chapters is based on the migrants' employment as opposed to their use of both types of economies. While the migrants in the other chapter may have used the ethnic economy in Cardiff, the migrants discussed in this chapter comprise the ethnic economy as ethnic entrepreneurs or co-ethnic employees. The actions of the migrants, ranging from their initial motivation to migrate to the UK to where they are employed, will be explained through trajectories based on patterns found in the data. The migrant trajectories use the varied economic motivations of migrants over time starting with the migrant's decision to leave Poland and ending with the migrant's decision to stay in the UK. Themes that will be highlighted in each of the migrant trajectories include: labour market progression, the role of language/skills and the strength of the economies in the UK and Poland.

The economic nature of these motivations will be considered in the broadest sense possible. The data will suggest that migrants initially came to the UK due to the low 'cost' of migration, relying heavily upon their social networks, and contribute to the wider ethnic economy. After having several jobs that were low-skilled the migrants decided to stay in the UK due to a number of economically motivated, and sometimes ambiguous, reasons. While focusing on the migrants' motivations and experiences from the initial migration to the future plans of the migrant, the trajectory titles are based on the employment status of the migrants. The employment status of the migrant is the main difference between the ethnic entrepreneur and the co-ethnic employee, as much of the migrant's lifestyle prior to this type of employment was similar.

The chapter will continue as follows. The next section will focus on the aforementioned trajectories that were derived from the data. The first trajectory will be the entrepreneurs, which are those migrants who initially migrated due to the perceived opportunities in the UK and started a small business in the UK. The second trajectory will be the co-ethnic employees, which are those migrants who migrated to the UK due to the poor economic conditions in Poland and decided to work for ethnic entrepreneurs, both within the ethnic economy and outside of the ethnic economy. These trajectories, and their assigned names, will be discussed further below. In explaining each trajectory, the following will be discussed: the original motivation to migrate, the motivations for employment, human capital development, the use of social networks and the future plans of the migrants. The final section of this chapter will provide a brief comparison of the trajectories discussed in the chapter as the concluding remarks.

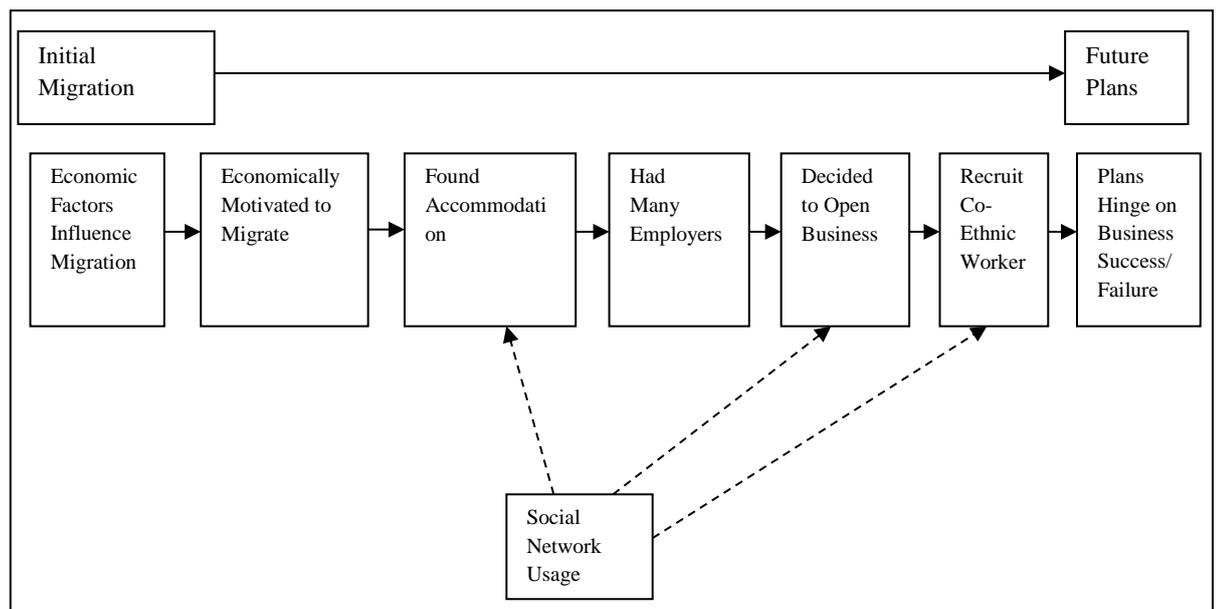
The Emergence of Migrant Trajectories in the Ethnic Economy

The trajectories were created after analysing the qualitative data where patterns emerged regarding the motivations of groups of migrants. All of the motivations of the migrants from the sample were economic; however, trajectories were constructed from the similarities amongst the smaller, sub-sects of the migrant sample which were too interesting to dismiss. For each trajectory, the labels are informed by the data and are in reference to the migrant's employment position at the last point of contact. Please see the Appendix for more details on the migrants' employment. Unlike the trajectories constructed in Chapter 5, that are based solely on patterns in the data, the trajectories in this chapter are based on the patterns in the data as well as the actual employment of the migrants. For example, the credentialist trajectory was informed by migrants who all shared a similar path and ended up in different professions; however, the trajectories in this chapter were informed by migrants sharing similar paths leading to them ending up in the same profession - either entrepreneurs or co-ethnic employees. As the migrant can only be an ethnic employer or a co-ethnic employee, data used in one trajectory will not be used in the other trajectory. Through defining the migrant's motivations through the trajectories, a more in-depth, narrower picture is provided.

The Ethnic Entrepreneur Trajectory

The entrepreneur trajectory will focus on the economic motivations of migrants who became entrepreneurs in the destination country. While the trajectory label is based on the actual employment option of the migrants, the unique pattern of the ethnic entrepreneurs starting from their initial migration to their future plans is drawn from the semi-structured interviews and the participant observation. This entrepreneur trajectory demonstrates that migrants rely heavily on their social networks, have several jobs and, sensing only low-skilled future opportunities, decide to start a business. This trajectory takes into account both the motivations and experiences of migrants. The ‘entrepreneur’ title is based on the actual employment of the migrant at the time of the interview. A more structured depiction of this trajectory is provided in figure 2.

Figure 2: The Ethnic Entrepreneur Trajectory



This trajectory begins with the migrant’s initial migration motivation, which is based on the economic conditions in the country of origin and the perceived opportunities in the destination country. Initially, the migrants utilise their social network for accommodation prior to the migration and again after having several 3D employers. After having several different employers in 3D jobs, the migrants decide to open a business, again relying on the social network in their role as consumers and potential co-ethnic employees. The migrants’ future plans revolve around business success and failure. An interesting characteristic of this trajectory is the ability of an

economically-motivated migrant, with initially ambiguous employment options, to open a business in an English-speaking country without any financial support from banks or other lending schemes.

Original Migration Motivation

Although the migrants in this trajectory ended up being entrepreneurs, they did not aim to start a business when initially migrating. Their initial migration motivation was based on the poor performance of the national economy in Poland as well as the perceived economic opportunities available in the UK.

'When I left Poland there was very high unemployment so it was very hard for me to get a job and I thought it would be better here [UK].' (Lena, 2008)

'It's the economic situation in Poland, that's why I came. I had a job [in construction] but would get £200-£250 per month and it wasn't enough to live...' (Borys, 2011)

'I thought the money situation would be much better here [UK] than in Poland.' (Amelia, 2011)

'The main reason I came to the UK was for working opportunities.' (Kinga, 2008)

Both the high unemployment in Poland as well as the cost of living in contrast to the wages received were clear motivations to migrate to the UK. The migrants were pulled to the UK due to the perceived strength of the economy (Lena & Amelia). These economic conditions were substantial motivating factors for the entrepreneurs who utilised their social networks to facilitate the migration by lowering the 'cost' and risk of migration.

Social Networks Utilised Prior to Self-Employment

The migrants utilised their social network to decide where to migrate to when leaving Poland, for their intra-UK migration to Cardiff, while finding accommodation, and, in some cases, when finding employment. It should be mentioned that there is a difference between the motivations of migrants and the social networks used by migrants. The social networks are less of a motivation and more of a facilitator for migrants to reach their goal through lowering the 'cost' and

risk associated with migration. As mentioned in Chapter 2, social networks are defined as facilitators of migration for the entirety of the thesis. Compared to the other trajectories, the entrepreneurs use their social network substantially more than other migrants and, at this point, it is before they started a business which then made them even more reliant on their networks. The ethnic entrepreneurs' use of their social networks in the pre-business period will be discussed in this section. For the initial migration to the UK, social networks, both transnational friend and transnational family, were utilised.

Transnational Friend

'I lived in Swansea first because my friend [Filip- another entrepreneur] suggested I stay with him for awhile while I looked for work.' (Michal, 2008)

'Lived in Southampton and worked as an au pair for awhile then moved to Cardiff... We [my boyfriend & I] had a lot of friends that came over [to Cardiff] before us so we just had outgoings like food- we shared a big house at first.' (Julia, 2008)

Transnational Family

'Yeah, I had a sister here [Cardiff] that's why I came.' (Tomek, 2008)

'My sister she was here so she suggested I come here.' (Amelia, 2011)

The use of both types of transnational networks by the entrepreneurs demonstrates how a transnational network can be the foundation for a local social network based on where the migrant is currently located. In addition, each quote referenced mentions a slightly different form of migration facilitated by the migrant's social network. For example, Michal's transnational friend Filip lowered the risk of migrating by recommending that Michal come to Swansea, South West Wales. Filip also lowered the cost of migrating by providing Michal accommodation in the short-term. With Filip as the base of Michal's local social network, both migrants found it easier to intra-UK migrate to Cardiff after living in Swansea for some time and start businesses. Julia's situation is somewhat similar to Michal's with her motivations to intra-UK migrate being based on a friend. Julia originally migrated for work but intra-UK migrated to meet up with her boyfriend. Her transnational network was further incorporated into her local social network as her friends were also living in

Cardiff which provided affordable accommodation thereby lowering the risk of migrating. The examples for the transnational family social network are not nearly as complex as the aforementioned examples. Tomek and Amelia both decided to migrate to Cardiff directly from the country of origin due to the recommendation of a family member currently residing in Cardiff. While there was not immediate accommodation or employment available through this social network, the risk of migrating was substantially lowered by having a family member that was available as needed.

The entrepreneurs' social networks influenced where the migrant chose to live once in the UK and, in some cases, provided accommodation. Beyond this social network facilitated pre-migration planning, the entrepreneurs' motivations once in the UK were ambiguous. Thus far, it is clear that they migrated for economic gain but a plan to seek employment was not yet developed. Therefore, uncertainty is derived from the lack of immediate employment opportunities as well as their low level of language skills. The next section will discuss the employment options taken by the migrants prior to starting a business.

Pre- Entrepreneurship Employment

Similar to the other trajectories, the entrepreneurs had several 3D employers when initially migrating to the destination country and prior to deciding to start a business. Unlike the other trajectories, the entrepreneurs were not pursuing better employment options when changing employers but maintained 3D employment throughout their pre-entrepreneurial period.

'I start working at a hotel in housekeeping after it I work in a lot of places umm Pizza Hut, McDonald's and a coffee shop.' (Amelia, 2011)

'I was a waitress, a kitchen assistant, a shop clerk for 2 years.' (Maja, 2008)

'I worked on a strawberry farm when I first came here because I didn't speak any English....then I worked at a shipping and packing company, I worked in construction for a little, agency jobs that were temporary, a production line and another construction company.' (Borys, 2011)

'I couldn't speak the language (English) at all when I first came over so I worked on a tomato farm then I started working in a restaurant, then Panasonic, a glass factory, construction, and then another construction job.'
(Cyril, 2011)

The migrants were economically motivated to seek employment in the UK in mainly service sector employment. This is indicative of the larger Polish migrant profile at the UK level. For those migrants (Borys & Cyril) not initially involved in the service sector, they attribute their employment as seasonal workers to their poor English language skills. While their other jobs after living in the UK for some time and acquiring some language skills were not significant progressions within the division of labour, or even a marked, permanent transition to the service sector, they were considerably better than the seasonal work that is the epitome of 3D employment. This is further demonstrated for all of the entrepreneurs when comparing their employment. For this comparison please see the Appendix. The migrants' human capital development in terms of language acquisition was mentioned in this section as a possible reason for employment changes during their time in the destination country; however, little is mentioned by the entrepreneurs as a whole in terms of their education devaluation or education acquisition in the destination country.

The Role of Human Capital

The lack of upward progression for the migrants within the division of labour could be attributed to a lack of opportunity in general based on economic conditions in the destination country or it could also be based on the skill set of the migrants that inform this trajectory. A major difference between other trajectories and this trajectory is the migrants' average English language skills at the time of migration and their average education level at the time of migration. Please see the Appendix for further details. Both skill sets are comparably lower than the other trajectories. The need for migrants to speak English has been mentioned above in relation to moving beyond seasonal employment; however, over time, the level of English needed has also increased based on the skills of the migrant base.

'Three years ago [2005] British employers they did not look for language ...they don't care if don't speak English- I will show you what to do and you

do it well- at moment [2008] if no English no wage because more people come over with higher English skills.’ (Anna, 2008)

The increased English language skills needed for employment could be a reason the entrepreneurs did not progress within the division of labour and a possible catalyst for self-employment. Interestingly, the migrants with the lower English language skills were also the migrants who had lower education levels. The migrants’ that inform this trajectory have some of the lowest education levels of the sample. Please see the Appendix for further details. Although not specifically mentioned by the respondents, their low education level could be an economic motivation to migrate as even with little education in the UK they could still get a 3D job; but, if they had low education levels in Poland they would not be able to find employment.

‘To be honest, I don’t follow the news about the currency but its [migrating to the UK] still good for people with lower education that are desperate because the work you do there [Poland] you can do here for much better money here.’ (Martyna, 2008)

Beyond the push to leave Poland, the combination of low skills and low, non- 3D employment prospects in the UK could have been a catalyst to start a business. If this is the case, the economic motivations of the entrepreneurs would be based not only on the wages they could receive but also on the type of employment they have available to them.

Starting a Business

The previous sections in this chapter have outlined the economic motivations of the migrants with low skill levels, seeking 3D employment and utilising their social networks when initially migrating. Based on this account, this section will discuss the economic motivations of the entrepreneurs to own a business, highlighting, when available, the struggles the entrepreneurs may have endured until this point as a catalyst for entrepreneurship.

The economic motivations of the migrants to start a small business are varied, ranging from exploiting a gap in the market created by the ethnic community to being one’s own boss. For example, Maja started a hair salon with Polish personnel as she noticed that there were no salons of this kind in Cardiff. *‘There were no other*

places like this [Polish hair salon in Cardiff] so I decided to open a business.' (Maja, 2008). Through identifying this gap in the market created by the Polish community, Maja was able to have a viable business which, since 2008, has expanded to three salons serving the wider Cardiff community (Poles & non-Poles). In addition to this motivation, other migrants were more interested in entrepreneurship so they could be their own boss.

'We started a business together to work for us.' (Borys, 2011)

'Because its better to work for yourself than for someone else..the other jobs I had here [UK] were bad and this is nice not to have to work for anyone.' (Tomek, 2008)

'I didn't want to work for somebody else anymore.' (Amelia, 2011)

For those with this type of motivation, the conditions of their previous jobs or their prior experience in the UK labour market was the motivation for self-employment. This is noted by Borys and Cyryl who had several jobs and met on a construction site. After they were made redundant when the company filed for bankruptcy, they decided to start a business and work for themselves. Similarly, Tomek had experienced poor working conditions while in the UK and was looking for something more. Interestingly, none of the entrepreneurs had owned businesses or attempted self-employment prior to migrating.

'Opportunities in Poland are very, very difficult for opening new business.. don't really have the money you need to start. It's really difficult to take a loan or something like that especially for people without any background.' (Kinga, 2007)

'I always wanted to have business like this, always always, but its hard in Poland and I just thought I could make money doing this....much harder (to start a business) there, much easier here...' (Maja, 2008)

'Because it's [starting a business] much easier here, in Poland that would be practically impossible because there are so many complications.' (Lena, 2008)

In discussing the reasons why Poland does not offer as many self-employment options, one major theme has arisen: financing the business. This will be discussed further in the next section on social networks for entrepreneurs, as starting a business as a migrant in a destination country can increase reliance on social networks. Equally, the shifting consumer base will also be discussed in that section focusing on the changes identified by Maja above as well as the start up of less ethnic-based businesses by Polish entrepreneurs.

Social Networks Utilised by Entrepreneurs

The social networks discussed earlier in this chapter focussed on the migrants' (who would become entrepreneurs) use of their social network when initially migrating to find accommodation. The social networks discussed in this section will focus on the migrants' use of their social networks in relation to their new business. The entrepreneurs' use their social networks extensively, particularly the local social networks that are embedded within the Polish community in the area, to get the business running. The economic motivations of the entrepreneurs in using their social networks include: a source of finance, exploitable co-ethnic labour, and demand for their ethnic-based business. All of these themes will be discussed in this section in relation to the ethnic businesses in the ethnic economy, as well as businesses owned by an ethnic entrepreneur but not predominantly serving the ethnic community.

Social Networks for Business Finance Acquisition

Regardless of the type of business started or the level of integration between the business and the Polish community, none of the entrepreneurs in the sample received financial help from banks, the government or lending organisations to start their business. Even though the migrants did not receive financial support from these organisations, Amelia did apply for a loan. *'I tried to take a loan in bank but they told me no because of the credit crunch loans went to people from this country not to people from outside because of the risk that I could leave...I talked to my parents and they decided that they could help me with money to get the business started.'* (Amelia, 2011). Amelia's attempt at attaining a loan was denied mainly due to the credit crunch and possibly due to her assumption that the rejection was based on her migrant status within the UK. To start the business, she ended up turning to her transnational family network for start-up funding. As an economically motivated

migrant leaving Poland because the ‘money situation is better in the UK’, it seems odd that her parents would be able to financially support her in opening a business. Furthermore, Amelia also mentioned that she now pays remittances to her parents as it is hard for them to meet the cost of living in Poland, even after she paid back their loan. Outside of utilising their extended social network, Cyryl and Borys relied on themselves and their immediate social network to save money from the 3D jobs that they had to start their construction business. ‘*We saved money working here, that’s how we started the business.*’ (Cyril & Borys, 2011). Interestingly, both of these businesses ended up employing co-ethnic employees, but do not cater mainly to the Polish ethnic community. This will be discussed further below in relation to the labourers and consumers.

Social Networks for Co-Ethnic Labour Recruitment

The data gathered from the sample supports the work done by Evans (1989) in regards to the ethnic community being the talent pool for ethnic entrepreneurs based in the ethnic economy to find their co-ethnic employees. This is the case for the entrepreneurs whose business caters mainly to the ethnic community. This specific type of entrepreneur utilises their local and transnational social networks to find their co-ethnic employees.

‘I find most of my employees from the local area.... We also have a board to advertise other jobs for Poles that employers post ads on often.’ (Julia, 2011)

‘When I first opened I hired girls that spoke Polish in the area.’ (Maja, 2011)

Julia, an owner of a business deeply embedded within the ethnic economy in Cardiff, notes that not only does she use the local Polish community to search for staff, but that her business serves as a hub for other employers to advertise their employment vacancies. From being in the store, it is noticeable that all of the advertisements are in Polish with some for jobs in the ethnic economy and others for odd jobs, potentially within the informal economy in Cardiff²². Julia also mentioned that several of her employees were seemingly attracted to the vacancy so they could continue to speak Polish while living in the UK. Although Julia now has three stores throughout the South Wales area, all are staffed by Poles introduced to her through

²² I found information for Cyril & Borys’s business on the advertisement board in Julia’s shop.

her local social network or the extended network available to her within the ethnic community in Cardiff. Julia's economic motivation to hire Poles is largely based on the customers she is serving who use the store not only for the Polish food but also to easily communicate with staff in Polish.

For the entrepreneurs whose business caters to the wider community, or whose business has diversified over time, co-ethnic workers are still utilised; however, they are not necessarily from the talent pool created by the surrounding ethnic community. As needed, both the transnational and local social networks are utilised by the entrepreneurs to staff their businesses. Maja, another entrepreneur with several business sites in the South Wales area, has a slightly different approach to finding staff. Initially, Maja had one salon catering to Polish people near the Polish family community in Cardiff. At that time, she was eager to corner a specific market thereby accessing the local Polish labour market to get her employees with the main requirement, beyond hair dressing skills, being the Polish language. Over time, with the opening of more of her salons, Maja has utilised her extended local social network as well as the local social network of her British fiancée to find English speaking personnel. *'Now that I have three sites, I have a few English speaking girls for the customers who are not Polish.'* (Maja, 2011). As Maja's business diversified to meet the rising customer demand of the non-ethnic community, her labour needed to diversify as well to service this increased demand.

Maja's labour needs in 2011, when she was interviewed the second time, were much different than her labour needs when initially interviewed in 2008. This could be indicative of the diversification of her business, potentially due to rising English speaking demand, or perhaps also due to the reduction of the Poles in the community. In 2008, there was only one other ethnic entrepreneur- based business that was searching for non-Poles and Poles and that was the restaurant that hosted the participant observation phase of this fieldwork. The hiring of non-Poles was economically motivated and was for the front of house staff to give the impression of a European restaurant, instead of a Polish restaurant, to customers. The Poles, who were part of the entrepreneur's transnational family social network, were the kitchen staff so they could communicate with the chef. Interestingly, when the family members had to return to Poland, additional co-ethnic workers were recruited but from Poland instead of the surrounding Polish community.

'Kinga employed her brother and sister who came over from Poland specifically for these jobs. Neither of them knew English or had any previous experience working in a restaurant but she could provide them with employment and they could communicate with the chef. When her sister returned to Poland for University, she hired Marie. I asked Kinga where she found Marie and she said that she actually found her on a Polish Internet site and said it was a perfect match. Marie was looking for a living/working experience where board is included and money is cash-in-hand for tax purposes and Kinga could provide all of those things. So Marie brought the bus over.' (Participant Observation, 2007)

From Kinga's point of view as a migrant, she was helping another Pole to migrate by providing the opportunity to live and work, thereby reducing the 'cost' of migration for Marie. From Kinga's point of view as an employer, she was economically motivated to search for a Pole interested in coming to the UK instead of someone already in Cardiff as they would be much more dependent on their employer, particularly given the living/working situation. The economic motivations of the entrepreneurs, in regards to labour, become more apparent with the most recent entrepreneurs (Cyril/Borys & Amelia) who started their businesses post-2008 and cater to the wider market while still employing co-ethnic workers.

'We only hire other Poles...Because they are harder worker. They don't look forward to breaks so much.' (Cyril & Borys, 2011)

'I advertised on Polish websites in Poland which was a huge risk because many times the girls didn't have the experience they said they did and so when they came and worked with my customers I was like oh my god. The girls now from Poland are really good because they finish all training in Poland. ..Offer them a job but I help them with everything so I rented something for them to live together and now they know the area they live separately...I wouldn't recruit Poles in Cardiff because those that live here already, maybe because they're a little jealous, they don't work out. I employed two Polish people from Cardiff and they lied and they tried to see customers at home so I don't get them from here anymore.' (Amelia, 2011)

Cyryl & Borys mention the importance of employing co-ethnic workers for their construction business due to the hard-working nature of Polish migrants which is often cited in the media. The entrepreneurs are economically motivated to utilise their local social network for labour because they are a new business in a competitive field, and are eager to impress their customers by completing work to the deadline. Due to the intermittent, contract-based work, they do not employ full-time employees; rather, casual, part-time workers further emphasising their use of their local social networks.

Similar to Kinga, Amelia is economically motivated to offer her co-ethnic employees, migrating from Poland for the position, a living/working arrangement to have more control over her employees. Unlike Kinga's outlook where she was helping a fellow migrant by lowering the cost of migration, Amelia openly mentions her distrust of Poles in the local Polish community that forces her to advertise her vacancies in Poland. Initially, she would advertise on random websites but through trial and error, and extending her transnational friend social network, she now has trusted venues in Poland that advertise her vacancies. The situation that Amelia finds herself in could be indicative of the larger informal economy for beauty services and not a reflection of her distrust in co-ethnics. If this were the case, Amelia focuses her distrust toward her co-ethnic workers because of their role, not their ethnicity.

Beyond the importance of using co-ethnic workers in their businesses, the entrepreneurs in the ethnic economy also utilised their social network to get their suppliers. When several of the ethnic economy-based businesses opened prior to 2008, they would have their co-ethnic workers drive a van to Poland to stock up on Polish foods. *'When we first started, I would have one or two of the workers drive the van to Poland every two-three weeks to get more food and supplies for the store'* (Julia, 2008). This was an economically viable solution as the entrepreneurs did not have to pay any middle-man fees that would be associated with going through a supplier. As time passed, and a market grew for Polish goods in the UK, websites selling Polish food stock at wholesale prices were established in Poland and used, in place of the fortnightly trip, to get supplies by the entrepreneurs. This reduced the cost of the supplies and the labour costs of the co-ethnic workers travelling for the entrepreneurs.

Thus far, the financial and labour needs of the entrepreneurs have been discussed as well as some mention of the consumer base, particularly in relation to the diversification of business and labour. The next section will further discuss the consumers, particularly in relation to the social networks of the entrepreneurs.

Social Networks and Building the Co-Ethnic Consumer Base

The entrepreneurs, as a whole group, rely on consumer demand to stay in business. The type of consumer varies based on the services or products the entrepreneur is providing. For example, the entrepreneurs with ethnic businesses are catering to co-ethnics in the surrounding Polish community. However, the consumer base can shift due to changes in demand. This section will analyse the economic motivations of the consumer base for both the entrepreneurs involved in the ethnic economy as well as those involved in the non-ethnic economy from the point of view of the entrepreneurs.

A question that arose when conducting this research with the ethnic entrepreneurs serving the ethnic community was the economic motivations of the consumers in purchasing food at a more expensive Polish store when the exact same items were available at a less expensive British supermarket chain. This query was presented to the entrepreneurs, who essentially responded that their customers were still economically motivated despite this slight cost difference. The economic motivation of the consumers was attributed to them not needing English language skills to live in Cardiff if the Polish stores were available because all of the staff speak Polish and all of the items have Polish labels on them. The Polish stores provided the platform for short-term, highly mobile migration by reducing the need for English language skills.

'It's easy for Polish people to live here because they can use the stores and they don't have to worry about counting change or speaking English.'

(Tomek, 2011)

Based on this assessment of the entrepreneur's consumers, to further meet the needs of their customer base, the entrepreneurs were economically motivated to locate their businesses within the ethnic community in Cardiff. In 2008, the two main locations of the Polish community were City Road, a highly transient area, and Canton. Both locations are in walking distance to central Cardiff and both locations support several

other migrant groups. Due to the family-based nature of the Poles residing in Canton, as well as the religious inclination of the Poles in the larger sense, two entrepreneurs were motivated to locate their businesses based on the store's proximity to the Catholic schools in the area.

'Yeah, there's a Catholic school on this street and a lot of Polish people take their kids there and so we're by there.' (Filip, 2008)

'I've chosen to start business in Canton because there is a Polish shop here, there is the internet place there for Polish, the Polish community is here,.. its close to town, and the price is ok,Yes, and there is a school with lots of Polish.' (Maja, 2008)

By 2011, the Polish community shifted so it was predominantly located on City Road. As an indication of this population shift, the entrepreneurs from Canton have either moved to City Road (Tomek), closed their shop (Filip) or have diversified their businesses (Maja). The changing times are also demonstrated by new entrepreneurs that have opened their businesses since 2008 and mainly market themselves to the non-Polish community in Cardiff.

'We mainly have British customers as the Polish women are here working in a factory so they won't get their nails done.' (Amelia, 2011)

Amelia's comment is based on her targeting a specific customer base due to her perception of traditional work being carried out by her fellow Polish migrants, the type of business she owns, as well as the changing opportunities within Cardiff. Instead of exploiting the 'Polishness' of their fellow migrants as the entrepreneurs did in the pre-2008 period by focusing their businesses on the Polish community, Amelia was able to open a business, in a highly competitive market, that transcended the Polish community.

Future Plans

Through transitioning from being a migrant to a small business owner, the entrepreneurs have the least ambiguous future plans of any trajectory in this thesis. The entrepreneurs are economically motivated to stay in the destination country in the long-term due to the business anchoring them while providing them with a sustainable source of income. This is supported by the work done by Ram &

Phizacklea (1995) where migrants that own businesses are more likely to stay in the destination country in the long-term.

'If there was a good economy in Poland and I could get a job I would be there but they don't so I'm here.' (Borys, 2011)

'I didn't plan on staying here for long but now I do because of the business.' (Maja, 2011)

'My future plans are based on what happens with the business.' (Amelia, 2011)

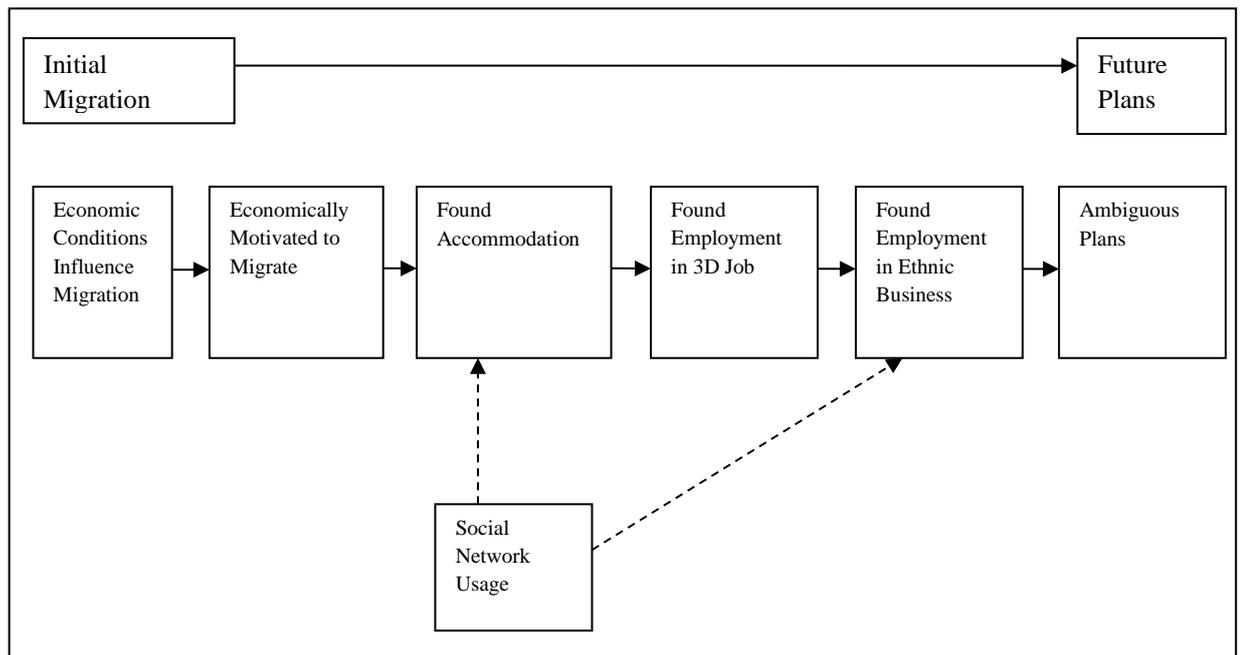
'Yeah, now that I have a business I plan on staying here [Cardiff] for a long time.' (Tomek, 2011)

Interestingly, as the sustainability of the business is directly connected to the future plans of the entrepreneurs, some of the businesses that started as ethnic businesses (Maja) have started their diversification while other, newer businesses, are openly integrating with the larger British society in Cardiff. In addition, Filip's business was the first casualty of a shifting consumer base when less migrants were living in the Canton area. The remaining ethnic businesses serving the ethnic community, particularly the Polish food stores, will be the most interesting to watch over the next few years to see if they evolve in similar ways to meet the economic demand due to the changing patterns of migration.

The Co-Ethnic Employee (workers) Trajectory

The co-ethnic employee trajectory will focus on the economic motivations of migrants who worked for ethnic entrepreneurs in the destination country. The trajectory label is based on the actual employment option of the migrants. The unique pattern is drawn from the semi-structured interviews where migrants migrate for economic reasons, have several jobs, rely on their social network for co-ethnic employment opportunities and consider their ambiguous future plans. This trajectory takes into account both the motivations and experiences of migrants. The 'co-ethnic employee' title was based on the actual employment of the migrant within the ethnic economy during the fieldwork. A more structured depiction of this trajectory is provided in figure 3.

Figure 3: Co-Ethnic Worker Trajectory



This trajectory begins with the migrant's initial migration motivation, which is solely based on the economic conditions in the country of origin. Initially, the migrants utilise their social network for accommodation, but they proceed to work outside of the network in finding employment upon arrival. After having several different employers in 3D jobs, the migrants utilise their local social network to find employment in an ethnic business. The migrants' future plans are uncertain; but, in the long-term, could be based on the success of the wider ethnic economy. An interesting characteristic of this trajectory is the ability of the economically-motivated migrants to capitalise on their ethnicity when seeking employment in the destination country. The other migrants in the sample were more economically motivated to develop human capital by acquiring a British University degree or advanced language skills and reducing the prominence of their ethnicity within the labour market.

Original Migration Motivation

Similar to the entrepreneurs, the migrants that inform this trajectory were interested in leaving the country of origin due to the poor economic conditions in Poland. However, although the workers ended up working for a co-ethnic employer, it was

not the workers' original migration motivation to have the job that defines this trajectory.

'Money, because in Poland it is very hard to find a good job...Even with a degree it is still very hard.' (Hanna, 2008)

'If I could get a job[in Poland] it would be difficult since wages do not necessarily match the price of living. One difference between here and there is the price of food and how much food items are in Poland.' (Nikola, 2008)

'I couldn't get a good job you know I knew I was skilled man and had some experience as well and it was so hard to get some job I even moved to biggest city to improve my situation and it didn't work so I did my best to get out... I think the difference between the strength of the Polish currency does matter and all Polish people can feel it and we're really struggling about that.' (Dawid, 2008)

All three of these quotes refer to the difficult economic conditions in Poland, namely: high unemployment, the purchasing power parity (PPP) in regards to the cost of living and the currency fluctuations. In addition, other economic issues are mentioned that should be discussed, particularly the unemployment rate for well-educated and/or high skilled migrants as all three migrants quoted above had at least undergraduate degrees from universities in Poland. Hanna also had a Masters degree from a Polish University and Dawid had substantial work experience along with his Bachelors degree. Please see the Appendix for further details. These examples, highlighting the lack of employment opportunities in the country of origin despite the education and experience level, support the larger UK Polish migrant sample's initial motivation to migrate. The use of the worker's human capital will be discussed further below.

Although the above quotes fail to mention the pull factors for migration as they were not relevant for this trajectory in terms of initially migrating, the migrants' social networks eased the transition between the country of origin and the destination country.

Social Network Usage

Migrants use their social networks to reduce the risk and cost associated with migration, particularly in relation to accommodation when initially migrating. This has largely been the standard throughout all of the trajectories in this thesis. The workers are the same in that they utilised their social networks when initially migrating to lower the cost of accommodation which was temporarily provided by their friends.

Transnational Friend

'I stayed with Emilia when I first came over because she said I could until I found a place.' (Nikola, 2008)

'My friends told me about how good it was here [UK] and that if I wanted to come work they could give me a place to stay [in Cardiff] so I came.'
(Patryck, 2011)

There are three interesting points that arise from these two quotes. First, Nikola migrated because Emilia said she could stay with her temporarily. This is an anomaly within the sample as migrants use their social networks of transnational friends to initially migrate and live, forming the basis of the local social network. Rarely does that same friend feature prominently within the migrants' life beyond the initial migration. This is not the case for Nikola and Emilia as both end up working together at the ethnic business. This will be discussed further below. Second, both migrants (Nikola/Patryck) initial migration was directly to Cardiff which is unusual in relation to the rest of the sample. In most cases, the migrants would migrate to where their transnational friend was in the UK (outside of Cardiff) and then for a multitude of economic motivations ranging from going to University to the perception of working in a capital city, the migrant would intra-UK migrate to Cardiff. Third, transnational family social networks were not used. While transnational friend networks have been a recurring theme throughout this thesis, most migrants that inform the trajectories use a mixture of transnational friend and family networks to initially migrate. In some cases, the transnational family social network is the foundation for chain migration. This is not the case for these migrants as they solely relied on their transnational friend social network.

Employment Experience of Co-Ethnic Workers

While social networks were relied upon to find accommodation when initially migrating, the workers did not utilise their social networks when finding their 3D jobs in the destination country. Similar to other migrants in the sample, the workers had several 3D jobs prior to finding a ‘better job’ which is being characterised as a job in a co-ethnic business.

‘I started working on a production line for 3 months and then worked as a waiter for a month but found it really hard because of my language skills. I ended up cleaning tables in a restaurant and then started working in a construction company. I met Cyryl and Borys there and after they set up their business they give me a job. It was really good to work for people I knew- no more problems.’ (Patryk, 2011)

Although Patryck did not utilise his social network in his first few 3D jobs, he utilised his local social network, expanded through these jobs, to find employment in a Polish-owned business. Workers are economically motivated to find employment in a co-ethnic business as it is perceived to be a ‘better job’. Patryck discusses this in relation to trust in his co-ethnic employers which encourages him to work harder knowing that he will be paid a fair wage. Nikola has a similar situation regarding employment and delayed use of social networks.

‘..Because I was having a hard time in my job, the fourth one I had and she [Emilia] said about Julia needing a cashier so that’s how I got here [to job in ethnic business].’ (Nikola, 2008)

Although Nikola does not mention the current job she is in at the time of interview, as explained in the Appendix, Nikola was a nanny when she first migrated to the UK. Since that time, she was in other 3D jobs and then utilised her social network to get her ‘better job’, ie. a job at an ethnic business. The example of Nikola and Emilia explains the transition of a transnational friend network to a local social network. Their relationship was initially discussed in the transnational social network for migration section above and then as a local social network for employment here. Taking the cases of Nikola and Patryck together, the workers could utilise their social networks because they are unable to move up the division of labour otherwise as they are in 3D jobs prior to exploiting their network.

While Nikola and Patryck relied on their social network to transition from 3D employment to co-ethnic employees, other workers entered their positions through more traditional methods, such as stopping in the ethnic business to enquire about vacancies.

'Before I worked in a casino in the Cardiff Bay and I worked there 1 year and then I worked in a convenience store for 8 months and then I decided last Christmas to quit my job and after that I found this - so I was first a waitress.' (Emilia, 2008)

'I start my first job it was in energy company like a line worker after that I work in catering or things like that simple stuff after 1 month I got job in other company it was like library assistant, then I started working here.' (Dawid, 2008)

It could be argued that even though social networks were not explicitly used by Dawid and Emilia, due to their common ethnicity with the Polish entrepreneurs, and the previous use of the ethnic business, they were more at ease with enquiring about vacancies in Polish-owned businesses as opposed to a British supermarket. In addition, which is indicative of all of the co-ethnic employees, working for an ethnic entrepreneur within the larger ethnic economy is a coveted position. The competition for these roles is higher than traditional 3D jobs, particularly for the average Polish migrant in the UK that is here for the short-term as the co-ethnic employee does not need to learn the language. The competition for the role could also explain Nikola and Patryck's reliance on their social networks to get the job. Interestingly, in relation to the other trajectories, the migrants that inform this trajectory did not mention human capital development through language acquisition at all.

Human Capital Development

The human capital of the workers has been briefly discussed in several sections of this chapter alluding to the migrants' higher education levels, in some cases higher than the entrepreneurs they are working for, and their language acquisition. These two types of human capital development are concentrated on due to their prominence within the other trajectories discussed throughout this thesis.

The education levels of the workers were discussed in regards to their initial migration motivation as they were unable to find suitable employment in the country of origin, despite their relatively high level of education from Polish Universities and their high level of experience. This problem in the country of origin was a factor in motivating the migrant to migrate to the destination country, similar to the larger UK Polish migrant sample. What is dissimilar is the Poles lack of English language development, or desire to increase their human capital through English language development.

The workers were not motivated to learn English when initially migrating as they were more interested in the immediate economic benefits of being in a 3D job, while earning more than what they would in Poland, particularly if unemployment was their previous 'job'. Through using their social network to move up the division of labour into co-ethnic employment, language skills were not needed. Due to the emphasis on the 'Polish experience' in the ethnic businesses that are within the ethnic economy, the workers do not need to learn the language. In addition, the co-ethnic workers in the ethnic economy actually heavily rely on the Polish language skills as these stores are often utilised by Polish migrants who are in the UK for a short-time and have not learned the language. For those workers (Patryck) in ethnic businesses outside of the ethnic economy, they are not in positions to speak to the customers so English language skills are again unnecessary. In both situations, with co-ethnic workers involved in the ethnic and non-ethnic economy, the use of Polish language is not only desired but essential to discuss matters with other employees, customers and managers. What is interesting is that if the workers were doing the same job outside of the ethnic economy they would consider it a 3D job. Due to the lack of human capital development needed and the co-ethnic trust established, the workers consider co-ethnic employment as a step above the 3D jobs in the division of labour. The entrepreneurs explain that they pay their co-ethnic workers minimum wage which should be relatively the same for 3D employment.

Future Plans

The future plans of the workers are not necessarily tied to the future plans of the entrepreneurs. While the entrepreneurs have roots with the business in the destination country, this does not apply to the workers who could be made redundant if the co-ethnic businesses begin to struggle. Due to this, the workers are more

similar to the other trajectories, with more ambiguous future plans than the entrepreneurs. The workers plans revolve around their current economic conditions, namely their employment. *'Plan on staying in the UK because I have a job....'* (Patryck, 2011). However, their lack of interest in returning to Poland is clear.

'Umm, I really don't know you if I'll stay here for awhile it depends how things go...I would not go back to Poland, maybe think about going to Canada or Holland... I don't want to go back to Poland because there is nothing there for me.' (Emilia, 2008)

'For me it would be a mistake to go back to Poland because it would mean for me that I'm losing about 25% of my money now.' (Dawid, 2008)

As the migrants are comfortable in their position as co-ethnic employees, they are not overly concerned with their future plans. If the economic conditions change in the UK, Emilia would consider migrating to a third country. How this forward migration, with low English language skills, would be facilitated is unknown. Equally unknown is the reason for choosing those two countries. Dawid is clearer with his intentions which are directly linked to his original economic motivation to migrate: the lack of opportunities in Poland and particularly opportunities with commensurate wages as available in the UK. Dawid's final quote supports the previous assertions he made in this section that migrants will have their qualifications devalued to make more money in the UK instead of working in Poland. Whatever the migrants' future plans were at the time of interview, the information found in the Appendix demonstrates the actual path the migrant took based on follow-up research conducted in 2011.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted an array of economic motivations that migrants participating in the ethnic economy of Cardiff, that informed the sample, have during their migration period. While some of these motivations are ambiguous, particularly regarding the migrant's future plans, they all have an economic basis. This brief conclusion will review the main findings that should be highlighted from this chapter as well as providing a short introduction to the next chapter.

There are five main points from this chapter that should be discussed further in this thesis. First, the ethnic entrepreneurs in the sample use their social networks more than the co-ethnic workers in the sample. The entrepreneurs use these networks both prior to becoming self-employed and, once the business is started, increasingly rely on these social networks for sources of labour and demand for their product. Second, the co-ethnic workers in the sample have a lower level of English language skills than the ethnic entrepreneurs in the sample. The level of language across the migrants in these two trajectories may be the same when initially arriving in the destination country, but, the entrepreneurs realise the value in learning the language. The variation amongst these trajectories regarding the language level inadvertently highlights the varying migration patterns of these migrants or the third point. The co-ethnic workers are partaking in either circular or short-term migration patterns. This varies from the entrepreneurs who are interested in staying in the destination country in the long-term. In addition, the co-ethnic workers are more suitable for this type of employment based on their lower English language levels as they do not want to have to take the time to learn the language for short-term migration. Fourth, the ethnic businesses established by the ethnic entrepreneurs in the sample are economically viable options for their consumers despite the higher cost of their goods in contrast to British supermarkets. This fourth point ties into both the migrant's language skills (point 2) and the migrant's migration pattern (point 3). The migrants using these ethnic businesses are economically motivated to use these stores as they do not need to take the time to learn the language to communicate with the co-ethnic workers or to understand the labels on the food which are also in Polish. Fifth, the ethnic entrepreneurs from the sample will stay in the destination country for the long-term as their businesses anchor them to the area. All of these points will be discussed extensively in relation to the existing literature in Chapter 7.

The following chapter will present the findings from the qualitative data collected for this thesis focusing on the Polish migrants that are operating outside of the ethnic economy in Cardiff. Similar to this chapter, the patterns that emerged from the data will be used to construct migrant typologies. However, unlike this chapter, the types of trajectories ie. co-ethnic workers, will be created from the patterns as opposed to the type of migrant employment.

Chapter 5: The Economic Motivations of the Polish Migrants in the Non-Ethnic Economy

Introduction

Using the sample described in the Methodology chapter, this chapter will focus on the economic motivations of the migrants involved in the economy of the wider Cardiff area. The migrants' interaction with the wider, diverse Cardiff area separates this migrant group from the migrants discussed in Chapter 4 that are a part of the Polish ethnic economy in Cardiff. The migrants discussed in both chapters utilise the Cardiff economy as well as the ethnic economy in their daily lives; however, the dividing of the sample for these chapters is based on the migrants' employment as opposed to their use of both types of economies. The actions of the migrants, ranging from their initial motivation to migrate to the UK to where they are employed, will be explained through trajectories based on patterns found in the data. The migrant trajectories use the varied economic motivations of migrants over time, starting with the migrant's decision to leave Poland and ending with the migrant's decision to stay in the UK. Themes that will be highlighted in each of the migrant trajectories include: labour market progression, the role of language/skills and the strength of the economies in the UK and Poland.

The economic nature of these motivations will be considered in the broadest sense possible. The data will suggest migrants initially came to the UK due to the low 'cost' of migration and to develop their human capital. After having several jobs that were low-skilled, the migrants decided to stay in the UK due to a number of economically motivated, and sometimes ambiguous, reasons. While focusing on the migrant's motivations and experiences from the initial migration to the future plans of the migrant, the trajectory labels are based on the reasons the migrants stayed in the UK as until that point, many of the migrants had a similar path with economic motivations to initially migrate, low-skilled employment options and use of their social networks.

The chapter will continue as follows. The next section will focus on the aforementioned trajectories that were derived from the data. The first trajectory will be the careerists, which are those migrants that stayed in the UK due to career

progression. This will be followed by the linguist trajectory composed of migrants who came to the UK to capitalise on their language skills. After this, the credentialist trajectory will be discussed focusing on migrants who acquired a degree in the UK and capitalised on it through seeking a higher level of employment. These trajectories, and their assigned names, will be discussed further below. In explaining each trajectory the following will be discussed: the original motivation to migrate, the motivations for employment, the development of human capital, use of social networks and the future plans of the migrants. The final section of this chapter will provide a brief comparison of the trajectories created in the chapter.

The Emergence of Migrant Trajectories in the Non-Ethnic Economy

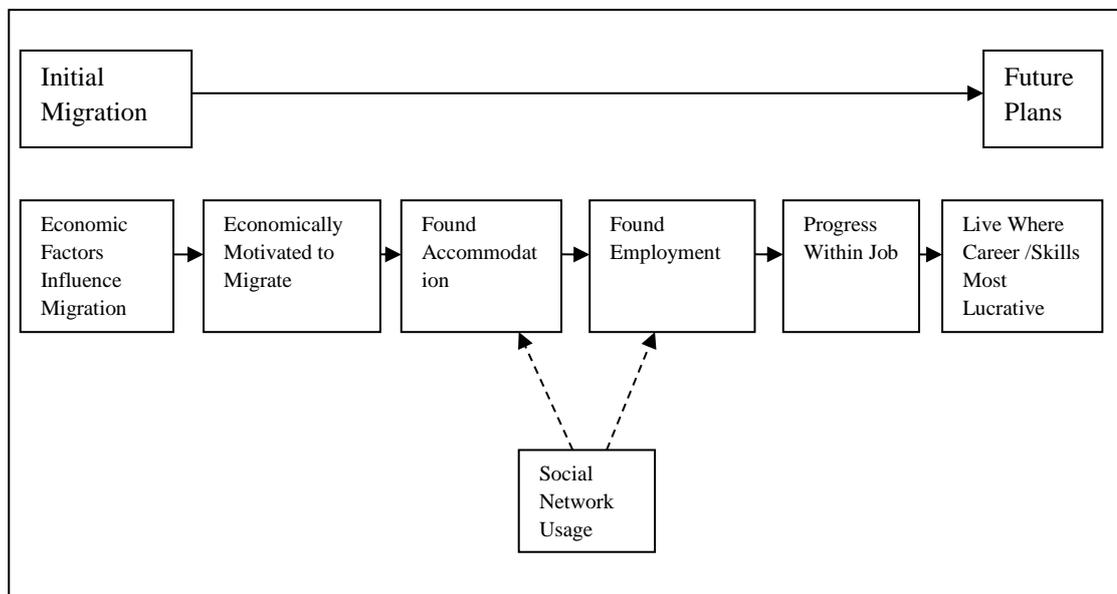
The trajectories were created after analysing the qualitative data where patterns emerged regarding the motivations of groups of migrants. All of the motivations of the migrants were economic; however, the similarities amongst the smaller groups were too interesting to dismiss. For each trajectory, the labels are informed by the data and are in reference to the migrant's situation at the last point of contact. See the Appendix for further details. The reason trajectories were created is because, taking the sample as a whole, the similarities of the migrants are many. For example, most of the migrants had several employers and did not utilise their qualifications. Also, many of the migrants migrated to learn English. Through defining the migrant's motivations through the trajectories, a more in-depth, narrower picture is provided. In addition, due to the dynamic lifestyles of the migrants, one migrant may have informed more than one trajectory. Having one migrant inform more than one trajectory is a result of the migrants' trajectory only altering at a certain point. For example, at the early stages of migration, many of the migrants migrated due to poor conditions in Poland and to develop their human capital but later in the migration period the motivations of the migrants narrowed making their paths more specified. Furthermore, while there was an attempt to categorise each respondent in the sample, there were some outliers, largely those whose whereabouts are unknown. Therefore, all of the respondents listed in the Appendix may not be accounted for in these trajectories.

The Careerist Trajectory

The careerist trajectory will focus on a unique pattern drawn from the semi-

structured interviews where migrants only have one employer in the destination country, progress within that employer's organisation, and place significant weight on their career status when considering whether to return to the country of origin. This trajectory takes into account both the motivations and experiences of migrants. The 'careerist' title was based on the unexpected upward progression of the migrants who found this career mobility to be a reason to stay in the destination country. The future motivations of the careerists, beyond the 2011 period, are somewhat ambiguous but seem to be loosely connected to the migrants' expected economic gains and further career advancement. A more structured depiction of this trajectory is provided in figure 4.

Figure 4: The Careerist Trajectory



This trajectory begins with the migrant's initial migration motivation, which is based on the economic conditions in the country of origin and the pull factors linked to the perceived opportunities in the destination country. The migrants' accommodation and employment were often facilitated by their individual social networks either prior to the migration or after arriving in the destination country. A unique attribute of this trajectory is the number of employers (1) the migrant has had while in the destination country as many other trajectories focus on the multiple employers migrants have whilst in the destination country. The reason the migrants stay with this employer is solely based on their ability to progress within the structure of the organisation where they are employed. Furthermore, the reason the migrants do not

return migrate pertains to their career status within the destination country and the expectation that they would not be able to replicate this progression or status in their country of origin.

Original Migration Motivation

Despite the trajectory taken once established in the UK, this group did not start off being career-minded. The initial motivation to migrate to the UK was the pull of earning money and developing language skills alongside the poor economic conditions in Poland. The economy in Poland was perceived as underperforming by the careerists, characterised by a lack of purchasing power parity, currency fluctuations and wage differentials.

National Economy

'In 2004 you could come to the UK and work and get 3 loaves of bread in Poland using £1 [using 7 PLN = 1 GBP] now we might make less here [in UK] but better than Poland because now for £1 you get 1 loaf of bread in Poland [using 5 PLN = 1 GBP].' (Weronika, 2011)

'..For example, if you earn minimum wage in this country something over £5 you have a burger for that, in Poland if you get like 5 PLN you need to add another 2 or 3 for a burger

[So the working wage is not the same as the living wage]

Exactly.' (Zofia, 2008)

'People come for money.... Three years ago, when we [Poland] entered the EU, it was really good money here [UK] because 1 GBP = 7 PLN, with that you can have a nice meal, coffee, and whatever.' (Anna, 2008)

By mentioning the price of goods in relation to the currency the PPP is discussed in simple terms. The second quotation goes on to discuss the cost of living in Poland in relation to the wages provided. All three of these concepts are considered by migrants in deciding whether to migrate as these economic conditions are limits to financial gain in the country of origin. These economic conditions are discussed in-depth in Chapter 2. Along with the national economic conditions cited for migrating, more qualitative pull factors were also discussed.

Pull

'I did my MA in Poland and I didn't know what I wanted to do and I thought I will go abroad get some experience working and make my language better.'
(Wiktorja, 2011)

'I wanted to earn some money so I could go home and study. .. I also wanted to be able to pick up the language but money was definitely the main reason.'
(Jan, 2011)

'It was a spontaneous decision to move here and learn English. I gave myself 3 months but it wasn't enough time so I'm still here.' (Oliwia, 2011)

All three of these quotations focus on the perceived economic advantages of migrating to the UK. An economic motivation can include the desire to earn money but it can also include the desire to acquire a skill set while migrating that can be capitalised on when return migrating. Interestingly, the migrants quoted above do not consider their human capital development as an economic motivation in discussing it separately from making money. If the migrants think that their human capital development does not have an economic basis, then, using W.I. Thomas's (1927) theorem²³ based on Polish immigrant research, maybe it is not economic. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6. In addition, the level of qualifications possessed at the time of migration was not an indication of employment status when arriving in the UK. This is demonstrated by Wiktorja's previous comments which mention her high level of qualifications in relation to her first job, a 3D job, that she had when migrating. The devaluation of skills will be further discussed below.

Social Networks

The aforementioned factors motivated the migrants to consider migrating to the UK; however, for the most part, social networks facilitated the actual migration. It should be mentioned that there is a difference between the motivations of migrants and the social networks used by migrants. The social networks are less of a motivation and more of a facilitator for migrants to reach their motivation through lowering the 'cost' and risk associated with migration. This section will discuss the migrant's transnational and local social networks in relation to their careerist trajectory. The

²³ Thomas's (1927) theorem: 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.'

transnational networks can be either friend or family based but are between the family or friend of the migrant in the country of origin and the migrant in the destination country. Alternatively, the local social network is based within the destination country and can be considered the social network the migrant creates upon arrival.

Transnational Family

'My sister lived here [Cardiff] with her boyfriend and she said I could come stay with them.' (Weronika, 2011)

'My cousin was travelling around the UK and he ended up in Cardiff. He text me and said he had a job for me. I packed my bags and in two days I moved [to stay with him] and haven't left since. Because of him being here it was much easier for me to come here. I don't think I would be brave and come over if I was on my own.' (Jan, 2011)

Transnational Friend

'Yeah, because of my friend who has been here over 3 years, he found the flat for me and my sister so we moved here as we had a flat so that's why.' (Zofia, 2008)

'No, I had a friend here and she's here maybe four years and she lives here with her boyfriend and she told me that Cardiff is a very nice place and that maybe I should come so I said alright and that's how I made my decision.' (Kamilla, 2011)

Although each one of these quotations discusses the migrants' use of social networks, there are three other topics also being discussed that are pertinent to this research. First, a transnational network can become a local social network. This is noticeable in the above quotations where a migrant utilises their transnational network while they are in Poland and a friend or family member in the UK offers them accommodation and/or employment. Once the migrant comes to the UK and takes advantage of this offer, the transnational network has transitioned to the foundation for the local social network. Other transnational networks are still active but the local social network is now formed. Second, the spontaneous nature of Jan's migration supports the existing research that there was a lack of employment

opportunities in Poland as he did not have a job that he had to give notice to or any consideration that had to be made. Third, Jan mentions that without this contact, which lowered the risk of migrating, he would not be in the UK. In this sense, the social network reduces the cost of migration through reducing the risk and increasing the opportunity to benefit financially. Social networks not only facilitated the initial migration through recommendations and temporary accommodation, they also facilitated the initial migration through providing employment opportunities (as cited above by Jan).

Employment

In transitioning from social networks to employment, this trajectory drastically differs from the other migrant trajectories discussed in this chapter in relation to employment for two reasons. First, the careerist migrants are those migrants who have progressed within their organisation and have used this as a reason to stay in the UK longer than expected. For three respondents, this reality is based on working at a hotel and moving up the chain of command within the hotel. Another respondent worked as a kitchen helper and saw the opportunity to progress. A fifth respondent started working at the hotel, in a 3D job, and decided to stay based on the possibility of progression demonstrated by her Polish counterparts. In all of these cases, the migrant was progressing from a low-skilled 'migrant' job to a management role. Second, the careerist migrant is an abnormality in terms of the number of employers they have, as most migrants had several low-skilled jobs before finding something better. This is alluded to in Parutis' work on Polish migrant workers (2011). The careerist migrants only held one job since migrating to the UK. These abnormalities within the sample and within the wider hospitality sector for both migrants and non-migrants alike will be discussed in this section.

The ability of the migrants to progress within their job, in spite of prior qualifications or experience in the position, was a major anchor for this migrant group. Their career progression kept them in the destination country for longer than what they initially intended to stay. They viewed this progression as a UK-based opportunity not because the job was based in the UK but because they would be unable to have similar career progression in Poland (Jan & Zofia).

This job progression is noticeable when comparing the first jobs migrants had when migrating with the job that the migrant currently (2011) retains. See Appendix for further details. Many of the careerists worked in a major hotel in Cardiff which had the infrastructure to allow for promotions and in-house upward mobility.

Hotel

'I'm a front of house manager at a hotel now. I started working in the hotel I'm a manager at now as a waitress. I did that for 6 months and then I was transferred to reception where I worked there and moved up to my current job.' (Wiktorina, 2011)

'I'm a marketing and events manager now at a hotel. I started out as a cleaner in the hotel I still work at. I arrived on the 31st and started working the 1st and haven't stopped working there. ..My cousin got me the job...I started as cleaner for 8 months then promoted to room service attendant after a year of being there I joined housekeeping as a supervisor for a year then worked in restaurant as assistant manager for a year then came back to room service manager then the marketing manager asked me to join his team and now he's gone I have his job. They're a good company to work for because they give people a chance. I saw myself progressing that's why I stayed there.... I'm happy because I see myself advancing more and more and I would not probably be able to even get the entry-level job at home let alone move up.' (Jan, 2011)

'I've been working at hotel for four years [starting as a room attendant] because and now I'm a housekeeping manager. I'm a person who doesn't like change and I like that I moved up.' (Kamilla, 2011)

The potential for progression was not known at the time of applying for the job as it was not openly marketed by the employer. After realising the potential for progression the careerists stayed in the job. *'Didn't know when I applied for the job that there were a lot of Polish people working though but first noticed it when I would see the names on the nametag. If it's good enough for them to stay, and I move up, I would consider staying here.'* (Oliwia, 2011) Through working outside of her social network to find this position, Oliwia demonstrates that not all of the Poles in the sample are a part of the same social network but, through finding places

that develop Polish workers, the Poles' social networks can merge and end up together.

The potential for progression in this job was a major motivation to stay in what was initially a 3D job. Interestingly, even within another part of the service sector, with less infrastructure supporting upward mobility, Poles were still likely to maintain the same employer if there was some opportunity for progression. This is the case for the restaurant worker Zofia.

Restaurant

'I was planning to come here[UK] for only a few months and go back to Poland for study but I really like my job and my managers at work like me and they give me opportunities to move up in my job and do something....even though I'm not using my education I feel like I've made something of myself because I wouldn't be able to move up in my job at home [Poland].' (Zofia, 2008)

Zofia's comments regarding her restaurant position in relation to foregoing her education highlight the financial gains for working in the UK in a blue collar job as opposed to attaining a University degree. These comments also highlight Zofia's perception of what opportunities the University degree would provide her. Another point to clarify is the qualifications of the careerist migrant at the time of migration and at the current time. For example, Kamilla was encouraged by the hotel managers to develop her human capital by taking an English-language course and was given flexible working hours to accomplish this. *'They've really encouraged me and give me time off to go to language school to work on my English.'* (Kamilla, 2011). The emphasis on language acquisition for upward progression is evident through this example but also indicative of the larger needs of the service sector this trajectory is rooted in. It is in the employer's best interest to have their staff managers speak a high-level of English to communicate with guests and other staff more effectively. In addition, Wiktoria arrived in the UK with a Master's degree but was given flexible hours to study and she acquired her MBA. As is the case with many of the employers involved in all of the trajectories, the migrant's Polish qualification is devalued due to a lack of language skills or a lack of educational benchmarking; however, Wiktoria was able to attain her MBA as her employer was interested in her

long-term career development. While this may be the employer's point of view, once she received her MBA, Wiktoria considered herself to be even more over-qualified for her position. Nonetheless, similar to Zofia's approach to education versus financial gain, Wiktoria was happy to be employed despite her over-qualification and did not feel discriminated against or frustrated with her situation. These examples, from both the hotel and the restaurant, are contrary to the traditional notion of a 3D employer even though the migrant's first position within the organisation was a 3D job. Furthermore, this particular hotel, a prominent establishment within Wales, is the only major employer within the sample that offers this development and career progression.

Beyond the ability to progress and the opportunity to reach a higher employment status in the UK in comparison to what is available in Poland is the route the migrants took to get to their managerial position. Unlike the remaining participants in the sample, this group had one employer despite their time in the UK and despite them starting in a 3D job. Oliwia, through migrating more recently (2010) and still (2011) being in the 3D job in the hotel, supports the trajectory as an opportunity not available elsewhere both in the UK and Poland. Due to the nature of their work from the initial employment to the current time, the migrant's job and status within the organisation changed completely; however, the employer remained the same. This case supports the idea that if there was room to progress in the other 3D jobs, the migrants may not change their positions so frequently in searching for a better job. Alternatively, the motivation for staying in the job may not have been based on the surrounding labour market in the destination country but rather, as Jan mentioned, the lack of commensurate opportunities in the country of origin.

Future Plans

Since becoming employed in the UK, the careerists' plans are based on their existing employment progression and are relatively stable. While the careerists' plans prior to becoming employed may have been ambiguous due to potentially low employment prospects, the main place where ambiguity arises in this trajectory is in relation to the careerists' future plans. Their future plans are loosely based on the availability of similar employment opportunities in Poland, the valuation of skills and the expected income.

Considering the cost/benefit theory (Borjas, 1990), the benefit in returning to Poland for this group is considerably less than the cost of staying in the UK. The perception from the respondents is that their progression within the UK would not easily be replicated in Poland and they have worked too hard to progress in the destination country to return.

‘.I stayed because my family was never really wealthy at home and the way of living here is much less stressful because I make more money....and the progression as well. I’m happy because I see myself advancing more and more and I would not probably be able to even get the entry-level job at home let alone move up.’ (Jan, 2011)

Beyond the overarching motivation to remain in the UK, attributed to his career progression, Jan mentions his ability to make more money here as well as the lack of availability of employment in Poland. These comments focus more on the perceived poor economic conditions that remain in Poland and less on the actual career itself. This idea of continued economic problems that were a motivating factor in the careerists initial migration, is clearly still a factor in the careerists future plans. Alternatively, particularly for the migrants that developed their human capital (like Wiktoria) the economic motivations to migrate to a third country, where her skills and qualifications could be valued, is a consideration.

‘.My fiancée is Serbian but he wouldn’t mind moving to Poland. Because of the economy, I think we would be more likely to move to a 3rd location but only if financial situation better there than what we have here.’ (Wiktoria, 2011)

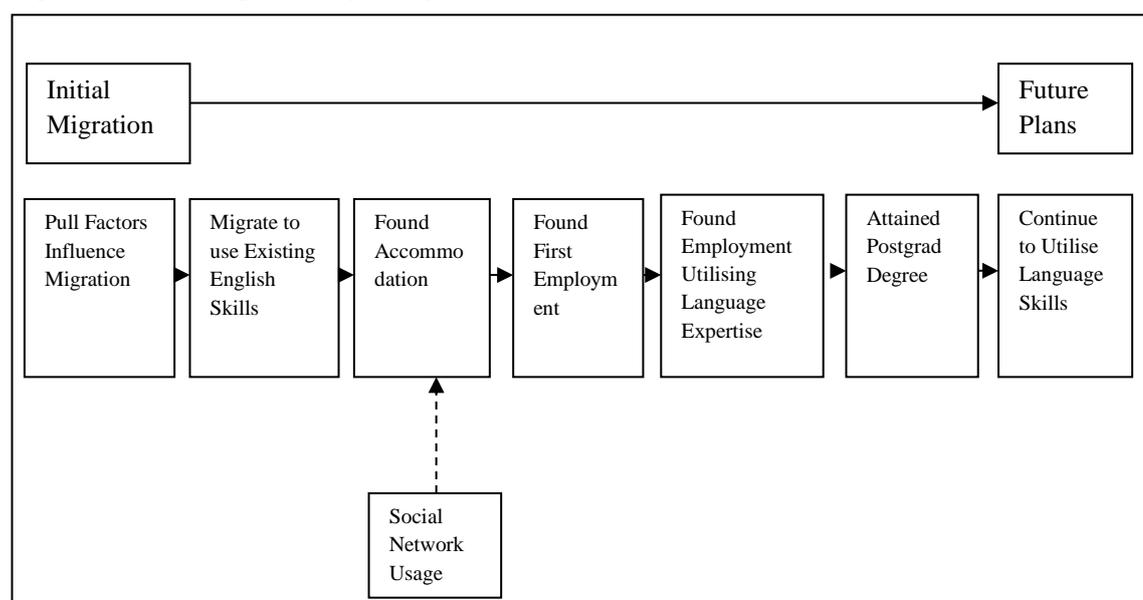
The cost/benefit analysis is at play again in Wiktoria’s final words in comparing the financial situation of the destination country with the financial situation in the UK. Her case is even more intriguing given her high level of academic qualifications, language abilities and her desire for upward progression. As a result of the emphasis the migrants put on the status they have attained as a result of their career progression while in the UK, the future plans of the migrants are largely based on the most lucrative outcome and use of their qualifications and skills to hold a commensurate status in the future.

Briefly, the careerists can be described as economically motivated migrants who came to the UK for a short time, held one 3D job, and managed to move up the career ladder within the organisations' infrastructure of which they were initially employed. The development of language skills is more paramount in this instance given the service-based nature of employment; however, other qualifications were earned and not necessarily used. In having continuous long-term employment and progression, a serious financial gain would be needed for this type of migrant to consider leaving their current position and, if this were the case, it would be to another country and not to return to Poland.

The Linguist Trajectory

The linguist trajectory will focus on a unique pattern drawn from the semi-structured interviews where migrants had acquired English language skills prior to migrating, capitalised on these skills in the destination country and used language as a gauge for future plans. This trajectory takes into account both the motivations and experiences of migrants. It has been labelled the 'linguist' trajectory due to the emphasis on English language improvement as a means of human capital development for economic gain. A more structured depiction of this trajectory is provided in figure 5.

Figure 5: The Linguist Trajectory



This trajectory begins with the migrants' initial migration and their economic motivations, mainly pull factors, that enabled it. Through the usage of transnational social networks, immediate accommodation was found. While many migrants came to the UK to learn the language and progressed up the division of labour according to their improved language skills, these migrants had a strong language base prior to migrating. Nonetheless, the linguists started in lower- skilled jobs and had several employers prior to finding the job that enabled them to utilise their language skills. The emphasis on the migrants' English language skills and their progression within the division of labour makes this trajectory unique. For varied reasons such as accreditation, the linguists are more likely than any other trajectory, outside of the credentialists, to attain a qualification while in the destination country. Due to the human capital developed during their migration, future plans for these migrants largely related to the continued use of language skills.

Original Migration Motivation

According to the interview data, and in contrast to the other trajectories highlighted in this chapter, the economic motivations of the linguists to migrate to the UK are varied. While many migrants cited the poor conditions in Poland as push factors for migrating, these migrants solely mentioned the pull factors bringing them to the UK, including potential wages and English-language immersion.

'I had studied English in Poland so I knew the language, the main reason I came was to make some money. The plan was to earn and save some money, and leave in a year.' (Donata, 2011)

'I decided to migrate to make use of my language. I could speak English like in a text book but not how people really spoke it and I wanted that.' (Zuzanna, 2011)

'Most people leave Poland at my age, up to 25, and if they know English they will probably come here or to improve English or just get some money at the same time and then they want to come back [to Poland].' (Martyna, 2008)

All of these quotations focus on the migrant's previous knowledge of the English language prior to migrating, but to different degrees. For Donata, and Martyna, their prior knowledge of the English language could be considered a catalyst for migration

as there was one less risk involved when migrating and they could further develop their human capital. Somewhat similarly, Zuzanna learned English in Poland; however, unlike the others, she was not as confident in her language ability which was her reason for migrating ie. developing her language skills. Interestingly, when viewing the data presented in figure 5, despite their English language skills, all of these linguists had 3D jobs when first migrating to the UK. Another linguist who utilised her language skills but had diverse motivations to migrate is Gabriela. She chain migrated to meet her husband who was working for a British supermarket chain. Due to her husband's position, her responsibilities as a stay-at-home mum, and his knowledge of the area, she started as a Polish translator when arriving as opposed to the traditional 3D job. This will be discussed further below in the employment section. Given the emphasis on improving their language skills, despite their low-level employment upon arrival, the linguists did not have ambiguous incentives for migrating or initially staying in the destination country.

Social Network Usage

These migrants, when migrating to earn money and gain confidence in their language skills, used social networks to decide where to migrate to in the UK.

'Came with my boyfriend and lived in London with him but a friend lived in Cardiff and said I could stay with her for awhile when looking for work...I hesitated between Edinburgh and Cardiff but since I had a friend here that's how I decided.' (Zuzanna, 2011)

'I chose Cardiff because a friend of mine lived here and said she could put me up for a little.' (Donata, 2011)

'I learned English at school and I think I speak it perfectly so I came here to see what I could do with it.' (Anna, 2008)

Unlike Gabriela's chain migration discussed above, Zuzanna migrated with her boyfriend but utilised her local social network to complete her intra-UK migration to Cardiff. One point that Zuzanna made, perhaps inadvertently, was discussing her two options which are both capital cities. Supported by at least one other interview (Kinga), some Poles believe that capital cities are the best migration options, for economic purposes, as they have the best facilities for migrants in affordable housing options, public transport and proximity. Based on this argument, Zuzanna chose

Edinburgh and Cardiff as she was already living in London. Due to her social network lowering the cost of migrating to Cardiff, she chose to migrate there. Donata chose Cardiff solely based on her local social network and the opportunity to have short-term accommodation indicating a reduced cost for migration.

Employment

A main characteristic of the linguist trajectory is the utilisation of the English-language skills possessed prior to migration in seeking employment. Gabriela is the outlier amongst those cited thus far as she utilised her English-language skills in her first job in the UK and excelled from there.

'I was an English teacher in Poland before coming here but teaching English there and speaking English here are different. As I am a stay-at-home mum, I did part-time work for awhile here helping the police as a translator and interpreter.' (Gabriela, 2008)

Gabriela mentions the same difficulties as previously mentioned by Zuzanna in speaking English in the UK as opposed to speaking it in Poland. However, Gabriela's job choice reflects less about her gaining confidence in speaking English and more about her living situation with being a stay-at-home mum who needed to juggle her family life with her desire to work. Alternatively, Zuzanna, Anna and Donata all had 3D jobs when initially entering the UK which did not require a high level of English language skills commensurate to their actual expertise.

'The first job I had was in a coffee shop in London I stayed for 5-6 months then I moved to an office job working for an insurance company for 18 months.' (Zuzanna, 2011)

'...I first worked at a diner in Cardiff Bay and I got really bored so I started looking for another job there and temping and then in the bank.' (Donata, 2011)

Although these respondents were employed in 3D jobs immediately after migrating to the UK, the interesting issue is that after their initial job, Zuzanna and Donata moved up the division of labour to a non-3D job. This upward progression, supports the linguist trajectory and could also be indicative of their advanced language skills where they could be candidates for the position unlike Poles with no prior language

skills. Relevant to this trajectory, these jobs are a step up from the coffee shop and the diner yet the migrants that inform the linguist trajectory were still not fully utilising their English language skills. The next phase of the migrant's path involves the advanced use of their language skills.

'Then I moved to an office job working for an insurance company for 18 months and in that time I started volunteering my interpretation service. After 18 months I found the diversity officer job in Cardiff. During that time my contract changed a lot and three years ago because of the contracts, I started my business so now work part-time as diversity officer and I'm self-employed as a translator/interpreter...main catalyst for change was confidence, I knew book English but not confident in the language. Step by step I got better with my English and I thought that translating is what I really want to do.' (Zuzanna, 2011)

'That [working in the diner/bank] was my first year of staying here and then I decided I would stay here longer than planned....because I decided to stay I looked for a better job....so after working in the bank I got really bored there I started to look for other jobs, registered my CV for an accounting agency because I was desperate. It turns out that an accounting firm was looking for someone with language skills and people to work for them so they wanted me for my Polish –English translation skills so then it was better than the bank job and then I found this job [diversity officer] by accident because I signed up for a translation course to get training and I saw a sign for the job next door and here I am.' (Donata, 2011)

These are two very different paths with very similar endings. Zuzanna capitalised on her language proficiency by setting up her own business (not in the 'entrepreneur trajectory' as she is self-employed as a freelancer as opposed to owning a small business) after living in the UK for approximately two years. This decision was largely based on her growing confidence in her skills, what she noticed as a gap in the market as well as a way to ensure her continued employment given the contract-status of her job. In addition, Zuzanna also utilised her English language skills in becoming a diversity officer who caters to the diverse population of Cardiff. This path would only be possible with advanced English skills. Similarly, Donata

decided to utilise her skills when applying for a new job as a translator for a financial firm. She also noted that the catalyst for getting a better job was the realisation that she would be staying in the UK for longer than originally expected. Nonetheless, the translation job was a stepping stone to the more high-skilled job of a diversity officer at the same organisation where Zuzanna is employed. In some ways, this section takes into account the career progression discussed in the last trajectory but considers language skills and progression in the labour market instead of progression within one organisation. The role of educational achievements reached within the UK for this group will be discussed next.

Human Capital Development

At some point, linguists apply and start University on a postgraduate course. For Gabriela, this was her first Masters degree in translation, for Zuzanna it was her second Masters degree in translation and for Donata it was her second Masters degree in Sociology. All prior qualifications were attained in Poland and none of the migrants migrated specifically to go to University in the UK. In considering the migrant's trajectory, there are three reasons these migrants may have sought to acquire additional qualifications despite their progression within the labour market without it. First, the additional qualifications could be due to the noticeable devaluation of their Polish qualifications in the UK. This is similar to the other trajectories where Polish qualifications are overlooked in the British labour market. If the linguists ever wanted to change jobs, the experience without the qualifications could be problematic. Second, in certain professions, such as freelance translation (Gabriela & Zuzanna), a qualification is key to demonstrate a higher level of English language expertise. *'Since living here I am more confident in my language skills and I started an MA in translation earlier this year to get qualified in it.'* (Gabriela, 2011) Third, the migrants took advantage of the opportunity to up-skill in the UK perceiving a British qualification as highly valued upon return to Poland or migration to another country. Taking the devaluation of the Polish qualifications in the UK alongside the difficulties in finding employment in Poland and the high regard for British qualifications in Poland, the linguists' responses reflect a general devaluation of the Polish qualifications both inside and outside of Poland.

Future Plans

As was the case of the careerists, the linguists also have ambiguous future plans with similar options such as return to the country of origin, stay in the destination country or migrate to a third country. Due to her husband's employment, Gabriela's future plans are based on his continued employment in the UK. For the foreseeable future, she plans on staying in the UK to capitalise on her completed Master's degree in Translation. Alternatively, Zuzanna, who has also finished the same course as Gabriela is planning to migrate to a 3rd country. *'I chose to start my business as a translator/interpreter because I could take it anywhere with me. Would probably not move back to Poland but maybe Spain or France because of my language degree/business.'* (Zuzanna, 2011) If considering onward migration to a 3rd country to further capitalise on the linguist background, this group is somewhat limited as the cost of migration would be high in terms of a lack of a social network, visa restrictions and employment options. While the notion of onward migration could be possible given her highly mobile employment status, Zuzanna's changing marital status may add context to her future decision making. She is currently engaged to a British businessman who could act as an anchor to the UK.

One option that was not considered by this migrant group was returning to Poland. The pull factors to return to Poland to capitalise on the advanced language skills are not present, despite the acquisition of a British qualification.

'When I go visit family it is noticeable how many more people speak English in Poland, it is now almost needed to get a job.' (Kamilla, 2011)

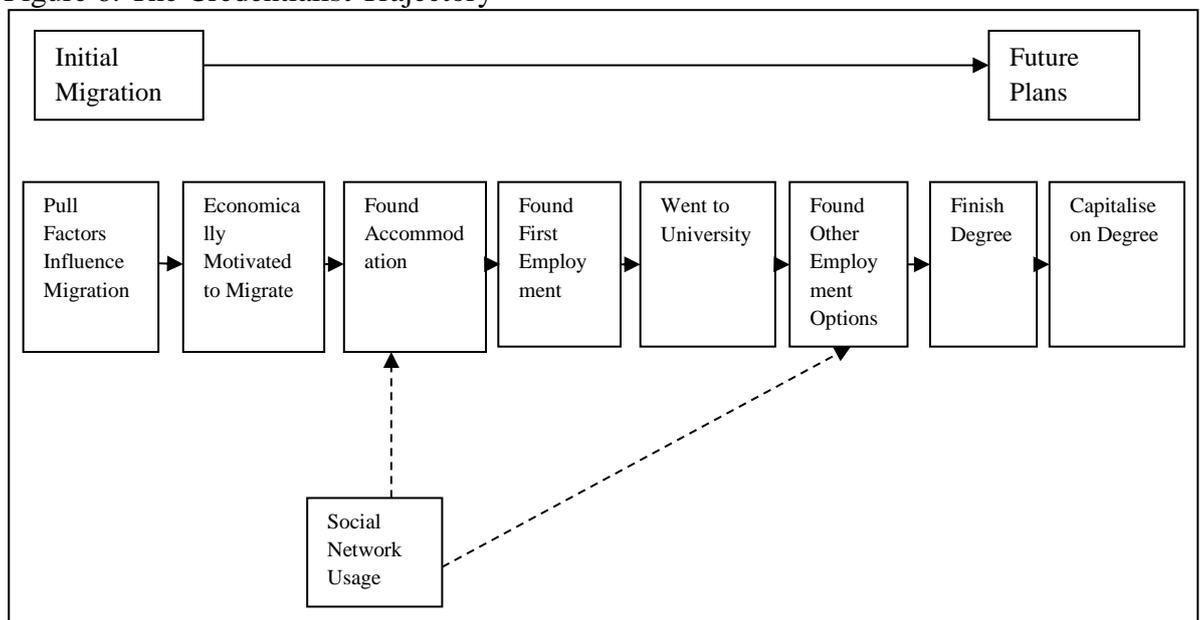
The changing usage of the English language in Poland will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Briefly, the linguist trajectory is characterised by varied economic pull motivations to initially migrate followed by 3D employment. The upward progression within the division of labour is based on the migrant's ability to speak the language prior to migrating to the UK. This English language skill also increases confidence in setting up freelance businesses and going to University. The long-term strategy of this migrant group is largely unknown based on external factors such as spouse employment and capitalisation of higher education qualifications earned in the UK.

The Credentialist Trajectory

The credentialist trajectory focuses on the unique pattern drawn from the semi-structured interviews; migration is motivated by long-term economic gain through the acquisition of a university degree in the destination country, use of that degree in the destination country labour market and plans to continue capitalising on the degree in the location perceived as having the highest returns (destination country, country of origin or 3rd country). This trajectory takes into account both the motivations and experiences of migrants. It was labelled the ‘credentialist’ trajectory due to the migrant’s emphasis on acquiring a University degree and capitalising on the degree. A more structured depiction of this trajectory is provided in figure 6.

Figure 6: The Credentialist Trajectory



This trajectory begins with the migrant’s desire to study in the UK being a pull factor in the decision-making process. This is considered an economic motivation as the migrant’s desire to study in the UK is based on the perceived long-term, economic benefits within the labour market if having a degree from a British institution. Similar to the other migrant trajectories, accommodation is found prior to migration using the individual migrant’s social network. In many cases this allowed the migrants to come to the UK prior to the start of the term for work to capitalise on the wage differentials in the UK. However, due to the utilisation of the social network, the migrant would rarely initially migrate to the University city but would migrate based on the social network and then intra-UK migrate to the University city. The

employment in this location was usually in a 3D job and was terminated due to the forward migration to start University. During University, the migrant would have a 'student' job that could be considered 3D; but, this position could also be considered standard employment for students. After finishing the degree, the migrant would plan to capitalise on the degree in the most lucrative manner possible.

Original Migration Motivation

Thus far, throughout the other trajectories, the migrants' motivations to migrate to the UK have been economically based focusing on language, financial gain and perceived opportunities. The credentialists fit into the latter category of opportunity; however, instead of the traditional opportunity considered by Poles in terms of employment and a lower cost of living, their 'opportunity' exists in the form of human capital development in the UK.

'My reason for leaving was education. I finished high school and I wanted to go to University in the UK. I applied in Poland and I didn't know the education market in the UK outside of the top 20. I actually thought I was applying to Cardiff University but I was applying to UWIC. I didn't even apply to a Polish University. That's how I ended up here...I knew if I could get a British degree it would really help me in life.' (Igor, 2011)

'...Basically I came here to study and to learn the language.' (Maciej, 2008)

Through reviewing the motivations of Igor and Maciej even at this early stage of the trajectory, there are noticeable differences between this trajectory and the other trajectories. The difference lies in the migrants' motivations being based on their upcoming experiences. Unlike the other migrants that informed the other trajectories, these migrants, prior to leaving Poland, had a plan: to attend University in the UK with the aim of enhancing their human capital to be more competitive in the labour market. Their motivations supported their overarching plan as opposed to the motivations creating their plan. Igor openly discusses his long-term strategy for economic success through developing his human capital while Maciej mentions his desire to study and learn the language, which qualify for human capital development. Other issues are implied in the above quotes, such as social network usage. This is predominantly the case for Igor as he had only recently finished his high school degree before migrating from Poland. Please see the Appendix for further details.

His short term success when migrating to the UK could be attributed to his transnational friend social network and his English language skills. However, his transnational family social network was not active in his decision to migrate to Cardiff, nor was it active in his initial decision-making process to apply to University in the UK.

Social Network Usage

The credentialists do not rely on their social network, both transnational and local, as much as the other trajectories as accommodation can be provided by the University and the employment can be casual as a full-time student. However, as mentioned above, credentialists, being part migrant and part student, were more likely to migrate prior to the beginning of the University term to work in the UK. This was the case for Igor who decided to come to London as he could learn the language better before University started in September and he had accommodation available to him through his transnational friend social network that was present in London. *'I came to London because my girlfriend [Polish] at the time said I could stay with her and her friends in London before I started University in Cardiff.'* (Igor, 2011) While his social network did not help him find employment, as mentioned above, it did provide immediate accommodation when he arrived. Beyond this instance, Igor's social network, this time his local social network, is only mentioned once more in regards to aiding him in finding employment while he was at University. In addition, Natalia was influenced to migrate to the UK prior to the start of the term because her friend, Maciej, said she could stay with him for awhile. In both of these cases, the migrants' transnational friend social network was used but only temporarily because of the pre-term time arrangements. It is unknown if these same social networks would have been a catalyst for migration if the migrants did not plan on going on to University. Furthermore, the migrants' social networks were not used to find immediate employment. The credentialist's employment opportunities will be discussed in the next section and this trajectory in comparison to the other trajectories will be discussed further below.

Employment

The typical Polish migrant changes jobs frequently in an attempt to move up the division of labour in the destination country. This is mentioned in the wider literature by Parutis (2011). This is also the case for migrants who are also students,

but to a different degree. In some respects, these people are migrants and have the same economic motivations as the migrants discussed in the other trajectories; however, these migrants are also students who are transitioning from living with their parents to having their independence. They are used to having low-skilled, temporary employment. This leads to migrants who are developing their human capital and are fairly well-educated, taking low-skilled, temporary jobs with little advancement until they finish their studies.

'...I worked on a tomato farm in the South West [of England] when I first migrated before school started.' (Natalia, 2008)

'I started in London as a waiter in a coffee shop. After that I was employed in Camden Town selling oranges on the street which was interesting because I did it for a day. I came the next day and they were gone but selling orange juice on the street for 6 hours was enough for me. After that I was unemployed for 2-3 weeks. Then I found a job as a glass collector at a bar in Islington which was good money and easy. Then I came to Cardiff for the academic year and found a job in 3 days as a waiter where I worked for 6 months but managers were not nice so I left and found a job in a recruitment agency for waiters and found a job through another agency as a fill in waiter. Working a lot in a hotel (same one as careerists)...I worked in a clothing store because my friend got me a job there. After that I graduated and then I applied for my job that I have now [University Researcher].'
(Igor, 2011)

Natalia and Igor supported themselves when initially migrating to the UK, prior to the start of University, by taking low-skilled temporary employment. While Natalia went on to study full-time without a job, Igor held several different jobs during his time as a student. All of the jobs were low-skilled and one of them was acquired through his social network. Nonetheless, there is a clear departure from his pre-student to post-student career prospects as he finished University, capitalised on his newly acquired degree, and acquired a competitive University researcher position. His progression up the division of labour is noticeable. Dissimilarly, Magdalena had a Masters degree from Poland which she felt was worthless in the UK labour market, even with her English language skills. As a result, she went to University to attain a

second Masters degree and worked 3D jobs during her time as a student to support herself. When she finished with a Masters degree from a British University, she tried to capitalise on her human capital development to find that her employment options were low because of the recession. Due to this she is still working in a 3D job with even further education devaluation. *'I finished my degree so now I have two Masters degrees and I can't get work so I'm working as a bartender to make ends meet. I think my language is good it's just not a good time to be looking for a job.'* (Magdalena, 2011)

Future Plans

In some ways, the future plans for the migrants in this trajectory are similar to the future plans of the migrants in the careerist trajectory. Both trajectories highlight using the human capital developed whether it is a degree or career progression, in deciding the future plans. They also highlight the migrants' economic motivations in seeking a lucrative, albeit ambiguous, setting to capitalise on their human capital.

'I won't go back to Poland but when my contract ends [with his employer]. I don't know if I'll stay in Cardiff....maybe go to California some day.' (Igor, 2011)

'Finishing my college now and writing my thesis so then I will look for jobs so I cannot say what will happen, maybe if I find job here I will stay but if I find a job in Poland I will go.' (Natalia, 2008)

'So I know I'm staying here for then [until PhD done] but whether or not I stay here in the long term it depends on what kind of job I can get here and if I can get another job in Poland I will have no doubts that I won't go back there- it depends on the work...' (Maciej, 2008)

These migrants are at very different stages of their degrees and lives and their 'future plans' reflect these differences. For example, Igor is interested in utilising his combination of qualifications and experience to find another employment option when his contract ends. He does not see Poland as an option but would like to utilise his language skills if considering migrating to a third country. Somewhat similarly, Maciej is focusing on what return he can get on the human capital that he developed in Cardiff when discussing his future plans. Unlike Igor, Maciej would consider

returning to Poland but it depends on the economic conditions there. Natalia, in comparison to the other respondents, appears to base her next steps specifically on where she would be able to get a job. This is an economic motivation based on employment opportunities as opposed to perceived economic benefits (ie. wages).

Briefly, the credentialist trajectory is characterised by a single pull motivation – British University education- to initially migrate followed by 3D employment. After intra-UK migration to the University city for term time, the migrant will work ‘student jobs’ until graduation. Due to the facilities provided by the University, social network usage is low in this trajectory. After completing the course, the migrant seeks to immediately capitalise on the degree in the labour market and future plans are based on the expected returns having this degree will provide regardless of the settlement country.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has highlighted an array of economic motivations that migrants participating in the sampled non-ethnic economy of Cardiff have during their migration period. While some of these motivations are ambiguous, particularly regarding the migrant’s future plans, they all have an economic basis. This economic motivation base was also highlighted for the migrants informing the trajectories created in Chapter 4. This section will provide a brief comparison of the trajectories created in this chapter highlighting the main points that will be discussed in Chapter 7 as well as a short introduction for the following chapter.

Throughout this chapter the individual trajectories have been described with noticeable overlap between the trajectories regarding certain phases of the migration such as: original migration motivations, social network usage, employment, and the migrants’ future plans. This section will highlight and compare any overlapping issues amongst the trajectories using the same outline as above.

The migrants’ original motivation to migrate in all of the trajectories is based on their perception of what is available to them in the country of origin alongside their perception of the lifestyle they can have in the destination country. These perceptions are broken down into economic push and pull factors. The careerists, as they had less of a plan than the other two trajectories’ migrants when initially

migrating, are the group most influenced by the national economic situations in the home and destination countries. The poor economic conditions in Poland and the pull of expected high financial returns in the UK was sufficient motivation for them to migrate. Through relying on these motivations to initially migrate, the careerists are more similar to the average Polish migrant than the other trajectories. The linguists and credentialists are different as they are more pulled by the opportunities in the UK to develop their human capital for economic gain in the long-term, making the situation in Poland less of a push than for the careerists.

All of the trajectories in this chapter have utilised social networks to a certain extent. The main divide in social network usage is between the credentialist trajectory and the other two trajectories. The credentialists did not need to rely on their social networks as much as the migrants informing the other trajectories as the University provided accommodation and the employment was less of a migration driver than education and human capital development. Beyond the credentialists lack of social network usage, the linguists were also less likely than the careerists to utilise their social networks as they did not depend on their social network to gain entry to the labour market. The low social network use for credentialists and linguists, in comparison to the careerists, could be based on their initial migration motivations which were largely influenced by human capital development factors such as going to University (credentialists) and improving their English skills (linguists), not only the national economic conditions (careerists). Unlike the careerists that migrated due to the poor economic conditions in the country of origin, the credentialists and the linguists aspired to acquire and capitalise on their skills in the destination country and, in doing so, had more of a plan during the initial migration period.

Amongst the trajectories discussed in this chapter, employment is the most diversely described issue. The careerists demonstrate how a 3D employer can provide high level employment opportunities through career progression. Unlike the other trajectories, the careerists have only one employer which is an illustration of the argument that migrants would not change jobs frequently if their skills were valued, the wages were sufficient and there was room to progress within the company. Alternatively, the credentialists and linguists, both prior to the start of University, have approximately four jobs each and, once finishing University, settle into a more defined career path. This could be indicative of their (credentialists and linguists)

motivations which support their overarching plan as opposed to the motivations creating their plan (careerists).

The final phase of the trajectories, the future plans, is the most ambiguous section in all of the migration period which can be attributed to either the current, uncertain economic times (2011) or simply due to the unpredictability of the future. While all of the trajectories focussed on capitalising on skills, economic gain and continued employment progression for future plans, the uncertainty surrounds the location where this will take place. Each trajectory discussed the potential for the migrants to return to the country of origin, stay in the destination country or move to a third country. The emphasis was less on the place and more on the perceived economic benefits of the location. For example, the careerist who has progressed significantly within their organisation even though their qualifications continue to be devalued is less concerned about using the qualification in the future and more concerned with the lucrative offers that are available. This is similarly the case for linguists. Equally, credentialists do not mind where they are located – Poland, UK or elsewhere- as long as they are getting what they consider good economic returns and stable employment options.

From this brief comparison of the non-ethnic economy migrant trajectories, the following six main points should be highlighted:

- Human capital development is a major motivation for both the credentialists and the linguists.
- The movement up the division of labour for all three trajectories listed here could not have been completed without advanced English language skills.
- Employment status, along with economic aspects of employment, is a major motivation for the careerists.
- The credentialists and the linguists perceive their Polish qualifications as being less significant than British qualifications.
- Student employment opportunities and the credentialist employment opportunities are similar in nature.

- With advanced language skills when initially migrating, the linguists still held several 3D positions before moving up the division of labour.

These major findings will be discussed extensively in Chapter 7. The following findings chapter will be significantly different than both this chapter and the previous chapter. Focusing on the most ambiguous part of the Polish migrants' trajectory, the future plans, the following chapter will consider non-economic aspects of migration that may be influencing this particular phase of the trajectory. As these social aspects of migration only apply to the future plans portion of the existing migrant trajectories and the migrants informing Chapter 6 have more individual social motivations, further trajectories will not be created.

Chapter 6: The Social Aspects of Migration

Introduction

The previous analysis chapters focussed on the economic motivations of the migrants in the broadest sense possible, using the data provided by the semi-structured interviews and the participant observation. While this type of analysis provided substantial insight into the migrant lifestyle from initial migration onward, it failed to take into account non-economic motivations or social aspects of migration that migrants may have throughout their time in the destination country. The social aspects of migration are of particular importance when explaining events that are considered unclear by economic standards, such as the future plans of the migrants, as mentioned in the previous chapters. Unlike the economic motivations, the social aspects are not themselves motivations rather they inform the migrants' motivations. Using the semi-structured interview data, this chapter will analyse the social aspects of migration in an effort to better understand the breadth of migrant motivations.

Trajectories will not be constructed from the data in this chapter. This chapter will highlight the future plans of the migrants in terms of the social aspects of their migration. In previous chapters, the migrants' future plans were described as being uncertain in economic terms. The reason for highlighting the future plans of the migrants is two-fold. First, the migrants in the sample only mentioned the social aspects of migration in regards to their future plans and not at any other phase of their migration. Second, as the future plans of the migrants were, for the most part, the most ambiguous phase of the migrant's trajectory in economic terms, these social aspects will provide further details regarding the migrant's motivations. From these findings, the migrants in the sample were economically motivated to migrate to the destination country, but, their future motivations greatly consider and, in some cases, compare the social aspects in the destination country with the social aspects in the country of origin.

In the previous two chapters, which focussed on the economic motivations of migrants, there was at least one instance where the migrant quoted could have been highlighting a non-economic motivation, or a social aspect of migration, instead of an economic motivation. For example, several migrants mentioned their social

networks. As an economic motivation, the use of the migrants' social network was to reduce the cost affiliated with the migration. However, it could also be the case that the migrant wanted to reunite with family or to maintain a relationship if meeting with a boyfriend or girlfriend in the destination country. The latter situation was mentioned several times as the lack of formal ties made the boyfriend/girlfriend a part of the migrant's transnational friend network. This situation was not wrongly depicted as being economic but it was vague enough that it could be viewed through both an economic and a non-economic lens.

The chapter will continue as follows. The next section will provide an overview of the social aspects that were drawn from the data collected for this thesis. The first social aspect to be discussed will be the migrant's use of the English language, or lack thereof, as a non-economic entity. The second social aspect reviewed in this section will be culture, particularly in the destination country in comparison with the country of origin. The third social aspect will be the perceived tolerance levels comparing the two countries, which also ties in significantly with both culture and religion. Following the section on tolerance, there will be a discussion of family as a social aspect. This is not in relation to homesickness but in relation to the family dynamic in the destination country and in the country of origin as an influence on future migration plans. The fifth social aspect to be discussed will be religion, both in relation to tolerance and contrasting the religious nation (country of origin) with the destination country. The migrants' sense of adventure will be the last aspect discussed. The chapter will end with concluding remarks highlighting any similarities or differences between the features.

Social Aspects of Migration

The social aspects of migration are not motivations to migrate but they are features in the country of origin or the destination country that inform the migrants' motivations. In contrast to the economic motivations discussed in the last two chapters, these social aspects are all non-economic in nature. For example, migrants do not return migrate solely for the food they can get in their country of origin; however, this social aspect might feature in the migrants' decision making when considering where to migrate to in the future. The social aspects that will be

discussed in this section include: language, culture, family, religion, tolerance, and adventure.

Language Acquisition for Non-Economic Means

From the participants' responses, the migrants' native language and the idea of learning a new language in the destination country were discussed as a social aspect of migration in three ways. First, the migrants discussed the acquisition of language for non-economic means if staying in the destination country in the long-term, thereby building their cultural capital instead of their human capital. Second, the migrants discussed the acquisition of language for non-economic means if staying in the destination country in the long-term to reduce their stress level. This language-based stress was caused by the migrants in the sample living with a substantial language barrier between the migrant and the native population. Third, the migrants discussed using their native language in the destination country which was largely attributed to retaining their culture. The use of the languages (both English and Polish) for social, non-economic means will be outlined in this section using the data collected through the semi-structured interviews and participant observation to support it.

As outlined in the previous economically-led chapters, some migrants were clearly motivated to learn English as a form of human capital development. However, as mentioned in Chapter 5, some of the migrants in the sample considered learning the English language separate from making money. W.I. Thomas' (1927) theorem was quoted which interprets the migrants' actions in considering language development separate from money, to be non-economic because that is the way in which the migrant perceives it. Using the same case from the earlier chapter, the migrants may have perceived the acquisition of language as non-economic by separating it from earning money; but, these same migrants went on to capitalise on their language skills for economic benefits thereby reinforcing their economic motivations. A smaller subsection of the sample perceived the economic benefits and language acquisition as completely separate, as a method of improving cultural capital, supporting Thomas' theorem.

'I know French from school and now that I plan on living in the UK longer I would like to learn better English, not for more money-I don't need it- but just to have it [language skills].' (Angelika, 2011)

According to Angelika, this was not the first time that she learned a language to enhance her cultural capital. This case can be considered an abnormality amongst the rest of the sample, not because of Angelika's emphasis on cultural capital development instead of human capital development. Rather, Angelika's case is an abnormality as Angelika's family, still in Poland, are wealthy. While Angelika had stated that her initial migration motivations were economic, her knowledge of having a substantial economic 'safety net' may have allowed her to make choices like staying in the UK longer to develop her cultural capital that other migrants without this financial safety net would be unable to make.

Beyond enhancing their cultural capital, migrants had other non-economic reasons to learn English if planning to stay in the UK in the long-term, namely to reduce the stress of living in a city with a substantial language barrier.

'My brother [Marek] doesn't know any English but he can manage to get into town on the bus and buy a laptop all while speaking Polish. It's not easy but he does it. If he were going to stay in the UK longer he would learn the language just to live.' (Kinga, 2007)

As mentioned by Kinga in relation to her brother Marek who returned to Poland after working in her restaurant for a few months, Marek would have considered learning the language if he hadn't decided to move back to Poland. This interest in language acquisition was not for economic reasons or to enhance his cultural capital; rather, Marek wanted to reduce the stresses associated with not knowing the language in the destination country. In both cases -Angelika & Marek- it is to their benefit, socially and culturally, to learn the language if staying in the UK for the long-term.

While Marek and Angelika were considering learning English while in the UK, another subsection of the migrant sample was more interested in using their Polish language skills to retain their culture while in the UK. This is interesting for two reasons. First, the migrants that inform this section establish the link between culture and language which greatly impacts the migrant's identity when in the

destination country. Second, due to the migrants' family dynamic, both cases that inform this section were migrants that had children while residing in the destination country. Based on this, using the language and retaining the culture is not considered a symptom of homesickness; rather, it demonstrates the potential future plans of the migrants in returning to Poland to pass on their culture and their Polish identity to the next generation.

'There are no specific plans to go back but we [husband and I] still speak Polish in the house with the kids even though we all know English. Maybe someday we will all go back.' (Gabriela, 2011)

'I'm from Poland and when I say 'bread' in my language I can smell it, when I say it in English it is not the same..... I have a little girl now and I would like her to speak my language and see my homeland.' (Amelia, 2011)

By preserving their culture through language and passing it on to future generations, Gabriela's family utilises language as a social aspect that may inform their return migration in the future. In meeting with Gabriela in 2008 and 2011, there was a noticeable shift at the later time toward a more British way-of-life; however, even though her outward appearance may have changed her persona, links to her native culture are still present through her language use. Alternatively, Amelia comments on the relationship between language and culture in relation to the memories conjured up when using her native language. Similar to Gabriela, she has a child that was born in the UK and feels that language will help the child retain its 'Polishness' when growing up in the UK which may inform her future plans to return migrate. Although slight, and potentially because she has not lived in the UK for as long as Gabriela, there is a contrast between Gabriela and Amelia in the way they reference their country of origin. Amelia refers to Poland as her 'homeland'. This reference could also define the difference in Amelia, while being a business owner, holding on to her migrant identity and a shift in Gabriela's migrant identity over time²⁴. Several of the migrants quoted in this chapter reference the country of origin as 'home' which may be a subconscious leaning towards return migration to Poland.

²⁴ It should be noted that none of the migrants that inform the sample ever referred to themselves as 'EU citizens'.

While culture is implicitly described in Gabriela's quote in relation to language, Amelia, in a casual manner, explicitly described food in relation to language. The connection between food and culture within migrant communities is well documented (Wang, 2004, Wang & Lo, 2007). The next section will discuss culture more openly.

Cultural Variations as a Reason to Stay in the Destination Country

Culture²⁵ has been discussed in terms of language, food and migrant identity thus far in this chapter; however, this section will clarify the multiple meanings of culture while highlighting the linkages with other themes such as tolerance and religion. Through comparing British culture and Polish culture, the migrants informing this section mentioned culture as both a reason to stay in the destination country as well as a potential reason to return to the country of origin. Some of the migrants in the sample preferred British culture and felt that it was much more open than in Poland. Other migrants in the sample discussed the cultural shifts in Poland since joining the EU which made it more appealing for them to return. For another migrant, the culture they were familiar with in Poland was what they missed, not family. The use of culture as a social aspect of migration will be discussed in this section using the data collected through the semi-structured interviews to support it.

From the data, the culture in Poland was described as being heavily influenced by the Catholic church and, based on this influence, Poland was perceived as having significant cultural shortfalls as a conservative country in comparison to a more liberal Great Britain.

'I have thought about returning to Poland in the last year as with my degree [from a British University] I think I would have a more permanent job [currently on a contract] and maybe make more money but it's [returning to Poland] not what I want in terms of the society the culture because its back to a Catholic obsessed place. Maybe I'm not ready for it yet at this point in time or maybe I would rather go to another different culture.' (Igor, 2011)

²⁵ The culture, tolerance and religion sections of this chapter will have significant links. They were not consolidated into one section due to the data also supporting each topic as an independent social aspect of migration.

In this quote, Igor is not referring to culture in terms of art museums and architecture; rather, he is referring to culture in terms of collectivism, religion and his perception of Poland as a religious state. Due to the open culture provided in the UK, Igor uses his knowledge of life in the UK in comparison to his knowledge of life in Poland to inform his future migration plans. There are three points that are of interest surrounding Igor. First, in this quote, he mentions capitalising on the degree he acquired while in the UK upon return to Poland. However, despite his initial economic inclination, he chooses the cultural aspects and his knowledge of life in the UK in contrast to life in Poland to narrow down his future plans. Putting the social aspects of migration above the economic inclinations is a clear departure from both the analysis of the previous chapter as well as the analysis thus far in this chapter. Second, while Igor may be over valuing his qualification, his comments support the general attitude of the migrants from the sample that a British degree is held to a higher standard in both the UK and Poland. Despite his ambiguous future plans while outside of the country of origin, Igor would still be willing to migrate to a third country instead of returning to the country of origin with, what he perceives, as lucrative employment options. Third, Igor is Catholic so his perception of Poland being a ‘Catholic obsessed place’ may be because he is too close to the concept in that he knows what can be considered Catholic or non-Catholic based on his religious upbringing. Igor is cohabitating in Cardiff with his Polish girlfriend Kamilla, who is Protestant, and who has completely different views of Polish culture in contrast to British culture.

‘I don’t see it, how he [Igor] sees Poland. He makes it seem like there are all of these rules but people are really nice and really open not all of them but more than. But since we are in the EU we as a country have changed a lot in how they behave, react, the culture, everything. We are really open and part of the family of Europe. I see a huge opportunity there, not for work because it’s not necessarily there but it’s coming up. Because we were closed for so many years, now we are running to catch up. I see this as a huge progress in my country since 1989 [end of Communism]. I might not return for a few years but I hope to return at some point. I like the culture and it is my home.’
(Kamilla, 2011)

Kamilla discusses culture in Poland but does not mention the religious base that was the core reason Igor would not consider return migrating at this time. This variation could be based on Kamilla's Protestant beliefs which make her less aware of the Catholic influences in Polish culture. Equally, this variation could be due to Igor exaggerating his depiction of the Catholic influences in Poland's culture. In lieu of religion, Kamilla comments on what she perceives as the noticeable changes between Communist Poland she remembers growing up in and the Poland that is now a part of the EU. While Kamilla mentioned the changes since the EU accession, she has not been in Poland to see them due to her migration pattern and infrequent return for holidays. Therefore, it is unclear how she is aware of the significant differences in Poland in the pre- and post- EU accession period. Nonetheless, she is confident enough in the cultural change to consider return migration, despite what she perceives as a place of low economic opportunity. Kamilla's actions in choosing the social aspects of Poland over the economic aspects of Poland highlight what Igor initially mentioned, but in the opposite fashion. It should be highlighted that, similar to Amelia in the last section, Kamilla also refers to Poland as 'home' and would consider return migration.

Anna is another migrant in the sample who, similar to Kamilla, prefers Polish culture to British culture. This preference is largely based on food, which is similar to Amelia, and what could be perceived as being homesick for culture. None of the Poles mentioned return migration because they missed their families or friends in their social network; however, they did mention missing the culture of Poland.

'So we stopped for a meal [in UK] and I ordered carrot soup and I tried it, had two spoons and said I wanted to go home, I didn't like the food, nothing.'
(Anna, 2008)

While Anna did not decide to return migrate based on this event, she does highlight that she misses the culture in Poland. In this sense, culture is considered the food associated with her home country. The cultural connection with food was also discussed with Amelia and can be considered one of the social aspects for using ethnic businesses in the destination country. In Chapter 4, the question of why migrants use ethnic businesses when cheaper options are available in British supermarkets was posed and answered using the economic strategy of temporary

migrants who do not want to learn the language. The social aspects discussed linking culture and food support the non-economic motivations for using these ethnic businesses as well. *'Being away can be hard sometime as I miss certain things but a lot of it I can get at the Polish stores.'* (Borys, 2011) Basically, the migrants miss the familiarity of 'home' including the products, product containers and shared language that are available to them in the ethnic businesses in Cardiff. That is the defining characteristic, between the Polish store and the British store, that compels migrants to use the more expensive ethnic businesses.

Tolerance as an Attraction to Stay in the Destination Country

Tolerance can be considered at the social level, making it a cultural issue, and at the individual level, making it a personal issue. For this section, culture will be considered in terms of a 'culture of tolerance' or a 'culture of intolerance' at the social level as perceived by the migrant's at the individual level. Of the migrants that informed this section, they explained their observation of the different levels of tolerance between the country of origin and the destination country, favouring the latter in all cases. The role of tolerance as a social aspect of migration will be discussed in this section using the data collected through the semi-structured interviews to support it.

The migrants from the sample mentioned tolerant societies in relation to the society's acceptance of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender (LGBT) people and issues. Through immersing themselves in the British culture, they noticed a drastic increase in the level of tolerance for gay individuals, and gay rights in general, that they had not found in Poland. This could be based on the immediate area that they were migrating from in the country of origin and the area where they migrated to in the destination country, if they migrated from a small town to a large city. The location of the exact migration in the country of origin is unknown. However, the migrants that inform this section make it clear that the level of tolerance in the UK is definitely informing their future plans by removing the option for return migration.

'I stayed [in the UK] because society is more tolerant here I'm a lesbian... the people in Poland, do not approve.....' (Angelika, 2011)

'Everyone is Catholic and that is so much a part of living in Poland....tolerance is low for non-Catholic issues like gay-rights ...'
(Donata, 2011)

In both of these quotes, the UK was seen as a harbour of tolerance where the migrants could be themselves, unlike Poland which they perceived as being very intolerant. Even with their gay, migrant identity, Angelika and Donata felt more accepted in the UK than in their homeland. In this way, they were not changing their Polish, gay identity by excluding return migration from their future plans. Rather, based on the perception of their identity by the larger population in both locales, these migrants were changing their location from the country of origin to the destination country. The emphasis on Catholicism within Poland seemed to be a major factor in the low level of tolerance for people who do not fit the Catholic lifestyle. Due to the embedding of religion in the culture of Poland, tolerance has a largely Catholic slant. Similar to Igor's comment in the last section pertaining to religion and culture, Donata takes Igor's comments about the collectivist, sheltered nature of life in Poland a step further by discussing it in terms of specific aspects of her life, namely gay rights. While Angelika originally mentioned the intolerance for gays, Donata's quote specifically links Catholicism, the national consciousness of Poles, and tolerance together. For these two particular migrants, other social aspects of migration were at play that coincide with tolerance, at the individual level, with their families objecting to their sexual orientation.

The Role of Family in the Migrants' Future Plans

Family was briefly mentioned in the language section in regards to the migrants' children retaining their Polish identity through language. In addition, it was mentioned in the culture section as none of the migrants in that section mentioned that they missed their family or were using family as a social aspect of migration; rather, they missed the culture of Poland. This section provides further insight into the role of family for the migrants in the sample, particularly relating to the potential long term nature of their migration and the migrants' use of their family as a reason not to return migrate. The role of family as a social aspect of migration will be discussed in this section using the data collected through the semi-structured interviews to support it.

The vast majority of the migrants in the sample were planning on coming to the UK for a short time when initially migrating. It was only after living in the destination country that the migrants' plans changed to include staying longer than expected or even long-term. Due to the changing plans of the migrants, the role of family would also be expected to change as it would be easier to leave the country of origin for the short-term instead of the long-term. Regardless of the length of time the migrant is away from their family, many migrants in the sample utilise advances in telecommunications technology to keep in touch with their immediate family while in the destination country.

'I keep in touch with my family a lot on Skype and Facebook.' (Martyna, 2008)

'Not missing family because can be in relatively good contact with them through the Internet.' (Julia, 2008)

As cited by Martyna and Julia, although they are physically away from their families, the migrants have regular communication with them through social media websites and Internet calling thereby reducing the social distance between them. This could lend insight into the lack of homesickness for family as discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. While migrants that are in the UK in the longer term may have the telecommunications facilities to make this contact from home, this may not be the case for short-term migrants, or for migrants when they first arrive in the destination country. Based on this, Tomek saw the gap in the market and makes it easier for migrants to keep in touch with their family through his Internet café aimed at the Polish population in Cardiff. *'With my business other Polish people can contact their family as I know what it feels like to be away from home.'* (Tomek, 2008) Even though Tomek is still reaping the economic rewards of having a Polish Internet café, his interpretation of his business is less economic and more family-centred based on his own migrant experience.

Beyond the ways in which migrants keep in touch with their family, thereby reducing the families involvement in the migrants' future plans, are the other social plans that the family plays a role in which will be discussed next. The changing role of the family could be positive, where the migrant looks forward to reconnecting with their immediate family; it could also be negative, where the migrant prefers life

in the destination country without their family. The former is the case for several migrants that mentioned the role of their family in their future decision making.

Family, as an independent social aspect, is mentioned as a reason to stay in the UK and as a reason to return to Poland. For those using family to stay in the UK, it is because their immediate family has chain migrated with them. Jan (2011) is an example of this: *'My parents moved here about two years ago as they are both retired so they live here with me. I don't think I'll go back [to Poland] because there is nothing there for me'*. Jan had economic motivations to initially migrate and he perceived his family as the only reason he would return migrate but with his parents now in the destination country, he is complete. By saying that now that his family is in Cardiff he has nothing in Poland, Jan indirectly places considerable weight on the role of his family in his decision making process. While this is sufficient grounds for staying in the UK for Jan, other migrants, who have also had immediate family chain migration, say they would still like to return to Poland at some point- namely if children are involved. This was mentioned by Gabriela in the language section, who chain migrated with her children to the UK to be with her husband. For those migrants who do not have any family in the UK and mention economic motivations for their future plans, they stipulate that this is *'unless their family needs them in Poland'* (Oliwia, 2011). In the event someone was sick in the family and they had to return.

Using family as a reason to stay in the UK can also be applied, in a positive way, to connections made between the migrants with other people in the destination country, particularly those that are their boyfriend or girlfriend. The migrants' relationship with someone they met in the UK is a factor in the migrants' future plans regardless of how they met or their ethnicity.

'I met my partner here, he is Welsh. Now that I have a business and him I will stay.' (Maja, 2011)

'My fiancée is Welsh and he doesn't mind Poland but we probably won't go there.' (Zuzanna, 2011)

'..My fiancée is Serbian and I met him here. He would return to Poland with me if I wanted to but I don't.' (Wiktoria, 2011)

'Now I live with my Polish girlfriend [Kamilla] and she is part of my plans as long as she doesn't want to go back [to Poland].' (Igor, 2011)

These quotes show that there are several different future plans being constructed by the migrants in relation to their on-going relationships. Starting with Maja, since she met her Welsh partner in Wales and she has roots within the community through her business, she is more likely to stay in the destination country. This demonstrates the complex nature of the migrants' decision making and how even in a seemingly economic situation where Maja is a business owner, she considers her social aspects, such as her relationship, with the same significance in her future plans. If she did not have the business anchoring her to the destination country, it would be interesting to see if her relationship was sufficient grounds to remain in Cardiff. Another example of a Polish and Welsh relationship is that of Zuzanna with her Welsh fiancée. In recalling the interview with Zuzanna, her fiancée was definitely an anchor for her in the UK but not only in relation to return migration. Zuzanna had set up a freelance translation business so she could take the business anywhere if she decided to migrate to a 3rd country or return migrate. Here Zuzanna is further refining her future plans by specifying that if she can get her fiancée to move, she would not choose Poland.

Using the nationality of their partner as an anchor to the destination country, the migrants previously quoted only focussed on Welsh/Polish relationships. The other migrants quoted above in regards to their informal relationships would not necessarily be anchored to the UK through their relationship as their significant others were not Welsh or British. From the previous chapters, Wiktorija's motivations were highly economic as she acquired advanced degrees since migrating to the UK and actively sought career progression. In discussing her fiancée, who she met in Cardiff and is Serbian, Wiktorija may have explained her previously cited economic motivations. With a spouse from a third country, Wiktorija wanted to be qualified enough to seek employment during onward migration with him as returning to Poland was not an option. On the surface this future plan seems to be economic; however, it is a similar situation as what Zuzanna and Maja presented above: the migrants' decision-making is complex and the social aspects are often one factor of many in the migrant's motivations as opposed to the entire motivation.

As a separate case from the previously described relationships, Igor mentions his relationship with Kamilla in regards to his future plans. These are two Polish people who did not know each other in the country of origin, met in the destination country and formed a relationship. It should be noted that of all the relationships discussed thus far in this section, this is the least developed. From Igor's comment, it is interesting that he puts significant weight on this relationship as he originally migrated to the UK for economic means and the social network that facilitated his migration was largely based around his previous Polish girlfriend. Nonetheless, Igor and Kamilla live together in Cardiff and Igor is outspoken, throughout this chapter, about not returning to Poland while Kamilla is interested in returning at some point. Decisions about future migration do not have to be made now between these two migrants as both are happily employed; however, Igor's employment contract with the University is set to expire shortly which will push the relationship, and the future plans of both migrants, to the forefront. Even though the person the migrant is anchored to is not family by blood, they are more than friends, they could eventually become family and the relationship can be a significant determining factor in the migrants' future plans.

Family was also discussed in relation to tolerance by Angelika and Donata. Both migrants are lesbians and view their family as having a negative impact on them thereby being a factor to remain in the destination country. Their comments informed the tolerance section; but, due to their families not accepting their sexual orientation, they will also be discussed here as well. Given their families feelings about their sexual orientation, both women considered this a major reason to not return migrate.

'I'm a lesbian and they [my family] do not approve....My Dad offered to buy me a house if I moved back but I don't want all that goes with it so I'll stay here or move somewhere else.' (Angelika, 2011)

'I don't see eye to eye with my parents as I'm a lesbian and they are not understanding because of their religion so I don't plan on going back (to Poland) anytime soon.' (Donata, 2011)

Angelika's case was rather extreme as she mentioned her father offered to buy her a house in Poland if she returned, but, she was not interested in accepting the offer

because her family did not accept her. This is interesting as Angelika had economic motivations to initially migrate to the UK but she was not economically motivated to return migrate by her father's offer of a new house. Throughout this chapter, the shift in migrants' motivations has been mentioned which supports both Kamilla's and Igor's decision making where there is a shift between economic and non-economic motivations for migrants. Alternatively, Angelika places more weight on the tolerant lifestyle afforded to her in the UK over the economically advantageous lifestyle available to her in Poland. Donata may not have had the same offer from her family but she was still unwilling to return due to the lack of tolerance from her parents. While Donata's parents base their intolerance on religion (Catholic), Angelika did not mention the reason her parents 'did not approve'. As discussed extensively throughout this chapter, there could be linkages to culture or religion but her parents could also be unaccepting of their daughter's sexual orientation for personal reasons that extend beyond those listed here.

The Catholic Factor: How Poland's religious inclinations influence migrants' future plans

The emphasis on Catholicism in Poland has been mentioned extensively throughout this chapter in relation to culture, tolerance and family. This section will discuss religion more narrowly; focusing on both the religious inclinations of the migrants in the destination country as well as the religious base in Polish society. This is in an effort to determine the impact of religion on the non-economic motivations of migrants. Through analysing the migrants Catholic inclinations in the UK versus the Catholic emphasis in Poland, this section will discuss the level of integration of religion in Polish society. The level of religious integration in Polish society can be considered either real or perceived by the migrants in the sample, examining how integral religion is for the migrants in the destination country. The role of religion as a social aspect of migration will be discussed in this section using the data collected through the semi-structured interviews to support it.

All of the migrants in the sample, with the exception of Kamilla, were self-described Catholics. Anna sums up the Catholic emphasis for the Polish population when stating that '*I'm Catholic because everybody from Poland is Catholic.*' (Anna, 2008) While this might not necessarily be the case that every single Polish person is Catholic, the former sections outlining the culture and tolerance in Poland as being

directly linked to religion demonstrate how embedded Catholicism is within Polish society. Igor explains this religious spine to Polish society in a negative way *'Everything is so Catholic and so sheltered. Things are very black and white and the culture is completely different than here [UK]'* (Igor, 2011). Through mentioning Catholicism and culture in Poland, Igor is emphasising the intermingling of church and state which he does not find in the UK. If Igor had decided to live somewhere in England, with a more conservative, Protestant influence, it would be interesting to see if he felt the same intermingling between church and state that might not be present in the diverse, capital city of Wales. While Igor was one specific case, the general consensus of the migrants that informed this thesis support his basic argument that Catholicism was synonymous with culture in Poland and that it could make life difficult due to intolerance; however, many of these same migrants would seek Catholic church services within the UK.

'It's nice to have a church service in Polish. I get to practice my religion and it has become sort of a meeting point.' (Gabriela, 2008)

The church Gabriela mentions adapted to the increase in Polish practitioners in the Cardiff area and had actually set up a Sunday service in Polish to accommodate the growing ethnic community in the post-accession period. It still has, in 2011, the same Polish church service. Equally utilised by the Polish community was the Catholic school in the Canton area of Cardiff. This was mentioned in Chapter 3 in relation to the changing Polish community locations. From 2004-2008, when arriving in Cardiff, Poles migrated to either City Road or Canton, got their bearings, and then migrated elsewhere in the city. Post 2008, the majority of migrants arriving in Cardiff established themselves on City Road but those with families established themselves in Canton because of the Catholic school there. In addition, the Canton-Catholic connection was also mentioned in Chapter 4 as, in the 2007-2009 period, ethnic entrepreneurs would locate their business close to the Catholic school as they knew there would be a steady stream of Polish parents in the neighbourhood to use the business. The Catholic school in question is still regularly used by the Polish community in Cardiff although the Polish businesses in Canton have either shut down or moved to City Road.

Through utilising the church services and Catholic schools in the UK as a point of contact for other Poles in the wider ethnic community or, in some cases, to embed your business or yourself in the area surrounding a church as it would be used by Poles, the migrants are doing two things. First, they are reinforcing their religious background so the proliferation of Catholicism within Poland is not perceived, it is real. Practicing their religion in the UK could be because the migrants are interested in retaining a sense of their culture, similar to the food connection described in the previous sections. Second, the migrants are actively partaking in what they mention as disliking in Poland while in the UK. These actions demonstrate that the migrants are not necessarily anti-religion but they prefer a division between church and state.

The Migration Adventure

This migration aspect differs from the others mentioned in this chapter as it has less to do with the location the migrant is in -country of origin, destination country or 3rd country- and more to do with the migrant's persona. Religion, culture, and tolerance can all be connected to a place as demonstrated in the previous sections of this chapter but the sense of adventure, of trying new experiences, is much more of a personal motivation than a social motivation. The migrants' emphasis on adventure as a social aspect of migration influencing their future plans will be discussed further in this section using semi-structured interview data to support it.

Migration motivated by 'a sense of adventure' has not been an issue in this thesis until this point. If anything, based on the lifestyle change associated with a migrant's first migration, adventure might be expected to appear in the initial migration motivations; however, it does not, this factor only appears in regards to the migrant's future plans.

'Can't live all of my life in one place and I like new experiences so even with the business I would consider moving somewhere else because I like the sense of adventure.' (Michal, 2008)

In relation to this quote, Michal is a special case amongst the migrants in the sample that inform this thesis, beyond being the only migrant to mention this sense of adventure, for four reasons. First, despite his age (see Appendix), Michal has had many experiences that coincide with his adventure-seeking persona through his time in the military in Poland as well as his starting a business in a foreign country. This

latter part regarding the business also relates to the second point that despite having a successful business within the ethnic economy in Cardiff, Michal would still consider trying something new. Thus far in this chapter, if a migrant entrepreneur was considering deviating from the plan of staying in the destination country with the business serving as an anchor, it was for a more concrete reason such as a relationship, than for the thrill of adventure. Third, through mentioning that he 'can't live all of his life in one place' Michal inadvertently sheds light on his original migration motivation which was cited in Chapter 4 as being economic. By saying this, Michal's general attitude toward migration is relatively complex featuring economic factors such as employment as well as non-economic factors such as this feeling of adventure. Fourth, through already migrating once from Poland to the UK, if Michal actually does follow through and continue to migrate based on this sense of trying something new, he will have shared attributes of transient migrants who hop from country- to- country.

Conclusion

Unlike the previous findings chapters that rely on economics-based motivations to create trajectories, this chapter highlighted the other, non-economic factors that influence the individual migrants' motivations that can have an impact on future plans. This emphasis on shifting away from solely economics-based migrant motivations to include social considerations is the main reason this chapter is not titled 'non-economic motivations'. What is discussed here, the social aspects of migration, are factors that contribute to the motivation but are not motivations themselves. This has been demonstrated several times in this chapter with migrants having strong feelings towards their previously stated economic motivations mentioned earlier in their trajectories but, after introducing these social aspects, their motivations are varied, mainly in relation to their future plans. As a result, the overarching finding of this chapter is the complexity of the migrants' decision making, which takes into account both economic and non-economic factors when constructing their future plans. It should be highlighted once more that these future plans are an evolving concept that can continue to change over time. This has previously been demonstrated with the migrants originally intending to migrate for the short-term but allowing this complex range of factors to influence their

motivations to stay longer. This major finding, as well as the major findings highlighted in the previous two chapters, will be discussed in the next chapter in relation to the existing literature on migrant motivations as outlined in Chapter 2.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Introduction

This chapter will relate the major findings drawn from the data collected from the Cardiff sample, which was explored in the previous three chapters, to the existing migrant literature outlined in Chapter 2. The relationship between the findings and the existing literature varies either confirming the existing literature or, more interestingly, elaborating on the existing literature. The theories and research that are confirmed by the findings in the thesis largely focus on the initial migration motivations as well as the ethnic economy construction. The theories and research that are elaborated upon by the findings in the thesis focus on the full range of issues found at each stage of the migrant trajectory, as well as considering the migrants in transition from being economic and non-economically motivated actors. Due to the amount of information gathered from the sample in Cardiff in the findings chapter, the findings that elaborate on the existing literature will be presented through nine main points in this chapter including:

- Migration Trajectories
- Social Networks
- Employment in the Non-Ethnic Economy
- Ethnic Economy Employment
- Human Capital Development
- The Evolution of Migrant Motivations: From economic motivations to social aspects of migration
- The Non-Economic Motivations of Migrants
- Temporary Migrants?: The transition from short-term migrants to long-term stayers
- Lack of Return Migration Motivations

From the discussion of the findings and the existing literature, this chapter also seeks to present this discussion in regards to the research questions first presented in

Chapter 2. As the research questions were developed based on what were perceived as gaps in or oversights of the existing literature, the format of this chapter will be lead by the findings/literature relationship.

The chapter will continue as follows. The next section will briefly review the theories that are confirmed by the findings. The following section will be the discussion of the findings that amend, elaborate or do not lend support to the existing literature. To structure this section, the nine major findings presented above are discussed, each one in a different sub-section. The final section will present the concluding remarks which will focus on relating the main themes from this chapter to the research questions set out in the literature review chapter.

Existing Literature Confirmed by the Thesis Findings

Many of the findings discussed in the previous chapters confirm the existing literature on migration. This section will briefly review these instances through highlighting the findings and the theory that it supports at specific times during the period of migration including: initial migration, ethnic economy usage and ethnic economy employment. As was the case in the previous chapters, where possible, the section will address the phases in the order in which they appear in the trajectories, starting with the initial migration motivations and ending with the future plans of the migrants.

Initial Migration

Due to the economic motivations of the migrants in the sample from the initial migration until the discussion of future plans, to a certain extent each trajectory identified both push and pull factors that lead to the initial migration. This confirms Drinkwater's (2000) work on push/ pull factors as a motivation for initial migration. The migrants from the sample even cited the same push/pull factors as those noted in Drinkwater's (2000) study with the weak national economies in the country of origin being a push factor and the strong national economies in the destination country being a pull factor. The national economies were identified based on the migrant's perceptions of the labour markets in both countries. Beyond the macro-economic motivations to initially migrate, the findings also demonstrate more personal, micro-economic motivations to initially migrate that confirm the literature. Taking into

account the many personal reasons for migrating such as language acquisition, financial gain, and better employment, the migrants were relying on a cost/benefit analysis to determine their initial migration plans. Even at the initial migration stage, the migrants' motivations confirm Borjas's (1990) global migration market theory work on the cost/benefit analysis that migrants do prior to migration, and subsequently throughout their migration period. The cost/ benefit analysis is further supported through the migrants use of social networks as facilitators of migration which lower the cost of migration through both providing accommodation, supported by all trajectories, and providing employment, supported by the careerists and those working in the ethnic economy (Borjas 1990, Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993). This will be discussed further in relation to Massey's social network theory in the next section of this chapter.

Ethnic Economy

Through mentioning social networks and employment in regards to the migrants' initial migration motivations, the previous section has advanced the migration timeline and thereby also advanced the migrant trajectory to a later stage. This is particularly the case when considering the ethnic economy that was created by the migrants and relies heavily upon social networks to function. The term 'ethnic economy' that has been used extensively throughout this thesis is derived from the existing literature. The migrants that inform this thesis have explained that the Polish community in Cardiff has formed an ethnic economy which supports Bonacich and Modell's theory including all of the 'self-employed, employers, and co-ethnic employees that have the same ethnicity in an area' (1980, pp 110-11, 124). The use of social networks in the ethnic economy beyond the initial migration is explained thoroughly in Chapter 4. Based on this close community, social networks are needed not only to gain co-ethnic employment but also to start a business by providing labour and consumers which confirms the research on the ethnic economy by Light, Bhachu & Karageorgis (1993), Granovetter (1985) and Waldinger (1996). The latter two citations specify that social networks are integral for ethnic entrepreneurs to start businesses while the Light, Bhachu & Karageorgis (1993) study highlights exactly why these entrepreneurs are so important within the ethnic economy. Their work focuses on the ability of the ethnic entrepreneurs to lower the saturation of the migrant labour market by supplying employment to co-ethnic

labourers and potentially supplying accommodation as well. In doing this, the ethnic entrepreneurs create an ethnic economy to give back to the social network that supports their business by way of employment options.

The discussion of the thesis findings in relation to the confirmation of the existing literature has demonstrated the well-researched, contemporary nature of the topic of migrant motivations. However, there are many parts of the migration time line that are not explained fully in this section. The more interesting discussion can be found in the next section which will focus on the findings that do not confirm the literature but add to, amend or refute it. The next section will highlight some of the parts of the migration time line that were not addressed here.

Variations between the Literature and the Thesis Findings

In an effort to highlight the most interesting aspects of the findings from this thesis in relation to the existing literature, this section will focus on nine major points that arise from contrasting the findings with the literature. The nine points that are the focus of this chapter can overlap one another. For example, human capital is discussed in relation to return migration as well as co-ethnic employment. Due to this overlap, there may be some discussion of the individual themes such as human capital development in several of the points; however, the existing literature in relation to the findings will only be discussed under the appropriate sub-section.

Migration Trajectories

In this section, the trajectories that were constructed in Chapters 4 & 5 to group the similar findings relating to the economic motivations of the migrants, from their initial migration to their future plans, will be discussed in relation to the existing literature on migrant typologies and migrant trajectories outlined in Chapter 2. The trajectories formed from the Cardiff sample used for this study incorporate both the phases of migration as well as the changing motivations of the migrants during the course of their migration. For example, each trajectory accounts for the migrants' pre-migration period, accommodation and employment phase, and future migration plans. To explain the actions of the migrants during this time span, the migrants' motivations are referenced during these specific periods to give shape to the actual trajectory.

Through interviewing the migrants on more than one occasion, in 2008 and 2011, those migrants that were interviewed twice were able to update their previous information and provide some information on what happened to them since they were initially interviewed. The migrants in the sample who were interviewed in 2011 for the first time were able to give a complete picture of the evolution in the destination country from the time of arrival until 2011. This methodology supports the difference between using typologies and trajectories that was highlighted in Chapter 2. The typologies rely on one set of data that was collected relatively early during the migration period while the trajectories rely on longitudinal data, data collected at more than one point during the study, or data collected late in the migration period. By having a robust understanding of the migrants throughout their entire migration period in the trajectories, the future plans of the migrants can be speculated upon. While both the recollection of the migrants' evolution throughout their migration period during the interview as well as the projection of their future plans relies on the subjective nature of the migrants' memory, their accounts were taken at face value during this research.

Typologies have been created for EU migrants by Triandafyllidou (2011) which are discussed as migration pathways, first identified by Psimmenos & Kassimati (2003). Although Triandafyllidou's (2011) work took a broad approach in analysing migration trends at the EU-level over several decades in attempting to compare old and new migration patterns, due to the migrations from Poland over time, substantial attention was given to Polish migrants of which the emphasis in this chapter will be on the post-2004 migration period. Out of the eight major pathways Triandafyllidou's (2011) research created, the sample used in this thesis could fit into either the labour migration pathway or the pathway of temporary and seasonal migration. While these pathways take into account the time the migrant spends in the destination country as well as the migrant's return migration strategy, they do not provide the same information as the trajectories identified in this thesis. The pathways do not give access to the meanings of migration and the settlement of migrants. Through having this general outlook on migrant groups, these migrant typologies are simple categorisations of a dynamic movement and are too broad to assess the migrants in the same way that the trajectories created from the thesis findings assess migrant motivations. Nonetheless, due to the similar characteristics

between the findings from the thesis and Triandafyllidou's (2011) work, such as categorisation of migrant similarities and creating a migration timeline, the findings for this thesis elaborate upon the findings mentioned in the literature.

Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich's (2006) typologies of Polish migrants in London are an example of a more robust typology, categorising the migrants' motivations and actions at specific points in time while in the destination country and considering that the migrants can move between these typologies. An example would be the migrants who are initially categorised as 'storks' or circular migrants finding permanent employment or a significant other and, as a result of this changing pattern, fall into the 'stayer' category which have traditionally been referenced as settlers. While these typologies are a significant contribution to the literature on Polish migrants in the UK, the main shortfall of these findings is that the migrants are able to transition between these typologies but the research does not follow the migrants as they transition from one typology to the next. So while Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich (2006) recognised that migrants could transition between these typologies they did not return to their conceptualisation in order to revise it, taking into account the new information once they found the migrants switching between typologies. In addition, this issue could potentially be attributed to the methodology used by Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich (2006). While the mixed methods study had a large qualitative sample, of 50 indepth interviews, the timing of the interviews in 2005/2006 may have been problematic as described above in relation to the specific type of data needed to construct trajectories. In this way, the trajectories created by the findings from this thesis are an elaboration on Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich's (2006) work by focusing on the motivations and actions of the migrants over time to highlight their dynamic.

Other research on Polish migrants in the UK, in the post-2004 period, has also provided similar typologies focusing on the migrant's position in the division of labour of the destination country over time. Parutis' 'any job, better job, dream job' analysis of Polish and Lithuanian migrants in the UK labour market is the basis for migrant typologies that were constructed using the same titles (2011). The qualitative findings from Parutis' interviews were grouped into typologies for 'any job', 'better job' and 'dream job'. Following the logic of the theory where the migrant progressed from any job to a dream job, a timeline, albeit vague, could be

constructed. However, the migrants' transition between these typologies, which could be used to trace a migrants' path over time, was only viewed on a typology-to-typology basis. While it could be assumed that the individual migrants in their sample would transition from any job to dream job, Parutis did not actually track this transition. Similar to the shortfalls associated with Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich's (2006) typologies described above, Parutis did not follow an individual migrant over time from any job to a dream job thereby providing a rather static account of a dynamic ascent in the division of labour. Rather, Parutis' migrant sample was divided and assigned to a typology that best characterised their employment at a specific point and time. Unlike Parutis' work, the trajectories constructed in this thesis followed the migrants that informed the trajectory over time; from when they had any job up the division of labour including their motivations for changing jobs. Due to this variation between the literature and the findings, where the literature categorises the migrants at one point in time as static actors and the findings consider migrants' positions over several points in time as dynamic actors, the findings add to Parutis' research through explaining the transition of one migrant in the labour market over time.

Other labour market-based research exists with significantly different samples that focus on the migrants changing status in the destination country's division of labour and, almost accidentally, create more dynamic typologies than those discussed for the early work on the Poles in the UK. This is the case for both Burchell's (1993) & Chiswick, Lee & Miller's (2005) work on occupational mobility. Using longitudinal data, Chiswick, Lee & Miller (2005) work on migrants in Australia focuses on their changing positions in the labour market of the country of origin and the destination country. By following migrants over time to understand this U-shaped pattern to migrants' progression in the division of labour from the pre-migration period onward, the authors created de facto trajectories (Chiswick, Lee & Miller, 2005). As the focus of the research was on the occupational mobility of the migrants in their sample, the trajectory emphasis could be considered inadvertent as the authors never explicitly mention the creation of trajectories from the findings. Through focusing on the migrants' change in the division of labour, their motivations over time, and why the migrants' employment status changed the thesis findings are an elaboration of this work in relation to the construction of trajectories.

Thus far, typologies that used samples relatively similar to the thesis sample and did not follow a group of migrants over time, as well as other research with samples that were dissimilar to the thesis sample and inadvertently created trajectories have been reviewed. There are similar issues regarding the varying samples from existing research and trajectories. For example, Ho's (2011) research pertains to a completely different migrant group, operating on a different migration pattern and with different demographics, but has similar trajectories to those created in this thesis. Ho (2011) categorised the migrant sample into specific categories with the aim of viewing the migrant's actions in relation to policy as the migrants in her sample all required visas to live and work in the UK. While the way Ho constructed her trajectories is not exactly the same as those trajectories constructed here, the basic similarity is that the migrants in the sample were categorised based on their shared motivations and migrants' actions were explained throughout the migration period. Based on these similarities, the findings from this thesis support Ho's (2011) work despite the diverse sampling techniques.

To a certain extent, these more sophisticated trajectories, similar to those created in this thesis, have been constructed for Polish migrants in the UK albeit with small samples. The pilot study by Helinksa-Hughes, Hughes, Lassalle & Skowron (2009) on Polish ethnic entrepreneurs in Glasgow from pre- and post-2004 and Bell (2012) on Polish migrants in Belfast in the post-2004 have been mainly for exploratory purposes with small samples. Despite the small samples, the trajectories constructed in each study did follow migrants over time, charting their actions and complex motivations. Similarly, the more recent work by Nowicka (2013) on Polish migrants in Germany presents the findings on the evolution of the individual migrants in the sample in a trajectory format, comparing the changing position of the migrants to the changing level of cultural capital the migrants would have at that specific time. While all three of these studies demonstrate the need to use trajectories in understanding the complexities of Polish migrants, the major limitation of all of these studies is the small sample which only permitted the authors to follow one person over time. As a result of this limitation, the findings from this thesis, with the trajectories constructed through similarities in the sub-sample of migrants, are an elaboration of these three studies on Polish migrant trajectories.

This thesis adds to a small but growing and diverse body of literature on the nature of migrant trajectories. The findings presented here particularly highlight the dynamic actions of the migrants that informed the sample in comparison to the more static typologies and characterisations that the existing literature considered. In addition, through considering the methodologies used in the other studies that previously used trajectories to understand the migrants' evolution during their migration period, particularly when the data was collected during the migration period, the findings from this thesis further clarify the differences between typologies, trajectories and pathways. The trajectories will be discussed further in relation to specific findings for the remainder of this chapter.

Social Network Usage

For economic reasons, social networks are important to the migrants in the sample, both for the initial motivation to migrate as well as throughout the migration period. This section will discuss the findings which highlight the evolving role of the social networks for the migrants in relation to the existing literature.

At some point, each migrant that informed this thesis was a part of at least one social network and utilised the network for economic means. The types of social networks utilised by the migrant changes over time based on what is needed by the migrant and what the social network can offer. When considering migration in the country of origin and upon immediate arrival in the destination country, the migrants rely solely on their transnational network which is largely composed of family for accommodation and/or location choice. This is supported by all of the migrants in the sample. By providing accommodation or recommending a location to migrate to, the migrant's transnational network has already 'lowered both the risk and cost associated with migration' (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993, pg. 448). When focusing on the social network's role in the migrant's initial migration, the findings confirm Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor's (1993) network theory which centres on Borjas' cost/benefit analysis as discussed in the global migration market theory on social networks.

While the findings confirm Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor's (1993) theory during the initial migration phase with regards to accommodation, in regards to employment, the use of social networks is less clear. The careerists,

entrepreneurs and co-ethnic workers all used their social networks to get the jobs that they wanted or, as Parutis described them as a 'dream job', as opposed to the employment the migrants had when they initially migrated or 'any job' (2011). The careerists are a special case as they only had one employer throughout their whole migration time and this was originally facilitated through their social network. Nonetheless, it was the job they wanted to have because of the ability for them to progress within the organisation. Similarly, the entrepreneurs and the co-ethnic workers also used their social networks to move up the division of labour and get better jobs. They did not use their social networks for the low level employment they had when initially migrating, but used their networks to move out of 3D employment. The entrepreneurs accomplished this by setting up a business with the help of their social network for both finance and labour. The co-ethnic workers are the labour side of the ethnic business, this was also arranged through social networks. The credentialists, who are more like migrant students, used their social network for short-term, low wage employment which, while it could be considered 3D for a migrant, was more of a traditional student employment opportunity.

These variations between using the social network for accommodation and for employment and beyond, could be based on the difference between the migrants using their transnational network and their local network. The transnational network would have been used immediately after initial migration and in setting up the accommodation, the ties are still strong with the country of origin and the migrant would be limited in the number of people they know in the destination country prior to migration. However, as time moves on, the migrants' local network, which would be used in relation to getting employment after the initial migration, would be composed of the migrants' friends and family in the destination country. This not only implies a change to the migrant's social network in terms of composition but also a change to the reason why the social network was utilised making it less about lowering the migrant's risk during initial migration and more about increasing the migrant's returns through better employment options. This finding is an amendment to Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor's (1993) network theory as the transnational network is used to lower the cost of migration, based in bonding social capital (Woolcock, 1998) with family. The local social network is then used to move up the division of labour, based on reputation and social capital accumulated

with friends. Furthermore, due to the mention of the similarities between social networks and recruitment agencies in lowering the risk and cost of initial migration (Chapter 2), it should be highlighted that none of the migrants in the sample used recruitment agencies to facilitate their migration, so this issue will not be explored. This lack of use of recruitment agencies by the sample was further explained in Chapter 3.

These findings do not support White & Ryan's (2008) work on Polish local social network usage in the UK. Their research points to little support from the local social network in the migrants' region as the other migrants were focused on making money through work (White & Ryan, 2008). While White & Ryan's findings support Putnam's *constrict theory* where it was found that when 'in more diverse settings, Americans distrust not merely people who do not look like them, but also people who do', both White and Ryan and Putnam's work are not supported by the Cardiff sample in regards to their use of their local social network for employment, particularly the co-ethnic workers. The Cardiff sample confirms Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich (2006, p. 15) research on social networks which uncovered 'high levels of mutual cooperation' amongst post-2004 Polish migrants in London. The cooperation suggested that in reality the Poles were working together even though prior research (Putnam, 2007), as well as more recent research, mentioned the distrust and competition amongst the group (White & Ryan, 2008). It is worth bearing in mind that this variation could be due to factors such as the samples used in each case, the timing of the fieldwork in regards to the saturation of the labour market, or the actual methods used in the fieldwork.

Employment in the Non-Ethnic Economy

Due to the economic motivations of the migrants in the sample, particularly the push factor of high unemployment in the country of origin, employment is one of the most important aspects of their migration. In the last section, employment was discussed in relation to social networks and how the migrants relied on their social networks for employment opportunities. This section will focus on employment but more attention will be given to the findings that highlight the migrants' multiple employers in the destination country and their movement in the non-ethnic labour market in relation to the existing literature.

Starting with the multiple employers, the findings from this thesis elaborate on the existing literature. The literature on the boundaryless career outlined in Chapter 2 highlighted that the one-job-for-life, hierarchical career is dead (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). In its place, workers in all professions, in all divisions of the labour market, exhibit a more varied career over time, having several employers that contribute to their overall career progression. On the surface, the non-ethnic economy findings from this thesis support this existing work in that the credentialists and the linguists had several positions in the non-ethnic economy that contributed to their career. However, the credentialist and linguist findings elaborate on the work by Arthur and Rousseau (1996) as the multiple career-related positions that the migrants that informed these trajectories had were after having several other low-skilled positions that did not contribute to their career progression. In this way, the rise of these migrants in the division of labour in the non-ethnic economy, through several positions, is more fully explained by Chiswick, Lee & Miller (2005) U-shaped pattern of migrant progression.

The findings from the Chiswick, Lee & Miller (2005) study are interesting in comparison to the findings from this thesis due to the similar rise in the division of labour of the migrants. It should be highlighted that these two studies have vastly different samples of long-term immigrants to Australia and (initially) short-term Polish migrants to the UK. The differences between these two samples are political, economic and geographic. Nonetheless, through studying these samples over time, both sets of research can create migrant trajectories that follow one migrant, or a migrant sub-group such as the linguists and the careerists, over time to understand their actions and motivations in relation to their work experience. However, the Chiswick, Lee & Miller (2005) findings regarding the migrants' work experience are more in-depth, taking the pre-migration employment characteristics of the sample as the beginning of the U-shaped pattern and charting the descent and ascent of the migrants over time when entering the destination country. A pre-migration review of the sample used for this thesis could not be completed due to the lack of data available. It could be argued that the migrants in this sample, regardless of the trajectory they are currently contributing to, had low employment prospects in the country of origin, even with a higher skill or education level, because of the underperforming national economy at the time of migration. Moving forward in the

U-shaped pattern, when initially entering employment in the UK, the migrants in the sample that informed both the careerist and the linguist trajectories started at the bottom of the division of labour and ascended. For the linguists, this rise can be attributed to the acquisition of what Chiswick, Lee & Miller (2005) identified as 'location specific' human capital. In the case of the linguists and the credentialists, this type of human capital development was additional English language skills and, later, additional qualifications at a UK university due to the devaluation of their Polish University degrees. For the careerists, a similar rise within the division of labour, albeit while only having one employer, is also exhibited. The careerist trajectory findings are a significant elaboration on the existing work due to the low education level of this migrant group in comparison to both the careerists and the well-educated immigrants in Chiswick, Lee & Miller (2005) study. The location specific human capital was only helpful if the migrant had significant non-transferable skills ie. some skills and education were needed.

It has been pointed out on several occasions that the work done by Parutis, which used a more closely related sample to the one used in this thesis, describes the Poles in the UK using the term *middling transnationalism* which alludes to the paradoxical nature of the migrants as high-skilled individuals taking low-skilled jobs (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly & Spencer, 2006, Anderson, Clark & Parutis, 2007; Conradson & Latham 2005; Parutis 2011). A characteristic of this type of migrant is that they will take 'any jobs' when initially migrating and work their way up to a 'better job' and then a 'dream job'. The linguists and the credentialists, through being high-skilled individuals who take several low skilled jobs while progressively moving up the division of labour, confirm Parutis' concept of middling transnationals but in distinctly different ways. The linguists have a high skill level prior to migrating and then proceed as outlined above with several jobs ending with a better job. However, the linguists, while having several employers, also simultaneously increase their skill level through getting advanced qualifications in the destination country. This additional qualification attainment can be attributed to the devaluation of the migrant's qualification from their country of origin. In addition, the linguists' lack of use of their social network in seeking employment, as well as their relative ease in getting several different jobs within the destination country, may be indicative of

their advanced English-language skills. Through the linguists higher degrees and their advanced language skills the transition up the division of labour is substantially easier than for a lesser educated, or lesser skilled migrant. Alternatively, the credentialists initially migrate with a lower qualification level as students. They have several low-skilled jobs that would be consistent with being a student during term time. However, focusing again on Parutis, after having these low-skilled jobs, and after graduation, where they are now high-skilled individuals with advanced English language skills, they seek high-skilled employment opportunities. The main differentiation between the credentialists and students is the migrant background. If the migrant background was removed, this course of action would be typical for non-migrant students. The role of human capital in terms of language, skills and qualifications will be discussed more thoroughly below.

Contrary to the linguist and the credentialist trajectories, the careerist trajectory amends the middling transnational theory in three ways. First, the findings from the careerist trajectory, where the migrant stays with the same employer for the duration of the migration, amends Parutis' work as long as the change of jobs from 'any job to dream job' equates to a change in employer. By staying with one employer the careerists essentially demonstrate that even if starting in a 3D job within an organization, if the migrant has the opportunity to advance within the organization they will stay with the same employer. It is unknown if there was a pay increase associated with the career progression for the careerists; however, the progression was substantial with the migrant starting in a 3D job and working up to the managerial level. Based on this, the amendment to Parutis' work would then be that migrants do not necessarily have to change employers to move up the division of labour to their dream job.

The second amendment to the middling transnational concept focuses on Parutis' (2011) reliance on the migrant paradox, where all Polish migrants are high-skilled individuals forced to work in low-skilled employment when initially migrating. According to the thesis findings, this migrant paradox is an inaccurate depiction of all Polish migrants who migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period in the following four ways. First, the careerists were largely low-skilled when starting this

employment. Through emphasising high-skilled individuals initially taking low-skilled jobs upon arrival in the destination country, this theory overlooks low-skilled individuals who end up in similar professions as those high-skilled individuals such as the careerists. Second, if migrants' characteristics are contributing to the 'migrant paradox', as seen with the linguist and credentialist trajectories, these high-skilled migrants are actually being treated in the same way as the larger graduate labour market in the UK as it is reported that high-skilled workers in low-skilled jobs are becoming increasingly commonplace (Brown, Ashton, Lauder & Tholen, 2008, Green & Zhu, 2010). Taking this into account, the migrants might not be discriminated against in the labour market; rather, they are acting in the same manner as graduate labour in general. Third, the high-skilled and low-skilled migrants in the sample who ended up in the same form of employment mainly informed the co-ethnic worker trajectory. The high-skilled individuals wanting these co-ethnic job opportunities, could support the notion (not in the literature) that the ethnic economy is perceived as an employer at the top of the migrant's division of labour or a 'dream job'. The ethnic economy as an employment option for migrants will be discussed at length in the next section. Fourth, the term 'dream job' can vary substantially from trajectory- to- trajectory or even migrant-to-migrant. For example, the careerists were content working in a hotel as long as they had the ability to move up and progress within their organization. However, the linguists were clearly more interested in having a job commensurate with the language skills needed to be competitive in the labour market of the destination country. Based on these findings, there should be a refinement of the middling transnational definition to make it more narrow and less homogeneous in characterising a diverse migrant group.

Ethnic Economy Employment

This section will discuss the employment of the actors in the ethnic economy, as derived from the findings in this thesis, in relation to the existing literature. The ethnic economy actors are those that comprise the ethnic economy which have been grouped into trajectories including the ethnic entrepreneurs and the co-ethnic workers. Due to the varying approaches to employment found in these two trajectories, this point will be set up differently than the other points with subdivisions such as: Ethnic Entrepreneurs and Ethnic Workers.

Ethnic Entrepreneurs

As demonstrated by the findings and Light, Bhachu & Karageorgis' (1993) research in the last section, ethnic entrepreneurs create the ethnic economy and by doing so provide employment, and potentially accommodation for co-ethnics. This section will further examine the ethnic entrepreneurs from the sample, focusing on their motivation to become ethnic entrepreneurs as well as their role as an employer within the ethnic economy in relation to the existing literature.

The motivations that the ethnic entrepreneurs had for starting a business varied between what they mentioned in the interviews and their actions. Similar to the credentialists and the linguists, the entrepreneurs have several different employers, without accessing their social network, prior to getting their 'dream job'. However, this is where the similarities between the trajectories end. The entrepreneurs from the sample are a combination of low-skilled and high-skilled individuals who have no advanced education from within the UK. Due to this lack of an apparent way to move up the division of labour, the entrepreneurs further embed themselves within the ethnic economy by opening a business. This confirms Johnson's disadvantage theory (as cited in Masurel, Nijkamp, Tastan, & Vindigni, 2002) where migrant entrepreneurs start a business because of a lack of better employment options. The findings go on to support this theory for five reasons: (1) none of the entrepreneurs migrated to the UK specifically to set up a business (in contradiction to Harris, 2012), (2) none of the entrepreneurs had previous business or business apprentice experience (in contradiction to Ram and Phizacklea, 1995), (3) none of the entrepreneurs came from entrepreneurial households in Poland (in contradiction to Helinksa-Hughes, Hughes, Lassalle & Skowron, 2009), (4) all of the entrepreneurs had several employers prior to starting the business and (5) due to the lower-skill level of the entrepreneurs, they had no other job prospects but to seek self-employment (in support of Acs, Arenuis, Hay & Minniti, 2005).

In explaining the entrepreneurs in this manner, with them having several employers and then opening their own business, Parutis' middling transnationals (2011) are an extension of Johnsons' disadvantage theory (2002). However, if this is the case, Parutis' (2011) definition will have to be amended to also include low-skilled migrants as the entrepreneurs in the sample were a combination of low-skilled and high-skilled migrants who became entrepreneurs after having several 3D jobs.

Interestingly, even though the migrants were in 3D employment before becoming entrepreneurs, they did not mention this as a motivation to become self-employed; rather, this was revealed when creating the trajectories. The main motivations listed in the findings were similar to the traditional motivations for entrepreneurship cited by both ethnic and non-ethnic entrepreneurs, namely working for one's self. For the ethnic entrepreneurs, this could be interpreted as not wanting to work for someone else because of working in a 3D job and not seeing another viable way out.

Singling out Johnson's theory (as cited in Masurel, Nijkamp, Tastan & Vindigni, 2002) and highlighting the fact that some of the other migrants, particularly the co-ethnic workers, have low-skill levels, why do some migrants become entrepreneurs as a result of the employment disadvantage while others do not? From the data collected for this thesis, there are four points identified in the trajectories that factor into migrants becoming ethnic entrepreneurs or co-ethnic workers. First, the entrepreneurial decision has little to do with the time of migration. The migrants who came over after 2008 had the same number of hurdles in opening a business as the migrants who migrated in the immediate post-accession period. Even though the niche market for ethnic goods was dwindling, the second wave of migrants still utilised the ethnic economy for labour but business diversification was used regarding the consumer base. Second, when the current entrepreneurs initially migrated they only expected to be in the UK for the short-term, indicative of the larger sample for the thesis, so they were not focusing on a long-term strategy for economic growth through self-employment at that time. However, as highlighted by Ram & Phizacklea (1995), the reason the entrepreneurs may have decided to overstay their initial short-term period in the destination country could be because they were anchored to the area through their business. The extension of the entrepreneurs' migration period does not add to the discussion on why the migrants originally started a business but does contribute to why the entrepreneurs are more likely to overstay their original short-term migration. Third, beyond the temporal and employment aspects would be the finance needed to start the business; this might not necessarily be available to every migrant thereby limiting the number of ethnic entrepreneurs and increasing the pool of co-ethnic workers (supporting the work by Helinksa-Hughes, Hughes, Lassalle & Skowron, 2009). Fourth, the migrants' level of English language skills would be a factor in opening a business,

regardless of the economy (ethnic or otherwise) that it serves. The language skills differ significantly between the migrants in the sample that inform the ethnic entrepreneur trajectory and the co-ethnic worker trajectory. After having several low-skilled, 3D positions the low-skilled migrants from the sample will become entrepreneurs if they have sufficient English language skills and access to finance (pull factors). Those migrants that have several 3D positions and low English language skills will become co-ethnic workers. As an elaboration on Acs, Arenuis, Hay & Minniti's (2005) work, those migrants that have several 3D positions due to low level of education and low English language skills are less likely to become ethnic entrepreneurs.

The co-ethnic workers entered employment in the ethnic economy through meeting the demand for labour created by the ethnic entrepreneurs. The motivations for the co-ethnic workers to enter this type of employment will be discussed; this will follow the discussion of the methods of recruitment employed by the ethnic entrepreneurs when hiring co-ethnic workers discussed here. The findings in this thesis demonstrate that the ethnic entrepreneurs are motivated to recruit their co-ethnic workers in a variety of ways, including: (1) through their social networks based in the surrounding ethnic economy and (2) through advertising on websites in Poland. The first recruitment option utilised by the ethnic entrepreneurs from the sample confirms the existing literature where the ethnic entrepreneurs use the surrounding ethnic economy as a talent pool to find their co-ethnic workers (Evans, 1989). This associates the ethnic entrepreneur as having the upper hand in employing co-ethnics. This is interesting as it is true for Polish entrepreneurs in Cardiff that serve both the ethnic economy as well as the non-ethnic economy. For example, the *Polski Sklepy* (Polish shops) are embedded within the Polish economy (and are a visible presence to the general public) and employ co-ethnics from the talent pool in the ethnic economy. However, a construction company that has Polish owners but markets itself outside of the Polish community also has co-ethnic employees recruited through the talent pool.

The second recruitment option utilised by ethnic entrepreneurs from the sample acquires co-ethnic workers through advertising on websites that people in Poland frequently use. Although this recruitment option was only utilised by two of the

ethnic entrepreneurs, the findings confirm Vershinina, Barrett & Meyer's (2011) claim that migrant workers were willing to migrate for these ethnic business positions as an indication of a shortage of labour. By doing so, the findings also confirm Miera's (2008) work on the recruitment techniques in the ethnic economy. The ethnic economy is solely set up for the benefit of the ethnic community it serves but in some cases, where there is a labour shortage within the ethnic economy, co-ethnics may migrate specifically for an employment opportunity. However, for the most part, this economy is used solely by those migrants already in the area (Miera, 2008). There was not an actual shortage of co-ethnic workers in Cardiff during the fieldwork period, but the ethnic entrepreneurs that inform this section perceived a labour shortage based on their specific labour needs. In the first case, the Polish restaurant manager advertised for workers from Poland because outwardly she wanted to give another Pole the experience of migrating to the UK, inwardly she needed someone who could speak Polish in the kitchen and who would be open to a working/living arrangement which would allow her to control the worker's hours more. The front of house staff at the restaurant were all native English speakers to make it appear as less of a Polish establishment and more European in nature. In the second case, the salon owner advertised for workers in Poland because she had a high amount of distrust for fellow Poles already in the UK. Oddly, her customer base was British so she did not need the shared language but she still insisted on having Polish speaking staff in the salon. Interestingly, these two entrepreneurs as well as the construction entrepreneurs using recruitment option one, actively attempted to reduce the 'Polishness' of their business to the general public but still sought to employ Polish staff.

The explanation given by the construction entrepreneurs for employing co-ethnics, despite wanting to reduce the 'Polishness' of their business, was due to their perception of the work ethic of their co-ethnic workers in comparison to their British counterparts. However, when this was followed-up, these entrepreneurs explained that the Polish workers did not know the laws regarding breaks at work and 'loopholes' for time off (Borys Interview, 2011). With this clarification, it appears that some of the ethnic entrepreneurs were interested in having co-ethnic employees, particularly from outside of the UK or new to the UK, to exploit their lack of knowledge of worker rights. This is further demonstrated by the salon and the

restaurant entrepreneurs who mentioned the work/living arrangement that was given to their recruits from Poland. Although this is not an overt sign of exploitation like the exploitation of Polish migrants in the construction industry documented by Fitzgerald, French & McKay (2010), the migrants would be expected to work more in this setup given their employers ease of access. In addition, the four ethnic entrepreneurs, the salon owner, restaurant owner and construction owners, discussed in this section appeared to need less 'Polishness' and more semi-exploitable labour. Nonetheless, if this covert co-ethnic exploitation is the case, and the relatively high-skilled co-ethnic workers are taking low-skilled jobs, why does it seem that the co-ethnic employees are more interested in being employed by an ethnic entrepreneur instead of a British company? This will be discussed in the next section on co-ethnic workers.

Co-Ethnic Workers

The demand for labour in the ethnic economy, created by the ethnic entrepreneurs, has been discussed thus far; however, this section will focus on the supply of labour by discussing the motivations to become co-ethnic workers, as mentioned in the findings, in relation to the existing literature.

It is clear from the ethnic economy and ethnic entrepreneur discussions that the co-ethnic workers and the entrepreneurs in the sample have several demographic similarities. This could be in respect of varying educational attainment levels and having several jobs prior to entering employment in the ethnic economy. In addition, both groups seem to hold the ethnic aspect of their current role as entrepreneur or co-ethnic worker to a high regard as, especially for the latter occupation, they could be doing a similar job in a non-ethnic setting. The co-ethnic workers are attracted to working in the ethnic economy for various reasons that are not completely explained in the existing literature. Vershinina, Barrett & Meyer (2011) noted that migrant workers were willing to migrate for these ethnic business positions which could demonstrate the 'low-standing' nature of the position. This research is contradicted by the thesis findings on co-ethnic workers in two ways. First, the co-ethnic workers in the sample did not migrate specifically for the job and had several employers prior to entering employment in the ethnic economy. Second, given the co-ethnic workers perception of the ethnic economy employment as better

than traditional 3D employment, the ethnic economy position is not considered 'low-standing' by the migrants. The perception held by the co-ethnic workers in regards to the non-'low-standing' nature of the ethnic economy employment is largely based in the economic advantages of this type of position, this will be discussed further below. Even without the recruitment practices exercised by the ethnic entrepreneurs as discussed in the previous section, the findings from this thesis point to other, economic motivations for the co-ethnic workers to enter employment in the ethnic economy.

From the findings, the main reason that the co-ethnic workers were interested in ethnic economy employment was due to their lack of interest in acquiring English language skills. From the other trajectories where the migrants had several jobs prior to getting their 'dream job', they slowly acquired the language skills and confidence in using those skills that are needed to move up the division of labour. The actions of the co-ethnic workers in having several 3D jobs prior to entering ethnic employment, despite relatively high qualifications, demonstrates that their language skills were insufficient for progression in the traditional labour market. Therefore, the alternative 'dream job' for a migrant not interested in learning the local language was ethnic economy employment, facilitated by the social network. Whether or not the co-ethnic workers, as a subsection of the sample, were unwilling or unable to develop their language skills is unknown. To support their moderate use and understanding of English, the migrants were able to communicate during the interview for this thesis without an interpreter. Nonetheless, what is known is that the migrants that informed this trajectory were willing to overstay their initially short-term status in the destination country but were also the most likely to leave the UK with their destination unknown. This is mentioned in the Appendix. Due to these actions, these particular migrants may have been unwilling to invest the time needed to learn the language if they had commensurate employment opportunities in the ethnic economy.

These findings elaborate on Wang & Lo's (2007) research on Chinese immigrant co-ethnic workers in Canada. Their findings support the use of language by co-ethnic workers in the ethnic economy as an economic strategy. The elaboration provided by the thesis findings is in regards to the division of labour within the ethnic

economy as well as the intra-EU migration pattern exhibited by the migrants in the sample. Interestingly, the co-ethnic worker findings take one of the essential non-economic aspects of the ethnic economy, the shared use of the native language within the ethnic stores (Burrell 2010; 2009), and views the shared language use as completely economic in nature. Due to these contradictory reasons for using the native language, it could be argued that these findings are an extension of Burrell's (2010) work on Polish migrant ethnic economies where the consumers, to construct familiarity in the long-term, use the in-store language for non-economic means. Alternatively, the workers use the in-store language for economic means in the short-term.

Human Capital Development

The acquisition of human capital by the migrant, whether intentional through schooling (qualifications) while in the destination country or through total immersion in the destination country (language) is a major issue for migrants in the sample. This section will discuss the findings from the previous chapters focusing on development of both language and schooling in the destination country in relation to the existing literature on the subject.

Gungor & Tansel (2008) describe the *human capital formation theory* which states that migrants migrate to the destination country, develop their human capital, and when it is economically beneficial, return migrate to exploit their newly acquired human capital. This theory was not supported by the findings from the linguist and credentialist trajectories as both groups shaped their migration around their development goals, but do not intend on return migrating. Although they took different paths, with both groups having some language skills prior to migrating, the linguists advanced their language skills and went to University in the destination country. The credentialists migrated for the purpose of going to University. Both groups advanced their pre-existing English language skills as well as their qualifications while in the UK which supports the first part of Gungor & Tansel's (2008) theory. In addition, both groups of migrants migrated with the intention of advancing their skills for economic purposes. However, now that they have this human capital they do not plan to return to their country of origin to capitalise on it.

The lack of return motivation would be an amendment to Gungor & Tansel's (2008) theory where migrants always have the return part of their migration in mind but wait until they have acquired a degree, language, etc., and the conditions are economically beneficial, to act on it. This lack of a return motivation could be due to it still not being the 'right time' economically to return to Poland to capitalise on their new skills but, given the changes to the economy, as well as the long-term goals of the migrants, return migration at any stage seems unlikely. Due to the variation between the findings and the literature, three main problems with this theory can be identified. First, this theory is solely based in economics for the duration of the migration and, as discussed in relation to several of the migrants that informed the aforementioned trajectories, the migrants allowed social aspects to affect their future plans. Second, putting aside the non-economic influences, Gungor & Tansel (2008) assume that the most economic route is return migration which is quite a limited view of migration. For example, at least one linguist is planning on moving to a third country location to get the best return on their human capital instead of return migrating. The theory may place too much emphasis on the desire to return to the home country as migrants can be highly mobile individuals. Third, similar to the other economics-based migration theories, it considers all migrants to act the same way and the findings from this research demonstrate that while there are patterns that can be identified amongst migrant groups, migrants can also have highly personal and individual factors that inform their motivations.

While the linguists and credentialists had a clear plan to develop their human capital prior to migrating to the destination country, other trajectories, namely the ethnic entrepreneurs found it necessary to learn the language once migrated. The entrepreneurs had varied levels of English language skills prior to migrating to the destination country, but all of them had a high level of English proficiency prior to starting a business. In at least one case, with Borys and Cyryl, the migrants waited to start the business until an appropriate level of English skills was reached.

Although this was for a business owned by ethnic entrepreneurs operating outside of the ethnic economy, the entrepreneurs operating inside the ethnic economy had a similar view of developing their human capital through enhancing their English skills prior to opening a business. This finding refutes Evans (1989) finding that migrant group fluency is an indicator of ethnic self-employment as the majority of

the migrants in the ethnic economy had low levels of English language skills, particularly at the time of arrival. However, as the ethnic entrepreneurs in the sample were still interested in acquiring language skills after arriving in the destination country, contrary to the migrants who became the ethnic workers, their language acquisition supported the work by Fairlie & Meyer (1996). Fairlie & Meyer's (1996) work on ethnic entrepreneurs in the US demonstrates that those migrants with low levels of English language skills are less likely to be ethnic entrepreneurs. The thesis findings in relation to Fairlie & Meyer's (1996) work also highlights why some migrants may become ethnic entrepreneurs while others become co-ethnic workers. Interestingly, the migrants who became entrepreneurs saw this type of human capital development as lucrative and necessary for their business; however, their co-ethnic workers took the positions advertised by the ethnic entrepreneurs because they did not have to develop their human capital to work with them.

Although these co-ethnic workers did not need to develop their human capital to work for the ethnic entrepreneurs both inside and outside of the ethnic economy, in many cases, these workers learned the language whilst residing in the destination country. This pattern of language acquisition is demonstrated by the migrants who informed the co-ethnic worker trajectory and their ability to correspond with a non-Polish speaker during the interview for this thesis. In this sense, the co-ethnic workers language acquisition was not fostered by economic gain and was simply a result of total immersion in the destination country. These findings are in direct contrast to Becker's work (1992) which looks at all social issues through an economic lens and holds the economic rationality of the actors involved as paramount and indefinite. Becker (1992) would see any language acquisition on the part of a migrant as being economically motivated. However, these findings demonstrate that while the co-ethnic workers' motivation may be non-economic in nature, and somewhat accidental, the result ie. language acquisition can lead to economic gain. This 'economic gain' may not be immediately realised by the migrant but can exist in the long-term through increased employment opportunities as a result of the language skills. Nonetheless, it should be noted that while the migrants that informed the co-ethnic worker trajectory had a basic understanding of the English language, this was not the case for all of the Polish, co-ethnic workers

within the Cardiff area. Many of the co-ethnic workers in the wider ethnic economy were unable to speak English in any form but were still able to live, albeit more in the short-term, than the migrants that informed this thesis, and work in Cardiff.

The Evolution of Migrant Motivations: From economic motivations to social aspects of migration

Thus far, the focus of this chapter has been on the economic motivations of the migrants in the sample at various stages of their migration period and how these findings relate to the existing literature. This section will differ, focusing on the entire migration period of the migrants in the sample to highlight the transition in the migrants' motivations from initially being economically motivated to migrate, to relying on a combination of motivations. The 'combination of motivations' includes both economic motivations as well as the social aspects of migration. These findings will be discussed in relation to the existing literature on complex migrant motivations and migratory transitions.

The migrants in the sample had solely economic motivations during their entire migration period until they considered their future plans, which were greatly influenced by the social aspects of migration. This point is interesting predominantly because of the timing of this transition. The migrants in the sample only considered the social aspects of migration when considering their future plans and deciding that they did not want to return migrate. It was only when the migrants were confronted with thinking about their future that they were forced to compare their lifestyle in the destination country to what their lifestyle would be like in their country of origin. This comparison may not have been as favourable to the destination country had the migrants been in the destination country for a shorter term. Many of the social aspects that the migrants in the sample mentioned were not prevalent when they initially migrated. For example, the lesbians who felt their families were intolerant, as mentioned in Chapter 6, presumably had the same family dynamic when initially migrating but did not realise it was a problem until they had grounds for comparison through their migration period. As a result, it could be argued that these social aspects were an issue for the migrants prior to migration, although they only mentioned economic motivations to initially migrate, but the migrants were only motivated by them when comparing their lifestyles.

This transition from economically motivated actors to migrants motivated by social aspects or complex motivations when considering their future plans varies greatly from the existing literature. The main difference between the non-economic motivations encountered by the migrants in the existing literature and the migrants in the sample for this thesis is when they considered these social aspects of migration and how it affected their length of stay in the destination country. The other studies focus on the migrants having non-economic motivations when initially migrating and in day-to-day life throughout their migration period. In these cases, the migrants used family ties to decide on where to migrate to (Kofman, 2004) or to decide if they wanted to migrate (Verwiebe, 2011) which the thesis findings, with their focus on the migrants future plans, did not lend support to. The most apt explanation of the thesis samples' change in motivations is provided by Gilmartin & Migge's (2013) recent work that attributes the rationality of the migrant to their time in the destination country. The longer the migrant is in the destination country, or the less temporary the migration is, the less economically rational the migrant will be. This point regarding the migrant's length of time in the destination country and the inverse relationship to their economic rationality is a major feature throughout the remaining sections of this chapter.

Gilmartin & Migge (2013) connect the length of time the migrant is in the destination country to the introduction of social aspects of migration which is supported by the findings of Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham (2009) research on Polish migrants in Ireland during the recession. Although the focus of that piece of research was on return migration during a period of recession, by explaining that many of the migrants in their sample of Poles in Ireland were not return migrating if they had developed a social network, not for economic purposes but for social purposes, the migrants were relying on the social aspects of migration to decide their future plans. In this way, the findings from the sample for the thesis support the work done by Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska, & Wickham, (2009) showing the migrants' transition not to be solely economically rational actors at a later stage of their migration period. Furthermore, focusing on the varying emphasis the migrants place on financial gain, there is a clear divide between the economic motivations of the migrants and the social aspects of migration. There is also a divide in how these two distinct issues were reported. For example,

trajectories were created from the noticeable trends and patterns of the migrants in the sample while they were economically motivated. The social aspects of migration are only considered by the migrants in the sample when focusing on their future plans. Unlike the trends used for the trajectories, these social aspects are a highly individual response to the potential return migration with no obvious pattern. If a larger sample were available, a pattern may have emerged pointing to groups of migrants relying on the social aspects of migration to dictate their future plans. Furthermore, as the social aspects only influenced the migrants in regards to their return migration, and the social aspects can evolve as outlined in the last section, the migrant's future plans can also evolve.

The Non-economic Motivations of Migrants

Through focusing on the economic motivations of migrants throughout each stage of their migration period, these motivations have been extensively reviewed in this chapter. As the non-economic motivations of the migrants, or their social aspects of migration, are only considered at the end of the migration period, less mention has been made of these motivations. This section will discuss the migrants' actual non-economic motivations, or their social aspects of migration in relation to the existing literature. Unlike the last section where the emphasis was on when the migrants in the sample relied on the social aspects of migration, the time aspect will be removed allowing any connections between the literature on non-economic motivations of migrants and the social aspect findings to be discussed.

The migrants in the sample mentioned four social aspects of migration that they experienced including: (1) family, (2) tolerance, (3) religion and (4) culture. The migrants in the sample did not mention other social aspects of migration, or non-economic motivations, that are mentioned in the existing literature such as: the ethnic economy (Burrell 2010; Burrell 2009), social networks (Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska, & Wickham, 2009) and migrant identity (Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1992). As a result, these points will not be discussed further in this section. It should also be noted that the trajectories will not be mentioned in this section because the non-economic motivations were at the individual level. This was discussed briefly in the last section, and in Chapter 3 & 6, mentioning that trajectories could potentially be constructed for the social aspects of migration but a

larger sample would be needed. In addition, many of these non-economic motivations are very closely related and can overlap in places.

Several of the migrants in the sample mentioned family-based motivations as their social aspects of migration but in four different ways. First, some of the migrants mentioned their family in regards to keeping in touch with them while in the destination country through telecommunications technology. The findings from the thesis on the migrants' use of telecommunications technology to stay in touch with family in the country of origin supports the work by Ryan, Sales, Tilki & Siara (2008). Migrants use this technology to reduce the distance between family but it can be argued that this only works in the short term. This is a short term way to maintain ties to family in the country of origin that fails in the long term because in a globalised world, face-to-face contact still matters which is supported in sociology, psychology and business studies (Asheim, Coenen & Vang, 2007).

Second, the migrants in the sample mentioned their family in regards to their plans if someone in the country of origin became ill. The findings from this thesis regarding returning if a family member were sick supports the work by White (2011) (see Chapter 2). Third, the migrants in the sample mentioned their acquisition of 'new family' in the destination country. Several of the other migrants in the sample constructed a family when entering the UK through meeting their partner in the destination country. In these cases the migrants non-economic motivations were often tied to their partner anchoring them. Interestingly, this anchoring of the migrant was not only the case if the migrants' partner was British (Maja) as several migrants in the sample found a partner while in the destination country who was a fellow migrant (Wiktorja). Nonetheless, if the migrants' partner was British the chances of staying in the UK were higher than if the migrant was from a third country. This is exemplified by Wiktorja whose partner, who she met in the UK, is Serbian. While they are content to be in the UK at the current time, this could change in the future where she will migrate where her newly constructed family resides. These findings support the work by White & Ryan (2008) regarding the construction of family ties in the destination country and their impact on the motivations of migrants.

Fourth, on one occasion, chain-based migration occurred with the entire family migrating to Cardiff to be together indefinitely (Jan). To a certain extent this finding

supports the wider chain migration literature where one migrant moves to the destination country and is followed by several of their family members for reunification purposes (White, 2009; Kofman, 2004). Jan was the first part of the chain that followed. Interestingly, his 'chain' consisted of his retired parents who were not seeking work or benefits but wanted to be closer to him. It could be argued that Jan's families emphasis on proximity highlights the issue raised in point one of this section regarding the use of telecommunications technology to maintain ties in the long-term. Fifth, some migrants in the sample also noted the role of their family as a disincentive or as a lack of motivation. The two lesbian migrants in the sample were motivated by their families intolerant attitude to their sexuality; however, there is little research that takes this motivation into account. As this finding does not fall into family reunification, chain migration, or any of the other family-based topics discussed above, it could be considered a contribution to the family-based research on the non-economic motivations of migrants.

Moving beyond the family-based motivations, the migrants in the sample also mentioned tolerance, culture and religion as social influences. These themes overlap one another significantly in both the findings from this thesis and the existing literature. For example, the migrants in the sample discussed what they perceived as the culture of intolerance in Poland that was fostered through the religious foundation in the country. Equally, the literature discusses how religion has shaped the culture of Poland over time, particularly with a recent former pope being Polish and making frequent trips to Poland (Mandes & Roagaczewska , 2013).

Interestingly, while some migrants in the sample reflected that they preferred the culture in Britain, without the religious emphasis, many of the other migrants in the sample participated in Catholic church services, and if they had children, sought out Catholic schools for them to attend. The social preferences of this latter, pro-Catholic group support the literature on Polish migrants in the UK (Vershina & Meyer, 2008) regarding the relevance of the Catholic Church in ethnic economy development and everyday life while in the destination country. However, this division between those migrants seeking Catholicism in their day-to-day life in the destination country and those migrants complaining about the infiltration of religion in everyday life in Poland could be based on their age. This is mentioned by Mandes & Rogaczewska's (2013) work which attempts to attribute the Polish youth

population's waning interest in Catholicism to a lack of connection to the Vatican and the rules of the Catholic Church over the last eight years. The catalyst for this break between the Church and 20 and 30 year olds was the death of Pope John Paul II, a Polish pope, who frequently visited Poland and created linkages between Polish youth and the Vatican (Mandes & Rogaczewska, 2013). Interestingly, the age of the migrants in the sample for this thesis that had varying views on Catholicism is close and both those migrants for and against Catholicism could fall into the '20 and 30 year old' group used in the aforementioned study. As a result, this division could potentially be attributed to the family composition of the migrant, with migrants with children (Gabriela) being interested in retaining their Catholic culture and migrants without children (Igor) appreciating the less secular lifestyle.

Beyond this elaboration on the existing research, the only other major difference between these findings and the existing literature is when the migrants in the sample encountered these social aspects of migration which was much later in their migration period than is discussed in the literature. Many of the migrants in the samples discussed in the existing literature were motivated by these social aspects when initially migrating and throughout their migration period, not at the end of their migration period like the migrants in the sample for this thesis. Interestingly, many of the migrants in this sample encountered these social aspects prior to their initial migration (example: the lesbian migrants intolerance from family) but only considered it in their migration motivation after having grounds for comparison when living in the destination country for awhile. This point was discussed at length in the last section in this chapter.

Temporary Migrants?: The transition from short-term migrants to long-term stayers
Several of the latter points discussed in this chapter have alluded to the timeliness of the migrant motivations, particularly when discussing the migrants' transition from economic motivations to more complex motivations. However, although the migrants' length of time in the UK was alluded to in these previous sections, this section will focus specifically on the the migrants who decided to stay in the destination country beyond their expected short-term migration. The findings from the sample used for this thesis will be discussed in relation to the existing literature on the classification of migrants' who stay longer than expected and in relation to overstaying theory.

Although trajectories were favoured over typologies in all other parts of this thesis, this basic finding –where migrants are staying longer than expected- can influence the typology literature. In regards to the existing typologies, Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich (2006) would refer to this sample as ‘stayers’ which is most closely related to the previously used ‘settler’ term referencing migrants who would stay in the UK forever. There are obvious similarities between the sample and these categories; however, taking the sample as a whole, the findings from this thesis are an elaboration on Eade, Drinkwater & Garapich (2006) typology as these migrants are planning to stay in the longer term, beyond their original estimate, but that does not necessarily make them settlers or stayers because their future plans continue to evolve as they have done thus far in their migration period. Basically, it is too early in the migration period to decide if the migrants will stay forever but sufficient time has passed that the migrants are no longer temporary. The term ‘overstayer’, used by the UK Border Agency for visa-based immigrants who overstay their legal right of residence in the UK, seems a more appropriate term to describe this phenomenon. While the same legal connotations are not applied to the Polish migrants in the sample because of their EU citizen status, the same idea of staying beyond the expected time in the country is too similar to dismiss.

The term ‘overstayer’ is used instead of the classic sojourner typology mainly due to the dated approach to migration patterns using the sojourner term implies. Sojourner literally means ‘to migrate temporarily’ (Dayha, 1973). In some of the migration literature, a sojourner is considered a temporary migrant, who usually migrates for economic reasons, and returns home frequently to maintain ties with family and friends (Massey, 1986, Petroff, 1995). Interestingly, through considering the migrants’ temporary nature and the economic emphasis of the migration this explanation appears to be a typology that could be applied to migration patterns that are completely economic in nature. Earlier literature clarifies three aspects of the sojourner classification: (1) the temporal aspect, (2) the family aspect and (3) the cultural aspect.

First, there are varying definitions of ‘temporary migration’ but Siu’s (1952) explanation of this term in regards to sojourners is that the migrant may reside in the destination country for days or for years, and, when the migrant acquires sufficient wealth, returns to the country of origin. Second, due to the potential time the

migrant is in the destination country, the return visits to family may become insufficient leading to chain migration. Third, this same literature stipulates that during the time the migrant is in the destination country, a true sojourner will not become a cultural hybrid such as the 'marginal man' (Parks, 1928); rather, the sojourner will retain and solely rely upon their native culture by refusing to integrate or assimilate (Siu, 1952). The findings from this thesis do not lend support to the use of this term to describe the actions of the sample. The migrants in the sample may have originally migrated for economic reasons but they overstayed their time in the destination country for a complex range of reasons. The migrants do not follow the familial migration patterns that were used by the classic migration flows to the UK (identified in Chapter 1) and they have started to culturally integrate into British society (Pyzik, 2013). Furthermore, the sojourners return migration is 'predetermined' as they always plan to return to the country of origin at some point while the amount of time in the destination country is uncertain. In comparison, the overstayers may return migrate or they may not. The term acknowledges that the migrant has overstayed their original expected time in the destination country and that their future return migration is uncertain, which is supported by the thesis findings.

So what is causing the migrants in the sample to become overstayers? From previous sections, it has been explained that the migrants in the sample who were economically motivated throughout their migration period overstayed their expected time in the destination country due to the social aspects of migration. Through this specific connection between the time in the destination country and the social aspects of migration, these findings shed some doubt on the work on EU migrants in the UK post-2004 by Cook, Dwyer & Waite (2011). Their findings attribute the overstaying of the migrants to solely economic means such as occupational mobility and human capital development. While the careerists, linguists and credentialists all had economic motivations during their migration period that are similar to those mentioned by Cook, Dwyer & Waite (2011), the individual migrants that informed these trajectories had very non-economic reasons when considering their future plans. The other issues regarding why the migrants in the sample did not return migrate were discussed in the previous sections. However, it should be highlighted that just because the migrants in the sample did not want to return migrate does not

necessarily mean they had to overstay their intended time in the destination country. These EU migrants, who enjoy the privileges of all EU citizens could have migrated to a third country.

The rights extended to EU citizens mentioned above, allowing them to be overstayers or settlers, is an important point in regards to the wider literature on migrant temporality. Cwerner's findings on Brazilian immigrants in London has similarities to the migrants in this sample where they overstay their time in the destination country for complex reasons including family, economics and culture. However, the main difference in regards to the Brazilians' restricted movement in the UK and restrictions in the amount of time allowed in the UK, which incidentally lead many of them to marry UK nationals, completely distinguishes this sample from any sample composed of EU citizens. As many of the immigrants in Cwerner's study married UK nationals to stay in the destination country, their overstaying could be attributed to the spousal visa restrictions which set an established time to live in the destination country to prove a genuine union. Based on this assessment of non-EU immigration overstayers, more attention will be given to any commensurate studies of EU migrants and temporality.

Keeping visa restrictions in mind, Spencer, Ruhs, Anderson & Rogaly's (2007) comprehensive study of Polish migrants in London seemingly answers any questions regarding how and why Polish migrants are overstaying their time in the UK. Similar to the findings presented across this thesis, the findings from their mixed methods study show that these migrants are planning to stay in the destination country longer than what they originally expected, into the long term and that they only really considered return migration for familial reasons. However, sample problems exist regarding the visa restrictions of the Poles that confuse these findings in relation to the findings from this thesis. By including Poles that migrated to the UK prior to 2004 and, as a result, were subject to visa restrictions in the pre-enlargement phase and were able to stay indefinitely in the post-enlargement stage, the Poles could have stayed in the longer term because of restriction-based concerns. The findings from this thesis, through having a sample of Poles who entered the UK in the post-2004 period, void of any restrictions, are a significant elaboration on Spencer, Ruhs, Anderson & Rogaly (2007) work because these migrants could return at any time and they still chose to overstay their time in the UK.

Focusing more on similar, post-2004 samples of Poles, Thompson's (2010) sample of Poles in Llanelli, Wales, which have considerably different characteristics than the Cardiff sample (see Chapter 3), also stayed for a longer term than expected. This short-term to long-term migration status was not planned but was supported by the migrant's comfortable lifestyle, potentially based on their economic success promoting them up the hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1954) while in the UK and EU citizenship allowing permanent migration. Thompson (2010) characterises this temporal transition as *migratory drift*. Using a similar sample of post-2004 Polish migrants to the UK, this explains the temporal change in migration, the vagueness of the migrant's plans and alludes to economic events such as the recession as external forces potentially influencing migrant's return migration. To a certain extent, many of the studies referenced in this section could be considered suitable examples of the migratory drift concept. The findings from this thesis support Thompson (2010) and Thompson, Chambers, & Lukasz (2010) work on migratory drift and contribute to the wider literature on the Poles experiencing this drift through applying the 'overstayer' typology in a novel way.

Lack of Return Migration Motivations

This section will focus on the findings which discussed the sample's lack of interest in return migrating in relation to the literature on return migration. The emphasis on return migration is important due to the external forces impacting the economies of both the sending and receiving countries during the fieldwork period: the recession. Taking this global economic event into account, this section will include a discussion of the findings in relation to both the literature on return migration as well as the literature on return migration during a period of recession.

From the findings, the lack of return migration motivations experienced by the sample was largely based on the social aspects of migration, instead of the migrants' previous economic motivations which influenced their original migration to the destination country. Regardless of the motivation, the lack of a return migration strategy for the migrants in the sample does not only have implications for the obvious return migration theory, it also has implications for the theories that include return migration. This was first mentioned in the previous section in relation to Gungor and Tansel's (2008) human capital development theory. As the motivations of the migrants in the sample changed and became less economically motivated,

their reason to return migrate also changed thereby refuting the theory in terms of return migration. For the migrants informing the credentialist and linguist trajectories, where human capital development was paramount, the change in their motivations demonstrates that migrants do not necessarily embody the homo economicus persona as other, non-economic aspects of migration can also influence their decision making. The migrants' changing motivations, from economic to non-economic, could be a result of their economic success similar to Maslow's hierarchy of needs findings (Maslow, 1954, Kahneman & Deaton, 2010). Even with the recession that began in the UK in 2007, the migrants in the sample did not return migrate. This issue will be further explored next in relation to the return migration during a time of recession.

The recession was mentioned as an external force that could influence the migrants' motivations particularly in the literature pertaining to the economic motivations of migrants to return migrate. Bohning's *buffer theory* states that migrants are temporary and move to areas of high economic growth to reap the employment benefits and return during an economic downturn (1972). This theory is refuted by the findings from this research for three reasons. First, the migrants in this sample did not return migrate despite the recession that they were in the destination country for the duration of. By staying in the destination country, the findings supported Castles' (2009) more recent explanation of migration during a recession: 'it is a mistake to believe that migrants are a safety valve for developed economies, providing labour in times of expansion and going away in times of recession. When economic conditions get bad in rich countries, they may be even worse in poor countries' (p. 5). Second, from the discussion of the sample's transition from economic motivations to mixed motivations, it is clear that this theory does not apply as it considers migrants as one group with one economic mindset; this is an inaccurate depiction of the current reality. Third, the theory only focuses on the migrants' interest in reaping economic benefits and, through seeing the migrants as economically rational actors, it has no interest in the non-economic aspects of migration. Due to the solely economic focus of the theory, through the sample used in this thesis, it has not been supported. Through supporting Castles' (2009) research in relation to a lack of mass return migration, the return migration debate is

not solely economic; rather, the findings from this research could be a non-economic addition to Castles' (2009) work.

Dustmann & Weiss (2007) made similar economics-based assumptions of migrant movements; however, instead of focusing on the strength of the economies in the sending and receiving countries like Bohning and Castles, they focus on the devaluation of the individual migrant's worth and future earnings by not return migrating (2007). For the same reasons Bohning's work was refuted, this theory is also refuted by the findings in this thesis. Staying at the individual migrant level, the research that best describes the thesis sample's actions during a period of recession is Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham (2009), as the migrants' return migration motivations can be influenced by non-economic aspects. Through their study on Polish migrants in Ireland in the post-2004 period, Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham (2009) noticed that migrants who stayed in Ireland during the recession had a strong social network in the destination country to support them. The role of social networks in return migration explained by Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham (2009) is an extension of older research on Polish migrants length of stay in the destination country by White & Ryan (2008).

This research said that the migrant's length of stay was determined by the Poles' transnational social network instead of their local social network. In the literature review chapter, this social network aspect was discounted as social networks could be for economic gain. The sample of Polish migrants at the UK level was operating on a circular migration pattern. This migration pattern did not support social networks in the destination country. However, in understanding that social networks could have non-economic qualities such as social capital development, the social aspects which limit return migration have been introduced. Due to this, the findings from this research elaborate on the findings from Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham's (2009) study on Polish migrants in Ireland as, even though social networks were not mentioned as a reason to stay by the sample collected in Cardiff, the social networks are a non-economic aspect similar to those identified in Chapter 6. The amendment to the research would be the addition of the social aspects beyond social networks identified in this study such as: tolerance, family and culture, as reasons not to return migrate. It should be noted that the social networks explained by Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham (2009)

need to be developed over time and can evolve. In contrast, the social aspects of migration identified in this research, such as family problems and cultural tolerance, are mainly issues that existed prior to migration; but, they have a similar evolutionary nature as the social networks where the migrants' perception of these social aspects can change.

It should be noted that the migrants' future is an evolving concept. Originally the migrants in the sample envisioned a short-term migration but based on the migrant's assessment of return migration, they opted to stay in the destination country. In the future, these motivations can again shift due to sentiment and family illness or economic motivations such as job offers and currency devaluation, or a combination of the two. The following section will provide an overview of the chapter and relate the discussion presented here to the research questions outlined in Chapter 2.

Conclusion

Using the findings from the previous three chapters, this chapter has compared the findings to the existing literature on trajectories and motivations that was outlined in the literature review. The result of this comparison is that the findings from the thesis variously confirmed or elaborated upon the existing literature. More specifically, the major themes that are presented in this chapter can be related to the research questions posed in Chapter 2. This section will provide a brief overview of the major themes presented in this chapter and will be followed by a discussion of these findings in relation to the research questions.

The theories that were confirmed by the literature focus on the push/pull conceptualisation of the migrants' initial migration motivations as well as the construction of the ethnic economy in the destination country by the migrants that informed the sample. The more interesting findings/literature relationships are outlined in the nine key issues discussed in this chapter where the findings elaborate upon the existing literature. From these nine key issues, the following should be highlighted:

- Migrant trajectories were created from the findings in this thesis to demonstrate the dynamic, complex motivations of the post-2004 Polish migrants over time. This is an elaboration on the existing literature on both

the typologies and the trajectories created for Polish migrants in the UK in the post-2004 period.

-The trajectories highlight the Poles' multiple employers during their migration period and their progression up the division of labour in both the ethnic economy as well as the non-ethnic economy in Cardiff. These findings are an elaboration on the existing literature focusing on occupational mobility, the boundaryless career, and ethnic entrepreneurship.

-Social networks are used extensively by the migrants in the sample for a range of purposes including: employment, accommodation, finance, demand and labour. This extensive use of social networks by Poles in the UK is an elaboration on existing research which presented the Poles in the UK as too focused on employment and economic goals to partake in social network building.

-Human capital development through both language acquisition and advanced university degrees from British institutions is a major motivation for some of the migrants in the sample. This finding partly explains the migrants' long term migration plans, their division of labour progression and the migrants' perception of their Polish degrees while in Britain.

-Ethnic entrepreneurs from the sample embed their businesses within the ethnic economy through their business location choices and Polish labour usages, even if the business is catering to both the ethnic and non-ethnic economies of Cardiff.

-The migrants in the sample did not have any motivation to return migrate during the fieldwork period due to a complex range of social and economic factors. However, the factors that influence their future plans to return migrate, stay, or migrate to a third country are in flux and can evolve based on their future needs.

-The migrants' transition from being a short-term migrant to a long-term migrant is based on the complex motivations that the migrants experience during their migration period. The complexity of these motivations is demonstrated with the migrants seemingly being economically rational actors

until the point in the trajectory (the future plans) where they have to decide to stay in the destination country.

These themes address the research questions posed in Chapter 2 in twelve ways. First, the sample collected for the thesis that was the basis for the trajectories demonstrates that this migrant group is heterogeneous. The characteristics of the sample differed in comparison to the UK level characteristics of post-2004 Polish migrants in relation to the education level of the migrants and their time in the UK. Second, although the characteristics of the migrants vary at the macro-level (population), similarities regarding the migrants' motivations and actions do exist. The trajectories for the thesis were created from the patterns identified in sub-sets of the thesis sample. Instead of trying to consider the whole sample as one group of migrants, the identification of smaller sub-sets provided a more in-depth understanding of migrants' motivations over time. Third, the migrants' experience in the labour market is trajectory-based with some migrants having one employer during their migration period (careerists) and others having several positions before moving up the division of labour (ethnic entrepreneurs, credentialists, linguists).

Fourth, all of the migrants in this sample, with the exception of the co-ethnic workers, are interested in developing their human capital through English language acquisition and achieving advanced qualifications. This human capital development may not be realised by the migrant at the time of migration, such as in the case of the entrepreneurs. Fifth, progression in the division of labour varies based on human capital development. In the non-ethnic economy, this progression is largely based on the English language skills of the migrant. In the ethnic economy, if an entrepreneur, the progression is based on the advanced language skills; however, if a co-ethnic worker, the progression is based on social network connections. Sixth, the social networks of the migrants are being created and used by the migrants in the sample for very specific purposes that have evolved over time starting with finding accommodation and later, in the case of the ethnic entrepreneurs, for labour and demand. Seventh, the ethnic entrepreneurs in the sample were interested in starting a business for several reasons including: lack of better options and desire to be one's own boss. The ethnic entrepreneurs were able to start a business because of their advanced language skills, social network connections and access to finance. Eighth, the participants in this study used the ethnic businesses that serve the ethnic

economy in Cardiff significantly as a source of goods, employment, friendship and shared norms. However, for the migrants that transitioned beyond their initial short-term stay in Cardiff, this ethnic business usage decreased over time as they became more aware of other, non-Polish options in the area.

Ninth, as evidenced in all of the trajectories, the migrants' initial motivations to migrate were economic; however, over time, the motivations of the individual migrants became more complex. Considering the motivations of migrants over time, the trajectories demonstrate that initially migration is a chaotic undertaking but after staying in the destination country, the ultimate goal is a better life for the migrant. Tenth, as identified in all of the trajectories, the migrants stay in the destination country beyond their initial short-term expectations because they are financially able to, there are no immediate pull factors making them return to the country of origin and they have identified social motivations that they are interested in pursuing. Eleventh, point ten alludes to the term 'overstay' to describe the Poles legally staying in the UK longer than what they originally expected because the existing typologies are insufficient in addressing this period of time for a legal, contemporary migrant group. Twelfth, the future plans of the migrants in the sample will continue to evolve as they have done thus far taking into account a combination of motivations and factors.

Building on the major outputs from this chapter, the following chapter will conclude the thesis by providing policy recommendations, a substantial review of how the research for this thesis could have been improved and a speculative assessment of what the migrants that informed this thesis will do next.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter will discuss three overarching themes, first identified in the Introduction, which highlight the impact of this thesis on the larger academic and political debate on post-2004 Polish migrants, including:

- The thesis findings impact on future policy,
- The methodological implications of the type of methodology used in this fieldwork in relation to the findings,
- The anticipated future plans of the migrants and the anticipated migration policy shifts.

By reviewing these points, the aim of this chapter is to come full circle from the original questions posed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 in an attempt to shed further light on the subject which may lead to an explanation of the migrants' motivations as well as possible additional research.

Thesis Findings Implications for Supranational & National Policy

As described in the Introduction, policy in both the UK and Poland has changed considerably during the thesis period. In the case of the UK, the policy has changed in regards to the 2007 EU enlargement and the transition policy. In the case of Poland, tax policy has changed to encourage return migration and other schemes have been implemented to incentivise return migration. The findings from this thesis also provide an account of Polish migrants whose motivations differ from the migrants that were used to characterise Poles at the UK level, which can also have an impact on future policy both in the UK and Poland. Based on these factors, this section will review the potential implications for the thesis findings in regards to policy in the UK and Poland. Due to the impact of EU policy instruments at the supranational level, there will be a brief discussion of the thesis findings implications for action at the EU level prior to delving into the policy recommendations at the national level.

Before the policy discussion, a major issue that has arisen during the course of this research, which could be a major policy recommendation at both the EU level and for national governments as well, will be highlighted. Given the discrepancies between the various methods used to collect statistics on migrant flows, it would be advantageous for policymakers to settle on a common methodological approach to count inward and outward migration to their respective countries. This change to the collection of migrant flow data would not be useful for counting the Polish migrants in the UK at the current time. However, as long as both countries continue to be sending and receiving migrants, the future economic and academic implications stress a need to understand the demographics and the demographic changes within the population. This also extends to the economic impact in both countries who have now become major receivers and major senders of migrants. In addition, if there is one preferred method for counting the inward and outward migration, the multitude of insufficient statistical methods, as outlined in Chapter 3 and in the Appendix, could be terminated or, at the very least, not relied on for providing often conflicting results regarding migrant statistics. This counting exercise would most likely be best coordinated at the EU level where it would help to gauge not only the inflows of migrants, but the need for policies or changes in policy at the national level which will be discussed in this section. The EU Commission, in realising this major statistical oversight within the EU and the lack of comparability amongst international migration statistics, responded to this issue in two ways: through integrating the international statistics in Eurostat and through working with other EU-wide surveys, such as the European Labour Force Survey, to highlight the foreign born nationals within the dataset (Guardia & Pichelmann, 2006). Nonetheless, given the difficulties encountered in finding accurate and consistent statistics from either the UK, Poland or the EU on the number of Poles within the UK and any return migrations, there is still considerably more work to be done on refining the gathering of migrant data.

The following section will focus on the implications of the thesis findings on the EU structural fund dispersement throughout European regions.

Implications of Thesis Findings on EU Structural Funds

Using the findings from this thesis and the cohesion policy's implementation in Poland as the foundation, the following policy changes will be recommended:

- Increase training for low-skilled citizens.
- Increase funding for business start-up.
- Increase absorptive capacity of city-regions for mid-level employees.

The post-2004 migration of Poles from Poland to the UK has had a significant economic and social impact on policy in both the receiving country and the sending country. As highlighted in the Introduction, the subsequent efforts of the national governments to stimulate return migration have been largely unsuccessful due to their oversight in focusing solely on the migrants' economic motivations. The array of motivations that the migrants can have throughout their entire migration period is a major finding of this thesis and is particularly focused on the transition of the migrants in regards to their 'future plans'. The 'future plans' are the transition point for the migrants as they have acquired sufficient economic stability at this point to begin considering other 'needs' associated with their migration (Maslow, 1954). This finding significantly impacts the return migration statistics. Taking a multi-pronged approach, incorporating both economic aspects and social aspects that can affect migrants as mentioned in the findings, EU policy instruments can be used to make regions more attractive to migrants who have a wide-range of needs. For new member states such as Poland, many of these issues are dealt with through structural funds made available to Poland from the EU. The use of structural funds from the EU is encouraged as the Polish government has weak economic incentives for change at its disposal.

As described in the Introduction, the use of structural funds within Poland is encouraged through the EU's Cohesion Policy due to all of the regions in Poland being classified as convergence regions from 2007-2013 (EU Commission, 2012). Out of the three objectives of the Cohesion Policy - convergence, regional competitiveness and employment, European territorial cooperation - the convergence regions have access to the most funds from the EU as their per capita GDP is lower than 75% of the EU average (EU Commission, 2012). At this level, the aim of the policy is simply to reduce regional disparities with the help of structural funds that are allocated to the member state and can also be applied for on a project basis. The projects range from providing high-speed Internet connections to job creation and training to more location-specific issues such as stimulating return migration. While

many regions that started in the convergence area have successfully emerged as regions for competitiveness and employment, others have not; so, for the case of the regions in Poland, this is potentially the beginning of a long journey. Equally, the aim of the convergence funding is to reduce regional disparities; however, some regions may advance faster within the policy classification than others, leading to EU-funded regional disparities (Cadman, Bernard, Fray & Jones, 2010). This is a general critique of the EU Cohesion policy and its funding aims. The remainder of this section will focus on the recommendations for policy change as first listed above.

In regard to increased training for low-skilled citizens, from the thesis findings, the low-skilled migrants are more likely to be involved in the ethnic economy. The ethnic economy is an evolving employment provider due to changes in demand dictated by migration patterns (Harris, 2013). The sample for this thesis shows a combination of both high and low skilled workers. See the Appendix for details. The latter seemed particularly interested in ethnic entrepreneurship and co-ethnic labour. It was theorised that return migration was not an option for the entrepreneurs as they would not have the same opportunities when being low-skilled in Poland. Interestingly, the other factors that the ethnic entrepreneurs identified as reasons to start a business would still be available including funding from their social network, desire to work for one's self and a labour pool. However, one entrepreneur noted a potential downside for starting a business in Poland which was corruption with an informal economy requiring a fee to operate. Alternatively, the co-ethnic workers were the most transient and willing to return migrate but were often engaging in a circular migration pattern due to precarious working conditions in both the sending and receiving countries. This precarity could be attributed to their low human capital development in both skills and language acquisition.

On this basis, the EU structural fund, particularly the European Social Fund (ESF), could be accessed to subsidise training for these migrants in sectors that have labour shortages or, if still interested in owning a business, for start-up funding. In either capacity, the availability of this training could be an incentive for both groups of migrants to return migrate due to the potential human capital development.

Although economic in nature by improving employment opportunities, the other aim of the ESF is to increase diversity in the workforce which could also be considered a

non-economic goal. The complexity of the ESF in having both economic and non-economic goals is similar to the array of motivations held by the actual migrants it would serve. The only barrier with the ESF is that the funding has to be applied for on a project basis, traditionally by those in a regional development agency. Due to this massive task of applying for structural funds and allocating them within the region since entering the EU, many of the RDA's in Poland have diversified seeking specific grant streams for their region. These specific grant schemes may help in the short term but can lead to uneven development in the long term (Ferry, 2007).

From the findings in this thesis, even if this human capital development training was available, this largely economic option may only attract a small percentage of Polish migrants back to Poland. Although the ESF has some non-economic goals, it is primarily an economic policy. Due to this, when applying for the structural funds a multi-pronged approach to attracting return migrants, satisfying both the migrants' economic and social needs should be considered. This suggestion, which combines both social and economic aspects of migration, is the second recommendation regarding the absorptive capacity of the city regions. Economically, this would require more mid-level career options, particularly in the larger, University-based cities. Based on the findings from the careerist trajectory, there is not a significant amount of upward progression provided by Polish employers, this is a clear attraction for some migrants to stay in the UK. The absorptive capacity of the region can also be enhanced economically through the diversity of industries present in the area. If the influx in FDI to Poland is as significant as the media and Polish government make it out to be, then the economic diversification of the regions will eventually increase (WarsawVoice, 2012, Ministry of the Treasury, 2012). Socially, a region's absorptive capacity can be strengthened through the diversity of people that are located in the area. The 'diversity of people' should include a range of professions, nationalities, and skill levels, which can increase tolerance (Florida, 2002). This reinforces the need for a diverse set of industries.

To achieve this goal of increased absorptive capacity, there are two possible routes. The first would be through a combination of convergence-stage structural funds that are creatively applied in the regions. This is a potential short-term goal that would need to be delicately applied through the RDA of the city region. Alternatively, due to the absorptive capacity issue being something traditionally sought at the Regional

Competitiveness and Employment stage of the cohesion policy, the other route would be for the Polish regions to transition through the convergence phase as quickly as possible. Again, this is done at the regional level which inherently creates further disparity within the country as a whole; but, it is a way for city regions to emerge more economically and socially developed.

The rest of this section will focus on the thesis findings implications for national policy in both Poland and the UK. Any recommendations made at the national level will have to correspond with and compliment the policy at the EU level.

Thesis Findings & UK Policy

The impact of the Polish migration post-2004 on UK policy was approached in a broad manner in the Introduction, heavily relying on the Polish migrants' characteristics constructed by policymakers, academics and the media in the 2006/2007 period. One major oversight of UK policymakers during this time was basing policy on the seemingly homogeneous characteristics of migrants. The heterogeneity of the post-2004 Polish migrants' characteristics is supported by the findings in this thesis and will be a prominent feature in this section.

The findings from this thesis demonstrate that migrants have an array of motivations during their migration period which can actually impact various parts of the migrant's trajectory. Although the sample used for this thesis has its own limitations, which will be discussed further in the next section, these findings can have significant implications for UK government policy. The migrants in this sample, while originally appearing to be economic actors, actually rely on a variety of both economic and non-economic motivations during their migration period. Due to this enhanced version of 'migratory drift', which can explain both the extended length of stay in the destination country as well as the changing motivations of the alleged 'economic' migrants, the following UK policy changes will be recommended:

- Base policy on a conceptualisation of several different migratory paths,
- Create more knowledge economy based employment in the UK,
- Return migration motivations should not be reduced to economic

means.

Although it seems vague, the first point alludes to the need for policy to address possible outcomes as opposed to solely relying on the information available at the time of policy construction. For example, in 2004, if the UK policy addressed how the economy could withstand a large number of migrants and how the benefits system could potentially sustain long-term migrants then the following accession of Bulgaria and Romania may not have been so closely regulated. By initially basing policy on low potential migration figures and a narrow interpretation of the Polish migrant characteristics, the economic system was saturated with an increased supply of labour and no plans were made for long-term migrants. A complexity-based policy approach, which considers many different migration options to increase the strength of the economy would be useful at the UK level given the many variations found in the migrant trajectories. Attempting to create policy that accounts for the complexity of migration is not a new phenomenon (Boswell & Geddes, 2011).

The second policy recommendation is indicative of a larger problem within the UK: a lack of knowledge-based employment options. This was mentioned in Chapter 5 and 7 in relation to the Polish high-skilled migrants²⁶ being similar to UK graduates in the post-recession period. They were unable to obtain knowledge economy-based employment despite having significant qualifications. Despite the similar low-skilled employment outcome, the reason why the Polish migrants are taking these positions is significantly different than their British counterparts. Using the thesis findings, the education/work disparity experienced by the migrants can be explained in two ways: undervaluation of qualifications attained in Poland and the lack of language skills. The findings from this thesis, in demonstrating that migrants are not all acting in the same way by staying longer than expected and other variations on the characteristics identified in the literature, challenge each one of these points. First, many of the migrants from the sample had advanced degrees from universities in Poland including several with graduate degrees in the natural sciences. For the migrants that informed the linguist trajectory, the credentialist trajectory and some from the careerist trajectory, they realised the emphasis placed on British

²⁶ It should be noted that several of the migrants from the sample were not high skilled which lead them mainly to entrepreneurship as a means of employment leaving the high-skilled migrants to work in low-skilled jobs.

qualifications, despite many having advanced degrees from Poland and returned to university in the UK. Second, as demonstrated from every migrant that took part in this thesis, but especially those that informed the linguist trajectory, the issue of poor language skills for Polish migrants is largely based on stereotypes, most likely, on media reports. For those migrants that would be interested in long-term, knowledge-based employment, the language barrier is obsolete as demonstrated by the migrants that inform the credentialist and the linguist trajectories.

Unlike Poland with its convergence status and structural funds, many regions in the UK are considerably more developed making them unable to receive the same amount of funds despite uneven development. For example, the majority of the east side of Wales is a Competitiveness and Employment Region while the majority of the west side of Wales still has the convergence status. Based on the lack of opportunities to develop the regions evenly, one alternative scenario would be to attempt to increase FDI within the UK, but outside of London, in the same way Poland has been since entering the EU. For Cardiff, this would entail more marketing of the region as a place where several world-class Universities are located offering a large knowledge based talent pool of UK and international graduates. If successful, this would solve two problems in Cardiff: (1) increasing the knowledge based employment opportunities in the region and (2) increasing the absorptive capacity of the region for Cardiff-based graduates which is low (Bristow, Pill, Davies & Drinkwater, 2011). As many of the non-entrepreneur migrants from the sample now have British degrees due to their Polish degree devaluation, they could be included in 'UK graduate' category. However, without a viable employment opportunity in the post-graduation period, the Polish migrant/UK graduate would have no incentive to remain in the region. The issue of retaining talent developed in the region in the post-graduation period is a significant problem in Cardiff that extends beyond Polish migrants and is being focussed on through the EU structural funds that are available (Bristow, Pill, Davies & Drinkwater, 2011). Over time, through the diversification of businesses, employers would become more accepting of overseas qualifications. Furthermore, over time, with increased academic research, the perception of Polish migrants can be changed.

Thesis Findings & Polish Policy

The outward migration of a large number of high-skilled Poles has had an impact on Polish policy (Whewell, 2006). In an effort to strengthen their economy, the Polish government and other interested stakeholders, have constructed incentive schemes to encourage return migration or encourage would-be migrants to stay in Poland.

While these schemes were outlined fully in the Introduction, the general sense is that they were largely unsuccessful due to the limited number of return migrations that can be attributed to the schemes. The findings from this thesis, namely that the migrants have complex motivations which extend beyond the financial rewards of their location, are reinforced by the lack of success of these economically-based schemes. As a result, the policy recommendations discussed in this chapter will draw on the complex motivations discussed in this thesis in suggesting new policy routes for return migration. This discussion is in addition to the Polish economic development through EU structural funds review that opened this chapter.

Given the findings from this thesis, the following recommendations would be made with the suggestion that there should be a combination of approaches as some recommendations are solely economically –based while others are solely socially-based:

- Significant one-off payment for migrants to return migrate.

- Improve ‘social fabric’ in Poland.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the ‘Stay with Us’ scheme is used to retain high-skilled Poles through a one-off payment so they do not consider migrating. The BBC mention that this one-off payment of £5000 was the equivalent of 10 month’s salary in Poland for a researcher or scientist (Whewell, 2006). While this may be beneficial in the short-term, due to the wage variations between Poland and the UK for high-skilled workers, even when in low-skilled jobs in the latter, there are still economic advantages in the UK. Based on this, the long-term policy recommendation for the Polish government should be to entice high-skilled migrants to return migrate through a significant one-off payment. The funds for this payment can be in lieu of creating new schemes as one of the return schemes was estimated to cost the Polish government in excess of 1 million EUR (Whewell, 2006). Given the varying levels of human capital that the migrants would potentially return to Poland

with, alongside the labour shortages, the government, albeit unlikely, should give them a significant return bonus to make returning to Poland an attractive option. The payment amount could depend on the need for the position that the return migrant could fill. Furthermore, due to the overly economic emphasis of this one-off payment scheme, it would have to be used in conjunction with the other recommendation –improve ‘social fabric’- listed above.

In the same way that the British political parties were at odds regarding the open door policy in 2004, there were also dissenting members of the Polish government who were against Poland joining the EU. While acting as the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education, Roman Giertych, stated that the expected outflow of migrants leaving Poland once it joins the EU would be to the detriment of the social fabric of the country (Whewell, 2006). According to the findings from this thesis, namely the participants who said they were not interested in returning due to societal problems, the social fabric in Poland was experiencing problems prior to its accession to the EU. The findings from the thesis indicate that the Poles in the sample perceive Poland to be a less tolerant, highly religious country that is dissimilar to the Westernised societal norms the migrants associate with their time in Britain. This culture of intolerance is supported by a recent BBC documentary entitled ‘Stadiums of Hate’ (BBC, 2012) and other media coverage (Kasprzak, 2012) of the Euro Cup 2012 matches hosted in Poland and the Ukraine. Intolerance was apparently rife leading the soccer governing body UEFA to design a campaign for the event entitled ‘Respect Diversity-Football Unites’ (Chaplin, 2012). In hindsight, there were very little hate-related problems during this event which could be indicative of these campaigns working or, more broadly, of the increasingly European, tolerant nature of Poland. Nonetheless, both the United Nations Council on Human Rights as well as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) note that intolerance must be eliminated, but also note that it is difficult to construct a method to eliminate intolerance (2012). Poland has made efforts at improving this cultural issue in the past, and has also laid the groundwork for a more tolerant society in the future; this is noticed in their status as the European Capital of Culture in 2000 with Krakow and in 2016 with Warsaw (EU Commission, 2011). While these are major cities within the country, by acquiring this award, it can raise the image of Poland as a diverse and inclusive country that is interested in

further European integration. This step forward is of particular importance for Poland where there may not necessarily be hate crimes occurring or specific issues that can be countered by law, but there is a general culture of intolerance to more liberal or diverse practices.

Another finding from the thesis is the level of intolerance in relation to the LGBT community. Due to the more closed-door nature of people within this community acting out in Poland, there is less information and less coverage of this form of intolerance by the media. From the findings presented here, this type of intolerance is specifically linked to the relationship between church and state within Poland. Several of those interviewed, both gay and straight, mentioned the strong link between the Polish culture and the Catholic faith. This is supported by the findings and the literature in relation to Polish community development in the UK and Polish business placement in the UK being near Catholic churches or schools (Vershina, Barrett & Meyer, 2011). Increased diversity through further integration into the EU is the goal that should be strived for in the case of Poland. The diversity of the population, and for this specific case, the diversity of religious interests amongst its people encouraging tolerance, should be a policy aim. Although the small sample used for this thesis cannot determine the change in cultural norms of a country, this recommendation, while initially influenced by the findings from this thesis, is not unusual given the wider cultural cohesion and 'EU citizenry' being propagated at the supranational level.

Future Research Implications

A major issue that was identified in the latter sections of the methodology chapter was the ontological perspective adopted while choosing the methodology and carrying out the actual fieldwork, during both the 2008 and the 2011 phases. This section will discuss the perspective used taking into consideration the implications it has on the findings from this thesis and the ability to generalise the findings to the wider Polish population. Future research areas will also be identified.

Methodological Considerations

Prior to considering the methodology for the thesis, it was decided that the research would be best conducted using the interpretivist paradigm, rooted in the social

sciences, as opposed to the positivist paradigm, rooted in the natural sciences. Choosing this paradigm signalled a clear emphasis on the ‘complexities of the social world’ (Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2005, pg. 15). This early emphasis on these social complexities allowed for the methodology to be chosen focusing on the qualitative methods that could be employed to carry out the fieldwork. The benefit of qualitative methods is that they provide extensive social context and a depth of understanding that would not traditionally be found using quantitative methods. Unfortunately, using qualitative methods has its flaws, three of which will be explored here. First, the researcher can choose the most persuasive data and use it out of context thereby misinterpreting and misrepresenting the research findings. Second, the researcher can extend any biases they may have, whether intentional or not, to the participants, thereby influencing the findings from the research. Third, the epistemological position of the researcher can be called into question through the research findings.

The context of the data collected for this thesis, including the participant observation and both of the interview phases, was considered throughout the analysis period. As demonstrated in the findings chapters, chunks of text were removed from the interview files to quote the participants. These quotes were found during the analysis stage of the fieldwork using the NVIVO program, as outlined in Chapter 3. The context of the quote was preserved by checking the surrounding text from where the quote was found to get a specific understanding of the migrant’s perspective at that time. When analysing the data and arranging it in the thesis, every effort was made to preserve the context of the original message of the participant.

Researcher bias in the fieldwork for this thesis was identified as an issue in 2011, prior to entering the field during the second interview phase, in relation to the fieldwork carried out in 2008. The potential for this bias in the fieldwork up until that point only arose out of further research of other EU migration flows that had significant economic and social bases. It was then realised the ontological assumption held by the researcher at that time was that migrants have motivations that are utilitarian and economic, similar to the arguments made by Becker (1992). This assumption could be based on a number of factors, including: the research I conduct in my day job, my own economic inclinations as an immigrant or the general Polish migrant group profile created by the media. Regardless of the reason,

the 2008 interview findings could have been influenced by this economic inclination through subtle cues during the interview such as changing the tone of my voice or through less subtle cues such as prompting the participant with economically-based responses.

Beyond the researcher bias in 2008, the migrants who participated in the research could have also been explaining their actions with an increased economic emphasis as that is what they expected that I wanted to hear. While the interview schedule and participant information form were cleared by the ethics board, and steps were taken to remove any persuasion in the construction of both documents, the participants may have assumed that since my research focussed on Polish migrants, and the media focuses on the economic motivations of Polish migrants, that I wanted to hear about their economic motivations during the interview. Irrespective of how the participants were inclined to think that I wanted economic responses, the findings from 2008 could have been compromised due to these factors.

As I became aware of my habits that may influence the participants, the bias was seemingly corrected for the round of interviews completed in 2011. However, the 2011 interviews could have also been influenced by the researcher trying to correct the 2008 issue and thereby seeking answers that were non-economic in nature. Through over-correcting the economic emphasis in the 2008 interviews, I may have inadvertently been outwardly seeking non-economic responses from the participants in the 2011 interviews. This non-economic emphasis is supported by the 2011 findings from interviews of both new and repeat participants where the non-economic motivations, or the social aspects of the migrants' journey, were mentioned. While the findings describing the non-economic motivations were a welcome contribution to the thesis, demonstrating the complex range of motivations that migrants can have during their migration period, they are considerably different than the findings mentioned in the academic literature with the Polish migrants being 'economic beings'. These social aspect findings could be attributed to the overcompensation of the 2008 researcher bias or it could be attributed to the unusual sample that informed this thesis.

The epistemological position that I used throughout the thesis focused on taking the participants word at face value. For example, if the migrant said that they were

motivated to come to the UK due to high unemployment and ended up opening an ethnic business because they wanted to work for themselves, I believed them. While this is a simple approach to understanding a complex issue, I was under the impression that the migrant participants were being lead by their motivations. As a result, I interpreted the migrants' motivations based on what they were saying but on page 161 I consider that what the migrants were saying in regards to their seemingly spontaneous migration motivations could be a part of a larger plan to develop their human capital. Based on this finding, it is possible that the migrants' period in the destination country was planned ahead of time and their motivations were filling an overarching, pre-considered path instead of the motivation creating the migrants' plan. If my epistemological approach was more critical through questioning the participants responses in contrast to their overall actions, my findings may have been different.

To overcome the limitations of the researcher throughout the entirety of the fieldwork, this research could be redone using a multi-methods strategy. By using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, the limitations of the individual methods, such as the researcher's influence on the findings with qualitative methods or the lack of social context with quantitative methods would be overcome through the triangulation of the data. In the case of this thesis, the fieldwork could produce questionnaire results that are statistically representative of the Cardiff area which would completely remove the researcher's economic leanings as well as the language barrier. Interviews would also be conducted as the interview results are needed to understand the social context of the migrants' position beyond the information provided in the questionnaire. In addition, using a mixed methods approach would provide more innovative methods for conducting the research. Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham's (2009) example of interviewing Poles in the destination country several times and, as needed, following up with them when they return migrate to Poland (if during the fieldwork period) was an innovative way to gauge the changing motivations of the migrants over time using qualitative methods. With the technological innovations available today, these long-distance interviews could be conducted via Skype or conference call; however, due to the conflicting schedules of researchers and participants as well as varying levels of Internet connection speeds, a questionnaire could be a suitable follow-up.

Therefore, the originally innovative interview panel Krings, Bobek, Moriarty, Salamonska & Wickham (2009) identified as their method to reach a relatively small sample, could be further strengthened by questionnaire results.

Generalising the Thesis Findings

As mentioned in Chapter 3, if enough caveats are added to a small qualitative sample, the findings from the small sample can be generalised to other migrants that are acting similarly. Throughout this thesis, three caveats were discussed including the *time* or when the migrants originally came to the UK (post-2004), the *subject* which was Polish migrants and the *trend* which was that this specific migrant group, coming over after 2004, were staying in the UK longer what they originally expected and progressing up the division of labour during their stay. Through establishing these caveats, the findings for this thesis can be generalised to the wider population of Poles in Cardiff and the UK with a similar profile.

From these findings, post-2004 Polish migrants who are men and women under 35 years of age starting in low-skilled employment and remaining employed, with varying education and language skills, will stay in Cardiff/Wales longer than what they originally expected, moving up the division of labour and possibly settling in the long term. During this period, the migrants are influenced by both their economic and non-economic motivations that are linked to the social aspects of migration. Through staying longer than expected, and being continuously employed, the migrants will develop their human capital, most likely through acquiring English language skills due to their immersion in the local community. Once migrants from this group have the language skills to interact with the local population they are able to find work more commensurate with their skills, move up the division of labour and culturally integrate. Through using these caveats, high-skilled Poles initially entering the UK labour market as high-skilled migrants and Polish migrants who are homeless (The Passage, 2013) are not included in the generalisation.

Chapter 3 outlined the diversity of the Cardiff population; however, how will the city adapt over time to incorporate a new migrant group? It can be speculated that the Polish migrants who came to the UK in the post-2004 period, lived in Cardiff and plan to stay in the UK in the longer term will continue to contribute to the diversity of the city, and the surrounding areas, over time. This will happen in one of three

ways. First, over the next three years, the Polish migrants will become more integrated in the culture of Cardiff which already has a diverse heritage due to the inflow of migrants during the late 1800's and early 1900's when Cardiff was a significant port-city. I would argue that through the Poles engagement with the wider society of Cardiff and through employment the Poles are already more integrated and accepted than some other, more historic immigrant groups in Cardiff. This is also supported by the findings from this research where the migrants are interested in working while in the UK and, for those that have stayed in the longer term, they have attempted to learn the language, another aspect of cultural integration (EC, 2011). Second, over the next decade, the Polish migrants who own businesses that support the ethnic economy will diversify their business to either become a traditional corner store or a niche business, similar to a specialty delicatessen. From the thesis findings outlined in Chapter 4 and discussed in Chapter 7, this business diversification is already occurring, making the emphasis less on the ethnic aspects of the shop and more on the wider, target market. If the businesses do not diversify, they will be unsustainable. Please see the 'predicting the next steps of the sample' in Chapter 8 for further details. Third, over the next five years, as highlighted in the work by Florida (2008), the Poles will be fully integrated in the Cardiff area and will move to other areas that are peri-urban or rural as part of their second 'big move'. This transition outside of the urban area will reinforce their integration with British society as, at this point, they will be acting in the same way as non-migrants would act. Despite the lack of similarities with other migrant groups in the region, the Poles will eventually be seen as neighbours, friends, and classmates that just so happen to have come from Poland, devoid of stigma and completely integrated into the surrounding society.

Future Research

Taking into account the problems with the implementation of the methodology used for this thesis, as well as the potential issues with other research methodologies, future research of this nature can address the methodological issues raised as suggested above. In addition, using the findings from this thesis, future research topics dealing with Polish migrants could become increasingly interdisciplinary in nature, particularly with sociology and geography. These two fields have historic connections, providing robust research findings over time ie. R. E. Parks and the

Chicago School. This interdisciplinary aim could be achieved through focusing on the following themes:

- The evolution of the Polish migrants' community building over time;
- The 'settlement' patterns of Polish migrants in the UK over time;
- Conceptualising Poles who stay in the UK in the longer term;
- The inclusion of Polish migrants in British society over time;
- Applying the Polish findings to intra-EU, non-Polish migrations.

At the outset, it should be highlighted that all five of these themes consider the Polish migrants who migrated to the UK in the post-2004 period to stay in the UK for the longer term. First, the evolution of the Poles community building would largely revolve around the Polish migrants' use of space and the importance of place while in the destination country, focusing predominantly on their interaction in the 'ethnic economy zones' that they create. The implications for these findings would be substantial for sociologists in regards to the evolving interaction of migrant consumers with co-ethnic businesses over time in specific areas. The ethnic businesses would have to diversify to survive based on the evolving demand from the ethnic economy. The implications for these findings would be equally important to planners who could take the lessons learned and apply them in city and town planning. Second, where the Polish migrants who are staying in the longer term are settling within the UK are important. In evolutionary economic geography terms, people make three big moves in their lifetime and the migrants, if staying longer, will be in the UK for the second 'big move' traditionally from urban to peri-urban or rural areas (Florida, 2008). This has significant implications for geographers but also for sociologists as Polish migration to peri-urban and rural areas has already occurred in the post-2004 period (TUC 2004; Lever & Milbourne, forthcoming) but additional migrants could be moving towards rural destinations using Florida's existing findings (2008).

Third, Poles who migrated in the post-2004 period are staying in the UK longer than what both they, the UK government and academics, originally expected. Given the findings from the trajectories created in this thesis which point to the uncertain future

plans of the migrants over time, at this stage of their migration, I am reluctant to categorise these post-2004 Polish migrants as ‘settlers’ (see page 214). This is due to the migrants’ unique migration pattern that is contrary to previous, classic migration patterns to the UK such as outlined in Chapter 1. In addition, my reluctance is also due to the Poles evolving desire to stay in the destination country. In Chapter 7, I discuss the more immigration-based term of overstayer in relation to the actions of the Poles. Thompson (2010) theorises that the migrants overstaying their time in the destination country are exhibiting ‘migratory drift’. Future research could focus on creating more contemporary typologies to understand how and why these migrants could be highly mobile within the EU, have no legal restrictions to their migration but stay in the destination country in the longer term.

Fourth, due to the Polish migrants who arrived in the UK in the post-2004 period staying longer than what they, and all of the other sources expected, future research should consider inclusion or integration strategies for this migrant group into the wider British society. These strategies do not have to be test-based in the way the Dutch are trying to ‘control’ EU migration by making the Netherlands unattractive to new migrant groups (Waterfeld, 2013). In this case, if successful, the Dutch government would make a culture-based test a mandatory part of entering their labour market for both migrants and non-migrants alike (Waterfeld, 2013). Rather, the research would focus on gaining a better understanding of the perceptions of Poles from the general British public and a perception of the British public from post-2004 Polish migrants. If the resulting answers are similar, integration strategies would focus on these points -which could include language, education, employment- making this future research a potential information source for future national and supranational policy. This qualitative approach was derived from the EU Commission’s research on integration policies for third-country nationals (2011a); however, inclusion and integration for EU citizens living outside of the home country is also a growing issue (Collett, 2013).

Fifth, taking the findings from this thesis, future research topics could focus on non-Polish migrations to see if there are any similarities in regards to the evolving motivations of the migrants. It could be particularly useful to research the migrants from the other former Communist countries such as the Ukraine and Belarus who were legally migrating to Poland for economic reasons in 2006 to support the

construction industry, largely due to the shortfall of workers created by the initial outflows of Poles to the UK (migration information source, 2006/2007). In addition, given the implications for the EU over time, future research could address the similar motivations and trajectories between the Poles migrating to Britain post-2004 and the Bulgarians and Romanians, who are able to enter the UK, as labour migrants, en masse in January 2014.

Predicting the Migrants' Future Plans and the Reaction of Policy

In the trajectories presented as part of the findings of the thesis, the future plans of the migrants are an on-going, evolving issue. This is most notable when taking into account that the vast majority of the migrants interviewed said that they were initially only planning on coming to the UK for the short-term, but their motivations changed, and continue to change, regarding their future plans. While the future is unknown, using the characteristics of the migrants in each trajectory the outcome of their migrant journey can be speculated on focusing on the overall question of 'what did the migrants do next'? There are a finite number of options for the migrants in regards to their future plans, namely: return migrate, stay in the UK and migrate to a third country, which will be discussed here. This section will also speculate on the reaction of policy to both the Polish migrant's ambiguous future plans while in the UK as well as other geopolitical issues that have arisen during the course of this thesis, namely the future of the EU and the recession.

Predicting the Migrants' Future Plans

Return Migration

While the review of policy in both the Introduction as well as the Conclusion encourages the return of the Polish migrants to Poland, the migrants that informed the sample for this research were not interested in return migrating to Poland. This lack of interest in return migrating was due to various economic and non-economic reasons. Nonetheless, in the same way that the migrants only expected to stay in the UK for the short-term when first migrating, the expected outcome gained from these findings is that at some point the migrants that inform the ethnic entrepreneur, co-ethnic worker and careerist trajectories (with the exception of Wiktoria- see below) will return migrate. The migrants that inform the other trajectories have other

options that could be pursued which will be discussed below. The factors that might encourage the migrants motivations to evolve in the future, including return migration, will be discussed in this section.

Using the findings, the migrants that inform the ethnic entrepreneur, co-ethnic worker and the careerist trajectories are the most likely to return migrate for considerably different reasons involving human capital development, previous history within the sample, and the role of sentiment attached to their country of origin. Due to these variations, each trajectory will be discussed separately. The migrants that inform that ethnic entrepreneur trajectory are supposed to be the most likely to stay in the destination country due to their roots in the community through owning a business. However, what if the business is not sustainable? If the entrepreneur has to close the business because of a dwindling demand from co-ethnics, competition or the inability to diversify the product range to increase demand, then there are few options for the entrepreneurs given their previous experience in the British labour market as well as their varying skill level. One of the main findings from the thesis in relation to why the entrepreneurs started their business was due to the lack of other lucrative options in the labour market, ie. the disadvantage theory. All of the migrants that informed this trajectory held several, low-skilled positions prior to starting their business and did not see any viable, lucrative options available to them. However, unlike the migrant paradox, for a number of the migrants that were entrepreneurs, they had a relatively low skill level with no aim to develop their human capital while in the UK. Based on this, if the entrepreneur was forced to close their business, as a result of the limited options in the labour market, return migration would be a definite possibility. For those ethnic entrepreneurs that had a higher level of education, they were still interested in ethnic entrepreneurship because of a lack of better options as well as working for oneself. The option of being reduced back to working in a low-skilled job, with the pull of potentially better employment options now available in Poland, could be the catalyst for return migration for this subsidiary group of migrants as well.

Regardless of the ethnic entrepreneurs' education level, another option, in the event of business closure, is for the entrepreneur to open another business that could be completely different than their first business. The aforementioned non-economic motivations such as sentiment that could influence the entrepreneurs' location, will

not necessarily influence the entrepreneurs' business –sense or entrepreneurial spirit. This entrepreneurial spirit, which transcends migrant status, was mentioned by the entrepreneurs in Chapter 4 and further reviewed in Chapter 7. Although the Polish entrepreneurs in the sample appeared to be starting a business because of a lack of other lucrative employment options, none of the entrepreneurs mentioned that as the reason to start the business; rather, they mentioned the desire to work for one-self. This is a relatively uniform response for entrepreneurs regardless of their migrant status, even in the UK with traditionally smaller numbers of entrepreneurs, and supports the idea of future entrepreneurial endeavours if returning to Poland (Kelley, Singer & Herrington, 2011).

There are several examples of prominent immigrant or migrant entrepreneurs throughout history that support this entrepreneurial spirit within migrants. The former Member of Parliament and media mogul, Robert Maxwell, originally named Jan Ludvik Hochwas, was born in Czechoslovakia and migrated to France and then Britain after WWII becoming a serial entrepreneur along the way (BBC Business, 2001). Many more examples of the serial entrepreneur spirit amongst immigrant groups exist, especially within the tech world with firms such as Instagram, which was just sold to Facebook for \$1bn, being started by Brazilian immigrants to the US. The lesser known online video platform Kaltura, started by an Israeli entrepreneur who immigrated to the US, is also an example (Pozin, 2012). These examples are compounded by an increasing number of reports highlighting the similar traits between those who are willing to leave their country of origin and those who are engaging in entrepreneurial endeavours, particularly during a time of recession (Kauffman Report, as cited in Pagliery, 2012). In both of these examples and from this research, the entrepreneur did not return to the country of origin; however, due to the factors identified above in relation to the ethnic entrepreneurs characteristics, as well as their business being outside of the knowledge economy (unlike previous examples), the return migration option, with the chance to set up a business in Poland, is the most favourable outcome for these migrants.

Although also part of the co-ethnic economy, the co-ethnic workers would have substantially different motivations for return migrating in comparison to the ethnic entrepreneurs. The main reasons these co-ethnic workers are likely to return migrate is due to their lack of English language skills, their reluctance to learn the language

and their relatively well-educated nature. If there was one trajectory of migrants that was acting in the same way as the wider Polish migrant group in the UK, as originally conceived by the media, academics and politicians, the co-ethnic workers would be the group. Due to these similarities, the co-ethnic workers would find it difficult to migrate to a third country and, although attributed to their economic nature, their reluctance to learn the language while in the destination country supports the eventual return migration concept. This is particularly the case if the ethnic economy shrinks in size and the ethnic businesses are forced to close. Through not developing their language skills, and, more importantly, not being interested in developing language skills, the migrants that inform this trajectory make it difficult to sustain their time outside of Poland. This is supported by history within the sample as, according to the ethnic entrepreneurs, the co-ethnic workers that were interviewed in 2008, who were not available for interview in 2011, had return migrated. See the Appendix for further details. Although it is unknown why these migrants left the UK, it is known that they were co-ethnic workers that return migrated.

The careerist trajectory is included alongside these ethnic economy based trajectories as possible return migrants because of the following: this is a very specific case, the turnover in the sector is high, and there is a finite amount of progress an employee can make within the employer's hierarchy. All of the careerists are employed by the same hotel in Cardiff. Due to this, and the significant progress of the migrants over time within the same organisation conflicts with both the existing literature and the rest of the thesis findings, this case, and the migrants' experience that inform the trajectory, are very unique. Therefore, the careerists may have difficulty in finding a commensurate position elsewhere in the region or the UK. This point ties in significantly with the other two points. The second issue is that turnover is high in the hospitality sector, at all levels. This is particularly the case for Polish migrant labour as the hospitality sector in the UK was one of the main sectors affected in the post-2004 period (Janta, 2011). If the migrant was made redundant, there are two options. On one hand, there could be commensurate opportunities for these migrants within the region or the wider UK due to the experience they had within this hotel, as it is one of the best in Wales. On the other hand, given the sentimental value of return migrating, and the increase in tourism –related employers in Poland since

joining the EU, the possibility to return migrate with significant experience within the UK to a higher position in Poland could be possible. The aspects of the previous two points influence the last point regarding the finite progression within the hotel hierarchy. Due to the significant rise from starting at a low-level cleaning or maintenance position to a mid-level or management position, the expectation of the migrants informing this trajectory is that the progression continues throughout the organisation; however, there is a finite amount of room to grow. This is indicative of the hotel they are employed by and why the two options posed for the last point apply, the migrants may see more opportunity to progress in the long-term if working in Poland, particularly if the hotel caters to English-speaking tourists. Based on these factors, with the exception of Wiktoria who will be discussed below, the emphasis would be on return migrating for the migrants that inform the careerist trajectory.

Long-term ‘Settlers’ in the UK

According to the literature, migrants that either own a business or have established a family in the destination country are more likely to stay there in the long term due to the significant ties that they have to the area. While this may be the case in the literature, due to the vast majority of the ethnic entrepreneurs having their businesses based in the ethnic economy, they are less likely to stay in the UK if their businesses go under due to a lack of consumers or a failure to diversify. Based on the findings from the thesis, the two migrant groups that are most likely to remain in the UK are the credentialists and the linguists. While both groups of migrants initially migrated for human capital development, their motivations to potentially remain in the UK are varied.

The credentialists migrated to the UK to enhance their education and skill level through studying at a British University. As a result, at least for the case of Igor, the migrant has a qualification from a British University and a highly competitive research position within his alma mater. Beyond these economic aspects, Igor also mentioned not being motivated to return migrate due to the cultural aspects in Poland. Due to this he preferred the UK. If following Igor’s comments, he mentioned potentially moving on to a third country like the US. Although he mentions UK migration in passing, due to the ease of migration to the UK as an EU national, the visa restrictions on EU nationals entering the US and Igor’s general

contentment with his work/life balance in the UK, the speculation is that although dreaming about migrating onward to the US, he will actually remain in the UK in the long-term. However, if the work/life balance changes through redundancy, etc. then the credentialists would be more likely to migrate to a third country.

Independently, the linguists migrated to the UK to enhance their human capital through acquiring further English language skills. Each migrant that informed the trajectory had a different approach for their future plans which covers all of the possibilities mentioned at the beginning of this section. Nonetheless, due to three factors that will be discussed here, the speculation is that all of the linguists will remain in the UK. First, the linguists migrated to enhance their English language skills and all of them realised the benefits in also having a British based degree, despite a higher degree held from a Polish University. As a result of the realisation, the linguists not only have a high level of English language skills but also a high education level, backed by a British degree. Due to these group characteristics, they are more likely to maintain a more British lifestyle than their fellow Polish counterparts, including the credentialists. Individually, each migrant also has a reason to remain in the UK. For Donata, the primary reason to remain in the UK is due to her families intolerance of her gay lifestyle. For Zuzanna, who claimed to be interested in migrating to a third country, she will be rooted in the UK through her British fiancé. Donata's case supports the literature highlighted at the beginning of this section, as she has several children, some born in Poland and some born in the UK, which further embed her within the British culture. Due to all of these factors, the linguists as a group and independently have significant motivations to remain in the UK.

Migration to a Third Country

While several migrants from the sample, which crossed trajectory lines, explained their strategy of onward migration to a third country, the speculation is that it will not occur, with the exception of the careerist, Wiktorja. The reason why the migrants that informed the sample will most likely not migrate to a third country as well as the reasons why Wiktorja was singled out as an anomaly amongst the group will be described in this section.

There are four main reasons it is speculated that the migrants in the sample will not migrate to a third country, EU or otherwise, despite their responses during the interviews. First, the migrants in the sample are comfortable, financially and otherwise in the UK. Their satisfaction with life in the UK, including employment and, equally, social aspects, is the main reason the migrants in the sample gave for not returning to Poland. If they are content with their life in the UK, what would be their motivation to onward migrate? Obviously, as discussed above, if the work/life balance in the UK is upset, then onward migration or return migration may be an option. Second, for some of the migrants, the major hurdle in migrating to the UK was learning English and the interest in learning a third language, which might be needed for onward migration, would be low. The advantages of being an EU citizen are numerous, but for a Polish migrant who took advantage of becoming an EU citizen through migrating, the advantages are well known and appreciated. Based on this free movement of labour, particularly after all of the restrictions to the member states labour markets have been lifted, the next, natural onward migration would be to another EU country. With the exception of Ireland, the choices are limited if the migrant does not want to learn a third language. Third, which is tied to the English language acquisition, if the migrant wanted to further use the English skills they developed in the UK through onward migration to the US or Canada, they would be met with considerable restrictions to long-term migration as well as restrictions to accessing the labour market. Although possible, compared to the ease of entry into the UK for most of these migrants with spending between £50-£90 and filling out the WRS paperwork, entry into the US or Canada for the long-term and for labour market access would be a formidable and expensive task (UKBA, 2012). While attractive for the shared language, the closed nature of the labour market, particularly with the significant immigration from South America, would definitely discourage Poles. Fourth, despite the cultural tolerance and family issues mentioned by the migrants as their reason to not return migrate, the role of sentiment and the evolution of the migrants' motivations as well as the evolution of their country of origin, can change. The complex nature of the migrants' motivations is a central theme within the thesis, but the evolution of the migrants' motivations has been a central theme regarding the migrants' future plans. To this extent, if the migrants do plan to leave the UK the speculation is that they will return migrate to Poland; this is largely based on the sentiment of returning 'home' as well as the possible evolution of the country

into a more tolerant place. For the more individual motivations to stay in the UK as mentioned by the migrants, such as family-related problems, they can equally evolve due to family emergencies, death, etc.

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, the migrant that seems to defy these reasons, and would most likely migrate to a third country is Wiktoría. This is largely to do with meeting her Serbian fiancée while in Cardiff, being a high skilled migrant, acquiring an advanced degree from a British University and being in employment that is easily transferrable throughout the world. To further speculate on where Wiktoría would migrate to, the first suggestion would be Serbia due to her fiancée's links with the country. Serbia is expected to accede to the EU in 2015 at the earliest, but if Wiktoría's status changes from an EU citizen to the spouse of a Serbian national, she would not be subject to extensive immigration control in Serbia (Europa, 2012). Beyond that, and depending on her interest in acquiring languages, Wiktoría could be a competitive candidate in the wider EU labour market due to her advanced qualifications from a British University along with her managerial experience in the service sector.

Predicting Policy

Speculating on the future policy at the EU level and national level is more difficult than speculating on the future plans of the migrants from the sample. This difficulty is based on the seemingly few options that the migrants from the sample have regarding their future plans in comparison to the many issues that need to be addressed through future policy including migration, diversity and economic growth. These issues, that could be addressed by policy at the national or supranational level, will be discussed in this final section focusing on three major themes: (1) the potential UK policy toward integrating long-term EU migrants; (2) the potential UK policy toward future migration; and (3) the potential future EU enlargements and the free movement of labour.

UK Policy & Integration of Existing EU Migrants

At the time of writing, the UK coalition government is focusing on reducing the incentives for immigrants to enter the UK (Bryan-Low & Winning, 2013). This is being focussed on a multi-pronged strategy including increasing the number of years the immigrant or migrant has to live in the UK prior to being eligible for housing and

unemployment benefits and, potentially making immigrants entering the UK on a short-term basis pay a one-off fee that is returned when they leave the UK (Bryan-Low & Winning, 2013). The aim of this latter part of the strategy is to reduce the number of immigrants who overstay their visas in the UK by returning the one-off payment when they leave the country. Regardless of the payment on return, this is very similar to Becker's suggestion (2011) outlined in Chapter 2 although the figures the UK government were considering here are significantly less. Also, this fee would be on a country-to-country basis, so immigrants entering the UK from Pakistan may have to pay more than immigrants entering the UK from the US. While imposing this substantial fee on EU migrants would be against EU conventions regarding the free movement of labour, it could be enacted in other, economically beneficial ways through increasing the price paid by intra-EU migrants for their visas during the transition arrangements. Alternatively, the welfare benefits could be reduced for EU migrants. Through these efforts, the UK government would be actively attempting to manipulate the further migration of EU citizens; however, the government should also be focusing on integrating the existing EU citizens in the UK, who have lived primarily in the UK for at least three years.

This integration strategy should not mimic the standardised 'good citizenship' test that the Dutch government is attempting to pass through EU legislation (Waterfeld, 2013). While the Dutch government is trying to force cultural integration to retain the national identity, due to the concern over the Bulgarian and Romanian migrants that could enter their labour market in January 2014, it can also be viewed as a potential way of controlling the 'free' movement of labour. Rather, using the suggestions mentioned in the future research above, the UK-based integration strategy should aim to support a cultural exchange between British and Polish culture where necessary. To a certain extent, this cultural exchange and integration is happening organically as demonstrated through the European Commission (2011) research on cultural integration notes that one of the major limitations is the immigrants lack of employment. However, as many of the Poles entered the UK in the post-2004 period explicitly to find work, their labour market integration has enabled their cultural integration to begin. From the findings of Spencer, Ruhs, Anderson & Rogaly's (2007) research on Poles in London, it could be argued that this cultural integration is occurring, particularly amongst Poles who have lived in

the UK for a longer term. Fomina's (as cited in Harris 2012) smaller sample of well-educated Poles in Bradford demonstrate the same cultural integration occurring albeit more likely with well-educated migrants. Policymakers should take note of these specific cases of successful integration and base EU migration integration in the UK policy on it. While this integration may have occurred seamlessly with the Poles, future intra-EU migrations may not be the same.

UK Policy & Future Migration

Regardless of the outcome of the next political election in Britain, the issue of migration and immigration will arise as a major source of tension. The level of tension regarding this subject will be relative to the economy's performance prior to the election, exhibiting an inverse relationship. For example, if the UK's economic performance is improving with low unemployment, then tension regarding migration will be allayed. Alternatively, if the UK's economic performance is similar to what has been in the recessionary period with high unemployment, particularly for young people, then tension regarding migration will be high. Regardless of the tension-level, the future policy regarding migration and immigration will be assessed and based on what is best for the UK economy. The last section introduced a potential fee-based approach to EU migration. An extremist version of this approach to migration/immigration is being promoted in Greece by the Golden Dawn party in an effort to remove migrants/immigrants, and stop future inflows, during this period of economic turmoil (Faiola, 2012). The enactment of a policy of this nature by the UK government is improbable; however, if sought, migration would be curtailed, not stopped. Realising the economic potential of the migrants' payments, as well as their contribution to the country's economic growth, the policy would ensure that only economically-active migrants (and immigrants) would be able to enter the UK for labour purposes.

Future Enlargements & Free Labour Movement

The UK policymakers, as well as the rest of the EU, may not have to worry about potential major labour migrant inflows from new member states in the future because the EU may cease to continue enlarging in the next 3-5 years. As cited in the Introduction, the original aim of the EU was to prevent future conflict amongst the nation states in Europe. A more optimistic conceptualisation of the EU is uniting 'old Europe' with 'new Europe'. Regardless of the approach that is taken, 'Europe'

has a geographic boundary that is finite. Croatia, the most recent country to join the EU, successfully acceded on July 1, 2013. At the time of writing, there are no other candidate countries that are awaiting ratification by the member states to accede.

The candidate countries that are still negotiating the terms of EU accession are: Macedonia, Iceland, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey (Europa, 2012). The 'terms of EU accession' are many including but not limited to: border control, intellectual property law, financial control, health protection and taxation (Europa, 2012). There are other, less transparent terms that countries wanting to join the EU have to adhere to as well including political pressures from the existing member states (Head, 2012). As is the case of Turkey, who applied for accession to the EU in 1987, this negotiation can take years if transition happens at all (Head, 2012).

If EU enlargement is completed in July 2013, with all of the transitional arrangements ending by June 2020, the EU should be demonstrating its three tenets of free movement of goods, labour and people. In regards to the free movement of labour, the labour would move to areas where there is a shortage and there would be no major migrations, as seen in the post-2004 period. Based on the history of Europe, the only foreseeable change to this stable migration would be if conflict arises amongst the member states driving EU citizens in one EU country to another EU country. Conflict outside of the member states could result in refugees or asylum seekers entering the EU from surrounding countries, but they do not enjoy the same employment rights as EU citizens. Therefore, they would not have the same impact on the EU's labour market.

Appendix:

Part I: Polish Participant Demographic Information from Time of Migration to 2011

Part 2: Discussion of Migrant Numbers

Part 3: Interview Schedule & Sample Questionnaire

Polish Participant Demographic Information from Time of Migration to 2011

Table 1: Demographic Information of Polish Participants at Time of Migration

Migrant ID*	Gender	Age	Education Level	Marital Status	First Job in UK	Year of Migration	Expected Length of Migration
Julia**	F	20	High School Diploma	Engaged	Nanny	2004	Long-term
Maja**	F	24	Masters Degree	Single	Waitress	2004	Long-term
Filip	M	26	High School Diploma	Single	Kitchen busboy	2006	Long-term
Kinga	F	21	High School Diploma	Married	Housekeeping	2004	Long-term
Lena	F	37	High School Diploma	Married	Waitress	2004	Long-term
Michal**	M	26	High School Diploma/Military	Married	Lorry Driver	2004	Indefinite
Amelia	F	20	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Housekeeper	2006	3-4 months
Tomek**	M	35	Masters Degree	Married	Sales clerk	2004	Long-term
Borys	M	26	Undergraduate Degree	Married	Construction Worker	2005	Long-term
Cyryl	M	28	High School Diploma	Single	Tomato Farm	2005	Long-term
Gabriela**	F	31	Undergraduate Degree	Married	Translator in Polish Community	2006	Long-term
Donata**	F	23	Masters Degree	Single	Waitress	2004	3-4 months
Jakub	M	20	High School Diploma	Single	Factory	2008	3-6 months
Angelika	F	24	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Ice Cream Stand	2004	1 year

Antoni	M	27	Masters Degree	Single	Car Wash Employee	2008	3-6 months
Natalia	F	24	Masters Degree	Single	Seasonal Worker then student	2004	4 Years (student)
Maciej	M	23	Masters Degree	Single	Student/ Unemployed	2004	4 Years
Hanna	F	28	Masters Degree	Single	Cleaner	2008	1-2 years
Nikola	F	25	Undergraduate Degree	Engaged	Nanny	2006	+5 years
Emilia	F	31	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Cashier	2006	2-5 years
Anna	F	25	Masters Degree	Single	Waitress	2007	Max. 1 year
Martyna	F	21	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Coffee Shop	2006	Indefinite
Dawid	M	27	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Factory	2008	6 months
Zofia	F	19	Studying for Undergraduate Degree	Single	Restaurant Worker	2007	5 months-1 year
Patryck	M	22	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Factory	2005	Max. 1 year
Igor	M	19	High School Diploma	Single	Kitchen Busboy	2005	3-4 years (student)
Kamilla	F	24	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Hotel Housekeeper	2006	3-4 months
Wiktoria	F	25	Masters Degree	Single	Waitress	2006	3-4 months
Weronika	F	25	Masters Degree	Single	Cleaner	2007	3-4 months
Magdalena	F	24	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Nanny	2004	6 months
Jan	M	20	High School Diploma	Single	Hotel Housekeeper	2005	3 months

Oliwia	F	25	Masters Degree	Single	Hotel Housekeeper	2010	3 months
Zuzanna	F	26	Masters Degree	Single	Coffee Shop Waitress	2005	1 year

Source: Polish Migrant Qualitative Data 2008 & 2011

*All of the 'migrant Ids' are pseudonyms for the migrant workers who participated in this study through either semi-structured interviews or focus groups conducted in 2008 & 2011.

**Indicates interviewed in 2008 & 2011.

Table 2: Demographic Information of Polish Participants in 2011

Migrant ID*	Education Level	Marital Status	Most Recent Job	Still Living in UK (2011)	Interview Date & Current Status
Julia	Undergraduate Degree	Engaged	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Food Shop	Yes	2008/2011; Follow-up interview
Maja	Masters Degree	Married	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Salon	Yes	2008/2011; Follow-up interview
Filip	High School Diploma	Single	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Food Shop	Returned to Poland 2009	2008; Store closed and returned (verified by other ethnic entrepreneurs)
Kinga	High School Diploma	Married	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Restaurant	Moved to Reading in 2009	2008; Stayed in touch until Reading
Lena	High School Diploma	Married	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Restaurant	Yes	2008; Still owning & working at Restaurant (called to confirm)
Michal	High School Diploma/Military	Married	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Food Shop	Yes	2008/2011; Follow-up interview
Amelia	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Nail Salon	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Tomek	Masters Degree	Married	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Internet Cafe	Yes	2008/2011; Follow-up interview

Borys	Undergraduate Degree	Married	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Construction	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Cyryl	High School Diploma	Single	Ethnic Entrepreneur-Construction	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Gabriela	Masters Degree	Married	Translator	Yes	2008/2011; Follow-up interview
Donata	2 nd Masters Degree	Single	Diversity Officer	Yes	2008/2011; Follow-up interview
Jakub	High School Diploma	Single	Factory Worker	Unknown	2008; No way of following up (phone disconnected)
Angelika	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Restaurant Manager	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Antoni	Masters Degree	Single	Factory Worker	Unknown	2008; Return Migrated verified by gatekeeper that introduced us (Gabriela)
Natalia	Masters Degree	Single	Completed PhD in 2009	Unknown	2008; PhD verified by gatekeeper that introduced us (Tomek)
Maciej	Masters Degree	Single	Completed PhD in 2009	Unknown	2008; PhD verified by gatekeeper that introduced us (Tomek)

Hanna	Masters Degree	Single	Co-ethnic employee –Food Shop	Unknown	2008; Verified by gatekeeper that introduced us (Gabriela)
Nikola	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Co-ethnic employee –Food Shop	Unknown	2008; Return Migrated
Emilia	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Co-ethnic employee –Food Shop	Unknown	2008; Return Migrated
Anna	Masters Degree	Single	Unemployed	Returned to Poland in 2009	2008; Verified by gatekeeper that introduced us (Tomek)
Martyna	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Unknown	Unknown	2008; No way of following up- met at Starbucks
Dawid	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Co-ethnic employee –Food Shop	Unknown	2008; Return Migrated
Zofia	Undergraduate	Single	Restaurant Worker	No	2008; Verified by gatekeeper that introduced us (Tomek)
Patryck	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Co-ethnic employee -Construction	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Igor	Undergraduate Degree	Single	University Researcher	Yes	2011; Interviewed

Kamilla	Undergraduate Degree	Single	Manager at Hotel	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Wiktoria	2 nd Masters Degree	Married	Manager at Hotel	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Weronika	Masters Degree	Single	Restaurant Manager	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Magdalena	Masters Degree	Married	Bar Worker	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Jan	High School Diploma	Single	Manager at Hotel	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Oliwia	Masters Degree	Single	Hotel Housekeeper	Yes	2011; Interviewed
Zuzanna	2 nd Masters Degree	Engaged	Diversity Officer/Self-Employed Interpreter	Yes	2011; Interviewed

Source: Polish Migrant Qualitative Data 2008 & 2011

*All of the 'migrant Ids' are pseudonyms for the migrant workers who participated in this study through either semi-structured interviews or focus groups conducted in 2008 & 2011.

Discussion of Migrant Numbers

There are several methods in which the population of Polish migrants in Britain in the post-2004 period have been counted which are identified in table 3, adapted from Gillingham, 2010. In addition to these data sources, this section will also review alternative methods of collecting information on A8 migrant statistics from a combination of GP, school enrolment, and dentist numbers which will be referred to as a ‘combination of welfare numbers’. The strengths, weaknesses, and use of each of these methods for gathering reliable information within the thesis will follow.

Table 3: Overview of the Main Data Sources on A8 Migration Statistics

	International Passenger Survey (IPS)	Long-Term International Migration (LTIM)	Worker Registration Scheme	NINo allocations to overseas nationals	Labour Force Survey / Annual Population Survey	Higher Education Statistics Agency
Type of source	Sample survey	Sample survey, adjustments made for those known to be missed	Administrative	Administrative	Sample survey	Administrative
Definition of a migrant derived from data source	UN definition, person moving to a new country for a period of at least 12 months	UN definition	Accession nationals planning to legally work in the UK for more than one month	Overseas nationals allocated a NINo	Country of birth is non-UK or nationality is non-British	Students in Higher Education whose home address is outside the UK
Coverage	Sample of all passengers entering and leaving the UK through ports	LTIM includes IPS data and adjustments for those whose length of stay changes, asylum seekers and moves to and from Northern Ireland	A8 nationals planning to work legally or claim benefits in the UK for more than one month	Adult overseas nationals allocated a NINo	Sample of all private households	Students in Higher Education in England and Wales
Exclusions	Those planning to stay for less than 12 months	Those planning to stay for less than 12 months	Accession migrants not planning to legally work and the self-employed	Migrants not planning to legally work or claim benefits Migrants aged under 15	Most communal establishments Students in halls of residence with non-UK resident parents	Non-students
Type of migration	Inflows, outflows and net migration	Inflows, outflows and net migration	Inflow	Inflow	Stock	Stock
Publication frequency	Quarterly and annually	Quarterly and annually	Quarterly	Quarterly	Quarterly	Annually

Source: Gillingham, 2010

Worker Registration Scheme

The Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) was a part of the 2004 EU accession treaty that allowed an 'open' border between the A8 countries and the UK. While Germany and Austria requested a 7 year transition policy to protect their respective labour markets given their geographic proximity to Poland, the UK allowed A8 migrants to enter under the premise that they would sign up for the WRS and not receive income-related benefits until after one year of continuous employment. Essentially, this was supposed to limit the number of benefit exploiters and enable the Home Office to hold information on the A8 migrants once they reached the UK. In addition to gathering the number of migrants, it was supposed to be used for later enlargements when dealing with the issue whether or not to have a transition policy in place.

The scheme required mandatory enrolment for all A8 migrants entering Britain, until April 2011, along with an offer of employment within the first 6 months of entry, and a registration fee, which changed from £50 to £90 (UKBA, 2012). It did not count the self-employed and outflows of A8 migrants. When changing jobs within the UK, the migrants were expected to re-register. However, after working for one year without more than a 30 day break, the workers no longer needed to register on the WRS (Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah, 2008). Based on these criteria, the statistics are highly flawed in the following ways:

- The registration fee was high for migrants.
- The migrants who were self-employed or students were not counted through the WRS.
- The statistics did not take into account return migration.
- The statistics were cumulative which made the accurate counting of migrants who re-enter and reapply problematic.
- The regional count did not reflect the actual number of migrants in the area due to intra-UK migration.
- The scheme was not easily enforced for migrants as well as employers who were supposed to have the WRS registration to employ the migrant (adapted from Gillingham, 2010).

The concerns highlighted refer to the obstacles encountered for migrants as well as the problems with the statistics. These will be further examined. First, as in the case

of the participant observation for this thesis, many migrant entrepreneurs are paying taxes on their business; however, they are cited as the sole employees. Due to this, future employees in the UK, which are often friends, relatives, or Poles from within the community, do not need to register for the WRS or for the NINo while solely employed by them. However, British employers have also reduced their requirements to exploit workers. The Home Office has attempted to target British employers in this category as often those that do not require NINo and WRS registration are those who use migrant workers for extended hours paying below the minimum wage. In either case, there is the potential for miscalculating the WRS statistics based on the somewhat voluntary nature of the registration process. Second, the registration fee was raised, and from March 2009 onwards stood at £90. While this may not seem like a large fee, for new migrants, who are moving to the UK to make money, that fee, on top of all of the other costs of moving, can seem large.

Third, the WRS numbers for a specific region can be grossly under or over estimated due to intra- UK migration. The qualitative research conducted for this thesis greatly reflects the notion that Polish migrants to the UK are also intra-UK migrants. Their incentives for moving were largely based on family and friend connections to their final destination. Nonetheless, this sample with several self-employed migrants, were registered in the previous location within the UK. In regards to the statistics, this intra-UK migration invalidates both the statistics at the original migration location as well as the statistics for the number of Poles in the Cardiff area.

Fourth, those that are self-employed from A8 nations are able to enter the country and not register for the WRS. For this thesis, as all of the entrepreneurs were previously employed, all were registered at some stage for the WRS. Nonetheless, with the European Treaty in 1994 allowing candidate country nationals to start businesses in the UK, a sizeable number of unaccounted for migrants may be here which would further diminish the numbers. While they are furthering the British economy through their entrepreneurial endeavours, there is still the local concern for the welfare system.

Finally, the information gathered through the WRS is cumulative; therefore, the statistics presented relating to the 950,000 A8 migrants in Britain as of December

2008 includes those who have migrated to the UK for 3 years in 2004 and those who have migrated for seasonal work in 2005. This is the main criticism of the WRS as, given the example above, it is unrealistic to have a cumulative total which counts long-term migrants, short-term migrants, and circular migration patterns (as in the case of seasonal work) with the same weight and in the same field.

National Insurance Number

The National Insurance Number (NINo) is a method used to gauge taxes and benefits for those working in the UK. When a recipient is of legal age to work, it is expected that a NINo number will be appointed and used for the rest of that person's time in employment. From the employer's perspective, there is no condition in which an employee should be employed without having a NINo. For the case of A8 migrants working in the UK, a NINo is not mandatory for WRS registration as the registration forms asks for NINo details 'if available'; however, between registering for WRS and physically starting work, the migrant is expected to attain the NINo. The NINo registration for migrants is typically completed at a job centre location within the region the person is to become employed. The NINo registration process usually involves a meeting with a job centre officer who reviews the case and paperwork of the applicant. For jobs where employers expect a NINo and the employee does not supply one, there is a specific tax that ensues which, due to the amount it removes, is meant to urge the employee to get the NINo. While the process is straightforward, the criticisms of using NINo statistics are similar to the above criticisms of the WRS numbers.

Tracking the number of A8 migrants through their NINo can be accomplished through their tax claims and benefit claims. Since the majority of employers now require NINo for tax purposes and for new migrants to register on the WRS they prefer if you already have a NINo. This would make the NINo process a positive in attaining a solid figure for A8 migrants in Britain. To further support the strength of these figures, for a migrant in 3D employment, which most of the migrants in the sample had at some point, a NINo would be needed. In addition, the ethnic economy that several of the migrants in the sample transitioned to were legitimate businesses, ie. not in the informal economy, thereby requiring a NINo. However, similar to the WRS, the NINo efforts at counting the number of Poles throughout the UK is flawed in the following ways:

- Migrants in the informal economy are not counted.
- Intra-UK migration details cannot be accessed through NINo,
- NINo only measures inflows of migration.

In regards to the first point, while the migrants in this sample were not part of the informal economy, this may not be true of all Poles that migrated to the UK thereby reducing the accuracy of the NINo statistics. As NINo tracks both taxes and benefits, those migrants in the informal economy would be completely overlooked by the system as, unlike other migrant groups, further studies of the A8 migrants have shown that even when they are able to receive unemployment benefits they opt to work (Home Office, 2006). However, the actual number of Poles working in the informal economy may not be as voluminous as originally thought because, as mentioned above, the 3D employment opportunities that are largely available to Polish migrants would require NINo information to pay taxes. The second point regarding intra-UK migration was also highlighted above as a flaw of the WRS system. A migrant who obtains a NINo in one region is able to move within the UK which alters the number in subsequent regions. While filing tax claims allows the NINo to track the migrant for their primary purposes, this change of location is not reflected in the regional statistics. This would alter the actual number of migrants at the regional level while still maintaining the statistics on the migrant inflows at the national level.

The inflow of migrants to the UK is the third issue in that the NINo captures migrants working outside of the informal economy and, as they would not have to re-register if re-entering the country, actually overcomes one of the weaknesses of the WRS where migrants may register several times when re-entering the UK. However, the problem of no return migration figures still remains as NINo, in supporting the labour market, does not gauge return migration of Poles. For the thesis, NINo numbers were largely used for comparative purposes below.

Labour Force Survey

The Labour Force Survey (LFS) was briefly discussed in Chapter 3, and above, in relation to the dataset analysis of Polish migrants in the UK. It is a quarterly publication conducted by the Office for National Statistics and is set to collect data

on households over time and their surrounding labour market. For immigration details, the survey does not openly discuss migration; however, it does ask questions relating to nationality, country of birth, and time in the UK. While it utilises internationally agreed upon standards, the main issue lies in the sampling error. Through analyzing the data set, four issues arose with the method of collection and the discrepancies in the data:

- Information was based on country, and not the local level.
- Migrant workers were less likely to be analysed through canvassing techniques.
- Sample vs. Weighted Data.
- Questionnaire Informing the Variables.

First, the information collected by the LFS is largely based on country. The survey was not designed for the local level; therefore, the information on migrants, particularly self-employed migrants, is for the whole of Wales (NUTS II level), not the Cardiff area. Second, as discussed by Pollard, Latorre & Sriskandarajah (2008), migrant workers are less likely to be analysed through the LFS due to the sampling methods used. Typically, the LFS will conduct the household survey over time, stopping at the same house 5 times. While this provides data over time, it is not conducive to the migrant way of life in which return migration, intra-UK migration, or forward migration is possible. In addition, the LFS survey does not use shared accommodation for the study, which is often used by migrants as it is cheaper to rent. Third, while the LFS is a large data set, the statistics provided through the analysis are based on the sample, not on the population as a whole. The LFS sample of Poles is 881 people. While this is large, the overall number of Poles in the UK is closer to 600,000. The weighting variable was used for the purposes of the analysis for the thesis. Fourth, as discussed extensively above in Chapter 3, LFS analysis for the Polish migrants' education level, the questionnaire questions that are asked of the respondents, and then inform the variables that are analysed in the survey, can change over time. This question change was highlighted as the main reason for the significant increase in well-educated post-2004 Poles in 2011 as opposed to the more 'other-qualified' Poles in the preceding years (2005-2010).

International Passenger Survey

The International Passenger Survey (IPS) is provided by the Office of National Statistics and provides data on the annual passengers entering and leaving the UK. The obvious incentive to use this survey in regards to A8 migrants' lies in its ability to count the number of migrants leaving the UK, unlike the previous survey methods discussed in this section. Subsequently, there are four problems with using this data, particularly relating to A8 migrants:

- A migrant was defined as someone who will stay in the UK for over a year.
- Regional level of information.
- Relatively small sample size for migrants.
- Outgoing vs. Incoming.

First, the 'migrant' category only applies to those people completing the survey who intend to stay in the UK for over a year. This is a problem relating to the accuracy of information from the IPS for A8 migrants as some filling it out may not know their length of time in the UK upon filling out the survey or they are return migrants who are residing in the UK for less than a year. Second, the information is for the UK as a whole. Even if broken down by nation, it would not be able to account for intra-UK migration. This could greatly diminish the survey statistics from reality as when the first A8 migrants were coming to the UK, they may have had to arrive in a large city based on transportation needs and commute from there. Third, due to the first issue, relating to the length of time expected in the UK, the sample of A8 migrants would be small due to their response for their expected time of stay. Fourth, there is no way to ensure that the migrants completing the survey on the way out are the same migrants that completed the survey on the way into the UK. Based on this, the relatively small sample would be an inaccurate representation of the migrant statistics in the UK at a given time.

Combination of Welfare Numbers

This method uses a combination of General Practice (GP) statistics, school enrolment statistics, WRS numbers, and other public service numbers to get accurate statistics on Polish migrants living in a specific region. This method has been used in a Welsh Assembly Government survey of Poles in Carmarthenshire, Wrexham

and Newport (Kreft & Ritchie, 2010). The strength of this method lies in its ability to look at the migrant situation at the local level. While this is an innovative method that utilizes several sources of information to overcome the above listed flaws in each method, it still has its faults, particularly when focusing on the average characteristics of the Polish migrants in the post-2004 period, namely that they are young and single.

The main issue relating to this method is that the demographic information of A8 migrants does not fit with the sources given the age and other basic characteristics of the Polish migrant groups. The average Polish migrant is between 18-25 years old and single. Due to these characteristics, they would not be present in the education statistics as they would have completed school and would most likely not have children enrolled in school. Even if they are not return migrants, who could probably see their family doctor as needed, they are not at the point in their life where a large amount of medical care would be needed; therefore, they would not appear in the GP numbers. The only place that they would appear would be in the WRS numbers which are already discussed above. Some of these migrants would be 'added' through this catchment especially if they were here for longer than 6 months and some would not due to seasonal jobs.

Interview Schedule & Sample Questionnaire

Interview Schedule 2008

Demographics

- 1.) What is your age
- 2.) What is your gender
- 3.) What is your nationality
- 4.) What is your religion
- 5.) What is your marital status
 - a. If not single, where did you meet your spouse/partner/etc
- 6.) What is your current address
- 7.) How long have you lived at that address
- 8.) Since living in the UK, have you lived anywhere else except that address
- 9.) How many people live in your household
- 10.) What languages do you speak
- 11.) Do you have any formal qualifications –from Poland, UK or elsewhere
 - a. If attained further qualifications, what was your incentive
 - b. If no, have you thought about going back to school

Migration

- 12.) When did you migrate to the UK
- 13.) What were your reasons for migrating
- 14.) Had you lived in a foreign country before migrating to the UK
- 15.) When you migrated to the UK, did anyone have a role in deciding where you were planning to move
- 16.) When you migrated to Cardiff, did anyone have a role in deciding where you were planning to move
- 17.) Have any of your family migrated from Poland to Cardiff since you have lived here
- 18.) When you first migrated to the UK, how long did you plan to stay for
- 19.) How long do you plan to stay in the UK at the current time
- 20.) When you first migrated to the UK did you sign up for the WRS

- 21.) When you first migrated to the UK, what mode of transport did you use
- 22.) Do you ever go back to Poland
- 23.) If you return to Poland for holiday or more permanently do you use the same mode of transportation as you did when you first migrated

Employment

- 24.) Are you currently employed
- 25.) What are you currently working as
- 26.) Where are you currently working
- 27.) How did you get this job
- 28.) Is this your first job since migrating to the UK
- 29.) How did you get other jobs that you applied for
- 30.) Did you have a job when you were in Poland

Ethnic Economy Use

- 31.) Where do you buy groceries
- 32.) Why do you shop at _____
- 33.) Do you know about the Polish businesses that sell food
- 34.) Do you ever use them
- 35.) Why do you shop at the Polish businesses
- 36.) Are there any areas of the city that you think are 'Polish areas' or that you think have a lot of Polish people in them
- 37.) Where do you think the main places for Polish people to meet other Polish people in Cardiff are

Other

- 38.) What do you think your future plans are at the current time
- 39.) Is there anything that you feel that I missed that you would like to talk about
- 40.) I get more interviews through recommendations, is there anyone that you could recommend me to talk to from your family or friends living here

Interview Schedule -2011 (for those re-interviewed)

Demographic Information

- 1.) What is your age
- 2.) What is your current marital status
 - a. If not single, where did you meet your spouse/partner/etc
- 3.) What is your current address
- 4.) How long have you lived at that address
- 5.) How many people live in your household
- 6.) Do you have any formal qualifications –from Poland, UK or elsewhere
 - a. If attained further qualifications, what was your incentive
 - b. If no, have you thought about going back to school
- 7.) Have you changed your employer since we last spoke
 - a. if so, what other jobs did you take
 - i. why did you take them
 - ii. when did you change jobs
 - iii. how did you get this job

Migration

- (5) Since we last met have you returned home at all
 - if so, were any of those trips for work purposes
 - If for work purposes- why did you decide to work at home instead of here
 - if so, when did you leave
 - Why did you return
 - When did you return
 - Why did you decide to come back to Cardiff upon returning?
- (6) Have you travelled to other countries for work purposes?
 - if so, where, why and when
 - why did you decide to return

-When did you return

-Why did you decide to come back to Cardiff upon returning

(7) If owning a business, how are things with the business

- how many people do you currently employ

-how did you hire those people

-how do you get the goods that you sell

-have you encountered any problems

-noticed any changes since we last met?

(8)Do you notice any changes in the number of Polish people living in Cardiff since last spoke

-if so, since when

-if so, why do you think that is

-if so, have you had to change your business at all to compensate for less costumers

-if so, have a lot of your workers left

-if so, have you employed people that aren't Polish as a substitute

-if not, do you notice more Poles or the same amount

(9) Are most of the Polish people that you know living around here or where are most of the situated

-why do you think that is

(10) Due to the recession (bad economy) have you thought about moving to another part of the UK

-if so, why did you pick that place

-if so, are you still thinking about moving

-if so, when

-if no, why are you staying here

(11) Due to the recession (bad economy) have you thought about returning home

-if so are you still thinking about moving

-if so, when

(12) Are there other reasons besides the recession that you would like to return home

-family, friends, jobs

(13) Do you think you will live in the UK forever

-what do you think influences that decision- business, family, friends

(14) Has anything else changed in your life or your business since we last spoke that you think may help with this work

Other Information

(15) From the other people I interviewed before (get names and list) are they still working for you or are they still in the area

-if still around, do you think you would be able to put me in contact with them

(16) Can you put me in touch with any other Polish people that might want to talk to me about similar things that we discussed today

Thank you for participating in this research.

*Interview Schedule – 2011 (new interviews)*Demographics

- 1.) What is your age
- 2.) What is your gender
- 3.) What is your nationality
- 4.) What is your religion
- 5.) What is your marital status
 - a. If not single, where did you meet your spouse/partner/etc
- 6.) What is your current address
- 7.) How long have you lived at that address
- 8.) Since living in the UK, have you lived anywhere else except that address
- 9.) How many people live in your household
- 10.) What languages do you speak
- 11.) Do you have any formal qualifications –from Poland, UK or elsewhere
 - a. If attained further qualifications, what was your incentive
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- 14.) Had you lived in a foreign country before migrating to the UK
- 15.) When you migrated to the UK, did anyone have a role in deciding where you were planning to move
- 16.) When you migrated to Cardiff, did anyone have a role in deciding where you were planning to move
- 17.) Have any of your family migrated from Poland to Cardiff since you have lived here
- 18.) When you first migrated to the UK, how long did you plan to stay for
- 19.) How long do you plan to stay in the UK at the current time
- 20.) When you first migrated to the UK did you sign up for the WRS
- 21.) When you first migrated to the UK, what mode of transport did you use
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- 37.) Where do you think the main places for Polish people to meet other Polish people in Cardiff are

Other

- 38.) What do you think your future plans are at the current time
- 39.) Has the recession made you think about moving out of Cardiff
- 40.) Has the recession had an impact on your future plans
- 41.) Is there anything that you feel that I missed that you would like to talk about
- 42.) I get more interviews through recommendations, is there anyone that you could recommend me to talk to from your family or friends living here

Sample Questionnaire

All of the information you supply will be kept in private.

ABOUT YOU:

Q1: Are you male or female? (please circle one)

Male Female

Q2: How old are you? (please circle one)

15-20 21-26 27-32 33-38 39-44 45+

Q3: Do you consider your ethnicity to be Polish or Other? (please circle one)

Polish Other

Q4: How long have you lived in Great Britain? (please circle one)

Less than 1 year 1-2 years 3-4 years 5-6 years 7+ years

Q5: Where do you currently live in the Cardiff Area? (please tick one)

- Canton
- City Road
- Roath
- Cathays
- Newport Road
- Other, please specify: _____

Q6: How many people, including any children, currently live in your household? (please tick one)

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6+

Q7: How many children do you have? (please tick one)

- No Children
- 1 Child
- 2 Children
- 3 Children

4 Children

More than 4 children

ABOUT YOUR EMPLOYMENT:

Q8: Do you currently have a job? (please circle one)

Yes

No

*If no, please go to Question 13

Q9: Is your job a formal agreement or an informal agreement between you and the employer? (please circle one)

Formal

Informal

Q10: How did you find this job? (please tick one)

- Job Centre
- Internet
- Friend or Family Contact
- Advertisement
- Other, please specify _____

Q11: On average, how many hours do you work each week? _____

Q12: If you had a job while you were in Poland, since you came to the UK do you work:

(Please Circle One)

Less Hours

Same Number of Hours

More Hours

ABOUT YOUR SHOPPING:

Q13: Have you ever used a Polish store in the Cardiff area? (please circle one)

Yes

No

*If no, please go to Question 17

Q14: How often do you use Polish stores in the Cardiff area? (please tick one)

- Less than once a month
- 1-2 times a month
- 3-4 times a month

- More than 5 times a month

Q15: What Polish store(s) do you use? (please tick all that apply)

- Mis, Penarth Road
 Rys, Wyndham Crescent
 Katrushka, Mackintosh Place
 Jiomek, City Road
 Other, please specify _____

Q16: For Polish stores, how important are the following:

Tick One Box in Each Row

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
Use of Polish Language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Choice of Polish Products	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Price of Food	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interaction with Other Poles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Distance from Your Home (if walking)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q17: When you are not using a Polish store, where do you shop? (please tick all that apply)

- Tesco
 ASDA
 Sainsburys
 Morrison's
 Other, please specify: _____

Q18: When you shop at non-Polish stores, how important are the following:

Tick One Box in Each Row

	Not Important	Somewhat Important	Extremely Important
Selection of Food	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Selection of Polish food (if available)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Price of Food	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Distance from Your Home	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Any Additional Comments? :

Please return to the school office when completed:

THANK YOU!

If you would like to be contacted at all about this please leave your name, address and phone number:

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