The Residential Patterns and Decision-Making of Polish Internal Migrants in Britain

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2017

William T C Shankley

Department of Sociology

School of Social Science
Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE 12
INTRODUCTION 12
1.0 INTRODUCTION 12
1.1 KEY THEMES FOR UNDERSTANDING POLES’ INTERNAL MIGRATION: ECONOMICS, RACIALIZATION AND FAMILY 14
1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS 18
1.3 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS 19

CHAPTER TWO 22
HISTORY AND CULTURE 22
2.0 INTRODUCTION 22
2.1 TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORY OF POLISH MIGRATION TO THE UK 23
   2.1.1 The Polish Resettlement Corps (PRC) 23
   2.1.2 The European Volunteers Workers Scheme (EVWS) 26
   2.1.3 The Residential Geographies of Second World War Polish Migrants 27
   2.1.4 Post-EVW Migration and the Importance of Communism 28
2.2 COMMUNISM, TRANSITION, AND THEIR CULTURAL IMPACTS 29
   2.2.1 The End of Communism and its effects on Poland's Economy 29
   2.2.2 Post-Communist Poland and Diversity 30
   2.2.3 Polish National Identity and Catholicism 31
   2.2.4 Polish National Identity, the Family and Sexual Minorities 31
2.3 SUMMARY 32

CHAPTER THREE 34
LITERATURE REVIEW 34
3.0 INTRODUCTION 34
3.1 THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF POLISH MIGRANTS 35
   3.1.1 Polish Residential Settlement Geographies 35
3.2 RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC FACTORS 36
   3.2.1 Assimilation Theory 36
   3.2.2 Housing and Internal Migration 38
   3.2.3 The Segmented Labour Market Theory 41
   3.2.4 Polish Migrants in the British Labour Market 42
   3.2.5 Specific Labour Market Changes 43
   3.2.6 Summary of Economic Literature and their Implications for Polish Internal Migration 44
3.3 WHITENESS, CULTURAL TURN, AND IDENTITIES RESEARCH 45
   3.3.1 Problematising Whiteness in Debates of Internal Migration 45
   3.3.2 Resurgent Ethnicity Theory and Gravitational Migration 46
   3.3.3 Polish Whiteness and Ethnicity Studies: the problem 47
   3.3.4 Whiteness and Different Shades of Whiteness 48
   3.3.5 White Migration 50
   3.3.6 White Migrant Strategies in Britain 51
3.4 INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS AND FAMILY MIGRATION 53
   3.4.1 Feminist Influences and Family Migration 54
   3.4.2 Union Formations and Union Dissolution 54
   3.4.3 Intra-EU and Polish Migration 55
   3.4.4 Intimate Relationships and Polish Internal Migration 57
3.5 SUMMARY 58

CHAPTER FOUR 60
METHODOLOGY AND METHODS 60
4.0 INTRODUCTION: A METHODOLOGY FOR PATTERNS AND PROCESSES 60
4.1 MIXED METHODS APPROACH AND FACET METHODOLOGY 62
4.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA AND METHODS 63
   4.2.1 2011 Census England and Wales 63
7.2.1 Othering, Discrimination, and Racism
6.5.5 Human Trafficking Responses and Structural Factors that link to Internal Migration
6.5.4 Insecurity, Exploitative Employment, Homelessness and Internal Migration
6.5.3 Illicit Recruitment Agencies
6.5.2 Conditional ‘Tied-in’ Housing and Employment in the UK
6.5.1 Illicit Recruitment Agencies
6.4.2 Older Migrants and Constraints
6.4.1 Young Migrants, Occupational Status, and Housing
6.3 Occupational Position, Access to Housing, and Internal Migration
6.2.4 Cost of Living
6.2.3 Career Progression, Occupational Mobility, and Internal Migration
6.2.2 Occupational Mobility, Career development, and Internal Migration
6.2.1 Constraints in the Labour Market
5.4 Internal and International Migration
5.3 Characteristics of the Patterns of Polish Internal Migration
5.2 New Geographies of Polish Migration
5.1 Polish Migration and New Residential Geographies
5.0 Introduction
4.14 Reflexivity
4.13.2 Ethics that Apply to the Qualitative Portion of the Study
4.13.1 Ethics that Apply to the Quantitative Portion of the Study
4.13 ETHICS
4.12 LIMITATIONS OF QUALITATIVE WORK
4.11 TRANSCRIPTION, CODING, AND ANALYSIS
4.10 USING INTERPRETERS
4.9.4 Sampling
4.9.3 EUROPE
4.9.2 Greater Manchester
4.9.1 Semi-Structured Data
4.9.0 Introduction
4.8 LIMITATIONS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA
4.7 AREA CLASSIFICATIONS
4.6 GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS (GIS)
4.5 Quantitative Data Analysis
4.4 2011 Census Microdata
4.3 MEASURING POLISH ETHNICITY IN THE 2011 CENSUS
4.2.2 Commissioned 2011 Census Data
4.2.1 Qualitative Portion of the Study
4.2.0 Introduction
4.1 Policing the Census: Where are they captured?
4.01 Introduction
3.9.4 Sampling
3.9.3 EUROPE
3.9.2 Greater Manchester
3.9.1 Semi-Structured Data
3.9.0 Introduction
3.8 LIMITATIONS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA
3.7 AREA CLASSIFICATIONS
3.6 GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS (GIS)
3.5 Quantitative Data Analysis
3.4 2011 Census Microdata
3.3 Measuring Polish Ethnicity in the 2011 Census
3.2 Policing the Census: Where are they captured?
3.1 Introduction
2.9.4 Sampling
2.9.3 EUROPE
2.9.2 Greater Manchester
2.9.1 Semi-Structured Data
2.9.0 Introduction
2.8 LIMITATIONS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA
2.7 AREA CLASSIFICATIONS
2.6 GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS (GIS)
2.5 Quantitative Data Analysis
2.4 2011 Census Microdata
2.3 Measuring Polish Ethnicity in the 2011 Census
2.2 Policing the Census: Where are they captured?
2.1 Introduction
1.9.4 Sampling
1.9.3 EUROPE
1.9.2 Greater Manchester
1.9.1 Semi-Structured Data
1.9.0 Introduction
1.8 LIMITATIONS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA
1.7 AREA CLASSIFICATIONS
1.6 GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS (GIS)
1.5 Quantitative Data Analysis
1.4 2011 Census Microdata
1.3 Measuring Polish Ethnicity in the 2011 Census
1.2 Policing the Census: Where are they captured?
1.1 Introduction

CHAPTER FIVE
THE INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS OF CONTEMPORARY POLISH MIGRANTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES
5.0 INTRODUCTION
5.1 POLISH MIGRATION AND NEW RESIDENTIAL GEOGRAPHIES
5.2 NEW GEOGRAPHIES OF POLISH MIGRATION
5.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PATTERNS OF POLISH INTERNAL MIGRATION
5.4 INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION
5.5 LOCAL RESIDENTIAL SETTLEMENT AND PATTERNS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION
5.6 SUMMARY

CHAPTER SIX
THE ECONOMY, EMBEDDEDNESS, AND INTERNAL MIGRATION
6.0 INTRODUCTION
6.1 EMBEDDEDNESS AND MIGRATION STRATEGIES
6.2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS AND INTERNAL MIGRATION
6.2.1 Constraints in the Labour Market
6.2.2 Occupational Mobility, Career development, and Internal Migration
6.2.3 Career Progression, Occupational Mobility, and Internal Migration
6.2.4 Cost of Living
6.3 OCCUPATIONAL POSITION, ACCESS TO HOUSING, AND INTERNAL MIGRATION
6.4 OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, ACCESS TO RESOURCES, AND THE LIFE COURSE
6.4.1 Young Migrants, Occupational Status, and Housing
6.4.2 Older Migrants and Constraints
6.5 RECRUITMENT AGENCIES AND INTERNAL MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING
6.5.1 Illicit Recruitment Agencies
6.5.2 Conditional ‘Tied-in’ Housing and Employment in the UK
6.5.3 Insecurity, Exploitative Employment, Homelessness and Internal Migration
6.5.4 Human Trafficking Responses and Structural Factors that link to Internal Migration
6.5.5 Exploitation, Homelessness, and Future Internal Migration Strategies
6.6 SUMMARY

CHAPTER SEVEN
WHITENESS, MIGRANT STRATEGIES, AND MIGRANT DECISION-MAKING
7.0 INTRODUCTION
7.1 RACE, RACISMS, AND THEIR PORTABILITY
7.2 POLISH WHITENESS AND RacialIZATION
7.2.1 Othering, Discrimination, and Racism
7.3 STRATEGIES TO RESIST AND RESPOND TO RACIALIZATION AND RACISM
7.4 CONSIDERING ETHNICITY AND RELIGION JOINTLY IN MIGRATION STRATEGIES
7.5 SUMMARY
### CHAPTER EIGHT
POLISH RESIDENTIAL DECISION MAKING AND INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS 168

8.0 INTRODUCTION 168
8.1 RELATIONSHIP CHANGE, HOUSING, AND MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING 169
8.2 POLES IN INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS 177
  8.2.1 Conflicting Ethnic Identities, Inter-Ethnic Couples, Residential Decision-Making 178
  8.2.2 Obstacles that Poles in Inter-Ethnic Relationships Encounter 180
  8.2.3 Inter-Ethnic Identities and Social and Kinship Networks 182
8.3 CONFLICTING SEXUALITIES AND INTERNAL MIGRATION 185
8.4 SUMMARY 190

### CHAPTER NINE
DISCUSSION 192

9.0 INTRODUCTION 192
9.1 POLISH INTERNAL MIGRATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET 194
9.2 IDENTITIES, INTERNAL MIGRATION, RESIDENTIAL DECISION-MAKING 196
9.3 WHITENESS, THE LABOUR MARKET AND DEBATE ON ETHNIC SEGREGATION 198
9.4 WHITENESS AND WHITE HIERARCHIES 199
9.5 INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS AND INTERNAL MIGRATION 199
9.6 GENDER AND POLISH INTERNAL MIGRATION 202
9.7 GEOGRAPHICAL SCALE 203
9.8 STRUCTURE AND AGENCY 203
9.9 RECRUITMENT AGENCIES AND POLICY 205
  9.10.1 Policy and ‘Tied-in’ Housing Practices 206
  9.10.2 Integration Policy 206
9.11 METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS 207
9.12 THE PRACTICAL USE OF ‘FACET METHODOLOGY’ 208
9.13 FUTURE WORK 210
  9.13.1 Changes to Immigration Policy and Internal Migration 210
  9.13.2 Brexit Implications for Identities 211
  9.13.3 Data Improvements 211
  9.13.4 Migrant Homelessness 212
9.14 CONCLUSION 212

REFERENCES 214

APPENDICES 227

APPENDIX A: ETHICS 227
APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET 231
APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM 233
APPENDIX D: ARKUSZ INFORMACJI DLA UCZESTNIKÓW 234
APPENDIX E CONSENT FORM POLISH 236
APPENDIX F: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION 237
APPENDIX G: ADVERT (ENGLISH) 238
APPENDIX H: ADVERT (POLISH) 239
APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 240
APPENDIX J: CHARACTERISTICS OF POLISH INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS 242
APPENDIX K: POLISH RESPONDENTS’ PROFILES 245
APPENDIX L: EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW CODING STRATEGY 261
APPENDIX M: RELIGION INTERNAL MIGRATION ANALYSIS 262

Word Count: 82,376 words
LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 4.1: THE ETHNIC CATEGORIES CONTAINED IN THE 2011 CENSUS (ENGLAND AND WALES) 66
FIGURE 4.2: DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT, FOOD AND RURAL AFFAIRS (DEFRA) 2011
URBAN TO RURAL LOCAL AUTHORITY AREA CLASSIFICATION 69
FIGURE 4.3: AREA CLASSIFICATION BY NON-WHITE DIVERSITY AT DISTRICT LEVEL 70
FIGURE 4.4: AREA CLASSIFICATION BY ETHNIC POLISH RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION 70
FIGURE 4.5: AREA CLASSIFICATION BY ETHNIC POLISH RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION 71
FIGURE 5.1: PERCENTAGE OF POLISH MIGRANTS WHO MOVED FROM OUTSIDE THE UK TO REGIONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES BETWEEN 2010 AND 2011. 84
FIGURE 5.2: NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS FROM OUTSIDE THE UK WHO HAVE MOVED INTO DISTRICTS (DESTINATIONS) IN ENGLAND AND WALES (2010-2011). 85
FIGURE 5.3: TOP 15 LOCAL AUTHORITY DISTRICTS WITH THE HIGHEST NUMBER OF POLISH PEOPLE IDENTIFYING WITH THE POLISH ETHNIC GROUP 86
FIGURE 5.4: DESTINATION OF INTERNATIONAL POLISH MIGRANTS (PERCENTAGE) FROM OUTSIDE THE UK TO DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED BY THE DEFRA URBAN-TO-RURAL CLASSIFICATION FOR ENGLAND AND WALES. 87
FIGURE 5.5: CIRCULAR PLOT SHOWING THE INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS FOR POLISH PEOPLE IN REGIONS OF ENGLAND AND WALES 89
FIGURE 5.6: INTERNAL MIGRATION BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND DISTANCE MOVED IN THE YEAR PRIOR TO THE 2011 CENSUS 91
FIGURE 5.7: NET INTERNAL MIGRATION RATE PER 100 GROUP POPULATION (IN 2011) OF ETHNIC POLISH GROUP BY REGION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 2010-2011 92
FIGURE 5.8: TOP 10 DISTRICTS WITH POSITIVE NET MIGRATION RATE FOR POLISH 93
FIGURE 5.9: TOP 10 DISTRICTS WITH NEGATIVE NET MIGRATION RATE FOR POLISH 93
FIGURE 5.10: INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS OF POLISH MIGRANTS BETWEEN DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED BY THE DEFRA URBAN TO RURAL CLASSIFICATION SCHEME FOR ENGLAND AND WALES. 94
FIGURE 5.11: SHOWING THE NET MIGRATION RATES PER 1000 OF THE GROUP POPULATION BETWEEN URBAN TO RURAL AREAS IN ENGLAND AND WALES (ORIGIN-DESTINATION MATRIX) BY POLISH ETHNIC GROUP, 2010-2011. 97
FIGURE 5.12: INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS OF POLISH MIGRANTS BETWEEN DISTRICTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES CLASSIFIED BY THEIR LEVEL OF RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION. 99
FIGURE 5.13: INTERNAL MIGRATION MOVES BY POLISH MIGRANTS BETWEEN DISTRICTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES CLASSIFIED BY THEIR LEVEL OF NON-WHITE DIVERSITY. 101
FIGURE 5.14: INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS BY POLISH MIGRANTS BETWEEN DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED BY THEIR LEVEL OF DEPRIVATION. 104
FIGURE 5.15: NET MIGRATION OF POLISH PEOPLE SCALED BY ETHNIC POLISH POPULATION IN EACH LOCAL AUTHORITY DISTRICT BETWEEN 2010 AND 2011.

FIGURE 5.16: TOP 10 DISTRICTS BY POSITIVE NET MIGRATION RATE

FIGURE 5.17: TOP 10 DISTRICTS BY NEGATIVE NET MIGRATION RATE

FIGURE 5.18: RESIDENTIAL SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF ETHNIC POLES AT WARD LEVEL FOR GREATER MANCHESTER.

FIGURE 5.19: CIRCULAR PLOT SHOWING THE INTERNAL MIGRATION PATTERNS AT DISTRICT LEVEL FOR POLISH PEOPLE IN GREATER MANCHESTER.

FIGURE 6.1: EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF MALE ‘USUAL RESIDENTS’ BY ‘COUNTRY OF BIRTH’ FOR ENGLAND AND WALES

FIGURE 6.2: EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF FEMALE ‘USUAL RESIDENTS’ BY ‘COUNTRY OF BIRTH’ FOR ENGLAND AND WALES

FIGURE 6.3: POLISH INTERNAL MIGRATION BY SEX BY NS-SEC

FIGURE 6.4: POLISH INTERNAL MIGRANTS BY SEX BY HOUSEHOLD TENURE

FIGURE 6.5: COUNTRY BY BIRTH BY PRIVATE RENTED SECTOR

FIGURE 6.6: AGE BY SEX PYRAMID FOR POLISH INTERNAL MIGRANTS

FIGURE 6.7: A FLOW DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE ROLE THAT ‘RECRUITMENT AGENCIES’ PLAY IN POLISH STUDY RESPONDENTS’ RESIDENTIAL DECISIONS AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF THEIR INTERNAL MIGRATION MOVES

FIGURE 8.1: COUNTRY OF BIRTH BY MARITAL STATUS (PERCENTAGE) ERROR!

FIGURE 8.2: TYPE OF MIGRATION BY CHILDREN (PERCENTAGE)

FIGURE 8.3: COUNTRY OF BIRTH BY MULTIPLE ETHNIC IDENTIFIERS
ABSTRACT

The Residential Patterns and Decision-Making of Polish Internal Migrants in Britain

William Shankley
PhD Candidate
Department of Sociology
University of Manchester

It has been over a decade since the expansion of the European Union altered the international patterns of migration to Britain, which included a resurgence of Polish immigration. This significant population change provided an opportunity, which this thesis exploited, to advance understanding of contemporary, post-immigration internal migration decision-making and, particularly, how ethnicity is implicated in these processes. The thesis is grounded in 'facet methodology' and uses a mixed methods approach to the 2011 Census micro and origin-destination data, combined with forty-one semi-structured interviews carried out with Polish residents of Greater Manchester. The two types of data are combined throughout the analysis chapters to uncover different facets of Poles' internal migration. Descriptive methods, geographic information systems, and thematic analysis are integrated to illuminate related patterns and processes. Collectively, the results show the freedoms and entitlements attached to a Poles' citizenships permitted many internal migration patterns. Notable examples include, first, underemployed Poles directly entering urban places once their qualifications and work-experience are recognised and language proficiency improved. Second, Polish families counter-urbanising as a result of their entry into secure social rented sector accommodation located outside of inner-city neighbourhoods. The thesis construes Poles' residential decision-making as embedded in a constellation of factors. The conceptual innovation is the centrality of ethnicity: its role in residential experience is examined in relation to other factors influencing migration and these include economic factors as well as intimate relationships. The emphasis on Poles' new migrant white identity challenged and disturbed our understanding of the position of new migrants' whiteness, and provided evidence about how constructions of Polish whiteness and its role in decision-making are mutually constituted by structures in the labour and housing markets. Theoretically, the thesis finds that Polish people's internal migration decisions are composed of factors at different geographical scales (international, intra-EU and local) and moves away from viewing internal migration decisions as wholly made up of factors at a local level. From a policy standpoint, the specific period effect of a turbulent time of austerity that Poles have encountered in Greater Manchester has implications for recommendations for national and local labour and housing market and community cohesion policies. These recommendations include improving the regulation of recruitment agencies' practices that tie in a migrants' employment status with their housing. Additionally, for policy-makers to better acknowledge that Polish migrants' white identities can also be racialized and lead to discrimination that can affect the places they feel comfortable moving to. However, this can shape the strategies that migrants deploy to fit into their neighbourhoods and influence their future residential decisions. Finally, the findings support developing policy to better assist Polish family migrants whose subnational level moves might be linked to intimate relationships with other family members who are spatially located across different EU countries.

Keywords: Polish, Internal Migration, Residential Decision-Making, Ethnicity, Whiteness
DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university of other institute of learning.
COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and s/he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.

iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trademarks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/DoculInfo.aspx?DocID=2442), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see http://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/about/regulations/) and in The University’s policy on Presentation of Theses.
DEDICATION

First, I would like to thank all the Polish people who took part in my project and gave me rich insight into Polish culture in Britain. I would also like to thank Europia for the help and support and providing me with the opportunity to immerse myself into Polish culture and life in Greater Manchester.

A special thank you to my supervision team Mark Brown, Nissa Finney, James Rhodes and Kitty Lymperopoulou for their help and support. I would not have been able to undertake this project without your advice and guidance. Furthermore, I would also like to thank the members of the ESRC Centre of Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE) for their help and support as well as insight into race and ethnicity across Britain today.

A special thank you to Nissa Finney for giving me the opportunity to undertake the PhD. This PhD has been one of the hardest and best things I have ever done in my life, and I would like to thank Alex, Heather, Hayley, Samuele, and all the others PhD people from G45 for your help and support and numerous trips to Sandbar. Also, Amal, Sophie, Lydia, Jellen, Richard, Amanda and Vicky for your kind words and support.

Finally, I want to thank the Shankley and Thompson families for your love and support. I did not think during all the hard years I have been through that I would get the opportunity to complete a PhD.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A8</td>
<td>Accession Eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Accession Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BME</td>
<td>Black and Minority Ethnic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>Greater Manchester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GT</td>
<td>Gravitational Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>Private Rented Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RET</td>
<td>Resurgent Ethnicity Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAT</td>
<td>Spatial Assimilation Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLMT</td>
<td>Segmented Labour Market Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRS</td>
<td>Social Rented Sector</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One
Introduction

1.0 Introduction

It has been over a decade since the European Union (EU) made the largest expansion in its history to incorporate ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe. The countries that joined the EU in 2004 were the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia as well as Malta and Cyprus (The Treaty of Accession, 2003; Favell 2008; Burrell, 2009). A consequence of the EU accession for Britain was that it has led to the largest wave of international migration the country has witnessed in the postwar period (Burrell, 2009). The expansion resulted in approximately 540,000 Polish people moving to the country between 2004 and 2011 (Home Office, 2006; Burrell, 2009) and analysis undertaken by Rienzo and Vargas-Silva (2017) suggests that Poland constitute the largest percentage share (9.5%) of migrants by country of birth to the UK in 2015. The large numbers of Poles that currently reside in Britain mean that Poland has overtaken India as the leading migration sending country (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva, 2017). This raises questions as to where the Poles are living (Burrell, 2009), the places they are moving to, and the factors that are driving and shaping their residential decisions.

The large-scale migration of Poles to Britain and the pace of change have resulted in a renewed interest in ethnicity as a facet of immigration debates. This renewed interest is due to the white ethnicities of Polish migrants. Unlike much of the previous international migration to the UK in the postwar period, Poles are migrants, who are racially white, but whose ethnicity, religion and cultural history are dissimilar to the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon ancestry, predominant among racially white migrants from settler colonies and countries in Western Europe. A growing interest among academic researchers in the residential geographies of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities has arisen following a number of events and incidents since the early 2000s. Social unrest in 2001 in northern English mill towns (Bradford, Harehills and Oldham) has created, and continues to produce, concerns that specific ethnic minority and migrant groups are self-segregating, and living parallel lives to the majority white British population (Cantel, 2001). The findings from Phillips (2006), Robinson (2007), Finney and Simpson (2009) and Phillips (2010) have renewed interest in the places in which ethnic minorities and migrants are living and also the factors - both internal and external - that shape their residential decisions. At the same time, in the wake of the terrorist attacks on September 11th 2001 in the US and 7/7 in London interest from various sections of society (policy-makers, academics and the media) in visible and non-white migrants, that links to the racialization of specific non-white and Muslim communities, has intensified (Phillips, 2006; Phillips, Davis, and Ratcliffe, 2007; Casey, 2016). Public anxieties continue to grow after a spate of recent attacks by the so-called Islamic State and their sympathisers across Western Europe and most recently in Manchester in 2017.

Britain continues to see the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment combined with a growth of euroscepticism; this is consistent across Europe (Meuleman et al., 2008). These anti-immigration sentiments have gained particular traction in the past five years and manifest in Britain as the formation of new right-wing political parties such as the UK Independence Party (UKIP). Such anti-
immigrant feelings have fed into euroscepticism, which draws on the large-scale patterns of intra-EU migration from Eastern Europe to make a case for the renewal of nationalist to ultra-nationalist politics (Serricchio and Tsakatika, 2013; Durand, Decoville and Knippschild, 2017). Some of the arguments highlighted by Geddes and Scholten (2016) suggest that the continuation of Eastern European migration is viewed by some of the electorate as detrimental to the country’s culture and economy. This links to some of the initial concerns that were held by some commentators, anti-immigration political parties and factions of EU member states' national electorates over Polish and ‘accession eight’ countries joining the EU (Favell, 2008). They commonly remarked on the low levels of economic development that the countries achieved particularly given their rapid transition from command to a market economy in the 1990s. Political anxieties continued to grow that the levels of deprivation and unemployment in Poland and accession eight countries would lead to unemployment moving around the EU system with migrants from poorer eastern countries moving to western countries (Burrell, 2009). While it has been a decade since the initial EU accession, issues that relate to the rights and entitlements afforded to accession migrants continue to be politically charged.

Eastern European and Polish migration continues to be discussed in recent months in the political narrative that has accompanied the coverage of Britain’s referendum over its membership of the EU. Goodwin and Heath (2016) and Hobolt (2016) show how the free movement rights and entitlements of Polish and other EU accession migrants are central in the political discourse that makes a case for, and against, the continuation of Britain’s membership of the EU. Since 2014 when this thesis began, the British people voted in a referendum held on the 26th of June 2016, to dissolve their membership of the European Union. The UK also held a general election in June 2017, which saw the Conservative Party lose its absolute majority in the Houses of Parliament and made moves to form a confidence and supply arrangement with the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) of Northern Ireland (Tonge, 2017). Central to these dramatic political shifts have been questions of national identity, belonging and migrant rights.

The EU system contains enshrined rights for members’ citizens to freely move between other members’ countries for work, education and lifestyle reasons. The large-scale international migration of Poles is commonly attributed to economic factors with the push and pull factors that link to high rates of unemployment and low wages in Poland on one hand, versus better job opportunities and higher salaries in specific sectors in Britain’s labour market on the other (Burrell, 2009; Cook, Dwyer, and Waite, 2011). The economic explanations that are used to describe the migration endure; however, in 2008, the global financial markets plunged into recession. The effects of the recession were uneven across the EU member states, with countries in the Mediterranean, such as Spain, being hit the hardest. When the recession hit, there were different effects of the macro, meso, and micro-structures on migrants living in different EU countries. These effects generate questions as to how migrants have dealt with their subsequent internal and international migration decisions. The specific system of the EU and its embedded free movement rights permits migrants to respond to the impact of the recession in a unique and cross-national way. For example, the migrants can make intra-EU moves and opt to move to EU countries that
fared better during the recession in a similar way to sub-national movements in a national context to respond to financial insecurity.

A contentious issue in Britain has been the specific rights of EU citizens to work and study, as well as their access to multiple welfare benefits similar to British residents and other western EU migrants. The entitlement to welfare benefits has contributed to the previously mentioned growth in anti-immigration feelings and the rise in euroscepticism (Hobolt, 2016). This is because anti-immigration parties such as UKIP suggest that Polish and other accession citizens are taking too many benefits from the welfare system without contributing as much in return. In turn, these parties are using these arguments to support their political agendas. While the idea of migrants creating a cost to the welfare state is a powerful political narrative, evidence from work by Ciupijus (2011) refutes the claim as unfounded in relation to Polish migrants, as he argues that Polish people display higher labour market participation compared to other migrant groups, and the resident British population. Poles also make a net positive contribution to the fiscal balance of the country (Dustmann, Frattini and Halls, 2010). In fact, while Poles continue to play a significant role in Britain’s labour market and economy, Ciupijus (2011) found they are also more likely to be on lower wages than other migrant workers from different countries. These specific characteristics suggest that the ways in which economic factors shape the residential decision-making of Poles is different than other migrant groups.

The context of the EU expansions that permit Poles to freely migrate to the UK and the characteristics of the migrants who continue to move suggest that specific factors are prevalent in their residential decisions. The thesis, argues that Polish internal migration is worthy of further investigation for multiple reasons. First, the overwhelming number of Polish migrants who continue to move and live long-term in Britain, and the specific rights and entitlements they possess calls for focused attention on the characteristics of their migration and settlement. Second, focused attention on Polish migration is important because of the context in which Poles continue to migrate to the UK in terms of increasing anti-immigration sentiments among the UK population and the unfolding dynamics of Brexit. Third, past research has tended to focus predominantly on the migration patterns of non-white migrants, over migrants such as Poles with white identities. Fourth, there is a renewed interest by multiple parties/stakeholders (political, policy, and third sector) in migrants, particularly in terms of neighbourhood, cohesion and housing policies.

1.1 Key themes for understanding Poles’ Internal Migration: economics, racialization and family

Internal migration is the residential movement of people at a sub-national level. This migration may be between countries (in the case of the UK, for example), regions, districts, wards, or neighbourhoods. These moves include both long and short distances and involve an array of factors that include economic, lifestyle and familial (Bell et al., 2002; Finney and Catney, 2015). However, internal migration flows are not symmetric, nor do they occur evenly between places (Finney and Catney, 2015). It is important to differentiate internal migration from similar concepts. For example, international migration is distinct from internal migration in so much as the former
refers to the migration of people over sovereign borders (Finney and Catney, 2015). Internal migration is also distinct from mobility, as it involves a more permanent form of residential relocation than the mobilities paradigm that includes commuting, tourism and other forms of short-term, everyday movement (See Urry 2007 Mobilities and Urry, 2012 for further clarification on the mobilities paradigm).

Polish international migration to Britain has complicated how internal migration is viewed and analysed by scholars, as the EU system removes many of the legal obstacles to internal migration for different migrant groups (Geddes and Scholten, 2016). For asylum seekers and refugees, for example, their location choice in Britain is dictated by British asylum policy. These differences for asylum seekers and refugees include the location of their dispersal housing (the housing they are placed in while they await the outcome of their asylum decision); the restriction on their rights to work; and their required weekly reporting meetings. Polish migrants, on the other hand, who are predominantly economic migrants, are relatively free to access the UK labour market, and can move unrestricted at an intra-EU and sub-national level within EU member states (Burrell, 2009). As such, it is argued that Polish internal and international migration should be considered as connected (See King and Skeldon 2010 for a review of arguments supporting considering international and internal migration jointly for migrants moving within the EU space). A consequence of the specific nature of the EU system has been that there is a gap in knowledge on the decision-making processes of Polish migrants. The findings of this thesis contribute knowledge to help to shed light on specific structural obstacles that Poles experience that are associated with their ethnicity in this specific migration context.

According to Favell (2009), the British government continues to work to reduce the number of New Commonwealth migrants entering the country, dating back to formulation of the British Nationality Act in 1981. Back (2015) suggests that the specific immigration policies that were implemented by government after the EU accession resulted in structural processes that discriminated between the migrants who are considered (by British society) as insiders, versus those who are thought of as outsiders. The Act subtly delineates the UK’s preference for racially white migrants from former white colonies of the British Empire, while also seemingly seeking to exclude non-white migrants from former-colonised states. Britain’s entry into the EU has contributed to this indirect preference of whiteness as EU immigration laws place some forms of immigration (such as Polish intra-EU migration) out of the control of Westminster and into the EU’s hands (Dougan, 2006). This is because Britain, as a signatory to the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union (1957), enshrined and established the free movement rights of any member states’ citizens. The significance of the EU immigration system in matters of British immigration arguably contributes to new forms of international migration, such as Polish migration to Britain. As previously stated, Poles’ induction into the EU system affords them specific free movement privileges and entitlements, placing them ahead of third-country nationals from outside of the EU system.

The characteristics of Polish international migration to Britain have opened up new and interesting questions about the implications for their future internal migration patterns. Scott and Brindley
(2012) suggest that following accession Poles moved and continue to move to new residential geographies across Britain. These places include rural, semi-rural, suburban, and market towns, many of which have previously not had any experience of visible and non-white forms of international migration (Scott and Brindley, 2012; Burdsey, 2011). Research by Trevena, McGhee, and Heath (2013) mentions that Polish international migration to new places (rural, semi-rural, suburban, and market towns) is less than their movement to urban and inner-city areas, and so new forms of international migration arguably pose a considerable interest to policy-makers, academic researchers and service providers. For policy-makers, the arrival of racially white migrants in new geographies causes concern over the impact and relations the new migrants have with established White British and BME resident populations. For academic researchers, the movement of Poles to new residential geographies raises questions about the drivers and underlying factors of their migration. Additionally, for service providers, Polish people’s movement to new geographies, as well as to more established places, gives rise to questions around the adequate provision and allocation of money and resources towards housing, healthcare and schools to support the in-coming migrant population.

One of the explanations for the international migration of Poles into new residential geographies in Britain is the country’s continued need for labour migration in specific sectors, which are located in the secondary segment of the country’s labour market (Dustmann and Faber, 2005; Burrell, 2009). The sectors include the agricultural, farming, construction and hospitality sectors. Many of the labour market sectors are located in more rural, suburban and seaside places and explain the reorientation of new Polish migrants into geographies that are not linked to previous international migration. One of the reasons the Labour government in 2004 did not impose any restrictions on the movement of new migrants was the specific sectoral need for migrant labour. The constraining of New Commonwealth migration led to a deficiency in migrant labour. The Labour Government at the time speculated that the new accession migrants could shore up this partial vacuum. The initial Polish and accession migration filled the employment deficiency. The patterns soon led to calls to restrict the continued movement of people because the migrants soon saturated the sectors that had previously been in need of migrant labour. A portion of society suggested that these migration patterns confirmed the initial fears some people had regarding the expansion of the EU to the east and has further contributed to escalating eurosceptic arguments (Meuleman et al., 2008).

A characteristic of post-accession Polish migrants (albeit less than other post EU accession migrants) is that many are highly qualified and possess high-level degrees obtained in Poland. On arrival in Britain, however, they are predominantly channelled into low skilled and poorly paid employment (Ciupijus, 2011). The mismatch between Poles’ qualifications and work experiences opens up questions as to whether they can utilise their skills and educational resources and become upwardly occupationally and socially mobile and if the process plays a role in their internal migration patterns to different places. Also, a high proportion of Poles have low qualifications and poor language ability upon arrival that have been found not to improve with time. Work by Drinkwater and Garapich (2015) suggests that one explanation for this is low motivation to improve
and up-skill or learn the language. This is because they often view their stay as temporary. For many Poles, this limits their ability to progress up the occupational ladder.

A further implication of the overrepresentation of Poles in the lower echelons of the labour market has been the re-ordering of whiteness within Britain’s racial hierarchies. White migrants from the Old Commonwealth and the EU have predominantly worked in high-status positions in the labour market. This maintained whiteness’s hold dominance and power but the EU accession and the demand for labour migrants in the secondary segment of the labour market saw many new white identities (particularly Polish whiteness) being positioned further down the hierarchy (Song, 2004). The re-positioning of Poles’ White identities has been seen as one way that they have been racialized and differentiated from the whiteness of the majority population as well as the whiteness of other migrants with more positive statuses (Andrucki, 2010; Fox et al. 2012; Halvorsrud, 2017).

The racialization of Polish international migrants to the UK presents a challenge to how we understand their internal migration. First wave whiteness literature suggests that Polish migrants, as racially white people, should be beneficiaries of their ethnic identity (McIntosh, 1988; McIntosh, 2010), particularly in immigration structures that privilege their status as EU migrants. The number of Polish migrants in low skilled labour market positions continues to contribute to their lower status proliferation of negative stereotypes. According to Fox et al. (2012), these negative stereotypes are consolidated by the mass media’s negative portrayal of Poles. The media reports present the Polish migrants as a threat to jobs for British workers, constructing a narrative of migrants refusing to integrate and contributing to the erosion of British culture (Spigelman, 2013). The labour market position of Poles and this mass media stereotyping has perpetuated the whiteness of Poles as a different shade to the whiteness of the White British majority population (Fox et al., 2012).

Poles’ ethnicity seems significant to their migration decisions, and can be connected to the way in which their ethnic identity has been racialized by their predominant position in poorly paid and routine employment. On the one hand, Poles’ identity as white and EU migrants places them in the insider group, while on the other hand, their position in the labour market places them at a lower position than other EU migrant groups. An empirical study by Fox (2013) on Hungarian and Romanian migrants, whose white identities have also been racialized, found that they deploy specific strategies to attempt to rectify their visible and racialized status. The attempts to claim whiteness can be seen as a strategy to fit in. However, we do not know how Poles manage their racialized white identities. We also do not know the strategies that Poles use to make claims to normative forms of whiteness in an attempt to re-position their identity’s status in a more favourable position. Further, there is a gap in knowledge in terms of the extent to which these strategies influence the internal migration decision-making of Polish migrants living in the UK.

The specific rights and entitlements embedded in the EU arguably have specific implications for Polish family migrants that extend to our consideration of their internal migration patterns and decision-making. White (2009) and Ryan (2011) found that Polish family migrants had to navigate the additional factors associated with the various intimate relationships in their family. This
complicated the migration process. Ryan et al.'s (2009) work found that in addition to the economic factors, Polish family migrants moved for personal and social reasons. These reasons included moving to either support family who had already migrated, or to reunite their families in Britain. The EU area and its lack of legal and practical restrictions to EU member citizens make it easier for family migrants to relocate than other migrant cohorts for employment, education and lifestyle reasons.

Polish family migration also seems to be a gendered process, with many female migrants following their husbands to Britain. According to Ryan’s (2011: p.1) study, the international migration process of Polish families often led to them being ‘split, reunited, and reshaped’. Migration to Britain is not linear for many Polish family migrants, and it is essential to also consider the material costs of moving that happen as a result of bringing partners as well as children. Often the cost of moving as a singular family unit is unfeasible, with many respondents in Ryan’s study describing the process of one or both parents initially migrating to London to find employment and housing in the first instance. One partner was left in Poland, usually in employment to maintain some earnings. For families with children, they often left the children to live with extended family until the parent/s had found appropriate employment and housing to provide the foundation of support needed to bring the family back together in Britain. An abundance of work has reflected on the transnational links involved in Polish family migration. For example, Burrell (2008) mentions the different ways that the Polish migrant community in Britain remains connected with Poland, for example, through communication technologies and Polish television; whereas White (2009) extends this to show that the EU spaces allow Polish families to span the EU space. This is where they locate caregiving responsibilities for children within the same families with extended family depending on the stage and circumstances of their migration. Finally, work by Ryan (2011) shows that intimate relationships connect Polish international and internal migration where a Polish family’s efforts to reunite in Britain requires them to consider if the size and location of their housing they find in the UK is adequate to support every member of their family. This is particularly important for Polish family migrants whose movement between Poland and UK occurs in a stepwise fashion.

1.2 Research Questions

The particular political and social transnational contexts in which Poles in Britain are situated affords this thesis an opportunity to advance an understanding of migration decision-making. Following the themes outlined above, this thesis addresses four broad research questions:

1) What are the contemporary geographical patterns of Polish internal migration in Britain?
2) How do economic considerations shape migration decisions, and how are these embedded in migrants’ social worlds?
3) What role does ethnicity, and the racialization of white identities play in Poles’ internal migration decisions?
4) How are internal migration decisions and experiences related to migrants’ intimate relationships?
1.3 Outline of the thesis

Following this introduction, Chapter two sets out to historicise the previous cohort of Polish migrants to Britain and looks at three specific subgroups of Poles who moved during the latter half of the twentieth century. The groups include ex-combatants involved in the Polish Settlement Corps, displaced people who moved as part of the European Volunteer Workers Scheme and asylum seekers who moved to escape communism. The chapter then explores the cultural, social and economic effects of Poland’s transition out of communism and from a command to a market economy and how this presents a country-specific interpretation of Polish migrants’ decision-making in the UK. The chapter also details the cultural factors significant in Polish society that explain how Polish people conceptualise and understand notions of the family, ethnicity, sexuality and religious diversity. These elements are vital to explain how these factors operate in Polish people’s migration decision-making and are exported alongside the migrants.

Chapter three summarises the literature on Polish internal migration. The chapter describes the scholarly attempts to explain immigrant geographies and internal migration patterns. The descriptions include different approaches to migration decision-making from various disciplines. The chapter evaluates theories that have been used to explain this decision-making in order to demonstrate the ways in which internal migration and migrant residential geographies has previously been understood. It begins with economic accounts of migration and moves onto more complex theories after the cultural turn and feminist influences. The chapter then describes how these theories are used to explain the geographies of European migrants in American cities that link social mobility to their progression from inner-city neighbourhoods to more suburban and affluent areas. The chapter then highlights the lack of attention to racially white migrants and how whiteness theory complicates our understanding of migrant geographies. The chapter identifies how sociological studies of whiteness offer multiple accounts of migrants with other white identities and the range of strategies that are deployed to claim or access whiteness and its privileges. The chapter identifies a gap in knowledge on how whiteness operates for migrants with racially white identities at a sub-national level and in the EU free movement context. Finally, the chapter discusses the information we already know about Polish international migrants and highlights work that is useful to support explanations of Polish peoples’ internal migration.

Chapter four describes the methodological design of the thesis. Initially, the chapter describes how the use of one methodological approach alone would be unable to answer the central thesis questions that aim to explore both the patterns and decision-making of Polish internal migrants. Hence, the chapter describes the rationale for a mixed methods research design in this study and how facet methodology is an appropriate theoretical framework to satisfy the competing quantitative and qualitative epistemologies. The chapter progresses to discuss the use of the 2011 Census data and details the different data releases that are used, including the 2011 Census origin-destination, key statistics, and micro data. The chapter also describes the data analysis approach (descriptive statistics) and why geographical information systems are needed to visualise Polish internal migration. The section then details the qualitative section of the thesis and describes
the recruitment strategy, interview schedule and the use of semi-structured interviews and finally, thematic analysis as a qualitative data analysis technique that examines the data from Polish residents of Greater Manchester. Lastly, the chapter discusses the ethical considerations that relate to the fieldwork and the role of positionality in the construction of the research data.

Chapters five, six, seven and eight are the main analysis chapters of the thesis.

Chapter five focuses on the analysis of patterns of Polish people’s internal migration at a regional and district level. The chapter uses different area classifications, which include: rural-to-urban; the level of non-white diversity; area deprivation; and residential concentration. These classifications are used to deconstruct the direction of the internal migration moves. The chapter presents new information about the migration patterns of Poles and also asks how Poles’ internal migration patterns compare to the internal migration patterns of the majority population and other ethnic minority and migration groups at a national level and also in Greater Manchester. Chapter five acts as a foreground to chapters six, seven, and eight, and attempts to unpack the factors and themes that link to Poles’ internal migration decision-making. The results of this section suggest that Polish internal migration patterns are diverse. The findings show there are large patterns between urban districts in England and Wales as well as an overall pattern of internal migration towards more urban places. Finally, there is a discernible pattern of internal migration towards more diverse places in England and Wales.

Chapter six focuses on the economic and labour market factors that relate to Poles’ residential decision-making. The chapter explores the idea of ‘embeddedness’, suggesting that many of the residential decisions that link to financial factors are tightly embedded in a migrant’s social world. The chapter looks at how migrants’ responses to the recession in 2008 appear to be embedded within economic structures at a macro and micro level. The chapter finds that there are significant economic factors that influence the residential decisions of Polish migrants in the UK. These factors include proximity to transportation, as well as the distance between their jobs and housing. These themes are also embedded in the wider intimate relationships migrants have with their partners and children. These intimate relationships create considerations around proximity to employment and schools, and show how migrants’ economic decisions are further complicated by other factors. Lastly, the chapter explores how the practices of recruitment agencies affect migrants’ experiences of precarity. The chapter looks at how migrants encounter insecurity and how these experiences link to outcomes of human trafficking, destitution and homelessness and ultimately highlight the ‘tied in’ nature of their employment with housing. The findings also show that Polish residential decisions that link to the economy are embedded in social circumstances such as intimate relationships.

Chapter seven focuses on the role of race and ethnicity in Poles’ residential decision-making. The chapter begins with a focus on the way Polish society has constructed race and ethnicity and along which paths, for example, race, religious, and linguistic. The chapter then explores how Polish migrants' social and societal constructs of ethnicity are portable and exported alongside migrants'
moves to Britain. The chapter looks at the role of international migration in the racial awareness of Poles and how their position in the labour market contributes to their white identities being ‘Othered’. The findings show that Poles’ white identities are racialized, and that they encounter discrimination. To ameliorate harms associated with these identities, migrants can develop place-specific strategies that are active and which include verbal, name changing, and behavioural adaptations, as well as the use of racism to improve their status and denigrate the status of other residents. Often the strategies used by migrants are temporary until they can accrue the material resources to move to a different place. Finally, the chapter evaluates how the portable constructions of ethnicity can contribute an understanding to the residential decision-making of Polish migrants in the UK.

Chapter eight is the final analysis chapter. It focuses on the role of intimate relationships in the migration decision making of Polish internal migrants. The chapter initially examines the way that the specific nature of the EU system permits many family migrants to move from Poland. The chapter looks at how the EU system creates a space in which visa restrictions do not constrain migration choices for Polish families. The chapter then looks at the role of relationship change in the internal migration decisions of Poles. These relationship changes can include union formation, cohabitation and union dissolution. The chapter considers additional factors that Polish sub groups experiences that affect their residential options. The groups include Poles in same-sex intimate relationships and migrants in inter-ethnic intimate relationships. This section explores how migrants’ differential identities complicate their internal migration patterns. The findings suggest that Poles’ internal migration decisions are entwined with the stability of their relationships. Their decisions are also affected by the relationships they have with their partners and children and when their family members have different identities these impose further complexity to their residential decision-making.

Finally, chapter nine discusses the original contribution that the thesis makes to internal migration theory, substantive knowledge of contemporary Polish internal migration, different methodological approaches, and policy. The chapter engages in the debate between choice and constraint and how a Pole’s migration decisions fit into these narratives. The chapter also discusses the usefulness of having viewed Poles’ internal migration decision-making as composed of an array of factors that inter-relate, are embedded and entwine with each other and also how these properties also have temporal dimensions. The section also explains the benefits of why using facet methodology and both quantitative and qualitative data in a mixed methods project are appropriate for answering the central research questions. Given the localism of the project to Greater Manchester, chapter nine also makes recommendations for future research to engage with local efforts of devolution and deal with the aftermath of Brexit that include the fragile position of citizenship of Poles in Britain.
Chapter Two
History and Culture

2.0 Introduction

This chapter argues that current interpretations of Polish internal migration cannot be separated from understandings of past Polish settlement in Britain. It seems in the recent discussion of post-accession Polish migration that there is a degree of erasure regarding previous Polish migration to Britain. The lack of debate on this appears to stem from the way the migrants are portrayed in the mass media as an unusual event (Burrell, 2009), when in fact this chapter demonstrates that Polish migration is a significant part of Britain’s immigration history. The chapter argues it is vital to situate this study in the chronology of migration to the country. It also highlights how previous migrants’ residential settlement benefitted from their racial and ethnic characteristics at a time when there was also large scale arrival of non-white and visible New Commonwealth migrants.

The cultural turn in the social sciences continues to open up the space for research on people’s identities. The specific effect of the turn for migration studies is the recognition that people’s identities and specific cultural factors relate to their movement decisions. This chapter outlines how the end of communism and the transition to capitalism have created a social, economic, and political context that continues to have a significant impact on the way that Polish people conceive notions of ethnicity and sexual diversity and how they are understood in Polish society. The transition also contributes to Catholicism becoming re-embedded in more recent constructions of Poland’s national identity. The complexities of Poland’s national identity can affect some Polish people’s attitudes towards the composition of relationships and families as well as sexuality. This is significant for this thesis as the following chapters go on to argue that these aspects of identity are embedded with material economic circumstances and aspirations in influencing residential decision making.

This chapter begins with a historical overview of the two significant flows of Polish migration during the twentieth century and first looks at Polish ex-combatants who arrived as a result of the conflict in Poland and wartime politics. The section then discusses the arrival of Polish recruits as a separate flow of migrants who moved as part of the European Volunteer Workers Scheme (EVWS). The second section looks at the Polish state and how its transition to being a post-communist and capitalist state contributes to the emergence of economic factors that provide an important motive for emigration. The narrative then moves to look at the transition from communism and how it raises some specific cultural factors that link to how Polish people conceive notions of ethnicity, religion and sexual diversity. The country's particular history provides a cultural lens to the way that identities in the country are demarcated. This review provides explanation for some of the social attitudes towards certain minority groups that are exported alongside the migrants. For example, their attitudes towards ethnic, religious and sexual minorities, which is useful in understanding Polish people’s decisions to migrate at a sub-national level.
2.1 Twentieth Century History of Polish Migration to the UK

There is limited information about Polish migrants and minorities living in Britain, with the majority of studies about the migrant cohort being carried out in the 1950’s and 1960’s when as many as 250,000 Polish people moved to Britain. Work by Nocon (1996) used the British Census to analyse changes to the Polish resident population over time and found that in 1951 the population was 162,239. However, the number depleted to 127,246 in the 1961 Census and 100,925 in 1971. Further analysis suggests that by 1981 the population had reduced to 93,369. According to Nocon (1996), the decline can be explained by a mixture of emigration, a natural population decrease, and assimilation characteristics within the Polish population such as inter-marriage.

To disentangle Polish migrants who moved during and immediately after the Second World War their migration can be broadly divided into two principal groups. The first is the Jewish migration that took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the second, the Polish Catholic migration that occurred during and immediately after the Second World War. The two migrant groups from Poland moved for different reasons that were intimately linked to specific policies, both external and internal, that have been levelled against the Polish population. However, the two migrant groups will only be mentioned briefly to contextualise and situate the post-accession migration from Poland against the existent Polish population already living in the UK.

The principal motivation that underscored the initial Jewish migration to Britain appeared linked to the escalation of anti-Semitism across Eastern Europe as well as the reoccurrence of Pogroms across cities in Poland (London, 2003; Stanchura, 2004). For Britain, the westward migration of Jews was integral to the development of the state’s immigration policy (See London, 2004 for further elaboration on the role that Jewish migrants played in the development of Britain's Alien's Act). The second form of migration from Poland and the type that is mainly discussed in this chapter materialised during and immediately after the Second World War. The cohort of migrants can further be split into two distinct sub-groups, first, the ex-combatants and asylum seekers who escaped Nazi forces and sought asylum in Britain as well as the politicians, academics, and members of the armed forces who accompanied the exiled Polish government who fled Poland and agreed to assist with the allied war effort (Stanchura, 2004). Second, the Polish displaced people who were recruited from Displaced Persons (DP) camps and entered Britain as part of the EVWS. The scheme was designed to utilise the large and dislocated DP population spread across camps in central Europe and contribute to the national reconstruction and rebuilding effort.

2.1.1 The Polish Resettlement Corps (PRC)

The Polish Resettlement Corps was a British Government policy designed to support the approximate 250,000 ex-combatants who had migrated to the UK as part of the allied war effort and seemed intimately connected to the internal migration patterns of the migrants within the country. Unlike the recent Polish migrants, the terms of the Polish Second World War migrants’ entry into Britain was linked to a bilateral agreement with the Polish government-in-exile to assist the allied war effort. The arrival of Polish migrants to Britain in 1939 was sparked by the German
Army’s invasion of Poland’s western territory. Unable to defend their borders, General Sikorski moved to France to fight alongside the European resistance (Bines, 2004; Stanchura, 2004). Turbulence in Poland's West was further strained by Stalin's invasion of Poland's Eastern territories. The provocation was justified in essence of Stalin’s forces entering Polish territory to protect Poland’s ethnic Russian population as well as to limit the spread of the Nazis’ ideology. Stanchura (2004) estimated that between 150,000 and 250,000 Polish people migrated to Britain during this period. However, the figure has been disputed given the paucity of official statistics at the time.

After the Polish Army decamped to the UK, Churchill worried about supporting two armies on British soil, and therefore the decision was made to settle the Polish battalions in a less dense area of the country. The Polish Army, therefore, decamped and moved to Scotland. Consolidation of the allied forces and the need to confront the German army on its Eastern Front brought Stalin into the fold much to the discomfort of Poland's Government-in-exile particularly given the atrocities the Russian Army was waging against Poland's Eastern population. An agreement obtained pacified the Polish government and led to Stalin joining the Allied resistance. The bilateral agreement resulted in the incarcerated Polish citizens in the Gulags in Siberia being released and permitted to re-join the Polish battalions in Central Europe and the Middle East (Stanchura, 2004). The agreement also saw Britain accepting many Polish asylum seekers into its many colonies and protectorates across Persia and British East Africa (Tavuyanago, Muguti, and Hlongwana, 2012).

To understand the settlement patterns of the cohort of Polish migrants to Britain and the specific structural constraints they encountered it is vital to look at particular government policies and how they were implicated, both explicitly and implicitly, in the location choices and geographies of Polish migrants. During the Second World War, the British government was faced with a conundrum. On the one hand, the government had promised to house the Polish government-in-exile and Polish Army under the agreement that they would support the allies’ war effort. On the other hand, they were faced with a large number of migrants entering the country who were predominantly young military men who were unmarried and with complex health needs. Arguably it was at this point that fissures between the resident and non-resident population had to be addressed, and matters of integration approached. This was accomplished through the use of regulatory mechanisms, such as the policy embedded in the PRC, that wielded ideas of the primacy of racial whiteness to diminish inter-group conflict.

The governments’ decision regarding how to settle the large number of Polish ex-combatants had to fit in with its position towards migrant integration. The position had largely been shaped as the outcome of the integration efforts of previous migrant groups that included the Polish Jews (See London, 2003). Unlike other forms of migration, the tempestuous wrangling about Poland’s future meant that the return of many Polish migrants was improbable given the shifting nature of Poland’s borders westwards. The problem was the result of allied leaders’ negotiations over the future of Polish sovereignty at the Conference of Yalta. These decisions led to territorial change along the ‘Curzon Line’ where Poland’s Eastern provinces and the cities of Lwów and Wilno were gifted to
the Soviet Union (Rojeck, 2004). Similarly, to appease Poland’s loss on its Eastern Front, it was decided that the country would reclaim lands from the German state moving the Polish border 150 miles to the west. In parallel fashion, this led to the expulsion and displacement of many thousands of ethnic Germans who were transferred to the newly demarcated lands of Germany (Rojeck, 2004; Stanchura, 2004).

The lack of Polish input and rights to self-determination in plans for a post-conflict Polish state left the British government to design a policy to deal with a large number of Polish migrants who arrived in Britain between 1940 and 1950 (Robinson, 2004). Oscillation from Conservative to Labour governments and the promise made by Churchill to reward the Polish forces led to the Attlee administration having to conjure up the PRC. The policy was to deal with the Polish émigré population (Rojek, 2004; Stanchura, 2004). Instead of leaving ex-combatants to their own devices, the PRC was designed to provide support and assistance from multiple government departments that were to aid ex-combatants to find employment and transition into civilian life (Sword, 1986). With the war over, the British government could not support the existence of parallel armies on its soil and therefore part of the agreement of allowing Polish émigré to remain in Britain was for them to demilitarise their battalions. The PRC initially acted as a non-active branch of the British Army where recruits, once enrolled, would receive monthly financial assistance, skills, and education training to assist their fast route into formal employment. The policy process was significant as it highlights how state policy was directly implicated in Polish settlement geographies.

Concerned over growing dissatisfaction by residents in Scotland and across England at having to accommodate Polish ex-combatants as long-term residents after the cessation of conflict, the government operated a parallel policy of repatriation. The policy financially supported Poles who wanted to return to Poland or wanted assistance to migrate abroad. Societal attitudes towards the Poles had oscillated following the termination of violence, and it appeared that the government utilised the racial whiteness of the ex-combatants to facilitate their transition into the population (Moch, 2003). To understand the British government and their top-down approach towards the Polish ex-combatants, the broader context of British immigration needed to be re-contextualised. Britain's politicians were becoming increasingly concerned with the arrival of New Commonwealth migrants from the British Caribbean, and arguably the PRC programme showed tacitly the government’s colour-coded preference for white migrants over non-white New Commonwealth migrants – many of whom had fewer rights to settle in Britain than the Caribbean migrants who retained British subject status.

Work on government policy decision-making at the time sheds light on the link between policy and the diverse nature of Polish settlement across the UK (Robinson, Andersson and Musterd, 2003). Different government departments put forth different approaches to Poles’ settlement. The Ministry of Labour view was that they wanted the ex-combatants to be channelled into sectors with labour shortages; while the Foreign Office objected to the approach over a concern that Poles would develop ethnic ghettos and this would limit their integration with the British population. The concern
over integration won out in the end, and the Foreign Office tried to disperse the Polish migrants evenly throughout the UK to avoid residential congregation (Robinson et al., 2003).

The installation of the communist facing government sponsored by Moscow and the failure of the government-in-exile to be allowed to return to govern Poland added a layer of complexity to the resettlement policy adopted by the British government. Polish migrants living in Britain seemed to be confronted with three main options: first, to remain in the UK; second, to return to Poland; or third, to further migrate to one of the new territories to Britain’s West that included the US, Canada or countries in Latin America. For many Poles from the East of Poland, negotiations between leaders left them with little chance of returning to a Poland that they had left behind. Therefore, the boroughs in the West of London drew heightened significance for the émigré population given it still housed the people who many felt were the legitimate government of the Polish state. Work by Zubrzycki (1956) described these actions and how the perceived de-legitimation of Poland’s new government led to many of the émigré population refusing to return to Poland. It was anticipated that the new Polish government was only a temporary political fixture and once the country re-stabilised, democratic elections would regain the country’s lost sovereignty. The change would permit many of those who had been displaced the opportunity to return home (Nocon, 1996).

While plans to resettle many of the PRC throughout the UK initially worked, the lure of London drew many Poles to migrate back to London and the South East. A collection of work on the local effectiveness of the PRC painted a different story to the widely reported success story of the policy. According to Zubrzycki (1956), the placement of Poles in sectors with a labour shortage was met with contempt from residents and trade unions that were supporting the security of residents’ employment (Paul, 1992). Strategies to accommodate the PRC smoothly included forming Polish-only working groups in sectors such as the coal mining, agricultural, and railway industries with the belief that working in co-ethnic groups would increase productivity and limit conflict (Nocon, 1996). Evidence suggested that many of the PRC recruits were placed throughout the UK. However, there were large concentrations in urban areas particularly in West London and the borough of Ealing (Zubrycki, 1956). The emphasis on London was explained because of its strong links with the Polish government-in-exile while places across Scotland have become significant due to the decampment of Polish battalions as part of the allied war effort. Lastly, migration can be understood in areas associated with specific industries linked to the war, and reconstruction effort as Poles were channelled into employment (Zubrycki, 1956; Stanchura, 2004).

### 2.1.2 The European Volunteers Workers Scheme (EVWS)

The PRC directly assisted Polish ex-combatants to enter the labour market and provided financial assistance, job opportunities and support gaining access to housing. Nonetheless, a second policy, the European Volunteer Workers Scheme (EVWS), directly recruited migrants from continental Europe. The policy selected Poles by their race, gender, and relationship characteristics and assisted them with their relocation and employment in the UK. The EVWS scheme arguably sheds light on the government’s understanding of race relations and whiteness as a racial epithet. The
government used whiteness’ positive and beneficial social construction to expediate the migrants’ so-called ‘integration’ into British society. The EVWS seemed to be directed to respond to the country’s vital need for labour and to shore up specific sectoral labour deficiencies (Deaken, 1968). Two EVWs programmes emerged: first, the Balt Cygnet, and second, the Westward Ho. The Balt Cygnet initially brought approximately 1000 Polish women to Britain. They were carefully selected under the belief that as single and more importantly racially white migrants, they would blend into the British population by forming intimate relationships with British men. Arguably, this was the government’s way of socially engineering the population and appeared to benefit from the migrant labour and social dislocation while simultaneously inoculating against backlash relating to an escalating anti-immigrant sentiment (Sword, 1986; Miles, 1989). The government had seemingly learnt from its experience of the PRC and the difficulties of attempts to integrate large numbers of ex-combatants who often had complex health and social needs. However, recruiting directly from DP camps provided the government with the opportunity to explicitly select migrants who supported the country’s reconstruction effort. The successes of the Balt Cygnet led to the programme being expanded with the additional recruitment of 5000 domestic workers for hospitals across Britain, but work by Paul (1992) found that the experience on the ground for the Polish women diverged from the national account with many reporting experiences of social isolation and loneliness.

The success of the Balt Cygnet also contributed to the expansion of the EVWS and the formulation of the Westward Ho, which recruited men as well as women with preference given to DP’s who were physically fit, under fifty and single. The flexible and fluid reservoir of labour suited the government perfectly as the migrants could be resettled according to sectoral requirements across Britain (Paul, 1992). However, seeing the escalating need for labour migrants, the government quickly abolished the DP relationships status criteria thereby making provision for the arrival of family migrants (Paul, 1992). Again Paul (1992) noted the discrepancy between government and top-down theorisations of race and the beneficial characteristics of migrants against their local experiences, with many finding it hard to adjust and fit in finding themselves ostracised from local communities. According to Tannahill (1958), approximately 9,351 Polish men and 4,667 Polish women were recruited between 1946 and 1949. It appeared that the government’s EVWS provided a window into its understanding of race and migration in the post-war period and how racial categorisation could be used to attend to future problems of integration or assimilation (Stanchura, 2004).

2.1.3 The Residential Geographies of Second World War Polish Migrants

The dispersed nature of Poles’ residential settlement has been talked about as a notable feature of their migration with specific links to governmental policy, the PRC, and the EVWs. Nocon (1996) highlighted that over the decades since their migration in the 1940’s and 50’s there was evidence of Polish residential congregation, particularly of migrants concentrating in urban centres. The patterns were linked to Poles’ employment in industries such as manufacturing that were located in urban places.
Nocon (1996) also noted that Poles' specific patterns of internal migration towards London were linked to their desire to be near others in their co-ethnic social networks. Estimates by Zubrzycki (1956) suggested that the Polish population in London and the Home Counties accounted for over a third of Poles living in the UK after the war. Moreover, Patterson (1977) examined the evolution of Polish residential settlement over time and found that many migrants' residential decisions appeared to be intimately linked to an adjustment in their future settlement outlook. Many migrants went from believing that their life in the UK was temporary to more permanent after the conflict subsided, as there were changes in their ability to return to Poland. The difference in circumstances had implications for their residential patterns, and this was reflected in a shift in their internal migration from many places across Britain into more urban centres. The move was explained by more beneficial employment opportunities being available in urban areas. A specific study on EVWS migrant workers who were resettled in South Wales in the steel industry found both types of patterns occurred among migrants. Many remained in South Wales while others relocated to other urban areas to job opportunities across Britain (Patterson, 1977).

2.1.4 Post-EVW Migration and the Importance of Communism

The lack of information on the previous migration of Poles can be explained by the parallel migration of non-white and former colonial citizens that refocused attention on their migration and caused Polish migration to go relatively undiscussed. The result is a certain amount of erasure in Britain's migration history. The erasure arguably is a product of Polish migrants' assimilation into Britain's multicultural society helped by factors such as intermarriage, English language proficiency, and their children being racially white and often only possessing a Polish surname that demarcated them as linked to the Polish international migrant cohort (Stanchura, 2004; Burrell, 2009). Moreover, as discussed, particular government policy was carried out that has directly been implicated in their residential geographies but also assisted in making the migrants invisible from our collective migration memory.

After the EVWS finished, Polish migration to the UK subsided. With the installation of a communist-leaning government in Warsaw, there was a relatively small number of Polish people who emigrated compared to during the PRC and EVW schemes. A small number of asylum seekers moved to the UK in the 1970's and 1980's (Burrell, 2008), and once they gained refugee/residence status, many moved to places with established communities of Polish people (Garapich, 2007). The reason for the small number of migrants during these decades can be partially explained by the Polish government's immigration policies. Work by Iglicka (2001) noted that, as with many communist states, immigration policies were highly bureaucratic and it was difficult for Polish citizens to obtain visas to travel abroad let alone relocate overseas on a more permanent basis. The lack of Polish migration to Britain during these decades contributes to the invisibility of the British-Polish community and can also explain how their residential settlement patterns became less noteworthy than those of other migrant groups.
2.2 Communism, Transition, and their Cultural Impacts

For post-accession Poles, the enduring effect of communism, the regime’s after effects, and the Polish state’s move to democratisation and admission into the EU is an important cultural backdrop to explanations for their residential decision-making. It is hard to reduce the end of communism and the accompanying economic, psychological and social transformation that occurred to the Polish state into a few short paragraphs. However, for migration decision-making, post-communism is the context for the international migration motives of many migrants – particularly those who moved immediately after EU accession. A look at the process of transition is significant for several reasons. First, because of Polish people’s perceived interaction with the state, under communist Poland they were restricted from emigrating abroad. They were additionally faced with a warren of bureaucracy to be allowed to leave the country, even for a holiday. Second, the transition was significant for Polish people’s engagement and experience with the labour market; and third, because of the embedded cultural differences between Polish and British culture. The last point is particularly significant because many of the vestiges of communism remain and arguably have been transported alongside Polish migrants. Most pertinent for this study is the transportation of social attitudes associated with diversity.

2.2.1 The End of Communism and its effects on Poland's Economy

The end of communism, in part, was brought about by the uprising of the trade unions led by Lech Wałęsa (The first Polish premiere of the democratic Polish state 1990-1995) and assisted the labour market to transition from the command to market economy. The rapid transition to democracy has significant social implications; most noteworthy were Polish people’s approach and engagement with the labour market both at home and abroad. In the command economy, every citizen of working age was provided with employment, wages were kept relatively equal, and as a result, polarisation was abated. To gauge the escalation of unemployment in post-communist Poland, Berend (2007) suggested that unemployment levels rose from near zero in 1994 to nearly 20 percent in 2004. Social housing, services, and education were also provided to all citizens in the command economy, and even though there were extensive waiting lists and quarrels about the efficiency of the system, it acted as a social safety net (Berend, 2007).

During the communist regime, there was little migration because of its approach to immigration as well as the security that citizens were provided under the command economy. Nevertheless, the installation of the market economy implemented a system where citizens were prompted to compete for employment. For many who had been socialised in the command economy, they were left without the skills to compete in this type of market, and communist nostalgia was evident throughout Eastern Europe. Work by Volčič (2007) found that this entered into the post-communist vernacular with words such as Ostalgie emerging in East Germany that referred to the nostalgia people felt and encapsulated the longing for a return to communist times. For many older Poles, life in the new type of society was untenable. Even those with jobs found it hard to maintain a decent quality of life, and the opening up of the EU offered an option for many to improve their circumstances. The state of Poland’s society and the ramification of post-communist life in the
Polish labour market also was found to have propelled many younger Poles to move abroad to seek better opportunities, send remittances home, and support the caregiving of older Poles (Burrell, 2009).

2.2.2 Post-Communist Poland and Diversity

The disarray that the Polish state underwent during the Second World War not only had an enduring effect on the migration of Polish people to Britain but also to a reorganisation of Polish society. Before the Holocaust and the political shift into communism, Porter-Szucs (2011) described Poland as the epicentre of Catholicism in Europe. Similarly, the country was diverse and composed of substantial minorities from Germany, the Baltic States, as well as central Europe. Without a colonial empire, Poland had not experienced the same levels of non-white immigration as countries like Britain in Western Europe; its position in Europe made it a melting pot of European cultures, religions, and languages. However, the Nazi religious, ethnic, and sexual minority cleansing policies rendered the country relatively homogenous and absent of diversity. Poland's lack of diversity was further consolidated by communist immigration policies that restricted the flow of migrants both in and out of the country.

The lack of diversity along multiple lines is significant for the analysis of more recent Polish migrants in Britain. The approach stems from Goffman’s (1963) work on identities that suggests that a person re-evaluates and re-assesses their identities as the result of their migration. Also, the familiarity with different forms of diversity, along with religious, ethnic and sexual minority lines, and the way they articulate these differences is important regarding migrants' decision-making. Work by Grill (2017) on Slovakian Roma migrants observed that race as a concept was relatively underused in Slovakian society. Its underuse was linked to the lack of diversity along colour lines in the country but also how differences within the population were often drawn along religious and ethnic registers and frequently differentiated people along linguistic lines. Grill’s (2017) work found that migrants often export their racial and ethnic registers from their home countries and these continued to play a significant role in their decisions and everyday interactions with other residents in the UK.

Grill's (2017) work also highlights how the system of governance in Slovakia assisted in shaping how people speak about 'ethnic' difference. In communist times, the onus was placed on a collaborative approach where all members of the population worked towards the collective good. Differences such as ethnicity and religion were abated over a collective identity of the nation. However, the transition to a market economy with competition deeply embedded in its structure led to ethnic and other forms of differences to become significant. While Grill’s (2017) work discusses the specific nature of race in Slovakian society, it is useful to explain some of the specificities experienced by Polish society as it transitioned from a command to market economy and also given the specific racial and ethnic differences latent in its population. While it is difficult not to reify the influence of communism to Polish people's migration decision-making as many Poles that have
moved and continue to move to the UK were not born during communist times, the cultural mark it has left on Polish society and constructions of a modern national identity is hard to ignore.

2.2.3 Polish National Identity and Catholicism

It is important to contextualise the role that the transition out of communism had for Polish people regarding their understanding and construction of race and religion. The Christian denomination was entwined with notions of what it meant to be Polish. However, the infusion of communist ideology led to the state being placed ahead of religion, and like many communist countries religious practice and teachings were subdued (Graff, 2006). Towards the end of communism in Poland, there was a relatively strong resurgence of religious following and practice that Zubrzycki (2009) described as a form of civic activism and a form of civil disobedience against the state. Unlike other former communist countries such as the former Czechoslovakia, the Catholic Church was significant in the country's transition and advocated for its movement towards democracy.

The rapid movement of Polish migrants to Britain also provided a window to the importance of religion. Work by Trzebiatowska (2010) found that immediately after accession, there were not enough Catholic priests, particularly in more rural places, to serve the Polish migrant population. The Catholic authorities in Poland, therefore, flew Polish Clergy to Britain to maintain Polish migrants’ Catholic traditions and practices. To explain how religious factors are significant to inter-group relationships between Poles and other residents Trzebiatowska (2010) used Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and field to illustrate how the specific form of Polish religious habitus created issues. Trzebiatowska (2010; p.1067) explained that ‘in Poland, the Catholic Church continue[d] to monopolise the goods of salvation. It has the authority to impose a particular religious habitus on the lay population, and it possess[ed] sufficient capital to protect its objective position from competitors’. Problems occurred when Poles migrated to a religious field, such as in Britain, that was structured by ‘religious pluralism, secularisation, and a clear church-state divide’. The effect caused Poles in Britain to want to practice their specific form of Catholicism as it jarred against British Catholic habitus. As Catholicism is so deeply entwined with Polish national identity, it is hard to separate it from other identity facets such as ethnicity and nationality. For the wider debate on choice versus constraint in migration decision-making, Poles’ agency seems linked to religion and the extent to which migrants want to live with religious members of their communities.

2.2.4 Polish National Identity, the Family and Sexual Minorities

The role that the Catholic Church played in the transition and movement towards democracy can explain how it has become infused in more recent constructions of Poland’s national identity. Porter (2001) suggests the idea of being Polish included identities linked to Whiteness, Slavic, Polish-speaking and Catholic. While in many former communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe that became more secular, religion in Poland increased and seemed at least on a temporal level to be at odds with the country's more western facing vantage point in Europe as it made moves towards EU membership. As previously stated, the nefarious policies carried out during the Holocaust and the lack of immigration to Poland during communist times only assisted in
enhancing the post-1991 version of Poland's national identity. Moreover, the importance of religion as a facet of this reconfigured national identity saw many of the ideas implicit within Catholic doctrine become embedded in the country's views and people's social attitudes towards the family and sexuality (Zubrzycki, 2006). The finding led to a re-valorisation of heteronormativity and the embedded nature of the nuclear family as the norm and a core part of being Polish and hence a societal position that was mostly at odds with specific groups in Polish society.

For some subgroups in Poland such as sexual minorities, the significance of Catholicism in modern constructions of the country’s national identity and views towards notions of the family led to an increase in homophobic policies. Particularly noticeable were the protests against the Warsaw Gay Pride March in 2005 that seemed to exemplify the juxtaposition of Poland's western-facing position that coincided with its membership to the EU in 2004 and its resurgence of deep-seated religious and conservative views on issues such as the family (Graff, 2006). More recent accounts of LGBT rights in the country seem to show progress, such as the 2011 Palikot's movement, a socially liberal anti-clerical party that ran on a platform of legalising same-sex unions, and the election of the country's first openly gay and transgender MPs. Nonetheless, LGBT issues are still subdued by the main political parties, the Civic Platform and Law and Justice (Hoare, 2014: p1). Furthermore, regarding migration and ethnic diversity, the country still faces limited racial and ethnic diversity. This characteristic has only been made more apparent by the government's relatively recent stance on immigration and asylum taking one of the most strict approaches in the EU, voicing disdain about quota asylum systems and the detriments of immigration to Polish culture (Adamczyk, 2014; Moraga and Rapoport, 2015; Geddes and Scholten, 2016). Polish society’s view towards ‘the family’ and ‘women’ in particular continue to stifle progress with large-scale protests against abortion being held across the country in 2016 (Adamowski, 2016). It seems that many of the constructs and understandings of diversity are enduring in Polish society and it is a plausible suggestion that they might affect Polish internal migration decisions for people who have migrated to the UK. Moreover, for many minorities living in Poland, access to free movement rights permits them to use their agency to move to the UK and a more tolerant place. However, it also presents a significant obstacle to their desire to live near other Polish migrants living in Britain who might oppose their race, ethnicity, sexuality or relationship status.

2.3 Summary

The chapter has provided a history to the recent post-accession migration of Polish people to Britain and puts forth the case that current interpretations of their internal migration patterns link to past settlement patterns. The PRC highlights how government policy directly shaped Polish people's residential settlement patterns, but over time the migrants demonstrated a mix of settlement geographies that are both highly dispersed but also concentrated in urban areas with sizeable co-ethnic migrant populations. The EVWS scheme shows how governmental decision-making and conceptions of whiteness directly played into social engineering efforts that affected employment and residential settlement patterns that were decided upon to assimilate the migrants into the British population. The previous settlement patterns show that specific places across Britain are significant to the Polish migrant community. The main argument is that the historical
settlement patterns of Poles in Britain are useful for interpretations of post-EU accession internal migration patterns. Furthermore, the PRC and EVWS policies represent direct and indirect top-down approaches that affected where Poles settled and moved to in Britain. The evidence supports how Polish Second World War migration presents substantially different structural constraints faced by post-accession Polish migrants regarding their internal migration and residential patterns.

It is hard to understate the significance that the end of communism continues to have on Polish society post-1991; this cannot adequately be discussed in this chapter. However, the evidence suggests that the transition from command to market economy affected Polish people’s social behaviour. The change led to an increase in the price of resources and assets and affects how Polish people engage with economic structures. For the first time they were required to compete for jobs and housing whereas before these resources were provided by the state as an entitlement of their citizenship. However, the transition also affected the significance of religion, where previously Catholicism was constrained by communist ideology and was a major voice of activism against the state. Nonetheless, after Poland transitioned into a post-communist state Catholic ideology has become deeply embedded within constructions of Poland national identity. The post-communist transition process impacts on Polish peoples’ social attitudes towards migrants, ethnic, and sexual minorities that link to notions of the family and nationhood with potential implications for Polish post-accession migrants’ internal migration decisions.
Chapter Three
Literature Review

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The following chapter discusses the literature on internal migration that is useful to interpret the internal migration patterns of contemporary Polish migration and unpick the factors that contribute to their decision-making processes.

In line with the growing political and social significance of Polish migration, an increasing body of research has emerged. This sits alongside a longer history of research into migration. The chapter seeks to critically discuss the literature and the challenges that contemporary Polish migration raises. This literature review is necessarily selective; the chapter argues that three major bodies of internal migration work are useful to frame our understanding of the internal migration patterns of contemporary Polish migrants to Britain. These are literature on the economy and resources; race, religion and sexuality; and family and lifestyle. Reflecting the use of mixed methods it is important to mention that the structure and content of the literature review is in part informed by themes emerging from the qualitative interviews (rather than following a strictly hypothetico-deductive model of research). Thus, in addition to established bodies of work on economics and race/ethnicity – the literature on intimate relationships and family migration is also reviewed as an important contribution to the current study.

While we know a lot about the dimensions of Poles’ international migration, we still know very little about their internal migration patterns and the factors that drive and contribute to their migration decision-making processes. The current chapter aims to review the previous literature. It seeks to catalogue and critique the existent theories and empirical works that are useful to understand internal migration. The chapter divides into four distinct sections that align with the empirical chapters that follow. The first part reviews the literature on the settlement geographies of contemporary Polish migrants to Britain. The second section examines the economic explanations of internal migration that concentrate on a migrant’s resources and access to different tenures of the housing market in the UK. It reviews the macro and microeconomic theories that explain internal migration and the formation of migrants’ residential geographies and links them to economic dimensions of assimilation, such as occupational mobility, housing and tenure, and the segmented labour market theory. Next, the chapter chronicles the influence of the cultural turn in the social sciences and the work on migrants’ ethnic identities and internal migration. This links to the way that a person’s race and ethnicity connects to discrimination as a significant factor in their decisions to live in and move to specific neighbourhoods. The section reviews the whiteness literature to illustrate how a focus on Polish people’s racial identities and their intersections with other identity facets such as gender, class, and age illuminate an often-overlooked aspect of migration for people with ‘white’ identities. Lastly, the chapter explores work on intimate relationships and family migration that emerges as a significant master theme from the interview
data among Polish respondents in the study. The review of the literature highlights that economic, cultural, and relationships factors are embedded and entwined with each other in influencing the dynamics of Polish migration. The chapter concludes that no single theory provides an adequate framework to explain Polish people's internal migration and that a more holistic framework is necessary.

3.1 The International Settlement Patterns of Polish Migrants

The first section looks at the current knowledge of the settlement patterns of contemporary Polish migrants in the UK. From a British perspective, there is an abundance of work that concentrates on visible and non-white migrants but few that have focused on racially white migrants (Lundstrom, 2004). The focus can largely be explained by Britain’s specific migration history and connections with regions in the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia (reflecting the remnants of the British Empire and later Commonwealth). Regarding ‘white’ migration to the country, it has largely been linked to movement from Old Commonwealth countries that have cultural ties with the UK such as Australia. Additional forms of ‘white’ migration have come from Western European countries, again with many cultural similarities (aside from language) to Britain as well as a similar level of economic development (Moch, 2003). However contemporary post-accession Polish migration to Britain marks a new wave of white migration that is unlike the previous flows.

3.1.1 Polish Residential Settlement Geographies

A collection of work highlights that Poles move to an array of places across the UK (Bauere et al. 2007; Burrell, 2009, Scott and Brindley, 2012). According to Scott and Brindley (2012), Poles move to rural areas, market towns, the seaside and peripheral places, as well as well-established migration areas in inner-city urban neighbourhoods (McCollum, 2013). However, through a lens of geography, it is the so-called new settlement geographies that galvanise scholarly interest in the residential migration of Poles. (Burrell, 2009; Burdsey, 2011; Scott and Brindley, 2012; Harris, Moran, and Bryson, 2014).

Work by Bauere et al. (2007) found that Poles who arrived immediately after accession concentrated in the Scottish border region and central valleys, the industrial North-East England and districts across Wales, as well as parts of South-West England. On closer inspection, Bauere et al.’s (2007) work found that the formation of many of the new geographies links to the specific sectors in which the migrants found employment in the labour market. For instance, their work found that approximately a fifth of accession migrants were concentrated in the hospitality and catering sectors, with a further 10.9 percent finding positions in the agricultural sector. The location of these sectors explains some of the new geographies as they are predominantly found in rural areas such as East Cambridgeshire and Herefordshire.

Even though accession migrants display new residential settlement patterns, Lymperopoulou’s (2013) work finds that Poles are still likely to settle in deprived ethnically diverse and urban places. Poles seem to be the most widely dispersed of the ‘accession 8’ migrant cohort (more so than
Latvian, Slovakian, and Lithuanian) who are often found in more rural areas (Scott and Brindley, 2012). The differences suggest national or ethnic identity may be an influencing factor driving these residential geographies (See chapter two for an in-depth look at cultural explanations for migration). Turning to regional patterns, work by Burrell (2009) found that London is a significant place for Polish residential settlement and this extends to the South-East and the East of England. The relevance of the South of England for Polish residential settlement is discussed in more depth in chapter two. Furthermore, chapter two also points to the significance of the North-West region as an important place for Polish migration. Specific local analysis of Manchester (district) finds that Poles and other ‘accession 8’ migrants are highly concentrated in the wards of Blackley and Broughton. The differences, the report notes, are due to the local labour market sectors that require migrant labour and also mention the different local residential geographies of the newer ‘accession 2’ migrants who begun arriving in 2007 (Manchester City Council, 2015).

Related work by Finney and Simpson (2008) finds that all ethnic minorities in the UK display patterns of counter-urbanisation. Their analysis that uses the 2011 Census links these patterns to natural change and the continuation of international migration. The results also contest notions of self-segregation that have been used to explain the continued residential concentration of specific groups. Finney and Simpson (2008) find that all groups predominantly remain settled in urban areas throughout the UK. Their findings support previous work by Phillips (1998), Peach (1998) and Robinson (1986) that show that ethnic minorities mainly concentrate in urban areas but then display patterns of ‘decentralisation, sub urbanisation, and ex-urbanisation’ (Phillips, 1998: p.1699).

3.2 Resources and Economic Factors

The first major body of work that is useful to interpret Polish people’s migration decision-making relates to economic factors and resources. This initially looks at the work on assimilation and then moves to consider the role of housing. A vast collection of economic work exists that links to internal migration that includes the focus on a migrants’ labour market experience and how this manifests over place. The approaches discuss macro and microeconomic structures and advances in occupational and social mobility and the impact and role of the housing market. Many models could be discussed to explain internal migration that includes the ‘Place Stratification Theory’ or ‘Market Pluralism Theory’. However, Finney and Catney (2015) note that work that focuses on assimilation and the economy dominates how we interpret and understand migrant geographies.

3.2.1 Assimilation Theory

Finney and Catney (2015) note that assimilation explanations dominate work on migrants and internal migration. Much of the existent literature that is used to explain internal migration patterns and changes to migrants’ residential geographies comes from specific observations and empirical studies of migrants in US cities in the 1920s and 1930s that were overwhelmingly based on the patterns and trajectories of racially white migrants with European ancestry (Phillips, 2007). The exact links between the characteristics of a migrant and place were crafted by Massey (1985), who built on the rich tradition of ‘assimilation’ work in the US. Massey (1985) took the assimilation ideas
described by Park, Burgess and McKenzie (1926), Warner and Srole (1945) and Gordon (1964) and mapped the trajectory of a migrants' assimilation over various neighbourhoods within the city. Thus, the Spatial Assimilation Theory (SAT) was born and is based on the wider Chicago School's ecological tradition that viewed the residential spaces of migrants as a reflection of their assimilation and human capital. Gordon (1964) initially proposed that the assimilation of a migrant comprised of multiple social processes, whereby migrants mirrored and developed the traits of the majority population to fit into the receiving society. Given this, the central idea of the SAT is that changes to migrants' residential geographies link directly to changes of their occupational position through upward occupational and social mobility.

The Spatial Assimilation Theory describes a specific trajectory a migrant makes that link to their occupational status. For example, after a migrants' immigration, local demand in the labour market guides them to live in housing in inner-city neighbourhoods near sectors requiring labour migrants. The effect is that the European migrants became concentrated in inner-city neighbourhoods and their initial congregation acts as a resource of local information. However, as migrants familiarise themselves with the local labour and housing markets, they pursue better opportunities. Access to these improved opportunities gives them leverage to enter and access better forms of housing that are located in more affluent areas. These places in the US due to their urban planning were in the suburbs of the city (Alba and Nee, 1997). However, it must be noted that there are differences across countries due to their different housing landscapes. The SAT is built on some presumptions; first, it is predicated on the specific layout of a city that dictates that the most affluent housing is located in the suburbs; second, it assumes that all migrants can make their desired moves (agency) without encountering specific obstacles that constrain their choice and internal migration decisions.

While SAT aims to provide a comprehensive account of immigrant residential geographies, it is problematic for several reasons. First, the SAT is ethnocentric and comments on a specific type of migration of a particular racially white migrant group who arrived in the US in a precise moment of its history. The US in the 1920s was experiencing rapid and large-scale immigration that was subsequently halted by several immigration acts to stem the flow of migrants from specific regions such as Eastern and Southern Europe in the mid 1920's (Daniels, 2005). Therefore questions remain as to whether these specific patterns were upheld (Alba and Nee, 1997) and if the links of a migrant's occupational characteristics and place endured. Secondly, the US labour market in the 1920s was in a particular state where manufacturing and industry required migrant labour. The location of these industries within the city can partially explain migrants' residential geographies, but changes to the structures and arrangement of the contemporary labour market as the result of deindustrialisation make the SAT explanation less conducive. Thirdly, the SAT takes a very economics-focused approach to internal migration and fails to consider the influence of culture. Fourthly, it is unclear from the SAT if the trajectory occurs for all individuals or only for the wider group's mobility (Alba and Nee, 1997). Finally, the 'straight-line assimilation' idea assumes that over each generation, a group adjusts increasingly to the majority population. An issue with the generational framing of assimilation, is that it ignores specific shifts that occurred in the US around
the time of the Second World War, as well as the rapid expansion of the suburbs and the impact of the reduction of mass immigration. Lastly, one of the most significant issues with the SAT is that it is unable to explain why some groups such as African Americans, encounter additional constraints that limit their internal migration out of inner-city neighbourhoods compared to their racially white counterparts.

An array of studies highlights the structural and individual factors that are responsible for African American peoples’ segregation (Duncan and Lieberson, 1959; Ellis, Wright, and Parks, 2004). The segregation work suggests that practices by landlords and estate agents in the housing market, as well as mortgage providers in the banking sector, constrain certain groups’ migration decision-making (Robinson, 1986; Massey and Lundy, 2001; Finney and Simpson, 2009). These factors limit the groups’ advances into the affluent suburbs and shed light on the group-specific constraints to their migration decision-making. While segregation literature is often separate from work that focuses on migrant settlement geographies, it does suggest that non-white groups face constraints that restrict their agency regarding their location choices and residential decisions. While the segregation debate has not reached the same intensity in Britain as in the US, there is still concern that some groups are residentially excluded, particularly South Asian and Muslim groups. In a development of the assimilation literature, Portes and Zhou (1993) acknowledge the variability between groups regarding the extent that they can, or wanted to assimilate. This gave rise to the Segmented Assimilation Theory permitting different trajectories of assimilation for different groups, though little work has been undertaken on how these translate on to place.

Global patterns of international migration appear to have changed since the 1990s, with work in both the US and UK demonstrating that migrants have moved and continue to move to new geographies (Zúñiga and Hernández-León, 2005; Massey, 2008; Hall, 2013). The changes link to deindustrialisation and a reconfiguration of the industrial base as well as a wider variety of countries that migrants have moved from and the channels they can migrate along (Vertovec, 2007). Work by Hall (2013) attempted to test if SAT is still useful to explain the residential geographies of new migrant groups. His work finds that the migrants move to different geographies than previous migrant cohorts. Unlike the SAT projection of a migrant's dispersal patterns radiating outwards from the inner-city to the suburbs, Hall (2013) found that migrants were directly entering into the suburbs - often without the predicted occupational status or characteristics such as language proficiency that would afford them entry. His work suggests that while SAT continues to link specific occupational characteristics of a migrant to the places they move to, this framework alone is insufficient to wholly explain all the factors involved in a migrant's internal migration patterns. Nonetheless, the link between occupational status and internal migration is still useful to partially explain why some migrants decide and can move.

### 3.2.2 Housing and Internal Migration

The work on the SAT takes a macro perspective to explain how the labour market influences individual’s circumstances and occupational mobility in a way that directly affects their internal
migration patterns. Another approach that can explain a migrant’s internal migration patterns relates to their housing. A well-established research literature on housing in Europe reveals great variation across different countries in housing policy, housing practices, and immigrant’s experiences of the housing market (Musterd and Andersson, 2005; Musterd and Van Kempen, 2009; Bolt, Phillips, Van Kempen, 2010; Van Ham et al., 2016).

The significance of housing can be illustrated in several ways. First, Harrison and Phillips (2010) argue that the tenure of the housing market, for example, private or public housing affect the location choices that migrants make and can differ according to housing policy, a migrant’s immigration status and citizenship, and their entitlement to specific housing tenure. Polish migrants, as EU migrants, are unable to access social housing until they provide evidence of three months’ worth of continuous worker status (Shelter, 2017). Therefore, the Private Rented Sector (PRS) is the main tenure of the market that Poles can access on arrival and specific aspects of the PRS could influence their internal migration decision-making. Second, Smith and King (2012) argue that the condition and location of the available housing stock are significant influences on a migrant’s residential geographies. Finally, Smith and King (2012) indicate that the tenure of the housing market migrants can enter links to specificities that relate to the tenancy contracts migrants sign as well as the relationships migrants establish with landlords, housing providers or housing associations.

Early work on migrant housing by Collinson (1967) finds housing tenure was significant to the residential geographies of Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia in the 1940’s and 1950’s. Harrison and Phillips (2010) comment that for the first New Commonwealth migrants to the UK their residential patterns were primarily decided upon by their low purchasing power as well as being steered into vacant inner-city housing that white households had vacated in favour of the suburbs. Explanations across migrant groups can be explained by their different socioeconomic characteristics on entry into the UK. However, unlike the explanations of the SAT, the emphasis is on the housing as the main instigator of different internal migration patterns.

Some studies suggest that the availability and conditions of housing can influence a migrant’s decision to remain or move between different places. Work by Ratcliffe (1996) on BME and migrant housing in Bradford in the early 1990s suggests certain conditions are responsible for the likelihood and opportunities for BME and migrant populations to move. The findings indicate that particular place-specific issues such as the condition of the social housing stock affected when and where migrants in certain areas moved. Local housing initiatives that focus on replenishing and rebuilding the Social Rented Sector (SRS) housing stock result in migrants moving into new areas or having to access different housing tenures. The effect of these localised housing issues can cause migrants to move out of one area and into another due to the availability of accommodation (Battiston et al. 2014; Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson, 2014). The significance of housing is particularly useful to interpret contemporary Polish migrants. This is because housing is a significant factor that influences migration patterns in cases where a group is dependent on a particular tenure. Ratcliffe’s (1996) work mentions some local issues that are still significant for
local housing dynamics and could be useful for interpreting how housing operates for contemporary Polish migrants in the Greater Manchester (GM) area. Ratcliffe notes that for Bradford two issues were significant in 1996 to the future housing spaces of BME and migrant groups. First, issues that link to the overcrowding of housing and the demand for new housing to be built. Second, the future immigration patterns to an area that can increase the demand for specific types of housing to be built. Chapter two notes that the uneven residential dispersal of Poles and arguably the availability of housing and housing practices in specific places could be influential to their settlement geographies.

Multiple works highlight that practices in the housing market such as discrimination and racism exerted by landlords and estate agents affect migrants’ decision-making. These direct and indirect processes turn these social actors into gatekeepers in the different housing sectors that influence the type of housing a migrant can access as well as steering migrants into living in certain neighbourhoods (Rex and Moore, 1969; Dahya, 1974; Harrison and Phillips, 2010). Furthermore, multiple works suggest that discrimination from other residents can influence the places a migrant chooses to settle (Pager and Shepherd, 2008; Crowder and Krysan, 2016). While we know very little about the housing experiences and practices of Polish accession migrants in the UK due to their relatively recent settlement and lack of data, Phillips (2015) conducted work on Czech and Slovak accession migrants and British South Asian residents in Bradford. The work asserts that Poles are viewed as living throughout Bradford while the Czech and Slovak communities are seen as concentrating in specific streets in certain neighbourhoods. The findings show that the presence of accession migrants for British Muslims is seen as a threat to civility and respect and these link to their specific types of behaviour and dress. However, the newcomers are also seen as a valuable labour reservoir to Asian restaurants and meatpacking jobs across the area. The paper highlights that some of the British Muslim men in particular note that their spaces (and also those of women) have been violated by the ‘rough talk’ and ‘lewd’ comments expressed by the newcomers and that this limited the freedoms of their women on the streets of Bradford (Phillips, 2015: p.69). The result is tension that sometimes breaks out into violence that we presume could affect the places accession migrants chose to live regarding the characteristics of existent residents.

Work by Phillips (2015) reviews the lasting relevance of Rex and Moore’s (1967) theory of housing classes in Birmingham. Phillips (2015) comments that these studies are still useful to shed light on specific concepts and practices such as the way racism influences housing and internal migration decisions. However a lot has changed and housing policies, regulations and laws have evolved to increase the access of migrants and BME people to different housing tenures that was not the case for past migrant cohorts. For example, in earlier work, Phillips and Unsworth (1988) and Robinson (2002) note the need for specific housing associations and policies to be formed to overcome obstacles certain groups faced in the social rented sector that excluded them from public housing. Policies under New Labour and ‘BME-led housing movements have increased their access to good quality housing and access to more desirable neighbourhoods. These initiatives sought to ‘address systemic failures in public housing sector and open up new housing pathways to disentangled groups’ (Phillips, 2015b: P.393). Indeed the increase of BME middle classes has changed the
housing landscape and given migrant and BME groups greater voices in housing development and allocation to a previously disenfranchised group. However, Phillips (2015) notes that Rex and Moore’s (1967) work was carried out at a time when there were intense anti-immigrant feelings and political concern over the rights and entitlements of immigrants and their access to the welfare state. While the housing landscape has changed, there has been a reawakening of anti-immigrant sentiment that has expanded across colour lines which is relevant to our interpretation of contemporary Polish migrants and the role of housing in their internal migration decision-making. This is because it suggests that new forms of discrimination and practices by estate agents particularly in the PRS could operate to constrain Polish migrants from moving into certain neighbourhoods. Furthermore, as long-term settlement by Poles in Britain increases their entitlement to access the SRS, the role of this tenure is likely to become more important as a factor influencing patterns of migration.

3.2.3 The Segmented Labour Market Theory

The literature also suggests that specific economic factors that relate to the structure of the labour market can provide a backdrop or context that can assist to explain why migrants move. Often, the findings from these work such as Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich (2009) link to macroeconomic events or practices in the labour market, for instance, the Segmented Labour Market Theory (SLMT) describes the structures of the labour market and how these affect the status and occupation position of migrants and the advances they can achieve. The growth of neoliberalism, its policies, and the way it affects macro, micro, and meso-economic structures all contribute to the increased risk and insecurity that migrant’s face (Burrell, 2009). According to SLMT, the labour market is crudely divided into two segments, the primary and secondary segment. Each segment is characterised by different structures that intimately affect the extent that a migrant can progress, and improve their occupational position and status. The primary segment, for instance, describes the context for many professions and businesses that have internal regulations that tightly manage and regulate wages and working conditions. The practices maintain the status quo and keep the working environment stable to avoid any tectonic shifts from external macro forces, such as recession, affecting workers or the health of the business (Leontaridi, 1998).

Meanwhile, the characteristics of the secondary labour market mean workers often face poor working conditions and short-term contracts that expose them to temperamental shifts in the national and local economies (Leontaridi, 1998). The occurrence of a recession, for example, leaves workers in the secondary segment with limited protections from redundancy or unemployment and there are also limited incentives for employers to improve working conditions. There are also significant obstacles to their progression into the primary segment due to protective mechanisms such as sector specific work experience that make it increasingly hard for migrants to transition between segments. The structure of the labour market has particular implications for models such as the SAT because it suggests the operation of latent obstacles that restrict migrants' upwards-occupational mobility (Leontaridi, 1998). Instead, the structures could create insecurity that could cause migrants to move regularly due to financial instability.
3.2.4 Polish Migrants in the British Labour Market

Some studies suggest that the characteristics of migrants on arrival in their destination country can affect their occupational status. This can, directly and indirectly, influence their economic capital and ability to move into specific tenures of the housing market and certain neighbourhoods (Alba and Nee, 1997). Migrants on arrival are usually under-employed (Todaro, 1969; Dustmann and Frattini, 2014), and their underemployment regularly links to a lack of recognition of their qualifications, an absence of country-specific work experience, and their English language proficiency (unless they arrive on high skilled visas). Labour deficiencies in certain sectors see migrants channelled into low skilled and poorly paid employment that is regularly located in the secondary segment of the labour market (Parutis, 2011; McCollum and Findlay, 2015). Work by Cuijipius (2011) finds that Poles mainly concentrate in the lower echelons of the British labour market and in semi-routine and routine employment in particular. His work finds that many Poles encounter the previously mentioned obstacles in the labour market. This sees them regularly experience under-employment and their low level of economic capital assists to shape their residential geographies with many Poles living in deprived places. However, Lymperopoulou and Parameshwaran (2015) argue that unlike other ‘accession 8’ migrants, Poles are less likely to be highly qualified and underemployed, with many of the migrants moving with relatively low qualifications, a lack of skills, and sector-specific work experience. This particular finding implies that there is a lower rate of occupational mobility that could occur for Poles due to their lack of skills. This is clearly useful in interpreting some of their internal migration patterns. However, a certain segment of the Polish migrant community are middle class, and include students who can utilise their social capital to circumvent many of these obstacles to obtain a better occupational position (Csedo, 2008; Kennedy, 2010). Aside from formal qualifications, English proficiency is significant, and many migrants with good English language skills can achieve upward occupational mobility similarly to other EU15 migrants (Ciupijus, 2011; Kring et al., 2013). The lack of immigration restrictions arguably means that a wide variety of Poles continue to move to Britain and this is reflected in their occupational diversity and resulting variability in their internal migration patterns.

The concentration of migrants in the secondary segment of the labour market makes it difficult for migrants to access permanent and secure employment due to the business models of sectors requiring labour. Labour market structures and the abundance of labour migrants make it difficult for immigrants such as Poles to become upwardly mobile and enter into the primary segment of the labour market. Employers contribute to migrants’ insecurity as they had little incentive to invest in structures to protect employees or improve their working conditions. This is because they know they have a reservoir of EU migrant labour on hand and this limits their desire or need to invest in better working conditions (Massey et al. 1993; McCollum, in press). These structures function to keep migrants trapped in unfavourable conditions and assist in maintaining virtual hierarchies, which employers use when making recruitment decisions. The hierarchies are virtual because employers, both consciously and subconsciously, employ specific migrants from certain
backgrounds for roles that maintain the migrant's position in a specific segment of the labour market. The mutually reinforced perceptions and practices of employers in conjunction with wage inequalities and immigration policies create conditions that place the new accession migrants in sectors that are poorly paid. For internal migration, the structures highlight how the economy and the labour market assist in shaping the specific push and pulling factors for migration at a sub national level. However, they also assist in explaining how certain migrant groups have specific economic resources that affect the amount of capital they have at their disposal to move to certain areas or access certain housing types and areas. Furthermore, the specific employer's decision to recruit and channel migrants into certain positions appears to create a specific labour market experience for the migrants. The focus on structures in segments of the labour market also highlights a specific 'period effect' in the labour market that highlights the intersections of these structures with certain migrant groups. This poses questions about how Polish migrants in Greater Manchester negotiate the structures in the labour market given their occupational position, and how this affects their internal migration decision-making.

3.2.5 Specific Labour Market Changes

In the literature on assimilation and housing, the labour market and housing have been treated as relatively separate entities, or only indirectly related according to a migrant's occupational position. However, some more recent literature points to specific changes in the labour market and certain practices that are useful to interpret the position of contemporary Polish migrants and the links to their internal migration decision-making. For instance, a report by Shelter (2017) notes that a characteristic of accession migrants that frontline workers encounter is that their 'employment' in many cases is 'tied-in' with their housing. The phenomenon is where migrants gain access to specific employment opportunities that come with accompanying housing. The conditions of the housing link to their employment status and therefore, if a migrant becomes unemployed, they further experience insecurity through their additional loss of housing. The finding appears symptomatic of changes to the labour markets structure in Britain in the past two decades.

To explain how accession migrants encounter these conditions we need to consider their labour market characteristics alongside the exponential growth of recruitment agencies since the 1990s in Britain (Sporton, 2013). Recruitment agencies act as intermediaries between businesses and migrants in the filling of certain low skilled positions. There are a range of ways this influences migration. First, their position as intermediates between employees and employers takes some of the agency away from migrants regarding their internal migration decision-making including the location of their employment and the contract that the recruitment agency negotiates. For example, Cook, Dwyer, and Waite (2011) find that recruitment agencies are significant for 'accession 8' migrants in determining the type of employment they undertake in the UK and their labour market experiences.

Second, some recruitment agency practices are unregulated, particularly those made by agents spanning different countries or who supply certain sectors. Therefore, migrants that use them are subject to additional factors that can complicate their internal migration decisions. For example, the
provision of specific types of housing and accommodation. Wilkinson, Craig Gaus (2010) argues that Britain’s labour market in the early 2000s tightened immigration restrictions alongside introducing hardened regulations in sectors such as agriculture. The infamous incident of the deaths of Chinese shellfish-pickers in Morecambe Bay in 2004 contributed to the creation of the ‘Gangmasters Licensing Authority (GLA) to implement a degree of regulation into these types of sectors. However, Wilkinson et al. (2010) argues that the measure is only a piecemeal attempt to introduce regulation in a neoliberal economic environment that demanded a lack of regulations or government imposed controls. The GLA has minimal remit and can only impose regulations on specific industries. Therefore, with minimal powers, it is unable to regulate recruitment agencies which creates the opportunities for migrant exploitation. For many migrants, particularly those without social ties in the UK, recruitment agencies form a vital synthetic network that supplies migrants with everything from assistance with their relocation to Britain, to opening up a UK bank account. While we know a lot about structural constraints that link to economic circumstances and housing, we know very little about how recruitment agencies affect internal migration for recent migrants groups who are found to use them regularly to relocate to the country (Cook, Dwyer, and Waite, 2011).

Third, many recruitment agencies channel migrants into sectors that use ‘tied in' employment and housing practices. The practice is common particularly in sectors that are based in remote locations such as hospitality and agriculture. However, without the means to regulate recruitment agencies and their practices, there is great variability in the conditions they encounter. Some migrants as a result face exploitation that can lead to specific forms of vulnerability such as trafficking and homelessness - especially when the agencies act as synthetic networks and support migrants in their wider integration efforts to support their employment (Janta and Ladkin, 2009; Pemberton, Phillimore, and Robinson, 2014; Bramley and Fitzpatrick, 2017). We can also assume that because of a lack of official and formal regulation, that there are meagre records of migrants who use recruitment agencies. This could affect some of the official data on migrants’ internal migration patterns. One method to address this could be to use qualitative forms of data to expose the links between recruitment agencies and internal migration decisions.

3.2.6 Summary of Economic Literature and their Implications for Polish Internal Migration

Notions of assimilation dominate the models to explain the internal migration patterns of migrants that link to occupational mobility and access to resources (Finney and Catney, 2015). The work also suggests that the influence of housing on internal migration links closely to a person’s migrant status and citizenship, determining their entry criteria to specific housing tenures of the housing market. Furthermore, housing practices by landlords and local authorities are also influential on the places, and types of housing migrants can access. The section also assesses the specific make up of the labour market, for example, the SLMT and how its structures, as well as the growth of recruitment agencies, create a period effect that is useful to interpret contemporary Polish internal migration. Some of the characteristics of the economy, for example, short-term contracts, provide one explanation for frequent internal migration moves with migrants continually looking for new
employment opportunities. We know a lot about the employment characteristics of Polish migrants in Britain but very little about the way they operate regarding their internal migration. We suspect that the vast concentration of Poles in the lower echelons of the labour market causes migrants to encounter certain conditions such as short-term contracts that cause them to move frequently. The concentration in the PRS also suggests the significance of housing practices on internal migration decision, but we know very little about the role of recruitment agencies in their location choices. However, given Polish migrants are racially white we also do not know how the migrants’ ethnic identities affect some of these mechanisms and decision-making processes.

3.3 Whiteness, Cultural Turn, and Identities Research

The second major area of literature focuses on identities, more specifically whiteness and white identities, that arguably can help interpret the contemporary residential patterns of Polish people. Wider changes in the social sciences around 1992 manifest in an address by Fielding (1992) who called for a change in how we conceptualise migration. This call suggested that migration should move away from explanations that link to purely economic and rational understandings and within the domain of population geography to be considered as more expansive and additionally consider matters of culture and peoples’ identities. The cultural turn led to the development of many sub-fields of migration studies that address issues that relate to ‘displacement’; ‘migration cultures’; ‘ambivalence’; and ‘identities’ (Halfacree, 2004; Hardwick, 2008; King and Christou, 2011). New questions also emerged about ‘place’ and ‘scale’, as well as new and creative methodologies to measure them (King and Christou, 2011). The cultural turn continues to contribute to a change in our understanding of the social world; for example, we see how economic factors such as money are deeply entwined with identities and cultural practices. Zelizer’s (2000; 2006) work, for instance, on the meaning of money, links economic factors with social interpretations and argues that money is not merely an objective device, but a social tool within which people express and place their social and cultural values. In the exchange and movement of money, its value is highly contextually dependent and deeply embedded within the social.

3.3.1 Problematising Whiteness in Debates of Internal Migration

The work on the role of people’s identities and their links to migration is vast and cannot be fully covered in this review. However, regarding migration, a person’s ethnic and racial identity regularly comes to the fore regarding their migration decisions, particularly in relation to questions of the extent and nature of agency involved in their choices. The need for greater focus on ‘ethnicity’ and ‘race’ in many aspects of migration, both international and internal, is because in many societies, people are stratified and differentiated by these characteristics or identities (Anthias, 2013). Our interest in ‘ethnicity’ stems from the notion that people with particular racial and ethnic identities experience the social world differently. The differences relate to specific obstacles such as racism and discrimination. This can constrain their social behaviour, for example through discrimination by residents in their neighbourhoods.
In the Global North, racially white groups are regularly positioned at the top of invisible ethnic hierarchies, placing them ahead of people with different ethnic identities (Song, 2004). The societal stratification by ethnicity is complex and links to a combination of a country’s specific nation-building agenda, imperialism and colonialism, as well as country-specific international patterns of migration (Song, 2004). Much has been accomplished to reduce ethnic inequalities in various domains, but it continues to be a pervading issue in the UK. Understanding these dynamics is a central aim that the Centre of Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE) endeavours to examine and address in education, housing, and health. In the UK, like many countries in the Global North, conceptualisations of visible minorities are constructed in a specific fashion, and it is crucial to differentiate visibility versus invisibility. For example, work by Bauder and Sharpe (2002: p1) argue that visible minorities are ‘persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour’. While their definition discusses visibility from a Canadian perspective, the same principles apply to visibility in the UK and extend to Britain’s position in the British Empire and the later Commonwealth union of countries (Moch, 2003). The definition is also used by other British researchers who explore visible minorities, for example, Burton, Nandi and Platt (2005) who look at issues that link to the identification and measurement of ethnic minorities in the UK. In Britain, visibility can link to its immigration system and migrants who the country deems acceptable versus those it considers unacceptable and unwanted (Joppke, 1999). Nonetheless, it is important to note that visibility is socially constructed and place-specific and varies by each country’s specific migration history.

The previous section highlights the extensive work that continues to be undertaken on the residential concentration of African Americans in the US and to some extent Muslim and visible minorities in the UK who face structural constraints that limit and constrain their location choices and opportunities to move into specific areas. The focus stems from the important policy intervention by Cantle (2001) who speculated that many South Asian and Muslim communities are self-segregating across Northern English towns and live parallel lives where they continue to reside in separate residential spaces to the majority population. The discussion continues and is addressed in Finney and Simpson’s (2009) ‘Sleepwalking to Segregation’. In Finney and Catney’s (2015) later work entitled ‘Minority Internal Migration in Europe’ they continue to question the role, processes and mechanisms that ‘ethnicity’ has in migration. We know very little about the way that ethnicity operates for white groups, particularly for new migrants such as the Poles who continue to arrive as the result of the expansion of the EU in 2004.

### 3.3.2 Resurgent Ethnicity Theory and Gravitational Migration

Regarding residential geographies and migration, the focus on ethnicity suggests two lines of enquiry in relation to its purported impacts on people’s residential decision-making. First, the Resurgent Ethnicity Theory (RET) and the Gravitational Migration Theory (GT) suggest that ‘ethnicity’ can cause people to move to places where other migrants live based on their similar ethnic identities (Logan et al. 2002). The second avenue that suggests how ‘ethnicity’ may operate argues that people’s internal migration decisions might be motivated to avoid places with people
that have specific ethnic identities. For instance, the patterns of ‘white flight’ or ‘white avoidance’ whereby members of the majority population move out of areas due to the influx of ethnic minorities into their neighbourhoods, or their decisions to avoid specific areas due to the ethnic composition of the area (Krusse, 2005). The work on ethnic identities suggests it is a pervasive force in the shaping of migrants’ residential geographies. Theories such as the RET suggest the continuing influence of ethnicity, in migrants’ decisions and patterns of concentration, even with advances to migrants’ socioeconomic status. Logan, Alba, and Zhang (2002) provide empirical evidence to support the RET to explain the direct entry of Hispanic and Asian immigrants into suburban spaces in the US, even though they possess little English language ability. The RET and GT are useful to explain migrants’ geographies by their ethnicity, but also to link their decision-making and agency to other identity facets such as religion, gender, and sexual minority status. For example, similar empirical studies have found the gravitational migration of gay migrants to areas with concentrations of other gay people (Gorman-Murray, 2007). However, a problem with the theories is that they are too reductionist as they focus only on one facet of a person’s identity and also neglect the effect of structural factors such as housing availability and access criteria. Finney and Catney (2015: p. 322) argue that ‘it is important to pay attention to the multi-dimensionality of ethnicity and how ethnic identity intersects with other social markers, particularly gender, class and religion’. Therefore, while ethnicity is a pervasive force, how it intersects with other social markers is important to interpret the contemporary migration decision-making of Polish migrants within Britain.

3.3.3 Polish Whiteness and Ethnicity Studies: the problem

A problem with the previous theories is that they do little to address whiteness and how it might operate by privileging some migrants but also excluding others. The majority of work in Britain on ethnicity and internal migration concentrates on visible and non-white migrants. A significant problem of not placing contemporary Polish migration to Britain is that their ethnicity is unlike the majority white British population for several reasons. First, the Polish migrants are racially white migrants who are Slavic, non-Anglo-Saxon and with Catholic backgrounds. The migrants’ identity facets cannot be explained by established theories of ‘ethnicity’ and empirical work on visible and non-white minorities (Ryan et al. 2008). Second, we know very little about the processes and mechanisms that link to white identities and how they operate for migration. These are particularly important for Poles who have the added rights and entitlements that relate to their status as EU citizens. Third, Poles originate in a country that has undergone a rapid and specific transition out of communism. The transition, as argued in chapter two, contributes to specific notions of diversity that can link to migration decision-making. Fourth, the migrants continue to move from a post-communist state that is not at the same level of economic development as the UK (Burrell, 2009). This finding affects their motives for leaving Poland, but also their choice and status in the labour market in the UK. This includes the sectors they are channelled into; their poor levels of pay and their working conditions that all contribute to the way that their identities are racialized. Fifth, Poland remains relatively mono-ethnic unlike many states in the EU15. The lack of diversity links to their recent history and policies that reduced and restricted immigration.
The failure to disentangle ‘whiteness’ and ‘white identities’ is also a reflection of the lack of refinement in the white categories in ethnic classifications used in Census, social survey and administrative datasets (Aspinall, 2002). The principal problem is that ethnicity is relatively un-theorised in British surveys and is composed of a mixture of nativity, region, race, and country of birth (Nazroo, 1998). New migrants such as Poles continue to be recorded in the prescribed ethnic category ‘White Other’ that is insufficient to describe the variability within the category. The problem is that the category records an array of migrants from Old Commonwealth countries, EU15 countries as well as their children and grandchildren. The arrival of Polish migrants to Britain contributes to a resurgence of the debate, about the boundaries of whiteness and how we discuss whiteness regarding migration particularly for migrants who obviously do not fit easily into existent ethnic categories. The release of the 2011 Census, however, presents a novel opportunity to explore ethnicity because there are sufficient numbers in the 2011 Census (compared to sample surveys) to allow the publication of counts for smaller groups. The result is that we can use the migrant’s self-defined ethnicity and examine Polish ethnicity for the first time. Additionally, more qualitative forms of data are also needed to provide a way of unpicking whiteness and how it might operate as a resource or constraining factor in Poles’ internal migration decision-making. To understand how whiteness and Polish-ness as identity facets might operate in Poles’ internal migration decision-making it is essential to review the literature on whiteness.

3.3.4 Whiteness and Different Shades of Whiteness

Whiteness Studies continues to emerge as a significant sub-field of race and ethnicity research due to a historical lack of attention to the category. The status of white racial groups in Britain as the dominant majority population places the racial category as a normative structure. This causes it to be commonly ignored by research; however, this has recently changed (Garner, 2007). The normative privileges of whiteness also extends to the way that we talk about migration, for example, terms such as ‘migrant’ commonly conjure up ideas of visible and non-white people making international movements; whereas the movement of white people often links to terms such as ‘ex-pat’ or ‘tourists’ and do not have the same negative undertones (Lundstrom, 2014).

According to Lundstrom (2014), often within the UK the theorisation of whiteness sees it as a category of privilege for which migration is seen as relatively unconstrained and able to move without obstacles between places. The whiteness literature is expansive and is broken down into three significant bodies of work also known as waves that look at different qualities and critiques of whiteness (See Nayak, 2007 for a breakdown of the various bodies of work in whiteness studies).

Garner (2007: p. 64) suggests that whiteness’ dominance emerged in its hegemonic form when white people began to explore the world and encountered non-white people. Embedded in the enlightenment period, the overlaps between racial science and philosophy gave birth to notions of Anglo-Saxon supremacy. These mechanisms contribute to the development of hierarchies of race. Du Bois (1971) suggests that the concept of whiteness originated in the US and was a conscious effort by slave owners to distance themselves from those they enslaved (African American
population). He suggests ‘it must be remembered that the white group of laborers, while they received a low wage, were compensated in part by a sort of public and psychological wage. They were given public deference and titles of courtesy because they were white’ (Du Bois, 1971: p.700). This process became embedded and demarcated the racial divisions notable in US society today. It seems, therefore, that whiteness not only operates to provide material advantages tacitly in the education system and labour market but also operates as a psychological wage that benefits those with access to white identities and positions them higher than non-white groups both materially and psychologically.

Garner (2009) argues that whiteness, as a category, links to a specific set of norms and values and cultural capital. It is these criteria that set the boundaries of whiteness and define who is included and excluded. Understanding the boundaries of whiteness can give us a clear indication of who is likely to be afforded the privileges that link to dominant forms of whiteness and those who are likely to be excluded and experience additional obstacles to their migration as a result of their racialized identities. McIntosh (1989: p.30) explains that for people considered part of the insider groups and who have access to the hegemonic and dominant forms of whiteness their experience can be likened to an invisible ‘knapsack of privilege’, where the wearer often does not realise its benefits or privileges as they move around the social world. Du Bois (1971) suggests that whiteness is a category imbued with power and dominance. It frees white people from having to consider their racial identity as an obstacle or constraint in many contexts and situations. Garner (2007: p.49) argues that whiteness exists as a specific form of cultural capital, that can, for example, ‘facilitate access to higher echelons of the education system and therefore confer privileged access to higher-paying employment’. Garner (2007: p.49) then suggests that ‘this capital can be cashed in for material goods’ and shows how a person’s access to whiteness can financially benefit them. Migrants, without access to this cultural capital, experience obstacles that members of the dominant white group do not. Du Bois (1971) argues that the privileged power of whiteness is evident in specific labour market structures that place racially white people at the top and above other ethnic minority and migrant groups.

The focus on the contingency of whiteness shows its intersections with, for example, gender and class change the way it is conceived in certain places and contexts and this affects whether a racially white person is included or excluded (Garner, 2009). Furthermore, Garner (2009) suggests that in many countries white people are placed at the top of racial and ethnic hierarchies contingently, but whiteness's position and boundaries are different through its intersections with gender, religion, class and nation (Hartigan, 1999; Garner, 2007). Empirical work supports the contingent position of whiteness. First, it is not disembodied or invisible and is dependent on who is viewing it. This is illustrated in Watt and Stensons (1998) work on the views of non-white resident's on white areas that link them to dangerous spaces in South Scotland. Implications of the findings show that whiteness is interpreted differently in certain contexts and places.

Second, Garner (2007) notes that a disproportionate focus is placed on ‘class’ interpretations of whiteness, for example, studies by Rhodes (2012), Rhodes (2013) and Tyler (2008). These studies
look at ‘abject whites or white trash’ and trace the position of white workers in the labour market and how their class identities affect their wider social experience (See Roediger’s. 1991 work entitled ‘Wages of Whiteness’). Nevertheless, that is not to say that class is not important and many of the empirical findings suggest that class mediates forms of whiteness and can contribute and shape different forms of racialized white identities (Morris, 2005).

Third, work by Bryne (2006) highlights the importance of seeing whiteness intersecting with gender as well as class and this is evident in her accounts of the experiences of middle-class mothers in south London. Lewis and Rmazanoglu (1999: p.40) further emphasise the significance of gender and its intersections with whiteness among their respondents’ accounts. They argue that the women’s ‘gendered experience is always raced, their raced experience is always gendered’. While contemporary Polish migrants are seen as part of a wave of new racial white migrants to Britain and thus, supports the concentrated focus on their ethnic and racial identity, it is vital that we also look at their other characteristics such as gender, class and nation. This is because the British empirical studies previously mentioned showing that the boundaries of whiteness are contingent on its intersections with these other characteristics. This is, even more, the case for Polish migrants whereby their migration from Poland to the UK affects the boundaries of their white identities. This is because they transition, mainly, from being part of the racially dominant ethnic group to being considered in some cases as differential white or other white on arrival in the UK.

### 3.3.5 White Migration

In migration research, there is a tendency to concentrate on the class profile of migrants without looking at whiteness itself. For example, lots of work on white migrants concentrate on the migration of elites and tourists; whereas the majority of work that looks at other forms of migration such as the movement of economic migrants focuses on people from poor and developing countries, who are usually non-white (Lundstrom, 2014). According to Garner (2007), the movement of white people to different places where their whiteness and some of their other characteristics were unlike the whiteness and characteristics of the dominant population. In these cases, the migrant’s were considered as ‘in-between’ people, or not so white and unable to benefit from the privilege associated with the hegemonic and dominant form of the racial category. In a migration with some similarity to the movement of Poles to the UK, the US experienced large-scale Irish migration at the beginning of the twentieth century. Work by Roediger (2002) examines the case of Irish migrants to the US. He suggests that in ‘the period of the 1850’s to the 1910’s, incoming migrant Europeans were exposed to a situation where whiteness exerted forces that pushed Europeans to claim whiteness and gain privileged access to resources, psychological and social capital…while playing off national groups against each other in an effort to be whiter than the other’ (Garner, 2007: p.65). His work suggests that the Irish were initially viewed as not white even though they were biologically racially white. They were ‘othered’ and denigrated and cast as a different shade of white to majority White Americans. It was the migrants’ restricted access to resources that disadvantaged them along class and cultural lines and saw them categorised as not quite white enough but ‘not black either’, and this was the result of the social and religious
characteristics of those who migrated (Garner, 2007:p.66). The result was that they developed some conscious and active strategies to make claims and access to dominant forms of racial whiteness (Roediger, 2007). The agricultural crisis that gripped Ireland saw swathes of working class and unskilled migrants move from rural places to escape famine. The Irish were predominantly Catholic and Gaelic speaking, and the central problem was that they were perceived to be a lot less palatable due to these qualities that jarred with the dominant and largely racially white Anglo-Saxon Protestant American population. Being cast as not white had a substantial impact on the Irish migrants' agency, and this constrained the places they were able to access housing. This housing was often of poor quality and located in slum areas of the inner city and without the economic capital that was based on their position in the US labour market they were unable to move to other places (Roediger, 2007).

On arrival, the Irish were channelled into specific sectors such as construction and domestic work. However, due to their poor status and racialized white identities they had to use strategies to distinguish themselves from other ethnic minorities and migrant groups who were occupying a similar labour market position to improve their status (Roediger, 2007). This involved enhancing their status while simultaneously denigrating other non-white resident and migrant workers. The strategies included acts of intimidation against the African American workers particularly in the shipping industry as well as joining and forging political alliances with anti-abolitionist parties. The political strategy was to familiarise nativist political parties with their Irish issues, and the Irish migrants did this by contributing to the denigration and anti-African American politics high on the nativist political parties' agenda. These types of strategies aided the Irish in making a gradual transition from their status being seen as 'othered' and as an outsider to becoming viewed as part of the insider group. Regarding whiteness, the strategies assist them to redraw the boundaries of the dominant and hegemonic form of whiteness also to include them. This process was further aided by the continued migration of visible and non-white migrants from other parts of the world that soon eclipsed the Irish being seen as a threat and part of the outsider group. Roediger (2007) argued that these factors contribute to the Irish being able to obtain the racial inclusion they desired.

3.3.6 White Migrant Strategies in Britain

Some work on racially white migrants in the UK has identified some of the strategies that they use to gain access to whiteness but also fit into the country more efficiently. The work sheds light on the variability within whiteness and cultural specific differences in the strategies that the migrants use. For instance, work by Andrucki (2010) highlights the legal privileges that white South Africans encountered on arrival in Britain after they migrated to escape Apartheid. Andrucki’s (2010) findings suggest that Britain's immigration law is embedded with deep-seated notions of what constitutes ancestry that indirectly benefit White South Africans, placing them ahead of other migrant groups. The preferential treatment to the migrants appears to be an apparent vestige of the country's links with Britain. The exclusive legal benefits to South Africans also seem evident in conscious strategies non-white South African have deployed. Halvorsrud (2017) found that many
non-white migrants also implement strategies that play up the ancestral links between Britain and South Africa. He explains that this is to overcome and reduce any harm the migrants may encounter that links to their low socio-economic status in the labour market. Aligning themselves along national lines, he argues, shows a tacit claim to whiteness. Contemporary and historical forms of Polish migration are unlike South African migrants for various reasons. First, Polish migrants are not Commonwealth migrants and are therefore unable to claim or utilise notions of shared ancestry. Second, legally many of the articles built around notions of ancestry are formulated to support the return of white British migrants who moved to establish colonies in the new world (Charsley et al. 2012). However, Andrucki (2010) and Halvorsrud’s (2017) work reveals culturally specific and conscious strategies that migrant groups make to claim whiteness and improve their status.

Recent work on EU accession migrants by Fox et al. (2013) and Fox (2015) describes the strategies ‘Accession 8’, and ‘Accession 2’ migrants engage in. Fox found that the migrants' identities continue to be racialized in the UK and that their ethnic identities are not seen as white, but rather dissimilar to the whiteness of the majority white British population. Fox suggests that the process occurs for three reasons. First, their racialized identities are the product of the migrants’ dominant position in the lower echelons of the labour market where they predominantly occupy semi-routine and routine employment. Second, the mass media in the UK regularly negatively reports accession migrants, for example, as unduly taking benefit money they are not entitled. Finally, Fox argues that the racialization of the migrants is further consolidated by the exchanges they make with other residents. The conscious and active strategies the migrants use are similar to the South African migrants but are specific to the period they migrated within. It appears the migrant’s use them to reduce any harm they encounter and to ameliorate their racialized identities. Fox (2013:p1882) finds that the migrants use an array of strategies in a different context and places, for instance, his work found the migrants use racism against other migrant groups. This strategy uses labels and words that were ‘home-grown variants transplanted for local use; others [drew] from local British repertoires of racialized difference; still others are pulled out of the Hollywood ether’. Fox’s (2013) work, however, shows that the accession respondents use racism in different ways. Hungarians, for example, tend to direct their racism against BME minorities – whereas Romanians are more likely to denigrate specific minority groups such as the Roma. Fox explains that the different uses of racism among the two groups of migrants connect to their different migration histories and the process by which their white identities are racialized. He notes that Romanian’s identities are racialized to a greater extent than the Hungarians because of the escalation in anti-immigrant feelings resulting from the accession migrants that came before them. Their racialization is also shaped by memories of the Romanian children’s crisis whereby the standard of living of Romanian children was widely reported by the media after the fall of communism (Light and Young, 2009). Meanwhile, the racialization of Hungarian migrants arguably occurs to a lesser extent due to their presence being eclipsed by the larger numbers of Polish migrants who arrived as part of the same migrant cohort.
It appears, from the body of work on whiteness, that it is initially viewed as a category that affords privilege to those with access to it. However, several cases highlight that not all migrants are considered white on arrival in their host country or have access to hegemonic forms of whiteness. The racialization of some racially white migrants' identities can link to multiple factors that include their labour market position. However, many of the third wave whiteness literature points to migrants being active and consciously deploying strategies to accomplish several aims that can be useful to interpret how whiteness operates for contemporary Polish internal migrants. First, the work on the Irish migrants shows how they attempted to differentiate themselves from other groups. Second, the cases of Accession and South African migrants shows discursive and verbal strategies that the migrant’s use to improve their status. By using notions such as misrecognition and being confused as another ethnic migrant group with an improved white status they can achieve a group transition from a more racialized identity to be considered as part of the dominant and privileged white position. Third, the work on accession migrants reveals that racism may be used as a strategy to denigrate the status of others, that can assist in improving their position. The recent work by Fox and colleagues shows some of the strategies used by Hungarians and Romanians who are from the same migrant cohort as the Poles. The work suggests that Poles might exhibit some of the same strategies because their identities continue to be racialized also. Work by McGinnity and Gijsbert (2016) found that Poles in the UK experience an increasing level of discrimination compared to Poles in Germany and Ireland. We can only presume that the discrimination that Poles experience could lead to them developing and deploying various strategies in response. However, we do not know exactly how ethnicity operates for Polish migrants and if they develop similar strategies to other Accession migrants from their cohort?

Each of the intersections brings out a different experience of whiteness that is important for the interpretation of contemporary Polish migrants in Britain. However, Garner (2007) cautions against its use as a sole lens to explain social behaviour because it is too easy to be reductionist and suggest whiteness as the principal identity construct. In line with Finney and Catney’s (2015) argument, Garner (2007; p.798) suggests that ‘the social relationships we investigate are not just about race’ but that ‘people's lives are irrevocably embedded in a multiplicity of identity’. The work on whiteness shows the identity should be considered as multifaceted and intersecting multiple identity categories, but there has been a lack of empirical work that links whiteness to migration and how whiteness is fashioned between different places.

3.4 Intimate Relationships and Family Migration

The third primary body of literature this thesis uses to help interpret contemporary Polish internal migration relates to intimate relationships and family migration. Chapter three so far has looked at the literature on themes of assimilation, economy and ethnic identity. While these are established themes in the literature on migration decision making, the third theme emerges directly from the primary interview data collected from the fieldwork. The emergence of the importance of intimate relationships sheds light on the benefits of undertaking a mixed methods study that uses facet methodology. This is because the study uses two forms of data that can interplay and show what is
not visible about internal migration that would be obscured from using one data alone. From respondents in the study, it seems that family matters are salient to decisions that relate to their location choices and use of kinship networks, their motivation for moving to different places and their overall experience of migration across the EU space.

### 3.4.1 Feminist Influences and Family Migration

The focus on ‘intimate relationships’ and ‘the family’ emerges from the influence of feminist research in the social sciences (Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Silvey, 2004), foregrounding issues that connect ‘gender’ and ‘sexuality’ to migration decision-making (Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Silvey, 2004). The result of the consideration of the family, sees our understanding of ‘the migrant’ and ‘migration’ transform from the idea of a single pioneer migrant, who is usually male, to additionally consider that women and children also move, and move as a family unit or household. The paradigm shift also led to scholars considering the complexities of family ties and how they function as part of migration (there exists a large body of literature in sociology that focuses on intimate relationships, for example, the work by Lynn Jamieson, 1998). The work explains the significance of these ties as a core motive for migration but also in shaping the location choice of a migrant (Mincer, 1978; Ryan, 2011; Mulder and Malmber, 2014). Incorporating these ideas into a migration rubric the 'family migration' work highlights the complexity of family ties and caregiving and their importance as significant push and pull factors that motivate people’s decision to move.

The feminist turn also led to the emergence of work that looks at power and gender. Work by Massey (1994) explains that the difference in the likelihood of people moving by gender relates to historical accounts of the division of labour between men and women. The finding suggests that embedded notions of gender at the time and how these are intrinsic in the labour market assist in restricting women from formal employment in the labour market. This, thus, places many decisions with men (because they are formally employed and earning wages) - one of which is migration. Massey traces some of the labour market structures to the nineteenth century and suggests that these divisions of labour led to men often becoming the arbiters of migration decisions because of their internal migration to work in specific sectors. While attitudes towards women’s work continue to evolve, these structures still explain some of the gender differences in migration. It must be recognised that, while family migration and a focus on relationships continue to gain momentum in international migration work, it is still in its relative infancy in the study of internal migration where lots of the theories have not been confirmed or explained at a sub-national level (Mulder, 2017).

### 3.4.2 Union Formations and Union Dissolution

One of the key contributions of the work on family migration is the recognition of the importance of relationship type and stability when looking at people’s decision to migrate. For instance, work by Catney and Finney (2015) finds that union formation and associated cohabitation often causes people to move into shared housing. An abundance of work links union formation and the progression of different types of relationships to people’s decisions to move between various places. Work by Finney (2011) finds specific differences between ethnic minority groups regarding
their internal migration patterns and links such variation to cultural factors including differences in the practice and timing of cohabitation in the process of union formation. There are multiple reasons for couples to decide to cohabit, but one explanation is to strengthen and develop their relationship. This highlights the importance of situating intimate relationships as part of a person’s migration decision-making process.

The progression of relationships also links to family formation and the decision of couples to begin families (Kulu and Milewski, 2007). Starting a family can also have implications for internal migration decisions that stem from decisions that link to housing size to accommodate growing families (Kulu and Milewski, 2007). The arrival of children then brings a wealth of additional factors that relate to the intimate relationships parents have with children and include proximity to a child’s school, the catchment area of specific schools, other caregiving responsibilities, and transportation links to name but a few (Trevena, McGhee, and Heath, 2013; Catney and Finney, 2015). Equally, recent work in the PartnerLife project by Cooke, Mulder, and Thomas (2016) and Thomas, Mulder, and Cooke (2017) finds that the breakdown of a relationship or union dissolution influences decisions around internal migration. For example, when one or both partner’s move out of shared housing and divide assets, it can make remaining in shared housing untenable, particularly when housing is owner-occupied. Union dissolution can also have major implications on the location choice of either partner. In turn this impacts on the future internal migration decisions of either partner where they have to decide where they can afford to move to next, given the assets they have available to them (Boyle et al. 2008; Catney and Finney, 2015). Union dissolution can have even wider implications particularly when children are involved. The finding links to the family’s custody arrangements and decisions about the role that both parents and additional family members will play in caregiving responsibilities (Krapf, 2017). A relatively under-researched area concerns how the turbulence associated with union dissolution (which may include episodes of domestic violence) can mediate and affect the subsequent internal migration decisions of those involved. The PartnerLife project considers how relationship changes impact on migration for the majority population, but there is a dearth of research specifically on the Polish in this area. We can assume that there are similarities but do not know how cultural factors might mediate some of the migration decisions associated with union formation cohabitation and union dissolution. Additionally, we do not know how notions of citizenship and free movement rights complicate access to housing and their ability to live across borders in the EU space.

3.4.3 Intra-EU and Polish Migration

An overarching theme that connects to the migration of contemporary Polish migration to Britain is the significance of the EU space. Two recent reports by Lymperopoulou and Shankley (2017) draw attention to the different family migration patterns that free borders permit EU migrants to undertake, that have broad implications for the formation of various partnerships configurations such as inter-ethnic, same-sex, and international unions. Studies by Koelet et al. (2012), Koelet and Valk (2014); Van Mol, Valk, and van Wissen, (2015) explore the relationships between bi-national couples and examine the intimate relationships of Dutch nationals with EU national
partners. The studies explore how bi-national couples’ intimate relationships affect how they see their national and regional identities.

The new types of intimate relationships between members of different national and ethnic groups open up further questions about the way these types of couples and families navigate living in various locations, learn different languages and cultural practices as well as make decisions regarding the upbringing of their children. The significance of these intimate relationships adds complexity to some of the resource and economic factors discussed in the previous sections and highlights how they can be involved in migration decision-making. Additionally, free movement rights allow various intimate relationship configurations to migrate abroad. Chapter two summarises the specific cultural issues and societal attitudes that create obstacles for same-sex Polish migrants and people in an inter-ethnic relationship, but it also exposes the significance of these family ties or bonds to migration decision-making. The work takes the decisions from the exclusive domain of the individual or couple and places it at a household level where factors that link to all members of the family are considered.

However, we know very little about the way inter-ethnic and intimate relationships in the Polish migrant population influence their decision-making on internal migration. The expansive literature on miscegenation suggests that inter-racial and inter-ethnic couples and families face additional obstacles in the place they chose to live (Wright, Houston, Ellis, 2003; Houston, Wright, Ellis, 2005). For our understanding of contemporary Polish migrants in these types of relationships, previous work on the racially white partners in these relationships shows that they have to acknowledge their own race for the first time (racial consciousness). However, their relationship characteristics require them also to have to acknowledge their identities as an inter-ethnic couple and the added risk that their partners could experience being a non-white partner in various places. These additional factors were found to complicate their residential decision-making (O'Donoghue, 2004; Byrd and Garwick, 2006). Chapter two notes the relative lack of racial and ethnic diversity in Poland. However, the family migration work shows that as Poles become more mobile, they are more likely to encounter and form intimate relationships with British and other EU citizens of different ethnic identities.

The emergence of family migration among the Polish migrant cohort is best seen in White’s (2010) study on Polish family migrants. Using Home Office data for the second quarter of 2007 she estimates approximately 170,000 Polish children were resident in the UK. The number indicates the extent of Polish family migrants who had moved to the UK. White’s (2010) research also focuses on the way that Polish family migration has been linked to economic factors. Her work highlights aspects of the Polish economy, unemployment; the uneven and rapid social change that occurred after communism versus better wages in the UK, as some of the principal drivers of contemporary Polish family migration. Ryan’s (2011) work found that Polish family migrant’s need to navigate additional factors that relate to their intimate relationships such as social ties. For instance, Ryan et al.’s (2009) work finds that one of the main reasons family migrants move to the UK is to support family members in Britain or Poland. The work not only signifies the importance of
family ties but also that these relations and caregiving responsibilities span the EU space. Furthermore, the work shows that instead of purely economic factors, for many Polish family migrants their motivation for moving relates to economic factors embedded in family responsibilities and aspects of financial support.

Polish family migration also seems to be gendered, with many female migrants following their husbands to Britain. According to Ryan (2011: p.1), the international migration process of Polish families often results in them being ‘split, reunited, and reshaped’. Therefore, this untidy process supports viewing intra EU migration as composed of international and internal migration dimensions that sometimes work simultaneously due to the split character of family migrants across the EU space. (See King and Skeldon’s, 2010 paper on the various links between international and internal migration). Moskal and Tyrrell’s (2016) work finds that EU migration with children is not a linear process and involves migrants considering additional factors such as resources and the material costs of moving their whole families to the country. In Ryan’s (2011) work on Polish family migrants, she finds that often the cost of moving as a whole family unit is unfeasible, and many of the migrants describe circumstances where one or both parents initially migrate to London to source employment and housing (Ryan, 2011). To maintain their caregiving responsibilities, one partner usually remains in Poland and also continues to work to maintain the family’s earnings. In cases where both parents migrate, the children are left living with extended family until the parent/s find adequate employment and housing to support moving and reuniting their family together in Britain. The migration stories in Ryan’s work highlight the additional factors family migrants need to consider relocating to the UK but additionally show how the stepwise process of bringing whole families to the country involves caregiving and resource factors and show the intimate links between international and internal migration.

Another relevant factor in considering migration of EU members links to EU migrants’ citizenship and their rights and entitlements within the UK. This includes their access to public funds as part of the welfare state. McGhee, Heath, and Trevena (2013) findings suggest that some migrants move to the UK to benefit from their access to public support such as social housing as it provides a level of security that they cannot obtain in Poland. Furthermore, Shelter (2017) finds that family relationships are highly influential in the decisions many migrants recount and causes them to enter social housing with some suggesting it is to provide future security for their partners and children. This is evident in the work of McGhee, Heath, and Trevena (2013) on Polish migrants in social housing in Glasgow where the migrants are seen as regularly making trade-offs between their location and their access to secure and stable housing.

3.4.4 Intimate Relationships and Polish Internal Migration

The emerging literature on ‘family migration’ places notions of the family and the significance of intimate relationships at the forefront of migration debates. While a burgeoning literature exists on international family migration, there is a dearth of evidence and theorisation on how these relationship aspects link to internal migration decision-making, particularly for Poles. Previous work
suggests that Polish families often span the EU space, requiring an approach to research that draws heavily on transnationalism as a way to understand how intimate relationships could also affect a migrant’s residential decisions and behaviour. We can assume that residential decisions might have both local and international dimensions particularly for families that are located across sovereign borders. Caregiving is an aspect particularly significant for Polish families that complicates their decisions to remain in Poland or move to Britain. For others, it was a strategy of financing caregiving on either side of the migration divide. It seems that family ties and relationships are overarching issues that are vital to internal migration decision-making; for instance, families having to situate and navigate their partners and children’s identities in different places. They also have to weigh up the cost of moving each member of their family to their new location and how their residential decisions will also have to take into account their partners proximity to work and their children’s closeness to their schools. The theme of intimate relationships emerges as a significant theme from the interview data and suggests that aspects of the family and the relationship between different family members are significant to Polish people’s internal migration decision-making.

### 3.5 Summary

The chapter began by chronicling the theoretical explanations for migrants' internal migration patterns - rooted in ‘assimilation’ ideas and economic factors. The work summarised that a migrant’s material assets and economic capital provided them with the means to migrate and move between different places and their increasing occupational status in conjunction with social mobility permitted them to move to better quality housing in more affluent neighbourhoods. However, the literature showed how specific structures in the labour market such as recruitment agencies complicated our understanding of migrants’ choice and agency in their migration decision-making. The recent rise of anti-immigrant feelings suggested that contemporary Polish migrants might experience discrimination that could affect their internal migration decisions. However, Poles’ ethnic identity complicates our understanding of how ethnicity and discrimination interplay, as the migrants are racially white migrants and we know very little about how whiteness operates to ameliorate harms against discrimination and thus how it operates regarding their internal migration decision-making. Accounts of other racially white migrant groups suggested that the migrants are not passive and actively attempted through their deployment of certain strategies to reconcile any harm that might occur as a result of their racialized identities. These strategies then allowed them to fit in and avoid discrimination due to access to a more privileged form of whiteness. The chapter finally focused on intimate relationships and family migration that emerged out of the data as a significant theme that interplays with economic and identity factors in migrants’ internal migration decisions. The result of the review of the different kinds of literature suggested that migration decision-making is complex and relates to an array of factors - economic/resources, race, lifestyle, family, religion and sexuality - that all work together to shape migrants’ decisions.

Overall, the review of literature draws out some significant implications for the way that internal migration can be studied. Many of the quantitative studies use methods to explore the subnational patterns of migrants but are limited in what they can tell us about why migrants move, and what
factors are involved and their priority in the decision-making process. By comparison, the qualitative studies use methods that benefit the examination of the decision-making processes but are unable to show 'representative' and 'large-scale' migration patterns adequately. Therefore, a mixed-methods approach appears best suited to explore contemporary Polish migration.
Chapter Four
Methodology and Methods

4.0 Introduction: A methodology for patterns and processes

This thesis aims to advance knowledge about patterns and decision-making processes of Polish migrants and thus requires a methodological design to provide evidence of both. There is a paucity of data on the questions of interest here, and this has prevented the internal migration and subsequent evolution of Polish people’s residential geographies from being examined to any great extent. This is due to several factors. First, the datasets have inadequate variables to measure new forms of migration. Second, the datasets do not have adequate measures of geography particularly at lower spatial levels. Third, the datasets do not support the exploration of some of the more nuanced aspects of internal migration that are linked to identities and culture. As a result, there is currently a gap in knowledge of the patterns of Polish people’s internal migration at different levels of geography and the direction of their moves. Lastly, much of the available evidence is quantitative and only provides us with an insight into some of the settlement patterns of Poles. However, the works tell us little about the factors involved in a migrant’s decision-making.

Much of the work on Polish residential settlement is quantitative and uses the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) – a dataset undertaken in the transitional period when the new accession eight countries joined the EU. The dataset was set up to capture the number of new accession migrants who entered the UK for work to provide the government with a gauge of labour supply. However, McCollum (2013) notes some limitations of the dataset. First, it does not capture migrants already living in the UK; second, it does not record migrants who are self-employed or students. Third, the registration fee (£90) dissuades many migrants from registering resulting in a likely undercount of accession migration to Britain. Finally, the WRS only requires migrants to record their initial reception site without the obligation to re-register their address if they moved. Other datasets such as the Labour Force Survey (LFS) continue to be used to measure the labour market outcomes of accession migrants. However, they are insufficient for measuring internal migration due to their crude measurement of geography (Catney and Finney, 2015). Furthermore, while social surveys such as the ESRC's Understanding Society offer a specific ethnic booster sample to explore matters of ethnicity and migration, their ethnic booster sample did not sample any new migrants groups and therefore is unsuited to exploring contemporary Polish migration (The most recent wave 7 of Understanding Society does capture an ethnic booster sample that includes Polish respondents but the small sample means we are still unable to examine their internal migration patterns).

A result of the insufficient availability of data - there are few studies that explore Polish internal migration. Some more recent studies overcome the data obstacles by collecting their own quantitative data or rely wholly on qualitative data sources to gain an insight of internal migration through migrants’ life histories. One such work by Trevena, McGhee, and Heath (2014), examines
the characteristics of Polish internal migrants and the factors that connect to their location choice. Their findings suggest that Poles with families are less likely to move than single migrants or migrants in relationships with no children. The frequency of migrants’ moves appears to connect to opportunities in the labour market and decisions to gain access to better conditions. Their work also sheds light on the importance of recruitment and social networks. This relates to the location choices of Poles and their related job type and the characteristics of their working contracts. While their analysis provides a good research grounding for the current work, the findings are limited by the study’s sample size and use of predominantly qualitative and small sample data collection strategies. The interviewees include migrants dispersed across England and Scotland, and therefore we can tell little about local internal migration patterns.

The release of the 2011 Census provides an unrivalled opportunity to explore contemporary Polish migration using the complete population of the UK. (Catney and Finney, 2015). It also includes area units that permit the analysis of internal migration patterns at a sub-national level. Another feature of the 2011 Census methodology is a self-defined ethnicity question that permits people to enter their self-defined ethnic identity. This has overcome the problem of other datasets not discriminating between new migrants such as Poles in their samples. While the 2011 Census data is relatively out-dated and does not permit the examination of migrant decision-making, it does offer the first opportunity to explore Poles’ internal migration patterns beyond the migration that occurred immediately after the EU accession. The access to the data enables us to explore the direction of Polish internal migration, as well as the movement patterns between different area types across the UK. However, the Census uses relatively crude variables that arguably do not adequately capture the complex backdrop of migration decisions based on economic, social and family factors, which may be solidly embedded and entwined. The use of qualitative data enables the potential to disentangle any ethnic-specific factors and structural constraints, which may limit or constrain a migrant's agency in their location choice and migration decisions.

It is often hard to find a study that successfully uses quantitative and qualitative data collected contemporaneously, in order to provide a complete picture of a migrant's experience. The problem is related to practical issues that include the availability of datasets, as well as the funding and resources available to researchers to permit them to match different data collection strategies successfully. However, a significant issue in using two types of methods and data, is to overcome the age-old intractable divide between epistemological approaches in the investigation of the social world. The chapter argues that the advent of Facet Methodology by the Morgan Centre at the University of Manchester provides a framework that satisfies this problem and allows for the two methods and data to comfortably sit side-by-side to view different facets of internal migration. The 2011 Census data allows for a large-scale and representative analysis of Polish people’s patterns of internal migration to be examined, at both regional and district level; while the qualitative interviews allow the factors that contribute to their decisions and location choices to be deconstructed and better understood.
The chapter describes the rationale for using Facet Methodology as the most useful framework to look at Polish people’s internal migration. It then considers the approach used to analysing the 2011 Census data, before moving to outline the fieldwork undertaken with Polish migrants in Greater Manchester between November 2015 and February 2016. A detailed account of the qualitative approach and the use of semi-structured interviews is discussed. The chapter then looks at the recruitment strategy, ethics, and reflexivity of the study.

4.1 Mixed Methods Approach and Facet Methodology

Migration studies benefit from the growing recognition of the value of mixed methods research in the social sciences (Vargas-Silva, 2012). The challenge is to satisfy the use of qualitative and quantitative methods and data to study a social phenomenon such as migration, due to the different epistemological positions on the measurement of the social world (Brannen, 2005). Innovation in methodology work that includes the formulation of ‘Facet Methodology’ by the Morgan Centre at the University of Manchester provides a useful framework to use both types of data and methods together. Mason (2011: p.75) describes Facet Methodology as a ‘new approach to research the multi-dimensionality of lived experience. Therefore, it can be seen as an orientation for a methodology that allows flexibility and the researcher to engage with epistemology.

Proponents employ a gemstone metaphor, to articulate how ‘Facet Methodology’ works and suggest that a characteristic of a gemstone is that it has different facets that, ‘reflect, refract, and intensify light...And cre[ate] flashes of depth and colour’ (Mason, 2011: p.77). In the metaphor, the gemstone is the social phenomenon under investigation, and its different contours are the various lines of enquiry. For example, with Polish people’s internal migration, one facet is the pattern of migration; other facets are the factors that shape their migration decisions. In opposition to other approaches that advocate mixed methods research, such as Critical Realism, Facet Methodology asks users to continually question the type of data that is produced from different facets and what they might be revealing about the social phenomenon. Mason (2011: p.77) explains that ‘what we see or come to know or to understand through facets is thus always a combination of what we are looking at’. Using a single form of data will not be able to answer all the different questions in which we are interested. Creswell (2015) points out that there is no definitive model of integrating quantitative and qualitative data and as the thesis uses ‘Facet Methodology’ to answer the research questions; the most appropriate mixed methods model to integrate the data is the convergent design. Creswell (2015: p. 36) describes this type of design involves ‘the separate collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data. The intent is to merge the result of the quantitative and qualitative data analyses’. Therefore, the thesis uses the 2011 Census data to examine the patterns and direction of Polish people’s internal migration, as well as some of the characteristics of the migrants, while the qualitative data from interviews offer an opportunity to unpick those patterns and explore the factors involved in migration decision-making. The approaches allow the research to engage with the discourses on migrant and ethnic minority geographies that debate the extent to which migrants can exert their agency in their migration decisions against structural constraints.
The literature review highlights that a holistic approach to migration decision-making is needed, to examine the factors involved in Poles’ internal migration decisions. Facet methodology allows the incorporation of the multidimensionality of the lived world to be included in the analysis. This approach ‘assumes that the world and what we seek to understand about it is not only lived and experienced, but is multi-dimensional, contingent, relationally implicated and entwined’ (Mason, 2011: p.4). An advantage of Facet Methodology is its core principle of producing insights, to help illuminate, in this case, some of the mechanisms and processes linked to internal migration that would be missing by using one data set in isolation. The fact that the Census only records migrants by their residence in registered accommodation means it could miss a large section of the Polish migrant population. Indeed a Shelter (2017) report highlights - from frontline work with accession eight migrants - that a significant segment of the migrant population is living in unregistered types of accommodation, or have experienced or continue to encounter street homelessness and human trafficking. This is section of the target population that the qualitative fieldwork is more likely to include.

4.2 Quantitative Data and Methods

A plethora of studies on migration and BME residential geographies have used censuses and large-scale social survey and administrative data to examine where migrants live and the characteristics (sex, age, class etc.) of migrants in different places. The 2011 Census is an example of a complete population data collection, carried out every ten years in the United Kingdom. It has aimed to collect detailed population information about residents throughout the UK’s four constituent countries; however, in this thesis, only the 2011 Census data for England and Wales are used. The rationale for this decision was two-fold.

First, it was the result of data restrictions in obtaining data from the different UK statistical offices. Census data for Scotland is issued by the Scottish National Statistics for Scotland, and for Northern Ireland, the Northern Ireland’s Statistical and Research Agency (NISRA) release the Census data. The different Census offices use different processes to access the Census data and have varying release schedules, with Scotland and Northern Ireland’s Census data being at a later date to England and Wales.

Second, issues of area unit and ethnicity category harmonisation between the different Census locations made cross-national comparisons a problem; for example, ethnicity and spatial boundaries differed considerably between Scotland and England and Wales (Valles, Bhopal and Aspinall, 2015). The result of these different practices means that comparisons between the countries are difficult (Stillwell and Duke-Williams, 2005). Despite criticism over the time taken to publish the data from the 2011 Census and it becoming quickly out-dated, it is the only data source that allows for the measurement of internal movements between areas (Miles, 2010; Finney and Catney, 2015).

4.2.1 2011 Census England and Wales
The UK Census is a complete population survey carried out every ten years and was last held on March the 27th, 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2014). Lloyd, Shuttleworth, and Wong (2012) and Finney (2008) argue that the Census is an unrivalled data source for measuring the spatial distribution of ethnic minority and migrant groups in the UK. Indeed its comprehensive coverage and inclusion of ethnicity arguably makes it the only dataset currently available to examine the internal migration patterns of a new migrant group such as the Polish by their ethnic identity.

The Census is a comprehensive countrywide population survey and is carried out across households throughout the UK constituent countries (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland). As Polish migrants are a relatively new ethnic migrant group in the UK, their small sample size meant that their data was not included in the general data releases from the Census, requiring the origin-destination data to be specially commissioned from the Office for National Statistics (ONS). Meanwhile, the Origin-Destination data is used to analyse the patterns and direction of internal migration at a regional and district level over a one-year interval. Also, the thesis uses the general release microdata at regional and district level. The microdata is used to examine the socio-demographic, socio-economic and household characteristics of Polish internal migrants in England and Wales.

4.2.2 Commissioned 2011 Census Data

Many studies have commissioned Census tables to look at specific population events and characteristics. For instance, Large and Ghosh’s (2006) work focuses on ethnic groups by sex and age at local authority level. The Origin-Destination table uses the question, ‘what is your ethnicity?’ to capture a Pole’s self-defined ethnicity. The table also uses the question, ‘what was your address the year before the Census?’ and this enables an analysis of where Poles are moving from and moving to.

Boden and Rees (2010) note a challenge in the measurement and methodologies used to analyse sub-national migration, is the lack of harmonisation between geographies at a sub-national and local level. While area units such as districts have been harmonised between England and Wales, different settlement sizes, rurality and scarcity of the population, and their distribution across Scotland and Northern Ireland has meant that no such harmonisation process has been undertaken there. This means that direct comparisons with their counterparts in England and Wales are difficult. As a result, alternative approaches to the statistical fashioning of area units such as, the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) have been considered to permit comparisons. However, due to these geographical data, it was decided that the use of area units to measure internal migration was not appropriate for cross-national comparison (Openshaw, 1984; Dennett and Stillwell, 2010).

Small counts and the implementation of Statistical Disclosure Control (SDC) (a statistical method/algorithm used to determine if data is sufficiently anonymised) restricts the level of detail that data researchers can obtain. Due to the recent nature of Polish migrants’ relocation to Britain and small counts at low levels of geography, SDC restricts the study in obtaining data at lower
levels of geography. It also restricts access to any additional information concerning the characteristics of Polish internal movers, in order to protect the confidential and identity of the migrants. Therefore, district level analysis is the lowest level of data the ONS would allow before numbers became too small with the risk of making individual migrants identifiable. Additionally, Bell et al. (2015) highlight the challenges inherent in using different methods of measuring patterns of internal migration globally. The paper argues that a lot has been gained by the addition of origin-destination datasets to the statisticians’ tool-kit but advised caution to an overreliance on the data. The problem, they argue, is that the conceptual challenges of measuring migration using regular intervals, mean that this should only be viewed as a guide, rather than reflecting the actualities of a migrant’s experiences.

The origin-destination table allows three main patterns of internal migration to be analysed. First, Polish migrants’ internal migration between districts in England and Wales. Second, Polish migration from Scotland and Northern Ireland, as a combined origin, into districts in England and Wales. Third, Polish international migrants’ patterns from outside the UK and into districts in England and Wales. This enables consideration of the connections between Poles’ international and internal geographies. The rationale for the three types of migration is linked to Beaure et al.’s (2007) work, which shows that the largest share of Polish relocation was to England, with small moves to Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Also, work suggests that internal migration from Scotland and Northern Ireland, comprises only a small share of the total internal migration. Therefore, to satisfy the SDC criteria, the two countries have been amalgamated to overcome small count issues. The lack of available exit data of migrants leaving England and Wales is a limitation of the data analysis. However, the data for movement from outside the UK does highlight the share of international migration moves and so permits the analysis of the linkages between international and internal migration. Moreover, the types of data that could be commissioned enabled it to be easily visualised using GIS software such as ArcGIS and Circos.

4.3 Measuring Polish Ethnicity in the 2011 Census

The literature review highlights the problems in conceptualising and operationalising the white identities of Polish post-accession migrants, due to a lack of focus on whiteness and migration. The momentum of Polish migration after EU accession in 2004 calls for more sophisticated ethnicity measures in order to examine how their ethnic identities contribute to their migration decisions. The relatively recent nature of their migration meant that the Census did not include a measure of the new ethnic identities that have occurred after accession. The 2001 Census captured all migrants in the relatively un-theorised ‘White Other’ ethnic groups (See Nazroo, 1998; Aspinall, 2002; Rees 2008).

Ethnicity is measured in two ways in the Census, first through a prescribed set of ethnic categories that require respondents to indicate the ethnic group they belong to, and second, a write-in open ethnicity response box they require respondents to write-in their self-identified ethnic identities. The prescribed categories linked to race and then combined with the country of birth, ancestry, and migration (ONS, 2014). The different Census offices not only included different ethnic categories in
order to reflect diversity, but also majority, versus minority status of various regional groups. For instance, the English in Scotland. According to ONS (2015), respondents are asked to select from a list of prescribed ethnicity categories (See Figure 4.1), which best described their identity, based on a self-reported choice from the available options. Some studies, namely Stillwell, Hussain and Norman (2008) use cruder and collapsed categories, for example, South Asian, Black African, Black Caribbean, Chinese and Other. The problem with this approach is that these aggregate categories that are endogenously diverse and hide vast variability within their boundaries (Kertzer and Arel, 2002). This approach, arguably also obscures the specific flows of certain groups to Britain that also might help to explain age, sex, socioeconomic and cultural differences. The most recent Census in 2011 for England and Wales provided 18 ethnic groups, which included four mixed groups and four write-in responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Gypsy or Irish Traveller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Any other White background, please describe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. White and Black Caribbean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. White and Black African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. White and Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Any other Mixed/Multiple ethnic backgrounds, please describe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Asian British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Pakistani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Bangladeshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Chinese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Any other Asian background, please describe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black/African/Caribbean/Black British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. African</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Caribbean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Any other Black/African/Caribbean background, please describe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnic group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Arab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Any other ethnic group, please describe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1: The ethnic categories contained in the 2011 Census (England and Wales)

Note: Source: 2011 Census Questionnaire, Office of National Statistics 2017

4.3.1 Poles in the Census: Where are they captured?

The 2011 Census captures Poles in the relatively vague and expansive category of ‘White Other’. Work by Platt, Simpson, and Akinwale (2005) suggests that this is a fairly common practice for white groups. However, this approach tells us very little about the diversity within the White Other group, or allow us to be able to tell us much about the internal migration patterns of Poles. (Platt, Simpson, and Akinwale, 2005). Furthermore, White (2010) articulated the need to unpack whiteness and distinguish it from existing ethnic White categories to add whiteness to the ethnicity narrative (Aspinall, 2012; Rhodes, 2013). As the Literature Review (Chapter three) highlights, the active strategies of migrants show the need to examine the particular ethnic dimensions of the
Polish post-accession groups compared to other white groups (See Ryan's 2010 work on Polish migrants in London).

A decision was made to focus on ethnicity rather than country of birth or citizenship in order to engage with wider discursive debates that are associated with ethnicity, whiteness and its implications for internal migration. This is a gap in the current research on Poles. The thesis uses a collection of Census data releases, which capture Polish migrants in the datasets in two different ways. This was to overcome the methodological issues with analysis of a new migrant group (See Harris, Moran, and Bryson, 2015). Therefore, the microdata uses the Polish country of birth variable as a proxy for ethnicity while the origin-destination data use the self-reported ethnicity question to target ethnicity directly.

4.4 2011 Census Microdata

The 2011 Census microdata is used to examine the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Polish internal migrants in England and Wales. The microdata replaces the SARS that was previously released from the 2001 Census. The microdata provides a 5% sample of anonymised individual records for the population and has three types of releases (public, safeguarded, and secure) (UK Data Service, 2017). The safeguarded regional file is used, as it captures Polish migrants in the variable ‘country of birth’, whereas the local authority district file restricts Polish migrants being linked to lower levels of geographies as a result of SDC.

Country of Birth is used for the analysis since even though conceptually, it is considered distinct from ethnicity, it is the only variable available in the 2011 Census microdata that permitted an individual level analysis to be undertaken on Poles. This variable was used alongside the ethnic Polish self-reported category used, in the origin-destination data and the criteria for the qualitative portion of the thesis. The problems with the data highlight the fragile balance and compromises made in the research design to measure Polish migrants at different levels of geography.

The microdata analysis uses the same question as the origin-destination data (see section 4.2.2) to distinguish migrants who make internal migration moves. A cross-tabulation analysis is then run for the internal migration group, against other country of birth groups in order to compare their housing, employment status, NS-SEC, age, gender, and marital status characteristics. The analysis investigates whether there are specific characteristics for Poles who move internally, compared with others in the Polish migrant stock and other ‘country of birth’ groups.

4.5 Quantitative Data Analysis

Multiple studies use sophisticated statistical analysis to deconstruct the determinants and factors involved in the residential geographies of ethnic migrants. However, a principal benefit of using mixed methods is the rich and in-depth qualitative accounts from respondents, which enable the unpicking of some of the underlying factors that contribute to their internal migration decisions. To get an idea of Poles’ internal migration patterns, descriptive statistics are used. Fink (2013) and
Field (1995) describe descriptive statistics as a discipline in statistics whose goal has been to describe the population or sample under investigation. Therefore, in the current thesis, they are used to examine the direction and size of the Polish people’s internal migration. An advantage of using descriptive statistics is that they are amenable to graphical representation through means such as histograms; box plots and pie charts to better communicate the results of the analysis (Fink, 1995; Field, 2014).

Descriptive statistics provide an overall summary of the data and indicate the opportunity for more sophisticated statistical methods to be applied to the data (Devore and Berk, 2012). Furthermore, techniques of demographic analysis (similar to those used in work by Berry (1976), who looked at patterns of counter-urbanisation), are used to determine the direction of sub-national internal migration patterns. Cross-tabulations were run between the origin and destination places that Poles move from and move to, using different area classifications to give us an idea of the type of movement Poles are making (See section 4.7). Due to restrictions applied to the commissioned origin-destination data, the 2011 Census microdata is used to discern some of the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of internal movers. The analysis used cross-tabulations to examine the percentage of Polish internal movers by their sex, age category, NS-SEC, employment status, housing tenure, and relationship status.

4.6 Geographic Information Systems (GIS)

The thesis uses Geographic Information Systems (GIS), a commonly used technique in migration studies, to visualise Polish people’s patterns of internal migration. ArcGIS software was used to map the net migration and residential concentration of Poles in districts in England and Wales. The advent of origin-destination data by the ONS enables different types of visualisation to be used, including circular plots, as a visual representation of the flow of migrants between an ‘origin point’ and a ‘destination point’. Although more commonly used in the natural sciences, the circular plot format has gained popularity in migration studies from work by Abel and Saunders (2014). Circular plots continue to be used to examine international patterns of migration. However, more recent studies by Charles-Edwards, Wilson, and Sander (2015) illustrate that they are a useful visualisation for other types of migration that include internal migration, and travel to work/commuting data (Corcoran, Chhetri, and Stimson, 2009).

4.7 Area Classifications

Key studies that have measured internal migration use area classifications to examine the migration patterns and social features of the places where ethnic migrants live (Berry, 1976; Massey, 1985; Alba and Nee, 2003; Hall, 2013). Multiple area classifications exist to examine the Census data, for example, the RERC urban to rural classification (Bibby and Brindley, 2011) and the RURC urban to rural classification (Bibby and Brindley, 2014). However, because the origin-destination data is at district level, the DEFRA urban-to-rural classification is arguably the most appropriate, given the area unit used.
The first area classification used is a regional area classification, where districts are amalgamated into regional groups, to classify the movement of Poles between regions in England and Wales. For the analysis, all districts in Wales are combined into one region, as is standard in multiple population studies, due to the population size and density across the constituent country.

The second area classification used is the DEFRA urban-to-rural area classification that categorises districts in England and Wales by their settlement patterns and physical characteristics (See Bibby and Brindley, 2014, for further details on the methodology). Given work by Simpson and Finney (2009), measuring the urban to rural moves by Poles is important, as a means to engage with arguments associated with Spatial Assimilation Theory (SAT) and counter-urbanisation moves made by the general population and BME groups. Figure 4.2 shows the six area categories used as part of the DEFRA area classification in more detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description of Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainly Rural</td>
<td>Eighty percent of more of the local authority's population is living in rural areas including hub towns (≥80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Largely Rural</td>
<td>Fifty to seventy-nine percent of the local authority's population is living in rural areas including hub towns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban with Significant Rural</td>
<td>Twenty-six to forty-nine percent of the local authority's population is living in rural areas including hub towns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban with City and Town</td>
<td>Districts with either 50,000 people or 50 percent of their population in one of 17 urban areas with a population between 250,000 and 750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban with Minor Conurbation</td>
<td>Districts with fewer than 37,004 people or less than 26 percent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban with Major Conurbation</td>
<td>Districts with either 100,000 people or 50 percent of their population in an urban area with a population of more than 750,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.2:** Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) 2011 Urban to Rural Local Authority Area Classification

Race and ethnicity are frequently implicated in the residential patterns of non-white residents. This is often investigated using area classifications constructed on the percentage of white and non-white residents in a given area. Figure 4.3 illustrates the area classification formulated to measure the internal migration patterns of Poles between different districts by their percentage non-white resident population. The decision to focus exclusively on non-white residents is because of the thesis’s position to enable the disentanglement of whiteness as a unitary racial category for Polish post-accession EU migrants (See Literature Review Section 3.3.1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description of Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Very Low Diversity</strong></td>
<td>Districts with percentage non-white resident population 1.07-11.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low Diversity</strong></td>
<td>Districts with percentage non-white resident population 11.37-22.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medium Diversity</strong></td>
<td>Districts with percentage non-white resident population 22.50-38.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Diversity</strong></td>
<td>Districts with percentage non-white resident population 38.33-46.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Very High Diversity</strong></td>
<td>Districts with percentage non-white resident population 46.48-71.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.3**: Area classification by non-white diversity at district level

The clustering of ethnic migrants in different places is a matter that continues to cause concern, due to deep-seated beliefs about the negative effects of residential segregation and other nefarious qualities that irradiate from these geographical formations. Figure 4.4 shows the area classification that categorises districts by the residential concentration of the Polish population. District level analysis is undertaken for practical reasons because of the level of data the researcher was able to obtain from the ONS. Although lower areal units, or spatial levels, would have been preferable to mirror other quantitative segregation analyses that use output areas, the area classification used provides an insight into the concentration of Poles in England and Wales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description of Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Very Low Residential Concentration</strong></td>
<td>Districts with ethnic Polish residential concentration (percentage) 0.03 – 0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low Residential Concentration</strong></td>
<td>Districts with ethnic Polish residential concentration (percentage) 0.67-0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medium Residential Concentration</strong></td>
<td>Districts with ethnic Polish residential concentration (percentage) 0.99-1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Residential Concentration</strong></td>
<td>Districts with ethnic Polish residential concentration (percentage) 1.49-2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Very High Residential Concentration</strong></td>
<td>Districts with ethnic Polish residential concentration (percentage) 2.37-5.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.4**: Area classification by ethnic Polish residential concentration

The deprivation of an area has been widely cited - particularly in the neighbourhood effects studies (for example, see Van Ham, Bailey, Simpson and MacIennan, 2012) - as significant in shaping the movement patterns of residents and their ability (or not) to move to other places. Figure 4.5 shows the area classification used to classify the districts by their level of unemployment. Unemployment was used as a proxy for deprivation, predominantly for pragmatic reasons. The use of alternative area classifications, such as the IMD, were ruled out as they had used a methodology that could not easily be applied to the districts in both England and Wales (The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) was constructed exclusively for districts in England). As a result, a classification was formulated for deprivation that was built on five area classifications (See Figure 4.5).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description of Categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Low Unemployment</td>
<td>Districts with unemployment levels between 1.9 -3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Unemployment</td>
<td>Districts with unemployment levels between 3.5 -4.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Unemployment</td>
<td>Districts with unemployment levels between 4.4 -5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Unemployment</td>
<td>Districts with unemployment levels between 5.2 - 5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very High Unemployment</td>
<td>Districts with unemployment levels between 5.8 – 8.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.5**: Area classification by ethnic Polish residential concentration

An area classification has also been developed, that categorises districts by the religion of the household/ and household member. However, problematically, the Census religion question categorises individuals and households in a relatively crude fashion and does not provide any measure of religiosity. This limits the ability to disentangle internal migration by a Polish person's Christian denomination, for example, Catholicism or level of religiosity. The analysis would have been interesting, given the historical importance of Catholicism in the more recent construction of Polish national identity and would have added to debates on a migrants’ agency that links to their location choice. Details of the attempts to construct a religion area classification and circular plot are provided in Appendix M.

### 4.8 Limitations of Quantitative Data

There are some limitations associated with the use of the 2011 Census, for example, Stillwell and McNulty (2012) note that the data quickly become out-dated. Finney and Catney (2015) argue, however, that the data was unrivalled for migration analysis to allow the examination of the internal migration patterns of Polish migrants. Even though it provides only a snapshot of migration over the interval of a year, it has the advantage of providing the fullest population coverage of any available dataset and is the only viable source for exploring the residential geographies of Poles at a district level.

Despite supporting a district level analysis the inability to go below this is a clear limitation. Stillwell and McNulty’s (2012) work on the internal migration patterns of BME residents at district level reveals a different pattern to the analysis at ward level and the district level. The analysis suggests that South Asia residents are moving to districts with high co-ethnic concentration, yet at ward level, the data supports the tendency for them to move to wards with lower levels of co-ethnic concentration. Therefore, with the analysis of the 2011 Census data, it is important to recognise that the inferences made about Poles migration are spatially dependent. The issue is, to an extent, remedied by the use of the interview data to unpick a migrant’s residential trajectories, their motivations for moving, and the factors involved in their decision-making process.
4.9 Qualitative Data

In recognition of the many limitations involved with the use of Census data only and in line with the merits of a mixed methods approach previously described, the thesis additionally used data from forty-one semi-structured interviews carried out with Polish residents in Greater Manchester.

4.9.1 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are used to extract information from respondents about their migration decision-making. To link respondents’ characteristics to their residential decision-making, a questionnaire is administered immediately before the main interview (Appendix F). The questionnaire is used pragmatically, to extract key demographic information from respondents. Other studies that examine migrants use questionnaires, in the same way, for example, Massey’s (1987) ethno-survey study on migrants. A semi-structured interview design is used (See Appendix I for the interview schedule), as the researcher has an idea of the types of questions to ask respondents as the result of the literature review.

The semi-structured interviews gain the data from 41 Polish respondents in total and ran between the 25th of October 2015 and the 20th of March 2016. These are comprised of 23 female and 18 male respondents who are resident within Greater Manchester. The 41 interviews differ in length and range between 22 minutes and 126 minutes long. For further information about the characteristics of the respondents see Appendix J. Additionally, for information about individual respondents see Appendix K for the respondent biographies.

4.9.2 Greater Manchester

A significant number of studies on Polish migrants have concentrated on places such as Lincoln, Peterborough, and areas across London. The selection seems logical, given that these places experienced the largest share of new accession migrants between 2004 and 2011. For many of the towns in the east of England, the accession migrants were some of the first international migrants the populations of these districts had experienced.

The thesis chose Greater Manchester (GM) as the fieldwork site for four reasons. First, GM is one of the top destinations for Polish migrants after London and the East of England (See Chapter two Section 2.1). Second, given its significance for international migration, relatively few studies look at Polish migration to GM, apart from the local studies that are mentioned in the Literature Review. These are largely focused on the previous cohort of Polish migrants. Third, GM is an interesting case study for internal migration given its geographical and political position. Recent moves attempt to support regional political devolution with GM being branded as part of the Northern Powerhouse. As such, policy is becoming devolved for housing, healthcare and education and therefore there could be specific local factors that contribute to Pole’s residential decisions (Harries, 2017). Fourth, GM also comprises one of the most ethnically and culturally diverse
metropolitan areas in the country (outside of London) with some of the largest South Asian, Caribbean and African communities in the UK (Shankley, 2017).

4.9.3 Europia

The difficulties accessing migrant communities are well documented (Kindon, Pain, and Kesby, 2007; Flick, 2014). It was apparent very early in the study design that a significant obstacle would be gaining access to the local Polish community across Greater Manchester. Equally, the identity of the principal investigator is at odds with a lot of the literature on gaining access to migrant communities – often utilising their similar identity as an insider to make it easier to gain access to associated communities. However, as a non-white male student from the University of Manchester, accessing the migrants is an issue. A person-centred framework that is regularly practiced in frontline migrant work is used to increase the connection and rapport with the community early on in the research. For this reason, the principal researcher volunteered with Europia, a Polish charity, from February 2015 and worked as a research partner.

Europia is a charity based in central Manchester, whose aim is to support Central and Eastern European migrants living throughout GM (Europia, 2017). Polish migrants constitute the largest population and share of CEE migrants supported by the organisation, and as a result, Polish volunteers, Polish aligned services, and programmes dominate its work. The principal researcher also volunteers on some social and community projects whose aim is to reduce social isolation, supporting English language proficiency and CEE culture. Also, the researcher has volunteered with the charity for twelve months, to become familiar with key gatekeepers within the Polish community. This is integral to gaining access to Polish residents and recruiting further respondents through these channels. Europia also assists migrants who moved to Britain before accession and has run some social sessions that support the Second World War cohort of Polish migrants. To recruit specifically post-accession Polish migrants, an advert was circulated on Europia’s website and in a weekly newsletter that outlined criteria for eligible respondents (See Appendix G & H).

4.9.4 Sampling

The sample of interview respondents reflected the approach, type of method used, and the aim/s of the thesis. The aim of the qualitative portion of the thesis was to understand the factors involved in Poles’ residential decision-making. The theoretical and practical issues accessing migrants resulted in purposive criterion sampling being selected as the most appropriate sampling method (See Patton, 2002). According to Kindon, Pain, and Kesby (2007), purposive sampling is a non-probabilistic sampling technique that is particularly useful for gaining access to ‘difficult to access’ groups. The purposive criterion sampling is where the sample is selected based on specific predetermined criteria that were viewed as important (Patton, 2002). In the study the respondents were selected according to whether they self-identified as ethnically Polish; if they had migrated to the UK after the EU accession in 2004 and were living in Greater Manchester at the time of the study. The sampling technique is also used in a lot of other migrant fieldwork and empirical studies, for example, Cook, Dwyer and Waite’s (2011) study on the experiences of accession eight
migrants in England, which also selected migrants according to their post-EU accession migration status.

During the course of the study, 68 prospective respondents contacted the researcher to express their interest in participating in the study. However, due to the purposive criterion sampling technique only those that fit the necessary criteria were selected (N=41). The decision to use purposive sampling and gain access to migrants through a Polish charity was for two reasons. First, it suited the migrant group under investigation. Many Poles in Greater Manchester continue to find employment in semi-routine and routine employment (See Literature Review Section 3.2.4), and consequently, work long hours in businesses that are often located in peripheral and industrial places in the city zone. This made it difficult to access them. Second, the sampling method is appropriate because of the practical constraints associated with cost, researcher capacity, and available project resources.

The thesis used the four-point approach to sampling in qualitative interview-based research as outlined by Robinson (2014), with the first step described as defining the sample universe and whom the study includes and excludes. Chapter two highlighted the historical, social, economic and political differences between the different Polish cohorts and therefore it is important to concentrate exclusively on the post-accession migrants. The second point suggested an appropriate sample size is needed that considers the epistemological approach and practical considerations. The thesis uses multiple methods and due to scope and practical constraints it was decided that the fieldwork would last for three months and the interviews were collected until data saturation is reached (Guest, Bunce, and Johnson, 2006; See Appendix J for a full list of the 41 semi-structured interviews collected during the fieldwork). Robinson’s (2014) third point refers to the selection of a sampling strategy - a mixture of purposive and convenience sampling. Lastly, Robinson (2014) outlined that sample sourcing is significant and refers to how the sample is recruited for the study. Respondents in the study were recruited from adverts placed in Europia's weekly newsletter and on their website. Posters were also embedded in Polish Facebook groups and leaflets were sent to local organisations and charities who work closely with Polish people.

Many of the respondents gave up a large portion of their day to travel and participate in the study, and therefore, it was decided that they should be reimbursed for their travel costs and time spent participating in the study. Shopping vouchers were used as a form of participant reimbursement and have been regularly used throughout migration research as an alternative to monetary payment (Head, 2009) The reimbursement details were specified in the advert and were transparent to all people interested in the study (See Appendix G and H). The use of shopping vouchers was used to overcome the problems of bias associated with incentivising participation in social research, but also being mindful that the interview process could be detrimental to vulnerable people wishing to participate.

Each of the interviews was conducted in a public place agreed before the interview. The location of the interview is important and was selected to take place in a neutral space. Practically, the
selection of a public place is necessary for the safety of both parties and agreed upon within the ethical guidelines attached to the study. However, the location also provided enough privacy for the interview and respondent to talk about the spectrum of issues associated with residential decision-making. A full list of the places that each of the interviews was conducted in the current study can be found in Appendix J.

Anonymisation is central to the interview research process, so to protect the identity and disclosure of respondents, a technique is used to masque the identities of respondents by assigning them with a proxy name. The top twenty Polish female and male names occurring in 2017 were obtained using the Polish names database from the students of the world website (2017). The method also collected the twenty most commonly used Polish surnames. The lists were entered into an Excel spreadsheet and randomly sorted to create a list of proxy names that were then assigned arbitrarily to respondents. To cope with unequal numbers of male and female respondents, the study uses the same first name twice with a different surname for some of the female respondents.

The same method was also used to document ‘people’ respondents mention in their transcripts, for example, their partners or children. The use of Polish names is essential given the person-centred approach taken and because the use of numbers or abbreviations, for instance, Respondent AB, can be deemed unsatisfactory as it, to an extent, dehumanises a respondent.

4.10 Using interpreters

One of the characteristics of Polish EU migration is their concentration in semi-routine and routine employment. The labour market characteristics often limited the migrants from developing and improving their English language proficiency. The specific types of sectors in which the migrants found work is characterised by shift work, long working hours, and a lack of access to formal language lessons. This all contributes to ‘language’ being a significant obstacle to them socialising or fitting in. The result is that the use of interpreters is integral to fieldwork. Interpreters are regularly used in social science research, particularly studies that look at migrants and non-English speaking communities. The inclusion of interpreters adds a layer of complexity to the research process, for instance, it affects the collection of the data and the transliteration of the interview (Shimpuku, and Norr, 2012). In taking a client-centred approach that empowers the respondent, it has been decided that an interpreter should always be available to give the respondent a choice of the language in which they wished the interview to be conducted. The approach is similar to Hutchinson, Wilson, and Wilson’s (2007) work that advocated the use of interpreters because it empowers individuals and for many vulnerable groups ‘gives voice to the voiceless’. However, Temple (2002) suggests that caution is needed when using interpreters, to ensure that they correctly interpret and translate the data.

After their recruitment, potential respondents were contacted before the interview to ask if they wanted the interview to be conducted in English or Polish. They were told that an interpreter could be available at every interview - even if they had opted for the interview to be conducted wholly in English. Many of the respondents opted for the interview to be conducted entirely in English, but for
a few respondents who spoke little or no English, particularly those who had not been resident in the UK long, an interpreter was available. A central concern with using interpreters, is that they may impact the reliability and validity of the interview data being produced by interpreting information in a specific manner, or failing to pick up important semantic themes (Squires, 2009; Gray, Hilder, and Stubbe, 2012; MacKenzie, 2017). To address this issue Shimpuku and Norr (2012) argue that interpreters need some initial training before their interpreting sessions, to obtain sufficient knowledge of the topic they are communicating. In the study, two interpreters were available who both had postgraduate level English and taught English as a second language informally at Europia in ESL classes. Before the interviews, the principal researcher met with the interpreters to brief them on the research process and discuss any potential concerns.

It was decided that the interpreting style utilized should be similar to the style used in many frontline statutory and third sector organisations that work closely with migrants. Many best practice reports outline that the appropriate method of using interpreters with migrants is to speak in the first person. The practice is to allow easy communication between the researcher and respondent, without the interpreter constantly changing tenses (Ricoy, Perez and Wilson, 2014). For many of the respondents who conducted the interviews in English, they often conversed with the interpreter throughout the interview as a resource, to ensure that they were appropriately articulating their accounts, as well as using the interpreter to translate any unfamiliar terms in English. Equally, the researcher was able to debrief the interpreters after each interview to ask their thoughts on the interview and answer concerns. To address any complications with the use of interpreters and to avoid any forms of bias, the researcher was always reflexive about the potential risks of their use (See MacKenzie, 2015).

4.11 Transcription, Coding, and Analysis

Each of the interviews is recorded using a Tascam DR-05 and transcribed using a discourse transcription approach (For further information see Dubois, 1992). The technique is similar to other studies that have researched migrants, as it picks up any semantic cues and subtleties that might add to the interpretation of the data due to different levels of English language proficiencies (Muskat, Blackman, and Muskat, 2013). For the interviews that are conducted entirely in Polish, the interpreter has also been paid to transcribe the interviews and then translate them into English. The interview scripts have then been cross-validated by the second interpreter to check for consistency. It was also decided that the interviews would be transcribed first into Polish and then into English as a validity check so that the analysis, meanings, and subtleties are transparent and could be accessed and examined at a later date.

It was decided that the best qualitative data analysis technique is thematic analysis (TA), which is a method that is used 'for identifying, analysing and interpreting patterned meanings or themes in qualitative data (Braun and Clark, 2013: p.79). According to Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003), thematic analysis is particularly useful in mixed method research as a useful technique, to analyse the qualitative portion of a mixed methods study. Advocates of TA suggest that because it refers simply to a method, not a methodology, it is flexible and can be used in multiple qualitative and
mixed methods research designs (Rohleder and Lyons, 2014). Two approaches of TA have been formulated. The first, refers to the ‘small q’ approach that engages heavily with the quantitative and positivist perspective to research. It uses a strict codebook to identify themes, whereas the second approach, the ‘big q’, is more related to the qualitative perspective and promotes theoretical flexibility and supports what Braun and Clark (2013) argue is a more organic approach to coding and theme development. Therefore, the ‘big q’ approach has been selected as the most appropriate for the study to communicate flexibly with the quantitative analysis, and unpick some of the mechanisms and factors underpinning the migrants’ decision-making.

Once the interviews are transcribed, each of the scripts has been analysed using ‘big q’ thematic analysis that uses a hybrid method of NVIVO, which draws on the accompanying researcher’s notes. NVIVO is a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), which is useful to facilitate researchers in managing and analysing their data effectively (Welsh, 2002; QSR, 2015). The technique permits the researcher to form nodes and analyse the data for emergent themes and super themes (See Appendix L). Handwritten notes are used in conjunction with the NVIVO analysis to annotate the transcripts and form thoughts that link ideas together and assist in connecting the interview data to the quantitative statistical analysis.

4.12 Limitations of Qualitative Work

It was vital that the limitations of the interviews are acknowledged. Semi-structured interviews are criticised on a few counts.

First, Oakey (1981) and Garner and Scott (2013) argue, that their use is prone to bias and do not provide valid data about social phenomenon. For example, some studies in sexual health research note that the nature of the topic (sexual health practices) results in information bias (Burkill et al. 2016). The bias occurs when respondents omit a complete picture of their behaviour because of personal and societal factors. It must be noted that the thesis took place during the run-up to the EU referendum. Immigration and migration, more generally, have been used as political vehicles to justify motives for leaving or remaining in the EU system. For many Poles, the discussion of their migration histories, experiences of their local areas, and residential conviviality might have caused them to omit or alter the data. The extent that this occurs could have been dependent on their perception of their positionality within the interview process. Lamont and Swilder (2014) argue that researchers need to be aware that the validity of their results might be compromised by the topic under investigation. In the thesis and to counter potential bias, a full reflexive account has been undertaken, reflecting the researcher’s position at different stages of the fieldwork. The process looks at the power dynamics associated with ethnic and gender identity constructs and how these are fashioned and limit the construction of data. Second, interviews have been criticised for their reliability and the extent that they could be generalised to the wider population (Boyce, and Neale, 2006), however, it is important to point out that the use of the interviews was never intended to be statistically representative. The issue of representativeness is addressed only in the quantitative portion of the study that sought representativeness using the 2011 Census data as a nationally represented population sample.
Second, a significant problem with interviews is that they are time intensive, and researchers often do not include appropriate time to transcribe and analyse the interviews (Galletta, 2013). However, this approach provides rich and in-depth data, and therefore there was a balanced compromise during the research process, between the richness of the data and the study’s practical considerations. Pragmatically, interviews are relatively easy to carry out and more time and cost efficient than focus groups, so the appropriate time was set aside to carry out and transcribe all of the respondents’ interviews.

Finally, interviews are often criticised for the lack of training received by interviewers (Boyce and Neale, 2006). According to Olsen (2011) and Galletta (2013), careful planning and construction of an interview schedule are needed for rigorous qualitative interview research. The researcher in the study has completed multiple internal and external courses on qualitative research skills, to equip him with the necessary expertise to undertake the fieldwork and analysis.

4.13 ETHICS

Ethics has always been a salient part of the research process, particularly when conducting primary research and protecting confidential information. The following section discusses the ethical considerations attached to each part of the study.

4.13.1 Ethics that Apply to the Quantitative Portion of the Study

The first part of the study uses the 2011 Census data releases, the key statistics, microdata, and origin-destination data, from the ONS. All the data used is confidential, but has been anonymised by the ONS and in the key statistics is at an aggregate level, so there is little chance of any individual being identifiable. The quantitative data used was secondary data collected in March 2011 at the time of the Census and accessed through the UK Data Service. Tripathy (2013) argues that the ethical concerns attached to secondary data are associated with consent, as the researcher is often not the individual or organisation who initially collected the data. The result is that the user has not been given the direct consent from the first respondent. To maintain the confidentiality of the respondent, the statistical office uses SDC to anonymise any data on general release (ONS, 2015). Another concern relates to the storage and access to the Census data. The quantitative data for the study is stored on a password-protected computer that can only be accessed by the principal researcher.

4.13.2 Ethics that Apply to the Qualitative Portion of the Study

The primary data collection and the qualitative portion of the thesis have met all the ethical criteria set up by the University of Manchester. First, before the data collection phase of the study, the research gained full ethical clearance from the School of Social Sciences at the University of Manchester (Appendix A). Ethical approval ensures that the fieldwork complied with the university’s ethical regulations and policy. The rules outline that the interview method used complies with the
ethical concerns and reasonably addresses them. The regulations are to ensure that a risk assessment has been conducted and any risks to the researcher, interpreter, and respondents have been identified and mitigated (physical, psychological or to well-being) (Olsen, 2011). The ethical approval agrees that a risk assessment of each interview location is completed before any interviews take place.

Second, data protection issues were a significant ethical issue and the researcher ensured that the interviews were carried out in line with the Data Protection Act (1998 c 29). The policy dictated that all respondents were made aware that the data collected was kept confidential and its uses made explicit. The researcher was required to debrief each respondent before and after each interview, to address any issues relating to the study and provide them with the option to remove their data from the study at any point (Josselson, 1996: Olsen, 2011). In the current study, each respondent was briefed before and debriefed after the interview and given future contact information to discuss the study and their data with the researcher at any point in the future.

All respondents in the study are adult migrants over 18 to avoid any additional ethical and safeguarding issues linked to working with children (Berg, 2004). The migrants recruited are also not deemed vulnerable; for example, they did not fall into the categories of asylum seeker or irregular migrants. Before taking part in the study, all respondents are asked to sign a consent form to abide by the terms of the department's ethics policies. This was to maintain their confidentiality (See Appendix C). The consent form notes that the respondent had read the information sheet (Appendix B) and agreed to the nature of the study and the ethical issues associated with confidentiality and the removal of data. Both the information sheet and consent form have also been produced in Polish, and in twenty-six cases, two versions of the consent form have been signed, with one being given to the respondent and the other being held by the researcher. The consent form also states that all their data will be anonymised, as is standard in social science research (Berg, 2004), and stored in a password-protected secure location. The form also states that the data used in any publications, presentations, and articles will be anonymised. A proxy name is assigned to all respondents to mask his or her identity, following the practice used in other social science research (Clark, 2006). An additional consent form is signed by the interpreters, stating that they agree to keep all respondents information confidential (See Appendix C). The interpreters are all debriefed before and after each interview, to address any concerns they had about the interview process. Gaining informed consent is vital to the study and follows the same methods that are used in other social sciences research studies (See works by Ceci, Peters and Plotkin, 1985 & Olsen, 2012).

4.14 Reflexivity

There is a specific complexity of researching ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ due to how it operates as a significant part of the research process. In the UK Bulmer and Solomos (2004) note the specific elements that relate to the ‘positionality’ of the researcher and those under investigation. Therefore, the following section is written in the first person as a way of reflecting on my position as a researcher who researches ethnicity and migration. A relatively specific feature of this study is that
it involves research of Polish migrants (who are overwhelmingly racially white) by a non-white researcher. Past studies in this area have predominantly been undertaken by those with white identities. A significant issue that this poses is whether the researcher's ethnicity, or indeed race, are likely to factor into research that explores Polish internal migration decisions. There is the question of whether a non-white researcher can gain access and be considered an 'insider', obtaining insight into the migrant population and a culturally imbued understanding of their experience of migration. Chapter two drew attention to the emergence of white studies occurring as the result of non-white researchers questioning the normative structures in society whereas previously, particularly in the US, much of the focus was on non-white groups and their differences.

Young (2004) suggests that researchers need to add cultural awareness, understanding and sensitivity to their study when investigating other ethnic groups. The position contributed to my decision to volunteer for a year before the fieldwork period, to gain an introductory insight into Polish culture and understand the nuances that might occur in the interview process and data analysis. The reflexive account, or positionality of my experience, plays an essential role in the research process, as it explores how my position and status might affect the type of data that is being produced. This can shed light on the sensitive power relations between myself, as the researcher, versus the interviewed (England, 1993). Regarding ethnicity research, the approach can illuminate how power relations, for instance, between different ethnic groups, can constrain their comfort in discussing discrimination and racism with researchers who may possess various ethnic identities. The result of the methodological turn (See Chapter three) and reflexive accounts means that it is common for studies to document and detail how respondents are recruited, how the researcher's position affects the data, and how it may affect the analysis process.

Regarding recruitment and rapport, it is assumed that the ‘insider’ status is best, for example, Kusow (2003) (of Somalian origin) notes this permitted her particular access to the Somali community in Canada. However, insider status also has some limitations as it constrains some of the data that interviewees offered. More recently, however, the debate between ‘insider’ versus ‘outsider’ has progressed, and it is now commonly viewed that these boundaries are fluid and unstable and lead to a fragmented position at different stages of the interview process. Therefore, researchers need to acknowledge that access and insider status should not be taken for granted and need to be continually maintained throughout the research process (Reinharz, 1997; Merriam et al. 2001; Duneier, 2004). The result is that the current study uses a dual strategy where I continue to volunteer at Europia to establish and maintain rapport with the Polish respondents and also offer a detailed biography about my identity and background to help build ties and become trusted. These strategies assisted me to move from being viewed as an outsider to an insider.

Another issue identified by Bulmer and Solomos (2004) is the extent to which ethnicity creates a boundary to the recruitment process. For example, I regularly experienced questions regarding my interest in Polish migration with questions that include; ‘Why are you interested in us?’, frequently seen in the study's recruitment emails as well as verbally by respondents before the interviews. My background is complex regarding my ethnicity. I was born in an indigenous community in the
Andes region of Ecuador but was adopted into a White British family at primary school age. The result of the transracial identity means that often there are assumptions that link to a specific identity and this connects to specific forms of migration and the representation of ethnic migrant groups in the UK. I am often mistaken as having Asian heritage because of my brown skin. Assumptions made about me that range from the religion people believe I follow to the foods that I regularly eat. This is understandable given the large South Asian BME and migrant population in Manchester. The assumptions are further supported by the UK's large-scale migration from the Indian subcontinent after the 1950's that are a historical legacy of the country’s colonial efforts and position as part of the British Empire.

The result of these matters regularly leads to misrecognition of my background that seem to place me in the ‘outsider group’ and at odds with racially white migrants such as the Poles. Duneier's (2004) suggests that in the design stage, the researcher acknowledges the initial difficulties they might experience in researching migrants. In the current study; I contacted multiple Polish charities and community groups a year before the fieldwork to volunteer and form connections and contacts with Polish migrants together with community gatekeepers. I believed that my involvement with the staff and volunteers made me aware that some Poles might be unwilling to participate in the study due to my ethnic identity. Therefore, I created a biography that is attached to the recruitment poster and email (Appendix G and H). This details my background and my interest in Polish migration.

The complex position of the insider/ outsider relationship led me to decide to highlight my migration status in my recruitment biography. I also continue to retell some of the background information throughout the interviews to maintain access and rapport. The practices seem important to maintaining respondents’ participation in the study but also significant to the type of data shared. For instance, in one of the interviews, the respondents can be heard asking me to explain my ethnic and religious background before they launched into a tirade against the local Asian population, while constantly reitering their affection for the Latino population. Equally, reading the interview transcripts, sometimes the subtleties of the talk revealed my position as an ‘other’. The finding occurs particularly when the sensitive topics of race or ethnicity came up and seemed to cause some respondents to become aware of my identity and attempt to shield or justify their explanations against their perception of my identity. Arguably, they might not have done this with a Polish or White British researcher. However, the outsider status has also worked to my advantage. On several occasions after respondents learnt of my national identity, they made some assumptions about a shared religious identity. The actual religious identity of the researcher was never disclosed; however, it is important to point out that no deception was used - it was simply never confirmed. The assumptions about my religious identity, I believe, assisted me being considered as part of the insider group, that on occasion facilitated the information flow. It could be said that there is an element of performativity to this strategy in the research process where I used assumptions about my identity to elicit information at different stages of the recruitment and interview process. However, it must be stressed that at no point is deception used, but instead, I used assumptions about my identity to open up the dialogue for discussion with migrants and other residents. For instance, clarifying that I am from Ecuador is a useful tool to engage with
respondents and opens the discussion about religion, particularly Catholicism, and how it operates in the internal migration process.

4.15 Summary

With its national coverage and measurement of ethnicity, the release of the 2011 Census is an unrivalled data source to examine Polish migration patterns for the first time on a representative scale. However, Poles' new white identities and specific cultural factors mean that the Census data, if used in isolation, cannot tease out some of the unique factors that could be driving their migration decisions. To address the methodological limitations, semi-structured interviews are used to unpick the factors that are involved in migration decision-making. To use the two types of data together, Facet Methodology offers an appropriate way to investigate different lines of inquiry that are beneficial to the project and provide a more holistic understanding of internal migration. Additionally, the use of two types of data and methods reveal flashes of information that would be missed when relying on one set of data alone. The thesis now moves to analyse the data, drawing on both types of data to address the substantive themes identified in the literature review (Chapter three).
Chapter Five

The Internal Migration Patterns of Contemporary Polish Migrants in England and Wales

5.0 Introduction

Chapter 3 concludes that Polish migrants continue to move to a range of new immigrant geographies as a consequence of their concentration in routine and low skilled employment in the British labour market (Burrell, 2009; Scott and Brindley, 2012; McCollum and Findlay, 2015). The residential settlement patterns of contemporary Polish migrants appear to be distinct from the settlement patterns of previous Polish migrant cohorts (See Chapter 2; Bielewska-Menshah, 2009 McGhee et al., 2013). Post-accession Poles settled in cities which historically have been gateways for immigrants, as well as smaller towns and rural areas with little experience of previous immigration. Therefore, the current chapter examines the internal migration patterns of contemporary Polish migrants in England and Wales. However, the chapter also contributes to our understanding of the international migration patterns of Polish migrants by questioning whether these new geographies are still relevant and by examining the role they play in Poles’ internal migration patterns.

5.1 Polish Migration and New Residential Geographies

The residential settlement patterns of Polish accession migrants continue to attract interest among researchers. Studies of Polish residential mobility can contribute to a better understanding of the causes and consequences of Polish settlement in the UK and help inform policies needed to respond to the needs of new and existing communities in the places where they settled. The literature review (chapter 3) highlighted that new migrants globally move to new immigrant locations – a finding that can partially be explained by changes in the structure of the economy and labour markets (Zúñiga and Hernández-León, 2005; Massey, 2008; Hall, 2013). These changes are often used to explain the new residential geographies of Poles and other new migrant groups in Britain. However, it has been some years since the EU expanded, and many of the sectors in the labour market that were previously in need of labour migrants are saturated due to oversupply (Burrell, 2009). Therefore, the initial analysis is to examine whether Poles continue to exhibit patterns associated with new residential geographies in England and Wales.
Figure 5.1: Percentage of Polish migrants who moved from outside the UK to regions in England and Wales between 2010 and 2011.

Note: Source: 2011 Census England and Wales Commissioned Table CT0552.

Figure 5.1 shows using data from the 2011 Census that Poles continue to migrate to all regions throughout England and Wales. The largest number of Polish migrants who moved between 2010 and 2011 went to ‘Outer London’ and the South East of England, whereas the smallest number of migrants went to the North East of England and Wales. The analysis suggests that London and the South East of England continue to play a crucial role in Polish immigration.
Figure 5.2: Number of Polish immigrants from outside the UK who have moved into districts (destinations) in England and Wales (2010-2011).

Note: a cartogram is a map on which statistical information is shown in diagrammatic form. In the case, the districts are adjusted in size relative to the resident population of each district. Source: 2011 Census Commission Table CT0552
Figure 5.2 shows the number of people who migrated to the UK from outside the UK by Local Authority District. As shown, the largest moves are to Greater London, particularly the boroughs of Ealing and Haringey. Figure 5.2 also shows that Poles migrated to large cities, for example, Bristol, Birmingham (also Sandwell LAD), Liverpool, Manchester and Nottingham in England, and Cardiff in Wales. However, this movement to large urban districts is not the only pattern shown. Figure 5.2 suggests that Poles are also moving to less populated districts in the South-West (for example, Devon and Cornwall Unitary Authority) and the North East of England (for example, County Durham and Northumberland), albeit in smaller numbers. This pattern of migration in smaller districts is of particular interest given that the proportion of moves made to less densely populated districts is likely to have a greater impact than migration to large urban districts. Additionally, there was also a notable pattern of immigration to districts in central Wales (Carmarthenshire, Wrexham, and Powys). This pattern of immigration supports findings of earlier studies (for example, see Bauere et al., 2007), which found that Poles were widely dispersed across the UK and unlike other migrant groups had located to local authority districts in the South West and North East of England.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Authority District</th>
<th>Immigration*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ealing</td>
<td>693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwell</td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham UA</td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coventry</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haringey</td>
<td>413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hounslow</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luton UA</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southampton UA</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakefield</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicester UA</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brent</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slough UA</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeds</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bradford</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.3: Top 15 Local Authority Districts with the highest number of Polish people identifying with the Polish Ethnic group

Note: Source: 2011 Census England and Wales - Raw immigration numbers

Examining the specific district patterns, Figure 5.3 suggests that the largest flows of Poles were to Ealing, Birmingham, Sandwell, Nottingham UA, and Coventry. The districts all represent major urban centres throughout England. The particularly large numbers of Poles who located to Ealing and other London Boroughs supports previous findings by McCollum and Findlay (2015) and Scott and Brindley (2012), who found a large concentration of Poles in the London Boroughs, providing further support for the significance of London as a major gateway migration area in the UK (Ryan,
West London is also particularly important to the Polish migrant population as it was where the Polish-government-in-exile located during the Second World War (See chapter two and Stanchura, 2004; Robinson, 2004).

Figure 5.4: Destination of international Polish migrants (percentage) from outside the UK to districts classified by the DEFRA urban-to-rural classification for England and Wales.

Note: Source: 2011 Census England and Wales Commissioned Table CT0552

Figure 5.4 suggests that the largest flows of immigrants were to districts classified as urban major conurbation areas. Also, Figure 5.4 suggests there is a large pattern of migration directly into districts classified as ‘Urban with town or city’. Figure 5.4 also suggests that Poles are moving to all area types, but the majority of Polish immigration is to more urban types of districts. The findings support Lymeropoloulou’s (2013) work that finds that EU accession nationals congregated in small towns and rural areas as well as ethnically diverse towns and cities. While Figure 5.4 suggests a relatively small number of Polish immigrants located to districts that are classified as mainly rural and largely rural, Polish settlement arguably would be more pronounced for the residents in the district than the similar numbers to urban major conurbation or urban city or town given their larger populations.

An explanation of the continuation of international migration patterns of Poles associated with settlement in places outside traditional immigrant-receiving areas is given by the accounts of respondents in chapter 6 that link their decisions to move with their occupational statuses. The respondents were initially under-employed due to their English language skills and lack of country-
specific work experience but over time rapidly improved their occupational status. The consequence for some of their internal migration patterns is that they could move out of rural places where they located to take advantage of low skilled jobs to more urban places with more beneficial employment opportunities. However, a consequence for rural and deprived places given the out-migration of upwardly occupationally mobile Poles is that they need to replenish the out-migrants with new migrants from outside the UK. The findings in chapter 6 highlight the spatial differences between Polish migrants at various phases of their migration trajectories.

5.2 New Geographies of Polish Migration

Few previous studies on Polish migration examine their migration using the Census, which provides complete coverage of the population in England and Wales. Chapter 4 outlines the benefits of using the Origin-Destination data to measure migration over a one-year interval. The data are useful to explore the subsequent residential geographies of Poles but also how their patterns of internal migration compare to other migrant and ethnic minority groups as well as the white British population.
Figure 5.5: Circular plot showing the internal migration patterns for Polish people in regions of England and Wales

Note: Source: 2011 Census Origin-Destination Commissioned Table CT0552

Circular plots are used to map the migration patterns of Poles between different segments depicting a migrant’s origin place, linked via a ribbon to their destination place. Each segment in the circular plot corresponds to an origin place in an area categorisation scheme. For instance, the DEFRA area classification contains six categories for districts in England and Wales, and each segment in the circular plot corresponds to one classification. Each of the segments is assigned a particular colour that highlights the ‘origin’ place. The different coloured ribbons that extend from each of the segments illustrate the different migration patterns from the analysis of the 2011 Census data. The colour of the ribbon shows the direction of the migration pattern, for instance, a red ribbon that corresponds to a red ‘origin’ or ‘urban major conurbation’. This extends and connects to a segment of a different colour showing the movement of Poles from ‘urban major conurbation’ districts to a different area classification district. The width of the ribbon illustrates the size of the move, proportionally to the total movements made, between urban and rural districts. The largest ribbon, for example, shows the most significant internal migration flow. The same
technique is used to map the internal migration patterns of Polish migrants using districts classifications. The area classifications include; first, the DEFRA urban-to-rural area classification; second, an area classification by the districts regional proximity; third, districts classified by their proportion of non-white residents; fourth, districts classified by their residential concentration, and lastly, districts classified by the proportion of their population unemployed (used as a proxy measure of deprivation).

Figure 5.5 suggests that the largest propensity of migration of Poles between regions appears to be from Inner London to Outer London with a large flow of in-migrants from Outer London to the South East and the East of England. The findings support work by Jivraj, Simpson, and Marquis (2012) who, using the School Census between 2004 and 2008 found evidence of counter-urbanisation of Poles from Inner London to Outer London. The findings also add to work by Fielding (2012) who found that the largest outflow of migrants takes place from London to regions across the UK. It appears that Poles, like the white British population, are also moving out of Inner London to Outer London and neighbouring regions and districts around England and Wales. Similarly, Simpson and Finney’s (2009) study on the internal migration of ethnic minority groups showed that all groups apart from the Chinese group demonstrated dispersal from Inner to Outer London. These findings, therefore, suggest that Poles are mirroring the internal migration patterns of the majority white British population and other BME population groups.

Figure 5.5 also shows large intra-regional flows where Poles move but remain in the same region of origin. Figure 5.6 shows Polish migration by the distance moved according to the 2011 Census suggesting that Poles had a higher level of shorter moves of less than 30km, compared to other country of birth groups in the year prior to the Census. This supports the distance decay effect which states that the migration flows between areas decline as the distance between them increases, and suggests specific local drivers of Polish internal migration patterns, for example, local employment, labour markets and housing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>EU14 (%)</th>
<th>Pol (%)</th>
<th>EU Acc (%)</th>
<th>Africa (%)</th>
<th>Mid East (%)</th>
<th>Bang (%)</th>
<th>India (%)</th>
<th>Pak (%)</th>
<th>NA &amp; CAR (%)</th>
<th>CA &amp; SA (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 5</td>
<td>9904 (13.00%)</td>
<td>18335 (24.00%)</td>
<td>11538 (15.10%)</td>
<td>12609 (4.40%)</td>
<td>3343 (2.40%)</td>
<td>1816 (10.60%)</td>
<td>8113 (4.60%)</td>
<td>4914 (4.60%)</td>
<td>3480 (2.90%)</td>
<td>2218 (2.90%)</td>
<td>76270 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9 km</td>
<td>601 (17.50%)</td>
<td>727 (21.20%)</td>
<td>578 (16.90%)</td>
<td>634 (4.40%)</td>
<td>151 (1.90%)</td>
<td>66 (6.90%)</td>
<td>235 (4.00%)</td>
<td>137 (4.80%)</td>
<td>165 (3.90%)</td>
<td>133 (3.90%)</td>
<td>3427 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-29 km</td>
<td>484 (16.40%)</td>
<td>594 (18.40%)</td>
<td>543 (18.80%)</td>
<td>541 (4.40%)</td>
<td>125 (1.90%)</td>
<td>43 (1.90%)</td>
<td>235 (7.90%)</td>
<td>106 (3.60%)</td>
<td>172 (5.80%)</td>
<td>114 (3.90%)</td>
<td>2957 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49 km</td>
<td>83 (11.30%)</td>
<td>128 (17.40%)</td>
<td>145 (19.70%)</td>
<td>138 (4.50%)</td>
<td>33 (1.00%)</td>
<td>7 (12.50%)</td>
<td>92 (4.20%)</td>
<td>46 (2.00%)</td>
<td>40 (5.40%)</td>
<td>24 (3.30%)</td>
<td>736 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-250 km</td>
<td>382 (15.50%)</td>
<td>260 (10.50%)</td>
<td>338 (13.70%)</td>
<td>513 (7.90%)</td>
<td>195 (2.00%)</td>
<td>50 (17.00%)</td>
<td>420 (4.30%)</td>
<td>106 (5.40%)</td>
<td>134 (2.80%)</td>
<td>68 (3.00%)</td>
<td>2466 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11454 (13.30%)</td>
<td>20044 (23.30%)</td>
<td>13142 (15.30%)</td>
<td>14435 (16.80%)</td>
<td>3847 (4.50%)</td>
<td>1982 (10.60%)</td>
<td>9095 (6.20%)</td>
<td>5309 (4.60%)</td>
<td>3991 (3.00%)</td>
<td>2557 (3.00%)</td>
<td>85856 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5.6:** Internal migration by country of birth and distance moved in the year prior to the 2011 Census

**Note:** Year of Arrival = 2004-2011: Source: Safeguarded Regional Micro Data file 5% sample

A closer examination of the regional net migration rates of ethnic Poles sheds light of the population effects of Poles’ internal moves. The focus on ethnicity is because of the literature summarised in chapter 3 that suggests the significance of ethnicity in the choices of migrants but also influences some of the structural constraints migrants encounter in the housing and labour markets.
Figure 5.7: Net internal migration rate per 100 group population (in 2011) of ethnic Polish group by region in England and Wales, 2010-2011

Figure 5.7 suggests that the region that experiences the greatest net gain of Polish internal migrants is the East of England particularly from Poles moving from Outer London; whereas Outer London also experiences the largest net loss of Poles to the South East of England. Regions including the East, East Midlands, and Yorkshire and Humberside all experience a net migration gain from all other regions apart from the East of England, which lost some internal migrants to the East Midlands. The findings are in line with Fielding’s (2012: p.9) analysis of the internal migration patterns of the British majority population where he shows that ‘the industrial Midlands and North (West Midlands, North West, Yorkshire and Humber and North East) lost by internal migration’. The internal migration patterns of Poles suggest that they could be replacing the population deficiencies in certain regions left by the out-migration of the majority population.

Figure 5.7 shows a mixed pattern of net gains for the North West of in-migrants from Outer London and the South East of England but also a net loss of migrants to Yorkshire and Humberside and the West Midlands. Local factors such as local labour market dynamics, for example, specific sectoral needs for labour migration and available housing may explain these regional differences. In contrast with previous studies highlighting that Wales continues to be significant for Polish immigration, Figure 5.7 shows that Wales experiences, overall, the largest net loss of Polish in-migrants to other regions throughout England. Overall, the analysis of Polish internal migration across regions in England and Wales suggests local variations of in- and out-migration.

A more detailed analysis of the net migration patterns of Poles at a district level is shown in Figure 5.8 and 5.9. The analysis suggests that Waveney in Norfolk experienced the largest net gain of Polish internal migrants between 2010 and 2011. Furthermore, Figure 5.9 highlights that Castle
Point in Essex experienced the largest net migration loss of Polish internal migrants between 2010 and 2011. These findings support Fielding’s (2012) work that suggests internal migration is a significant force for population change and therefore a regional analysis of Polish internal migration is vital. This is because it shows the uneven patterns across and between regions in Britain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Authority District</th>
<th>Net Internal Migration Rate per 100 persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Waveney</td>
<td>24.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochford</td>
<td>21.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redcar and Cleveland UA</td>
<td>15.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havant</td>
<td>15.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Rivers</td>
<td>11.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Bedfordshire UA</td>
<td>11.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stevenage</td>
<td>10.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bromsgrove</td>
<td>10.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havering</td>
<td>9.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staffordshire Moorlands</td>
<td>9.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Authority District</th>
<th>Net Internal Migration Rate per 100 persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castle Point</td>
<td>-20.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Anglesey</td>
<td>-17.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Staffordshire</td>
<td>-10.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Bucks</td>
<td>-9.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Suffolk</td>
<td>-9.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rushcliffe</td>
<td>-8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haringey</td>
<td>-8.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denbighshire</td>
<td>-7.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islington</td>
<td>-7.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribble Valley</td>
<td>-7.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5.8:** Top 10 Districts with positive net migration rate for Polish

**Figure 5.9:** Top 10 Districts with negative net migration rate for Polish

Acknowledging the regional characteristics of Polish international migration, chapter three also highlights that patterns of Polish immigration link to rural and suburban residential geographies as well as geographies in urban and metropolitan areas.
Figure 5.10: Internal Migration patterns of Polish migrants between districts classified by the DEFRA urban to rural classification scheme for England and Wales.

Note: Source: 2011 Census Origin-Destination Commissioned Table QS211EW

Figure 5.10 suggests a plurality of Polish internal migration patterns between districts classified by their urban to rural status (See chapter 4 for a description of the DEFRA urban-rural classification). The data suggests a large flow of Poles moving between districts classified as ‘Urban with major conurbation’. The pattern confirms the previous findings that many Poles are moving from ‘Outside the UK’ to ‘Urban with major conurbation’ districts and appear to be largely remaining within these types of districts. This pattern can be explained by the labour market characteristics of Poles in the British labour market. There is evidence to suggest that some of the characteristics of people employed in low skilled employment cause them to be more likely to move shorter distances. Massey et al. (1993: p.442) suggest that workers in the secondary segment of the labour market ‘hold unstable, unskilled jobs; they may be laid off at any time with little or no cost to the employer. Indeed, the employer will generally lose money by retaining workers during slack periods. During down cycles, the first thing secondary-sector employer’s do is to cut their payroll. As a result, employers force workers in this sector to bear the costs of their unemployment. They remain a
variable factor of production and are, hence, expendable’. The migrants’ concentration in low skilled and poorly paid employment in the secondary sector of the labour market exposes them to greater risk in the labour and housing markets. This insecurity implies that they are more likely to move regularly to find new employment opportunities to minimise their risk. Their exposure to insecurity is dissimilar to workers in the primary sector, as these employees tend to be unionised and sign employment contracts that ‘require employers to bear a substantial share of the cost of their idleness (in the form of severance pay and unemployment benefits’ (Massey et al. 1993:p.442). These higher costs mean that it would be expensive to make workers in the primary sector of the labour market unemployed, as it would result in higher costs to the business that they would have to bear (Piore, 1979; Castles, De Haas and Miller, 2013). The employment contracts assist the economic structures and fluctuations in the labour market that migrant workers sign that facilitates their expendability, as they do not provide the legal, and thus, financial protection to mitigate insecurity. Without stable employment, in many cases the migrants would have to move accommodation to support the insecurity and lack of regular income that is associated with their employment status. Moreover, restrictions to EU accession nationals securing social housing and their dependence on the private rented housing sector can also explain the frequency and short distance of moves in a specific type of district (See Chapter 6).

Figure 5.10 also shows smaller migration flows from ‘Urban with major conurbation’ districts to ‘Urban with city or town’ district types. The pattern suggests that Poles are dispersing and counter-urbanising to less urban types of districts. These findings support those of Finney and Simpson’s (2008) who found similar results showing ethnic minority groups (apart from the ethnic Chinese group) are counter-urbanising. Some of the explanations offered for these patterns can also explain the counter-urbanising patterns of contemporary Polish migrants. First, the move to more suburban places can be linked to Poles’ long-term settlement intentions and their access to different tenures of the UK housing market. Chapter 3 discusses how the location of public housing can be integral to the residential geographies of migrants. The motives underlying migrants’ moves from the Private Rented Sector to the Social Rented Sector could be associated with family aspirations and a desire to provide increased housing security for their families (see chapter 8 on intimate relationships and housing matters). Second, taking a life course approach, the young age structure of Polish migrants can explain how again family matters such as family formation link to migrants’ moves outside the inner-city for lifestyle and housing purposes. These can include a desire to increase housing affordability versus maximising the number of rooms needed to accommodate their growing families.

Patterns from rural places suggest smaller, albeit important patterns of migration between ‘mainly rural’ and ‘largely rural’ districts, which can be linked with occupational status (See chapter 6). A consequence of many Pole’s use of recruitment agencies to source employment in Britain is that they move to rural, peripheral and seaside locations upon arrival to the country. However, one explanation for their continued movement between rural areas discussed in chapter 6, relates to Poles’ lack of qualifications and English language, which keeps them employed in low skilled employment and unable to improve their occupational status. Lymperopoulou and
Parameshwaran (2015) offer support for this view showing that within the ‘accession eight’ cohort and in comparison with most other immigrant groups, Poles are less likely to be educated at degree level and therefore more likely to experience higher levels of employment in low skilled occupations than other migrant groups. Thus, Poles are unable to increase their occupational status as rapidly as other groups, which can explain some of their immobility and sustained movement between rural districts.

The continued movement of Poles into rural and peripheral geographies across England and Wales lends support to Lomax, Stillwell, Norman, and Rees’ (2014) work that uses time series analysis on the 2011 Census origin-destination data and found that the pattern of net migration from urban to rural regions declined in the 2000’s. A reduction in the internal migration patterns of the general population can explain how the lack of population redistribution to rural places opens up the space for Polish and other EU accession migrants to fill labour market positions in these places, as population replenishment. Structural explanations discussed in chapter 3 suggest that Poles largely concentrate in the so-called ‘bad jobs’ in the secondary segment of the labour market. Their labour market characteristics can explain how their movement between rural districts relates to employment in particular sectors. The replenishment of Poles in rural areas can explain Poles’ movement within and between rural district types in England and Wales as there continues to be a need for labour migration in these areas to sustain their local labour markets. Findings from chapter 6 also show how the recruitment agencies acting as intermediaries in the secondary labour market can result in many new Polish migrants using them to facilitate their relocation and internal migration to and around the UK. With few social ties outside of these networks, arguably, some Poles’ agency is limited regarding movement out of these places because their movements are tied to particular forms of employment.

Furthermore, Figure 5.10 suggests a significant pattern of internal migration from ‘mainly rural’ and ‘largely rural’ directly into ‘Urban with city or town’ districts. The current analysis is limited by the lack of additional characteristics such as migrants’ socio-economic and age composition and how they link with their specific patterns of internal migration. One explanation for the internal migration pattern of direct entry into urban places can relate to migrants’ ability to improve their occupational status rapidly. This explanation is supported by Ciupijus’ (2012) study which argues that many ‘accession eight’ migrants are occupationally under-employed in the British labour market, often below their qualifications, work experience, and skills set. It is Poles’ occupational under-employment that is characterised by their ethnicity that can explain their rapid occupational mobility and for some Poles that subsequently coincides with their rapid and direct movement to urban places. The findings add to Finney and Simpson’s (2008) work on ethnic migrants’ internal migration patterns that found that migrants’ different socio-economic and age characteristics link to their patterns of internal migration. The magnitude of Polish migration post-accession and their concentration within specific sections of the labour market complicate the explanation of these factors underlying their patterns of migration.
Figure 5.11: Showing the net migration rates per 1000 of the group population between urban to rural areas in England and Wales (origin-destination matrix) by Polish ethnic group, 2010-2011.

Note: Positive net migration rates show the movement of Polish migrants into destination areas from an origin; while negative migration rates show the movement of Polish migrants from an origin area to a destination area.

The examination of the net internal migrations can reveal whether some areas are losing more migrants than they are gaining and vice versa. Figure 5.11 suggests the largest net gain of in-migrants is from districts classified as ‘largely rural’ to ‘urban with significant rural’ districts. Moreover, Figure 5.11 suggests that overall ‘urban with major conurbation’ districts experience a net gain of Poles from all other types of districts. This arguably can be explained by a dual effect of Poles from the most urban districts moving to gain access to better accommodation in the housing market, as well as those in the most rural districts becoming upwardly occupationally mobile and moving to more urban places to gain from employment opportunities. Also, Figure 5.11 suggests the largest net loss of in-migrants is from districts classified as ‘urban minor conurbation’ to ‘urban with city or town’ districts. In addition, the net migration rates for ‘urban with city or town’ and ‘urban with significant rural’ implies both types of areas experience a net loss of migrants to ‘urban minor’ and a net gain of migrants from ‘largely rural’ districts. Examination of the net patterns of internal migration shows that while some districts are significant to Polish internal migration, they also appear to experience a high level of turnover. The findings propose that many areas might act as short-term and temporary residential sites, particularly for Poles on short-term contracts in sectors such as agriculture and construction.

5.3 Characteristics of the Patterns of Polish Internal Migration
Chapter 3 highlights that ‘ethnicity’ is regularly used to explain some of the internal migration moves that migrants make at a sub-national level. These explanations often engage in the debates of residential segregation and the role that ethnicity plays in constraining migrants’ moves. In British academic literature, a migrant’s ethnicity continues to be used as one explanation that shapes their residential geographies. Chapter 3 shows that this is because of the higher the risk of racial discrimination many visible migrants experience as well as arguments about how race influences housing and labour market practices that directly and indirectly shape internal migration decisions.
Figure 5.12: Internal Migration patterns of Polish migrants between districts in England and Wales classified by their level of residential concentration.

Note: The circular plot shows the ethnic Polish concentration (Percentage of people who are ethnic Polish): Less then 0.66% (Very Low), 0.6-0.9 % (Low), 0.9-1.4% (Medium), 1.4-2.3% (High), 2.3-5.46% (Very High)

Figure 5.12 suggests that the largest move is between districts categorised as ‘low’ to ‘high’ residential concentration (See note above for more details of the categorisation). Using the previous analyses, the findings can be explained by the large movement of Poles from more rural districts with lower concentrations of Poles to more urban districts with higher concentrations of Poles. Figure 5.12 also suggests a movement between ‘low’ and ‘very low’ concentrations and between districts categorised as very low residential concentration. These patterns can be explained by the short-term contracts of Poles in specific labour market sectors. The patterns are mixed, and one explanation could be the result of the multiple settlement patterns of Poles on arrival in Britain shaped by social and recruitment networks. Chapter 6 shows how recruitment
agencies particularly are implicated in Poles residential settlement geographies. Equally, it is hard to attach much social meaning to these patterns to engage with segregation debates as the scale and level of geography being examined detracts from a meaningful analysis of the cultural, ethnic and labour market factors that could provide gravitational patterns of internal migration or similarly a lack of desire among Poles to live near one another. Findings from chapters 6 and 7 also show a complex mix of a lack of desire for Poles to live near co-ethnics. On the one hand, a high level of social mistrust that stems from Communist culture is suggested by respondents’ accounts while on the other hand, a strong desire by some respondents to live near other practising Catholics to support their religious practice is also evident. Equally, many studies in the US and Britain mention that a persons’ ethnicity links to the places they choose to settle and this is overwhelmingly shaped by their experiences of discrimination and racism in the labour and housing markets. Yet as already discussed, Poles represent a new form of international migration to Britain with substantially different characteristics than previous Commonwealth migrant groups. On the one hand, Polish migrants are racially white, and therefore the sociological literature posits the privileges that white migrants possess as they move through space. Yet, on the other hand, Poles possess an ethnic identity unlike other white migrant groups to Britain being predominantly Catholic, Eastern European, and Slavic.

The findings support work in chapter 2 that describes the diversity among the Polish migrant group who unlike migrants from Ireland, the US, and Canada have varying English language skills. Additionally, one explanation can relate to empirical studies such as Fox’s (2013) study which highlighted the active strategies accession migrants deploy as a result to the racialization of their white identities and how they use verbal claims as a strategy to be viewed as a white migrant with a more favourable white identity; while also using racism to denigrate the position of other residents. Also, the interest in the ethnic identity of a migrant continues to be a political focus given wider anxieties over community cohesion that link with notions of the self-segregation of visible and non-white migrant groups. However, the arrival of Poles arguably creates a sense of unease because it opens up questions about how to adequately incorporate and respond to migrants with white identities in the community cohesion narratives.
Figure 5.13: Internal Migration moves by Polish migrants between districts in England and Wales classified by their level of non-white diversity.

Note: Source: 2011 Census Origin-Destination Commissioned Table CT0552

The circular plot shows the percentage non-white residents in districts in England and Wales: Less than 11.36% (Very Low Diversity), 11.37-22.49% (Low Diversity), 22.50-38.32% (Medium Diversity), 38.33-46.47 (High Diversity), and 46.48-71.03 (Very High Diversity)

Figure 5.13 suggests the largest movement of Poles is between districts with category ‘very low non-white’ percentages of people who are non-white. The findings add to Lymeropoulou’s (2012) ward level analysis that EU accession nationals are more likely to settle in areas of high ethnic diversity. It is important to read Poles’ internal migrations as associated with multiple factors. This is so not to wrongly implicate the role of race and ethnicity in Poles’ residential decisions. Chapter 3 outlines that labour market demand in the secondary segment of the labour market underline the migration of Poles to regions and districts with little previous experience of international migration. These findings, therefore, can be explained by factors within the labour market and connect to Poles’ position in the labour market, namely in poorly paid and low skilled employment. Further, the
results can be explained as a unique feature of Polish international migration unlike Lymperopoulou’s (2012) work, which grouped all EU accession migrants into one group. Similarly, the patterns showing migrants moving between ‘very low’ and ‘low non-white’ districts can be explained because many of the districts categorised as having the lowest percentage of non-white residents are also districts in rural locations arguably their movement within specific sectors can actually be explained by their movement between rural places. To address the specific role race and ethnicity plays in Poles’ residential decisions-making, chapter 6 specifically looks at the complexities that Poles’ identities have on their migration decision-making.

Figure 5.13 also suggests Poles are moving from ‘very low non-white’ to ‘low non-white’ districts – a pattern that supports their internal migration towards more diverse places. Again, an explanation for this pattern could be a residual artefact of labour market factors rather than the explicit role of Polish people’s encounters with the majority white British and non-white BME communities. Additionally, viewing the patterns through the lens of migration, their initial settlement in more white areas alongside other Polish migrants can be beneficial and function to provide them with economic and social resources. These include a social space to speak with other migrants and function as a reservoir of local information. Subsequently, once they became more established and gained a better understanding of their local area, they can move to areas with more diverse populations that coincidentally are also largely urban areas. Also, the movement of migrants to areas of high ethnic diversity accompanies explanations that living in diverse places provide protection and a buffering effect against social isolation for non-white individuals (Åslund, 2005; Finney and Simpson, 2009; Bolt, Öziekren, and Phillips, 2010). Yet, as Poles are racially white migrants they arguably do not encounter the same barriers or burdens as non-white migrants and ethnic minorities (See Chapter 7 analysis of race and ethnicity in Poles’ residential decision-making).

Additionally, Figure 5.13 suggests a smaller movement from ‘medium diversity’ to ‘very low’ non-white districts and the pattern suggests Poles are also moving to less diverse areas. Chapter 3 highlights how whiteness is often used to discuss the causes and consequences of white migrants’ international and internal migration patterns, and particularly in relation to white flight. However, this explanation ignores processes of racialization and how Poles’ labour market characteristics, wider anti-immigrant sentiments, and representations all feed into their whiteness being shaped in a different manner. Furthermore, the un-theorised nature of the white identities of new migrant’s in the Census arguably restricts the extent to which ethnicity can be examined as operating as part of Poles’ migration decisions.

Chapter 3 discusses that some explanations about the drivers of Polish internal migration are linked to their labour and housing market position. The patterns of Poles moving from districts categorised by their percentage unemployment (as a proxy for deprivation) is also a useful indicator of whether they remain positioned in deprived areas or are moving to more affluent areas around the urban mosaic. Figure 5.14 shows the multiple patterns Poles make between districts classified by percentage unemployment and shows the largest flow is between ‘medium unemployment’ and ‘high unemployment’ districts. One explanation for this pattern can be related
to changing economic and social circumstances and attempts to seek entry into the social or private rented housing market (SRS and PRS). Therefore, their movement to more deprived areas could reflect an effort to access more affordable housing.

Another explanation might be that Poles deploy active strategies to navigate the insecurity they experience in the secondary segment of the British labour market. The strategies can include moves to more deprived areas that are generally associated with fewer employment opportunities, which increase the risk of unemployment. Migrant’s regularly move to these places because the housing available is affordable and because of the associated lower costs of living. For short-term migrants, deprived areas are particularly attractive as they are seen as a way of maximising their earning potential during their stay in the UK (Lymperopoulou, 2012; Pemberton and Stevens, 2007). A study by Stenning and Dawley (2009) finds that Polish and accession migrants’ movement to the North East of England contributes to diminishing the negative economic effects caused by deindustrialisation. This is because the migrants can revitalise deprived areas by reversing population decline and by supporting local services. The migrants’ movement can strengthen local labour markets by replenishing labour shortages vacated by the general population but also create new markets for products and services as well as fill empty houses and provide pupils for local schools. The population depletion that is the result of the majority population can also benefit the migrants in deprived areas as they do not have to come in direct competition with the majority white British population for employment and resources (Sarre, Phillips, and Skellington, 1989; Lymperopoulou, 2012).
Figure 5.14: Internal Migration patterns by Polish migrants between districts classified by their level of deprivation.

Note: Source: 2011 Census Origin-Destination Commissioned Table CT0552
The circular plot shows the percentage unemployment for districts in England and Wales: Less then 3.4% (Very Low Unemployment), 3.5-4.3% (Low Unemployment), 4.4-5.1% (Medium Unemployment), 5.2-5.7% (High Unemployment) 5.8-8.5 % (Very High Unemployment)

Figure 5.14 also suggests a pattern of movement from very high unemployment to very high unemployment districts which may reflect the lack of upward occupational mobility of some Poles in the British labour market. Figure 5.14 also shows a pattern of internal migration from ‘very high unemployment’ to ‘high unemployment’ districts that can be explained again by the lack of upward occupational mobility of a portion of Polish internal movers. The finding could be a result of the exchange of different forms of capital to gain access to better employment opportunities and thus move to housing in better areas. Third, Figure 5.14 shows a pattern from ‘high unemployment’ to ‘medium unemployment’ districts. Again, one explanation for this is associated with some Poles
becoming upwardly occupationally mobile. Figure 5.14 suggests a smaller pattern of movement from ‘very low unemployment’ to ‘low unemployment’. An explanation for this pattern can link to some of the accounts from respondents in chapter 6 that suggests that their movement into districts of higher unemployment links to their access into different sectors of the housing market. While occupational mobility can provide one explanation for moves to more affluent areas, entry into different housing markets can explain the transition from rental accommodation to owner-occupied as well as the allocation that migrants receive in the Social Rented Sector (SRS). Overall, the 2011 Census origin-destination data suggest that different residential geographies are associated with various stages of migrants’ migration trajectories and their entwined and evolving employment and housing careers.

5.4 Internal and International Migration

Another significant issue that has gained momentum in migration studies is the connection between international and internal migration that is particularly significant given the citizenship and free movement rights of Poles as EU citizens (King and Skeldon, 2010). The previous sections illustrate that Poles continue to migrate to new geographies throughout England and Wales and the results imply that Polish internal migrants are moving to more diverse places than those associated with their international migration patterns. Together, the results propose that different districts might have different functions for Polish migrants at various stages of their migration trajectories.
Figure 5.15: Net migration of Polish people scaled by ethnic Polish population in each Local Authority District between 2010 and 2011.

Note: Each of the cartograms uses a different key
Source: 2011 Census England and Wales origin-destination commissioned Table CT0552

Figure 5.15 shows two cartograms of the net migration of ethnic Poles for districts in England and Wales. The cartogram of the left-hand side shows the net migration with immigration moves included, while the map on the right-hand side shows the net migration excluding immigration moves. Figure 5.15 suggests that when international and internal migrations are considered together, Polish migration is particularly significant for Greater London, the North-West and the South East of England, as well as Wales. However, many of these districts, particularly those in Wales are not significant to their internal migration patterns. The conclusion is that the districts act as new reception areas and feature as significant places for some Poles at the beginning of their migration trajectories (See chapter 6). The findings add to existing evidence (chapter 3), which suggests that Poles are forging new reception geographies, but these have temporal qualities. Many of these districts it seems subsequently experience a net loss of Polish internal migrants, and it appears that many migrants then move out of these areas to different districts. However, new international migrants from outside of the UK and from Scotland and Northern Ireland replenish the districts’ migrant population, albeit in lower numbers. It seems that the reduction of internal migration moves by the general population to rural places opens up these geographies to international migrants due to demands in the labour market.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Authority District</th>
<th>Net Combined Migration Rate per 100 persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheshire East UA</td>
<td>34.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waveney</td>
<td>28.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochford</td>
<td>21.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havant</td>
<td>19.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redcar and Cleveland UA</td>
<td>18.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bromsgrove Central</td>
<td>17.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedfordshire UA</td>
<td>17.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stevenage</td>
<td>16.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staffordshire Moorlands</td>
<td>15.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three Rivers</td>
<td>15.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Authority District</th>
<th>Net Combined Migration Rate per 100 persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Castle Point</td>
<td>-17.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Anglesey</td>
<td>-10.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rushcliffe</td>
<td>-7.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Staffordshire</td>
<td>-6.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid Suffolk</td>
<td>-4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haringey</td>
<td>-3.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craven</td>
<td>-3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horsham</td>
<td>-2.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hackney</td>
<td>-2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denbighshire</td>
<td>-2.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5.16:** Top 10 districts by positive net migration rate

**Figure 5.17:** Top 10 districts by negative net migration rate

Closer inspection of the specific district net migration rates reveals some additional significant patterns. On the one hand, Figure 5.16 suggests Cheshire East UA experiences the largest positive net migration rate (34.50 per 100). On the other hand, Figure 5.17 suggests Castle Point experiences the largest net loss of Polish migrants (-17.24 per 100). Arguably, if labour market dynamics are significant to the residential geographies of Polish post-accession migrants, public policy needs to target efforts to sustain Poles filling in vacancies in local labour markets as well as ensuring their changing housing needs are met. However, we must be cautious with the sequential interpretation of the different districts for specific moments in a Poles’ migration trajectory. This is because of Burrell (2009) and Griffiths, Rogers and Andersons (2013) work on the temporalities of Polish and accession 8 migrants Britain who moved within the EU area. These studies argue that the interpretation of places relies on the different strategies migrants develop that often include transnational moves back and forth between Poland and Britain. These moves break up the neat association of international and internal migration, and the studies argue that sometimes they enable the migrants to relocate to different places or to establish themselves away from the recruitment or social networks that initially assisted them to move to Britain.
Chapter 3 highlights that Polish migration to Britain is often discussed regarding new geographies of migration, and concerning the regions that they move to that include East of England, East Midlands, Wales, the South West, and North East of England. The patterns include many districts that previous had little international migration. However, arguably a specific regional analysis is needed to understand Polish people’s internal migration and settlement patterns at a local level. For Poles, after districts in Greater London and the East of England, the districts, which experience a high number of migrants, are in Greater Manchester. Manchester’s position as one of England’s major transport hubs with multiple international flights between the UK and Poland can help explain the large numbers of Poles settling in Greater Manchester (Blanchflower, Saleheen, and Shadforth, 2007). Work by Appold and Kasarda (2013) notes the significance of airport hubs for multiple forms of mobility and their significance in the residential spaces near these hubs. Additionally, multiple local studies (See chapter 3) highlight the wider North West region’s importance and association with previous cohorts of Polish migration, for example, Polish Jewish and later Polish post-war migrants concentrated in Cheetham Hill and Little Broughton and around Polish Catholic parishes in Manchester.

Figure 5.18: Residential settlement patterns of ethnic Poles at ward level for Greater Manchester. Note: Source: 2011 Census Ad-hoc Tables CT0010
The Polish population ratio is computed as follows: Pop ratio is the Polish population of each of the ward divided by the total Polish population in Greater Manchester. This number is then multiplied by the total resident population of Greater Manchester that is divided by the resident population of each ward.

The 2011 Census ward level data (Figure 5.18) suggests that Poles’ residential settlement across wards in Greater Manchester is widely dispersed, but equally there are wards with notably higher levels of Polish residents, for example, the wards of Broughton (Salford) and St Peters (Tameside). The finding for Broughton is unsurprising given the ward, and neighbouring Cheetham Hill have historical connections to the Polish diaspora in Greater Manchester and an important site for the private rented sector based in the North-West region (Scragg, 1986; Bielewska, 2011). The findings also support a report produced by Manchester City Council (2015), which examined Polish residential settlement at a parliamentary constituency level. The report used NINO registration data and showed that the broader ‘accession 8’ migrant group tended to concentrate in the Blackley and Broughton parliamentary constituencies. However, the data did not allow for an exploration of the residential settlement of Poles throughout Greater Manchester as the report examined only patterns for the Manchester district.
Figure 5.19: Circular Plot showing the internal migration patterns at district level for Polish people in Greater Manchester.

Note: Source: 2011 Census Origin-Destination Commissioned Table CT0552

Figure 5.19 suggests that for Poles in Greater Manchester the largest propensity of moves are made within Manchester district. The next largest movement pattern is the movement of Poles from Manchester to Salford. There is also a large pattern of movement in the opposite direction from Salford to Manchester, although at a smaller scale. Again, these local patterns suggest the importance of Salford to the Polish migrant population and the significance of Manchester regarding the economic landscape of the Greater Manchester region. Greater Manchester comprises of ten districts with different characteristics in terms of sectoral employment and types of housing. For example, the Manchester district has offered high skilled and low skilled employment opportunities, including sectors such as hospitality and the services sectors, which have attracted migrants. The surrounding districts have smaller local labour markets, which are uneven and often include relatively few employment sectors. According to Barrett (1994) (cited in Burton, Jenks, and
Williams, 2003) changes in the national labour market directly impact on urban and city planning and local internal migration patterns.

In the past three decades, for example, the market has driven many employment sectors to Shire towns – a phenomenon known as drift employment – and this move contributes to the pattern of suburbanisation. For the Greater Manchester City region Lloyd and Mason (1978) highlight how the decline of manufacturing in the region has led to policy changes that restructured the city’s industries and thus residential spaces. A consequence of this is that some industries drifted to the peripheries of the area while others remained centrally located. Therefore, we could assume that some of the internal migration patterns of Poles are linked to the local position of industries where they have sourced employment and affordable housing that is in relative proximity to their workplace.

Figure 5.19 also suggests a large movement of Poles from Trafford to Manchester. Considering the significance of the district of Manchester, Figure 5.19 shows varying patterns of migration from Manchester to all other districts in Greater Manchester. The initial migration of Poles to Manchester can by explained by the district’s central economic position, transport infrastructure, and significance to the regional labour market. The district also contains wards such as Cheetham Hill, Moss Side, Longsight, and Rusholme that have historically acted as migrant gateway areas to the Greater Manchester region (Manchester City Council, 2015). Poles’ subsequent internal migration patterns to other districts in Greater Manchester can be associated with prospects of finding cheaper housing in the Private Rented Sector (PRS) as indicated by respondents in chapter 6, or to gain access in social housing as a result of their intimate relationships and long-term settlement indicated by respondents in chapter 8. Other explanations for these patterns link to some of the respondent’s union formation and cohabitation as well as upward occupational mobility as a couple and family seek more affluent housing in suburban neighbourhoods.

5.6 Summary

These findings show there are diverse patterns of internal migration for contemporary Polish migrants between districts in England and Wales. The use of area classifications implies that these patterns are driven by a complex array of factors that could include economic factors, access to resources, race and ethnicity as well as lifestyle factors. The EU area and its free movement rights and entitlements that it affords EU citizens permit a diverse range of people to migrate from Poland. Without any additional characteristics of the migrants, it is hard to discern more specific patterns of migration associated with migrants’ socio-economic characteristics such as age, gender, and class. However, chapters 6, 7, and 8 take on this task to examine why Poles make specific migration choices. These chapters highlight how Poles’ citizenship and the way it interacts with free movement rights allows a wide range of Poles to move between areas.

The unrivalled nature of the 2011 Census allows for the first time a large-scale analysis to be conducted on Polish migrant’s internal migration in England and Wales. This thesis also offers a novel way of combining the data with qualitative interview data discussed in, 6 and 7 to begin to
unpack the factors that relate to migrants’ decision-making. The use of Census data confirms that Poles continue to move to new geographies through the country and adds to this finding by showing that geographies seem to act as reception sites for Poles who then move to other places if they can become upwardly mobile. We can only theorise that events such as the recession in 2008 would lead to a reduction in Polish migration to Britain, but the evidence from the Census suggests they continue to move to the UK and continue to show specific geographical settlement patterns.

The connection of districts that are associated with international and internal migration suggests the establishment of new gateway districts but that different districts are important at various stages of Polish migrants’ movement trajectories. While many migrants can move out of these reception districts, they continue to important immigration sites and are replenished by newly arrived movers. It appears that these reception districts are actually closely linked to the sectors in the labour market that require migrants. However, the findings imply that after this instance the migrants can utilise their social networks and different forms of capital they can move out of these places. However, moves out of initial reception areas depend on migrants’ ability to use their network ties and various forms of capital. The chapter finds that Poles are moving to a diverse range of regions and districts throughout England and Wales and their settlement patterns disrupt the links between place and occupational and social mobility that are theorised in models such as the Spatial Assimilation Theory. The emergence of rural districts as significant residential geographies for Poles disturbs the racialization of rural places as predominantly the domain of White British people (Chakarborti and Garland, 2004; de Lima and Wright, 2009).

The movement by Poles to less ethnically diverse districts challenges our conventional understandings of minority settlement. First, the role that diverse districts play for migrants with white identities opens up questions about how whiteness operates for new Polish residents. Chapter 7 can add to this explanation and shows that the movement to more white districts links to the explicit strategies migrants use to fit into neighbourhoods and places before they can move to alternative places. In more white areas, a Poles’ whiteness might be less conspicuous than in more diverse districts (See chapter 7). Moreover, chapter 8 shows the complexity of the internal migration patterns between districts with different levels of deprivation and rurality can be explained by complexities that relate to transitions between different types of housing markets as well as intimate relationship and family formation and dissolution.
Chapter Six
The Economy, Embeddedness, and Internal Migration

6.0 Introduction

The literature review suggests that we know very little about the factors involved in contemporary Polish people's internal migration decision-making. However, analysis of the interview data proposes that factors that relate to the economy and a migrant's access to resources provide one explanation for the pattern of their internal migration. This chapter argues that economic factors cannot be considered as wholly responsible for Poles' internal migration decisions, and alternatively should be regarded as 'embedded' within wider social matters. These include factors that relate to intimate relationships that are part of a migrant's family and their wider social ties. The findings also suggest that migrants' decision-making also connects to their 'occupational' and 'social' status and the barriers they encounter within the labour market. This chapter also finds that a migrant’s status results in them deploying various strategies to mediate and mitigate harms associated with economic factors. These include further intra-EU migration, strategies to improve their occupational status such as gaining country-specific work experience, and strategies to enhance their social status; for instance, increasing their language proficiency. The chapter additionally uncovers that their status can affect access to resources such as housing, which intimately affects their decision-making; for example, in terms of the neighbourhoods they can move to. Finally, the chapter finds that specific practices; for example, 'tied-in' employment and housing, used by recruitment agencies in the secondary segment of the labour market, cause Polish migrants to encounter specific structural obstacles. The outcome of these practices highlights circumstances that affect a migrant's internal migration decisions and contributes to experiences of homelessness, human trafficking and exploitative working conditions. These complexities open up new questions regarding the links between the economic structure and internal migration. They also undermine the way in which internal migration is conceptualised and operationalised. The chapter is structured as follows: first, the notion of embeddedness is defined; second, the connections between the economy and a migrant’s occupational mobility are explored; finally, the growth of recruitment agencies is examined and how their practices affect internal migration patterns.

6.1 Embeddedness and Migration Strategies

The literature review suggests that ideas on ‘assimilation’ dominate explanations of internal migration. These works imply that a migrant's upward occupational and social mobility directly translates into their internal migration trajectories from the inner city to the suburbs (Gordon, 1964; Alba and Nee, 1997). However, a significant theme to emerge from the interview data suggests that economic factors are 'embedded' in wider social factors such as a migrant’s intimate relationships with their families and friends. This concept of ‘embeddedness’ draws from the work of Polanyi (1957) and Granovetter (1985) who articulate that decision-making about broader economic dimensions should be understood as embedded in social and cultural factors. The finding adds to the way we understand migration decisions as solely the product of economic
factors but also extends this to highlight how Poles’ decision-making is complex and comprises an array of factors. Two respondents’ descriptions show how economic factors that relate to the macro and micro effects of the recession in 2008 illuminate the ‘embedded’ nature of economic factors in a migrant’s intimate relationships. Zofia is a thirty-seven-year-old Polish lady who lives in Old Trafford with her husband and eight-year-old daughter; whereas Patrycja is a thirty-five-year-old Polish lady who lives in Stretford with her three young sons.

The reason was I previously to be living in the UK was living in Ireland…[B]ut I didn't see the opportunities for business growth and career development I decided…it’s time to move on and change the country basically, so we had a few options…so it was either go back to Poland, go to Spain because me and my husband used to speak Spanish. I love the weather and Ireland was absolutely dreadful weather….or UK. So we put a …a big flip chart on the wall with the pros and cons, and well we choose the UK and…Manchester and Old Trafford only because my husband had family member living here and it was actually our first and only point in person we could turn to for help at the beginning.

Zofia, F, 37, Old Trafford

[M]y ex-partner lost his job and in Spain start crisis and I had very good job, I didn't complain but things we need to make decisions sometimes together, that was the decision and my…ex had house here as well there’s more he was the owner, that was a bit easier to start different type of life because in Spain it was very difficult because I was working seven years without any papers. That means like national number but nothing else and my old work only one year I work there with I had insurance from my work, was the difference as well, when I came here I’m working legal and everything was is quite nice when because I feel my life in the future [is] a bit more safe, like instead of this - what I was doing here!

Patrycja, F, 35, Stretford

The respondents describe how the interplay between economic conditions and family circumstances shape their migration decisions and strategies to relocate to the UK. Connecting these associations with the previous theorisation of economic performance, it appears that ‘the recession’ has had a top-down effect on the migrants’ economic and social circumstances in their respective labour markets and impacts on them in different ways.

First, on a macroeconomic level, the respondent’s accounts show that the recession affected different EU country’s labour markets in various ways. Work in macroeconomics suggests that the recession in 2008 occurred due to a period of economic decline brought about by a reduction in trade and industrial activity (Stock and Watson, 1993; Mankiw, 2014). However, in countries such as Spain and Ireland, the effects of the recession were experienced differently. These contrasting experiences of the recession were a product of the particular ways that their economies had become affluent; for example, in Ireland’s case its low corporate tax rate and economic management as well as EU investment all combined to contribute to the economic expansion associated with the ‘Celtic Tiger’ (Royo, 2009; Pissarides, 2013). According to Martin (2009), the variability of the recession links to different macroeconomic structures at a national level. The countries that experienced the largest economic downturn had ‘the most severe debt excess’ and, therefore, those that were hit the hardest were the US, Spain, and countries in Eastern Europe – countries that were ‘the most dependent on trade’ (Martin, 2009: p. 1).
Second, on a microeconomic level, the onset of recession seems to have affected each of the respondents in a different manner. For example, Patrycja’s husband became redundant, and Zofia’s family’s business was restricted by economic growth. Therefore, Zofia’s family became constrained regarding their career development. Macroeconomics focuses more on the workings of the household, firms, and businesses in the labour market (Hall and Lieberman, 2012; Mankiw, 2014). Therefore the way that these macroeconomic structures, for example, businesses behave during economic instability such as the different strategies they take to protect their organisations’ future health can help shed light on the way that respondents as employees respond to businesses’ responses to instability; for instance, enacting redundancies among their workers. Drawing on work from the Segmented Labour Market Theory (SLMT), it seems that these organisational practices can have a variable impact, particularly on workers who are in the secondary segment of the labour market. The findings among contemporary Polish migrants supports this perception and Figure 6.3 finds that Poles continue to concentrate in routine and low-skilled employment in the secondary segment of the British labour market. These so-called ‘bad’ jobs create the conditions that cause the migrants to be sensitive to changes in macroeconomic events (Leontaridi, 1998). Unlike workers in the primary segment of the labour market, we can see from Zofia’s and Patrycja’s cases where their low status and self-employed positions causes their insecurity, as microeconomic strategies such as redundancies often happen with immediate effect within the secondary segment. This is because they do not have the internal protective mechanisms, for instance an organisation’s financial excess, to spend in situations like recession to protect the employment position of its workers (Anderson, 2010).

Third, the respondents’ accounts go some way towards explaining that the wider structures contribute to migration decision-making. On a macro level, changes to global and national economies affect the way in which microeconomic structures that include businesses and companies respond to events such as the recession. These business strategies are deployed to protect institutions against any immediate and long-term effects; for instance, implementing strategies to reduce outgoings by switching suppliers or maintaining the health of the business during low output by enforcing redundancies. The subsequent engagement between the different levels of the economy seemingly contributes to the individual circumstances of Polish people. Hence, for respondents like Zofia, their employer enacts a redundancy that causes them to experience insecurity. The power of structural factors in the secondary segment of the labour market diminishes their agency. This is because of factors such as the lack of legal protection migrants are afforded by employment contracts (McCollum and Findlay, 2015). Work on SLMT theory suggests migrants in this area of the labour market could become increasingly susceptible to harm given a recession and the vulnerable nature of their employment (Anderson, 2010). Therefore, their economic circumstances create the context to motivate them to consider further migration. With limited contractual obligations or restrictions, employers are able to make immediate redundancies that could have a ripple effect given the importance and significance of Poles’ ‘worker status’ in maintaining access to housing and welfare. For example, the Workers Registration Scheme, and the criteria for accessing social housing, demands that workers maintain ‘continuous worker’ status for three months to protect their welfare benefits. The finding highlights
the connected nature of macro and micro factors on individual’s responses to precarity (Shelter, 2017). Additionally, the results complicate our understanding of the straight-line migration of Poles between the UK and Poland. This is because the findings expose new strategies to cope with economic precarity by way of Poles relocating from other EU countries to the UK.

Finally, it appears from both accounts that economic factors assist in shaping respondents’ migration decisions that link to the recession but that these are ‘embedded’ in wider family contexts. At an individual level, the accounts highlight the significance of different forms of capital embedded in each family, and how these play a critical role in their residential decision-making. Bourdieu’s (2011) work on the different forms of capital (cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital) provides a useful framework to articulate the ways that respondents use different capitals to inform and prioritise their decision to relocate to Britain. For instance, Zofia and her husband appear to possess a high level of cultural capital; they hold higher-level degrees, had achieved higher occupational positions and spoke fluent English. Moreover, they forged a successful business in Ireland and therefore accumulated a relatively high level of material resources and economic capital to permit further migration from Ireland to Britain. Zofia’s family’s further intra-EU migration appears to be the result of the stagnation in both the development of their business and their future individual careers development in Ireland. Arguably, this suggests a class dimension to the migration strategies formed. Migrants of a higher occupational class are both afforded the luxury to further relocate to a place where economic factors are more favourable, and they have the necessary capital to facilitate these moves. This strategy seems to differ from Patrycja’s account as a migrant of a lower occupational class, who did not possess the same forms of capital to utilise and facilitate further migration. In Patrycja’s case, both partners appear to be positioned in low paid jobs in the Spanish labour market, with limited forms of capital to access and facilitate their relocation to Britain. These examples indicate that the differences in individual economic and social circumstances; for example, wealth, income, worker status in combination with a person’s intimate relationship status, can affect their differential experience of macro and microeconomic factors.

6.2 Socio-Economic Characteristics of Migrants and Internal Migration

Chapter three suggests one of the significant issues for Polish migrants and migrants more broadly in the labour market links to their socio-economic characteristics. These include a migrant's class and economic participation and it is posited that these characteristics affect the resources that migrants can obtain and access. Hence, the outcome of migrants’ access to resources then shapes the places to which they can relocate (Gordon, 1964; Alba and Nee, 1997).
**Figure 6.1:** Employment Status of Male ‘Usual Residents’ by ‘Country of Birth’ for England and Wales

Note: Sample Age ≥16 & ≤ 65, Year of Arrival 2004-2011
Source: 2011 Census England and Wales regional micro data 5% sample of total population

**Figure 6.2:** Employment Status of Female ‘Usual Residents by ‘Country of Birth’ for England and Wales

Note: Sample Age ≥16 & ≤ 65, Year of Arrival 2004-2011
Source: 2011 Census England and Wales regional micro data 5% sample of total population
Analysis of micro data from the 2011 England and Wales Census (Figure 6.1 & 6.2) suggests that Polish internal migrants, both men and women, are economically more active than other migrant groups by ‘country of birth’. This challenges many accounts that represent Poles as a threat to the welfare state and unemployment levels in the UK (see Literature Review). The results are particularly interesting for their interpretation of the links between contemporary Polish migrants’ labour market characteristics and their internal migration. This is because insecurity and explanations that connect to the likelihood of people relocating primarily associate this with a person’s lack of formal involvement in the labour market or economic participation. Yet, it appears that Polish migrants are more economically active than migrants from other groups. The results imply the need for a more complex and nuanced explanation, which can connect the economic factors that Poles encounter to their migration decision-making. In fact, the high levels of economic participation of both male and female Polish migrants emphasises the role and significance that changes in the economy and labour markets can have on their residential choices; for instance, changes in pay will mediate where they choose to live.

6.2.1 Constraints in the Labour Market

The analysis of Polish migrants’ NS-Sec in Figure 6.3 (which utilises NS-SEC as a proxy for class) suggests that Poles concentrate predominantly in the lower echelons of the NS-SEC classification for employment considered as ‘semi-routine’ and ‘routine’ occupations. The findings support previous work on the labour market position of many Polish post-accession migrants in the UK, which show that they predominantly supply labour in the secondary segment of the labour market in low-skilled and low-paid positions; for example in the food packing, agricultural and hospitality sectors (Burrell, 2009; Scott and Brindley, 2010). Indeed, accounts from some of the respondents suggest that specific factors in the labour market constrain their internal migration decisions as the direct result of their occupational and social status. For instance, accounts from interviews with Oliwia, Aleksander, and Patrycja illustrate how a migrant’s language ability can constrain or limit...
their labour market position and progression on arrival in the UK, and occupational status consequently affects their internal migration decisions in several ways. First, through personal circumstances that enable them to move between different places, and second, in securing a level of occupational status that matches their position in their country of origin.

Well, I think most of the reasons that people came here is like mine. They couldn’t really…find a job at home. The problem is that because not all of them, in Poland we are learning a lot of foreign languages, not always English as the first one – sometimes the main one is German, so those that were really well-educated could not speak English or their English was really weak, and they started working not in their professions; they started doing, you know, whatever just to support their families and I think that their experience and education is wasted and they suffer… So I started learning English when I was in secondary school, during my University time, and then during my PhD and so when I came here I didn’t have any problems with it. Of course, sometimes I have like issues, because in the institute where we used to speak English with like a mixture of everything because there was three different nationalities, so English was kind of like, you know, the common language

Oliwia W, F, 36, Hulme

[F]irstly, UK because she knew of other people living and working in UK her age and she was looking for a better paying job, so that’s why UK because she had friends in it…and Newcastle because all was just by luck and advertising. She subscribed to a magazine for Polish people in Poland advertising jobs in UK. So one of those adverts she applied to, and one of those responded and accepted her was in Newcastle…because the employer had, err, a history of employing Polish people and she was Bulgarian so they could communicate in Slavic mix instead of English initially.

[Interpreter] Aleksander, M, 22, Fallowfield

[B]efore I came to England, I thought I know English because I was working in hotel in Spain for a year where I was speaking English with different type of the customers and different type of countries, and when I came here and made my first phone call to job centre, I didn’t understand anything like, oh my god, I, I, I know English!

Patrycja O, F, 35, Stretford

It is evident that a migrant's poor level of English language creates a barrier to their occupational and social status in the UK. This, in conjunction with their low-class profile (NS-SEC), can explain how some of the characteristics of contemporary Polish migrants in the labour market affect their internal migration decision-making as a result of their circumstances and underemployment on initially settling in the UK. In many accounts, for example Weronika's and Paulina's, their lack of country-specific work experience creates a mismatch between their occupational positions in Poland compared with the UK.
Respondents such as Kacper, cited below, also describe how their lack of employment and low occupational status limits their internal migration decisions. This is because it results in their low economic capital, which in turn affects the affordability of housing in neighbourhoods to which they would like to relocate.

The findings support work that suggests that migrants often encounter difficulties gaining employment that is at the same occupational level or requires the same skillset as their previous employment in their home country (Dustmann, 1997). According to Chiswick and Miller (2009) and Nowicka (2012), a migrant’s level of education and the lack of recognition of their qualifications, their (mis-)match of skills, experience in a specific labour market, and barriers to utilising their skills in destination labour markets, all restricted them from matching their former occupational position in the British labour market. The result is that they are often employed below their level of education and skill set. However, once respondents are able to develop these skills or convert their qualifications, they can rapidly improve their circumstances. This shapes whether a migrant is able to relocate to a more affluent neighbourhood or remains in a similar type of area, as the result of specific characteristics of the labour market such as short-term employment.

### 6.2.2 Occupational Mobility, Career development, and Internal Migration

The movement of a number of migrants between various locations appear to link with their desire to remain employed and working within a specific sector of the labour market. It is also evident that the position of some migrants in low-skilled employment in the secondary segment of the labour market causes them to frequently relocate as a result of short-term contracts and their sourcing of work through recruitment agencies, as demonstrated in the quotes below (See later section).
The accounts above reveal how the short-term contracts and temporary employment that many respondents find themselves in on arrival in the UK, contributes to the constant turnover of migrant workers in particular sectors. The effect of this type of employment causes migrants to move frequently between employment positions to best protect their income and personal circumstances, and this is particularly evident in Natalia's quote that highlights the importance of employment to family migrants. Moreover, for migrants in these types of positions, maintaining their employment is essential given that many of these roles are located in the secondary segment of the labour market and are characterised by low pay. Here, low pay does not provide them with the economic capital to sustain long periods of unemployment and therefore sees them search for other opportunities in the same sector. These findings support the SLMT, which suggests that the characteristics of the secondary segment of the labour market – including unscrupulous employment practices and poor working conditions – often contribute to the migrants in these positions regularly encountering insecurity and precarity (Leontaridi, 1998). The accounts can provide one explanation for the movement between places, both rural and urban, and likewise explain moves that are partially driven by a migrant's insecurity in the labour market due to their occupational position and characteristics in the labour market's secondary segment, which cause them to move between employment opportunities and short-term contracts. Additionally, many migrants who moved to the UK relocated by way of recruitment agencies. Later accounts reveal one of the practices regularly used by recruitment agencies is to source EU migrants for specific work in certain sectors. The migrants, therefore, have limited control over their locational choices in the UK and are often employed for a limited period; for instance, a few weeks or days at a time. The account by Oliwia

### Oliwia, F, 32, Salford

The plus was that she got a job pretty quickly to work in a factory. There's a problem for husband because he's a driver and it's not as stable of work, so he once has got a job but on another day he won't... There's lack of security or contract for him in terms of financial stuff.

### [Interpreter] Natalia, F, 35, Ashton-Under-Lyne

I finished job in Stalybridge, and I just work for agency basically two weeks in one place, two weeks in another, just where ever they ask me to go I've been going there. [Work in] labour jobs, warehouse, factory, working packing et cetera, all these things.

### Kacper, M, 30, Ashton-Under-Lyne

I really don't know...because I'm still looking for a proper job, err, because right now I'm working for agencies and I need to collect my experience because as a lorry driver I need to have experience to find a proper job, because always where you can look for an advertisement there's a job, you know what I mean? – they looking for someone where one, two years experience.

### Franciszek, M, 31, Hulme

The accounts above reveal how the short-term contracts and temporary employment that many respondents find themselves in on arrival in the UK, contributes to the constant turnover of migrant workers in particular sectors. The effect of this type of employment causes migrants to move frequently between employment positions to best protect their income and personal circumstances, and this is particularly evident in Natalia's quote that highlights the importance of employment to family migrants. Moreover, for migrants in these types of positions, maintaining their employment is essential given that many of these roles are located in the secondary segment of the labour market and are characterised by low pay. Here, low pay does not provide them with the economic capital to sustain long periods of unemployment and therefore sees them search for other opportunities in the same sector. These findings support the SLMT, which suggests that the characteristics of the secondary segment of the labour market – including unscrupulous employment practices and poor working conditions – often contribute to the migrants in these positions regularly encountering insecurity and precarity (Leontaridi, 1998). The accounts can provide one explanation for the movement between places, both rural and urban, and likewise explain moves that are partially driven by a migrant's insecurity in the labour market due to their occupational position and characteristics in the labour market's secondary segment, which cause them to move between employment opportunities and short-term contracts. Additionally, many migrants who moved to the UK relocated by way of recruitment agencies. Later accounts reveal one of the practices regularly used by recruitment agencies is to source EU migrants for specific work in certain sectors. The migrants, therefore, have limited control over their locational choices in the UK and are often employed for a limited period; for instance, a few weeks or days at a time. The account by Oliwia.
stresses the mutually reinforcing role of the economic structure; for example, local economies and their supply and demand from the secondary labour market, and the role of recruitment agencies acting as intermediaries. It appears that in this context, a Polish migrant’s agency is ‘embedded’ in the strategies available to them to negotiate these structural forces and maintain their employment.

6.2.3 Career Progression, Occupational Mobility, and Internal Migration

It seems clear that not all migrants' internal migrations connect to the insecurity that is associated with low skilled and poorly paid employment. Some respondents, for example Paulina and Oliwia, retold experiences where they migrated from more rural to urban places, which link to their desire to find better employment opportunities. It appears that their moves are only possible as the result of either their occupational position or increased social mobility, such as through improved English language proficiency. For example, Oliwia’s description of her desire to move away from hospitality and into urban places links to her aspiration to forge a career in insurance.

I came to Manchester…hoping maybe I will find career here… I did have some… problems …just because my friends…who stayed in Poland and stayed here…they focused on their career and I didn’t. I did opposite, I decided to travel – to see the world instead of…like chasing my career…but I do not regret, I still don’t! I could be like barmaid or waitress; you know…it’s very difficult to…change your career path

[T]o be honest with you…I do not enjoy…that kind of office job that much, but this job will give you more money. It's easier...to go anywhere, to buy something – just to live your life, I love this when I was…in a restaurant…when I worked in hospitality that you have this relation with your customer and office job is totally opposite…On the other hand, that it gives you free weekends, you've got more benefits, I know even, even pension, whatever, but it's just like err, really it's just err, then you have more freedom of choice, so…that was the main reason that I start, you know, looking for someone different.

Oliwia, F, 32, Salford

In Boston, Lincolnshire, I work at the with the fruit factory, and then I work with the Pizza factory… Okay the reason was very simple, Boston I couldn't find a proper job; for example, in the school or the nursery or everything involved with the school or children and there were many factories and I couldn't find a proper job for me, and I had to find a better job for me, and I thought Manchester would be a good place for me, and I also compared the price of Manchester.

Paulina, F, 35, Eccles

From Oliwia's account, it appears that her work in hospitality has dual benefits. First, it suits her life-course stage whereby she earns enough money to sustain her life and go travelling and see the world. Second, it enables her to accrue a sufficient amount of social and cultural capital to facilitate her upward occupational mobility. Oliwia previously studied 'English language’ at degree level at a university in Poland but had little spoken English experience. Her language ability therefore created a barrier to her accessing specific types of employment in the UK. The account describes how her placements in rural Scotland facilitated improvement of her English language proficiency and knowledge of the UK. As a result, the increase in her level of English, allowed her to pursue a career in office-based employment in Greater Manchester, which can provide one explanation for her move from more rural places to the urban centre of Manchester.
Indeed, it was shown in Chapter five that one of the dominant trends of Polish internal migration is from rural areas directly into ‘urban city or town’ districts. One explanation for this level of direct access to urban places appears to be a manifestation of Polish migrants’ rapid upward occupational and social mobility, which enables them to either seek more advantageous career prospects in the city or break out of low skilled and poorly paid work in rural areas, and which like Oliwia was initially sourced using recruitment agencies. A further explanation for the lesser pattern of moves from rural to urban areas resonates with Lymperopoulou and Parameshwaran’s (2015) work, which suggests that Polish international migrants possessed a lower level of work experience and qualifications than other ‘accession eight’ migrants. The result of this finding is that fewer migrants are able to rapidly make the occupational and social mobility move from rural to urban places.

6.2.4 Cost of Living

Several respondents suggest that ‘cost of living’ is significant to their internal migration decision-making. This theme links to a migrant’s occupational and social status and the amount of economic capital they have at their disposal. Moreover, the theme highlights specific local disparities regarding the cost of living and price of resources in different places across the UK. Migrants such as Julia and Anna identify that the ‘cost of living’ is significant to their internal migration moves at different scales (intra-urban and local). Julia is a thirty-one-year-old Polish lady who works as a teaching assistant in Salford and has lived in the UK for over six years. Meanwhile, Anna is a twenty-eight-year-old Polish lady who works as a community researcher and who initially decided to move to London for lifestyle reasons.

Life in London was very, very expensive. So slowly when we make decisions, we are going to stay in the UK … So I knew London is too expensive and I will never be able to … live in London [and] just exist … So I decided to move to … Greater Manchester in 2009

Anna, F, 28, Salford

[My] friend … she said maybe we try the London; she already had some connections in the London. I was hungry for the big city – the city to be surrounded by many people, different cultures, different languages, and different ages. You know going out … It wasn’t like I expected. I was quite disappointed … because … it wasn’t like I imagine[d] … and I ended up on the third zone somewhere where it is very cheap, you live with like 5 people in the big house because the house, just mainly in the rooms because they … make the bedroom from living room! … was very difficult … it’s so expensive and the pay wasn’t good either and I wasn’t registered in the restaurant … so I had a cash in hand for like £5 hour and I was working two jobs at the same time … and I was still struggling to pay the rent … It was absolutely exhausting. So it [had a] big impact on me that I started to hate my London … and I had to move back to Manchester.

Julia, F, 31, Salford

It seems that from respondents’ accounts there is a complex interplay between employment, housing, agencies, and the cost of living. Julia and Anna’s accounts suggest that their employment on temporary work contracts did not provide sufficient income to be financially secure in their housing. For example, there is a clear mismatch between Julia’s preconceptions of moving to London to experience city life versus her actual lived experience. Her housing and its distance from
her work as well as having to undertake multiple jobs made it untenable for her to remain living there. Julia's occupational and social status on arrival in London made some areas of the city more accessible than others due to their affordability. However, the affordability of housing in the area that she selected led to high commuting costs, and to make London a viable place to live she had to work multiple jobs to accrue the necessary economic capital to support her lifestyle. It seems that the high cost of living versus working multiple jobs did not allow Julia to improve her economic circumstances sufficiently to enable her to move to better housing or neighbourhood. Therefore, it seems she eventually made a trade-off between lifestyle and economic factors that would enable her to live a better lifestyle in Manchester due to the lower cost of housing, wages, and commuting. Meanwhile, Anna's quote reveals the complexity of internal migration decisions and how it is composed of economic as well as lifestyle decisions. She remarks that London is affordable but if she wants to enjoy her life, she needs to move to a place that is more affordable to have disposable income to support lifestyle factors.

This interplay appears to be multi-scalar and can be used to explain moves between London and Greater Manchester but also moves within Greater Manchester, where respondents such as Julia discuss the cost of living as being significant. The importance of ‘cost of living’ is highlighted in King’s (2015) work, which examines its importance for migrants as part of their future migration decisions to remain or return to their country of origin. While King’s (2015) work focuses explicitly on the factors that shape international migration decisions, it can also explain some of the decisions of contemporary Polish migrants at a sub-national level.

6.3 Occupational Position, Access to Housing, and Internal Migration

Many accounts show that Polish migrants during their initial phase of migration frequently move between jobs in different low-skilled sectors. This labour market pattern directly connects to their internal migration patterns. Regularly, during this period, migrants live relatively transient lives. This results in their housing connecting closely to their needs in the labour market and respondents commonly describe their experiences in the private rented sector (PRS). This form of tenure within the housing market provides them with a strategy to respond to their low economic capital and insecurity in their employment. Hence, housing affordability and contract length often allows them to move with relative ease between places to find employment. Chapter three highlights that as well as employment and economic capital, a migrants’ ‘entitlement’ and ‘access’ to housing is integral to their residential geographies, both directly and indirectly. This extends to the tenure of the housing market they can access but also to housing practices that shape the places in which migrants want to live.

It seems that for some respondents that their ‘occupational’ and associated ‘social’ status in the lower echelons of the class hierarchy (NS-SEC – see Figure 6.3) restricts them from accessing quality housing in specific neighbourhoods. Their position is cemented through poor pay and thus low economic capital, thereby limiting their ability to afford quality housing in good neighbourhoods. For example, Maria is a thirty-year-old Polish lady who works as a community worker and describes her experiences of internal migration after her arrival at the age of eighteen.
The above accounts appear to reveal a number of significant issues that older Polish migrants experience in the labour market that illustrate some of the disadvantages of their age profile for their occupational and social status.

First, it seems that Maria and her boyfriend’s occupational status affected the quality of housing they could afford on arrival. Their lack of income sees them using their social and kinship networks to gain access to accommodation in the PRS. Nevertheless, their inability to find employment on arrival drains their economic capital and also requires them to find housing that is short-term. This strategy not only allows them to move around whilst remaining in close proximity to employment opportunities but also suitable housing. The quote by Maria reveals the trade-offs made by many migrants between the size of their room and accommodation versus their proximity to employment and services as well as their short-term availability.

Second, migrating from Poland to the UK is a costly endeavour that affects the amount of economic capital a migrant has in their destination country. Chapter three suggests that even though the effects of communism are often seen as an historical vestige – its effects continue to provide a key motivation to migrate from Poland to the UK. This is because, like Maria, the transformation still provides relatively unequal wages and labour market opportunities across the country.

Third, the periodic nature of contemporary Polish migration to the UK can explain the links between economic factors and internal migration decision-making. Chapter three suggests that Britain's need for low-skilled migrant workers at the same time as the EU accession led to structural forces channelling migrants into sectors such as agriculture, construction, and hospitality (Burrell, 2009). Likewise, restrictions on EU nationals regarding the tenures in the housing market that they are eligible to access results in Poles being channelled into the Private Rented Sector (PRS) (Burrell, 2009; Shelter, 2017). This characteristic, coupled with the economic cost of relocating and the migrant’s predominantly low economic and often also low social status (see previous quotes),
means that the migrants access PRS housing that is poor quality and in deprived areas due to the cost of housing in specific neighbourhoods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Home Ownership</strong></td>
<td>349 (11.90)</td>
<td>430 (14.20)</td>
<td>779 (13.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Renting</strong></td>
<td>313 (10.70)</td>
<td>357 (11.80)</td>
<td>670 (11.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Private Renting</strong></td>
<td>2269 (77.40)</td>
<td>2238 (74.00)</td>
<td>4507 (75.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2931 (100.00)</td>
<td>3025 (100.00)</td>
<td>5956 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6.4:** Polish Internal Migrants by Sex by Household Tenure

Note: Polish internal migration 2004-2011

Source: 2011 Census England and Wales regional micro data 5% sample of total population

Figure 6.4 suggests that Polish internal migrants are highly concentrated in the private rented sector in comparison to those who social rent and are homeowners. The findings support previous work on Polish international migrants and suggest that the PRS remains highly significant to internal movers. The figure shows a slight difference between housing for male compared to female migrants, with higher levels evident for male migrants than female migrants in the PRS. Furthermore, Figure 6.5 suggests that Polish and other EU accession migrants are have a slightly higher concentration in the PRS than other 'country of birth' groups.
One explanation for this concentration relates to Polish citizenship and entitlements to the welfare state and social housing in the UK. Shelter (2017) explains that EU migrants can apply for social housing after three months of continuous worker status and, therefore, due to this initial restriction, Poles become highly concentrated in the PRS. For example, Anna W, a twenty-eight-year-old Polish lady who lives in Eccles, highlights how her movement from a more urban neighbourhood in Salford to a more suburban neighbourhood was underscored by her family's allocation in the Social Rented Sector (SRS).

We rented the house for our self, so it is like a council house, so we feel safely that we can live for a long time... Private, yeah cost lots of money...so right now it's like half less than before. The main purpose of choosing that place was safe for children — school, good school in that area...It was the most important and most relevant for me — park for children and also... Yeah quiet place – quiet area – home area. Okay, two streets behind us is a street that has not very good...opinion and also I checked the Police, the crime record and it's not really good, so I don't know for the future, but if I have the chance to move somewhere else I will because of the children.

Anna W, 28, F, Eccles

Anna's account suggests that the type of housing tenure Polish migrants are able to secure is essential for interpreting their internal migration decisions and the formation of their residential geographies. Like many migrants, Anna and her family entered the PRS as the result of their migrant status on arrival in the UK. Once they qualified for SRS, it seems that Anna's family applied for a council house. While EU migrants can access SRS housing after three months of worker status in the UK, the realities of the SRS market mean that there is an uneven waiting list in many places. This links to the availability of SRS housing stock in the local area, and the local waiting list for SRS applicants that places family migrants above, for example, single male residents, both British and of migrant status. Additionally, applicants for SRS tenure housing are required to participate in a bidding process whereby they can select three houses from the available housing stock. Their choices are then deliberated by the local council, which takes into consideration their housing needs and whether their selections are optimal for their family circumstances. If these
match, they are allocated the house or other type of accommodation. The interplay between their selection as part of the bidding processes against the decision made by the local council makes clear that a migrant is able to express different levels of agency in different tenures of the housing market.

Anna’s quote also sheds light on the trade-off in her family’s internal migration decision-making between area safety and accessing SRS housing. Her account highlights that the area she moved to in order to access SRS accommodation is widely considered unsafe and she draws on the local crime statistics. However, she shows that this is traded off against local area attributes of green spaces and proximity to a good school that is prioritised regarding her family circumstances. The quotation also illustrates the significance of intimate relationships and family matters to migrants’ decision-making. The findings mirror Polanyi’s (1957) and Granovetter’s (1985) work, which report that economic factors are ‘embedded’ within considerations that relate to a migrants’ children and their children’s needs (See chapter three section 3.0).

6.4 Occupational Status, Access to Resources, and the Life Course

Work by Catney and Finney (2015) notes the significance of the life course and age profile of migrants regarding their internal migration patterns and decision-making. It seems that for many migrants, both young and old, their age and life course stage creates additional obstacles that complicate their occupational status as well as access to resources such as housing. For some of the young respondents, such as Maria, they relocated to the UK because of the lack of employment opportunities back home and without economic capital, work experience, transferable qualifications or English language they are unable to gain a solid employment position in Britain. In comparison, it seems for some of the older respondents, their occupational status, language skills or equivalent work experience, constrains them from accessing resources such as housing. This appears to be particularly important given the age profile of Polish migrants shown in Figure 6.6, where there are a relatively large number of Polish migrants who relocated aged 45-59.

Figure 6.6: Age by Sex Pyramid for Polish Internal Migrants
Note: *Year of Arrival 2004-2011
Source: 2011 Census England and Wales micro data safeguarded regional file

Figure 6.6 suggests that Polish internal migrants are highly characterised by their relatively young demographics (25-29 & 30-44). Figure 6.6 also shows a significant number of migrants who moved that are 15-19 and 20-24, unlike many other migrant groups to the UK.

### 6.4.1 Young Migrants, Occupational Status, and Housing

While many accounts from respondents discuss the obstacles and frustrations they encounter in the labour market, many younger migrants who move to the UK appear to face additional obstacles that link to their life course stage. Maria, for example, describes her experience of migrating to the UK as an eighteen-year-old and the problems she and her husband encountered.

Birmingham. It was because my husband’s friend lived in Birmingham. He went there few months before and said ‘you join me I will sort the accommodation out for you’, which didn’t happen!...I think he just let him down...so someone kind of let us stay in their living room for a couple of days and we very naive and we just thought we gonna find a job in a couple of days. It didn't happen. Adam’s cousin was in...Manchester… she was a student...so she said alright come in. I think you know we had no choice...First area we lived was Prestwich… and it was close to city centre, that where we kind of started looking for jobs. This guy got talking to us, and he said, ‘oh I’ve got this flat...in Stockport’. We stayed for a month...but I think we didn’t have money, so we had to move out. We were on the street basically, for a day with suitcases and things, it was awful! I think he (Karol) started job in that milk place and we rented next ...

**Maria, F, 32, Ashton-Under-Lyne**

Maria’s account shows how their occupational status and lack of economic capital created obstacles to finding work in the British labour market. Moreover, her lack of formal qualifications and prior labour market experience in Poland seems to link with her early life course stage and contributes to her difficulty securing permanent employment. There is also interplay between these factors and her low levels of economic capital, which contribute to her housing insecurity. Maria and her husband’s account contrasts with some of those of other previously mentioned respondents who are unable to draw on different forms of capital to hasten their upward occupational mobility. This is because many migrants like Maria do not have such previous work experience or qualifications to draw upon. The outcome of their employment insecurity and precarity in the housing market therefore results in them moving intermittently between the PRS, and informally with friends and relatives. Similarly, many migrants do not possess the social capital concerning language ability to use as a strategy and overcome many of these labour market barriers.

Maria’s account appears to accentuate that younger migrants are ‘doubly disadvantaged’ in their search for employment: first, by their low occupational position and second, by their life course stage. These have an indirect effect on the housing and neighbourhoods they can afford to move to. It seems that some migrants’ decisions are composed of factors that relate the flexibility of their accommodation to be temporary by nature, to accommodate their fragile employment status. This
flexibility allows them to move at a moments notice to new employment opportunities if needed. On the one hand, ironically, low-paid workers require housing to support their search for employment within a commutable distance to reduce their costs. On the other hand, they require work to maintain their economic capital and housing, often in the PRS, which they can access immediately due to their citizenship status. Nonetheless, it seems that Maria uses an active strategy to circumvent many of these issues and her accounts reveal how she uses social and kinship ties to increase their economic capital to afford better housing as well as being flexible in the accommodation she lives in during this initial phase of migration. This finding seems to only be an issue during migrants' initial phase of migration, as subsequently younger Poles benefit from their life course stage by gaining economic capital in their destination country.

6.4.2 Older Migrants and Constraints

The interview data also suggests, however, that some of the older Poles also face specific obstacles that relate to their life course stage and older age profile. For instance, two respondents, Jakub and Magdalena, show how their occupational and social position in the labour market affected their access to different strands of the housing market. Jakub, for instance, is a fifty-nine-year-old Polish man who volunteers at a Polish community organisation and lives in Gorton. He describes his moves to the UK being influenced by his job loss and unemployment that followed the economic transition after 1991. He explains how he previously held a high-status position in the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry that was guaranteed until 1991 when he was made redundant and faced precarity. Meanwhile, Magdalena describes how her lack of social and economic capital contributed to difficulties in navigating the PRS and SRS and her subsequent strategies to circumvent these obstacles. Magdalena is a fifty-five-year-old Polish lady and lives in Broughton in Salford and works as a cleaner at a Polish business in South Manchester.
Figure 6.6 (previous section) that examines the 2011 Census microdata shows that a large number of Poles between ages 40 and 59 migrated to the UK and are internal movers at a sub-national level. Chapter two outlines several explanations for the older age profile of Polish migrants, which connect to specific characteristics in the Polish labour market that are associated with the transition out of communism. Hence, the shift from a command to a market economy left many Poles in a state of insecurity and having to compete for employment positions for the first time. The Polish economy was and continues to be characterised by low salaries and high unemployment but following Poland's membership of the EU, there was now the opportunity for many to improve their circumstances. Moreover, White (2010) suggests that free movement also permits many older people to relocate to assist with caregiving responsibilities that link to their younger family members who migrate.

For Jakub and Magdelena, like some of the other respondents, their language proficiency constrains their access to better quality employment as well as their ability to navigate and negotiate different tenures of the housing market. It appears that Jakub's lack of English diminishes his ability to understand the PRS. His quote shows that without the familiarity of the system, and with a lack of knowledge of housing rights and responsibilities that link to PRS housing, coupled with poor English skills, he endured insecurity due to the conditions set out in his rental agreement, which prohibited him from negotiating a strategy to resolve his housing situation. This contributed to his experience of homelessness that was further heightened by the court judgement that forced him to pay restitution costs and limited his economic capital to be able to get back into PRS housing. Jakub's account substantiates Ratcliffe's (2009) work on the difficulties migrants and ethnic minorities face in the housing market when they only have a partial knowledge of its workings and how to navigate it successfully.

Jakub, M, 59, Gorton

Her son moved to UK in 1991 for school and she missed him so moved to be near him. She works in Barbican (Chorlton) in delicatessen. It's like a bakery and she cleans there. She lives in Northenden in her son's house. She's got SKYPE, so she speaks with the family...she's got Polish telly that her sons installed for her. You can buy Polish food everywhere, so she can cook lots of Polish dishes...she says it's very difficult because she cannot speak to English people...she used to make an effort and go to English classes but her head is not in it. So her children will translate everything for her and sort out everything for her.

She was waiting about eight years to get it (SRS house)...her son helped her find house as he is familiar with the area and telling her how to apply and stuff.

[Interpreter] Magdalena, F, 55, Broughton

Yeah, I arrival, start one job, second job, I working running...bakery [in] afternoon 4 to 5...seven in nursery, because I working in this time two job for two years. And this room owner was...Chinese lady. I pay for this room sixty pounds no more paying, no council tax, no electricity, no gas, and I remember it was very strong winter in this times...very big bill for electricity and landlady told me I must pay more – four hundred pound. I said no, why? This is contact, maybe my mistake not her. So my contract in letter, right? And this lady change locks. I cannot go to this house. I was homeless in this time. Lost job [and] go to court.
Meanwhile, Magdalena’s account reveals that she is still firmly embedded in Polish culture while living in Manchester. The concept of transnationalism is therefore a useful tool to understand Magdalena’s ties to Polish culture even though she has been living in the UK for over a decade. She actively uses social media and sophisticated communication software such as SKYPE to remain in close contact with her friends in Poland. Her adult sons installed Polish television in her home, and she receives multiple subscriptions to Polish newspapers that circulate in Greater Manchester (GM). Likewise, Magdalena utilises her Polish contacts to find herself employment as a cleaner in the local Polish business in South Manchester, and this ensures that she remains in proximity and contact with other Polish-speaking people. Magdalena appears to overcome her lack of English language proficiency through a strategy that uses different forms of capital, namely her cultural capital, which is embedded in her kinship network. The strategy includes utilising her adult sons who are bilingual, so that they can assist her with applying for SRS and navigating other parts of local life. Having rented for a long time in the PRS in South Manchester, her children then helped her to navigate the SRS to gain access to her current house in Little Broughton, which is near Salford and the larger Polish community that live in GM (See Shankley, 2017 on the residential settlement patterns of ethnic minorities in Greater Manchester). The findings support work by Ciupijus (2012) that highlights the significance of language to accession eight migrants and their lack of English language ability impede them from gaining access to appropriate employment at a similar level of their work experience and skillset. The study helps to explain the reasons for some Polish migrants’ underemployment and also how they develop and deploy strategies to work around these issues.

Magdalena’s account underlines the significance of kinship networks in mediating economic and social resources and access to social housing. Chiswick (2009) found that proficiency in a migrant’s destination language decreases the older the age of the mover at the time of their migration and their language skills are similarly limited by their lack of exposure to their destination language, efficiency in acquiring destination language skills, and economic incentives to learn the language. Arguably, in Jakub’s case, the financial support he paid to his son in Poland acts as the primary initial economic incentive for his learning English to gain access to broader employment opportunities in GM. He is far more proficient at English than Magdalena whom, even though she has been living in the UK longer, still has a far lower level of English – and we had to use an interpreter to conduct the interview. Besides, for Magdalena, it appears there is less of an economic incentive for her to learn English as she had remained firmly embedded in Polish social and employment networks since migrating to Manchester, utilising various forms of cultural capital to negate any obstacles she encounters accessing the social housing sector.

Overall, examining a Polish migrant’s internal migration through the lens of the life course makes clear how this framing illuminates the ways in which migrants of different stages encounter various obstacles in the labour market that can contribute to a variety of internal migration patterns, and goes some way to explaining the plural and multiple internal migrations contemporary Poles made as the result of economic factors. This chapter shows that some Poles can rapidly adapt their previous work experience and qualifications to the UK and learn English, so they can then increase
their occupational status and thus move to better using and neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the chapter also shows that due to their life course stage some Poles face additional obstacles; for example, younger Poles do not have the prior employment experience to draw on whereas older Poles face difficulties learning English, and these factors can hinder their access to employment opportunities and housing.

6.5 Recruitment Agencies and Internal Migration Decision-Making

The third major theme to emerge from the interview data that links to Polish migrants’ internal migration decision-making is the role of recruitment agencies as facilitators of migrants’ international and internal migration decisions. Their role appears to add complexity to migrants’ moves, specifically relating to practices such as helping migrants to source employment and housing and assisting the migrants to open bank accounts. In fact, these actions of recruitment agencies limit Polish people’s agency in a number of mechanisms: the places they find work and housing in the UK, specific practices and decisions made by recruiters who act as intermediaries in the employer-employee relationship, the types of work migrants relocate into, and the employment conditions the migrants encounter (See Figure 6.7 diagram of the mechanism illustrating the role of recruitment agencies from the accounts of respondents in the study). The significance of recruitment agencies in Poles’ internal migration patterns and decision-making presents a relatively under-researched theme, which differs from much previous research that links internal migration to migrants’ specific access to resources and their accompanying occupational mobility, for example. This section argues that the growth of recruitment agencies illuminates a ‘period effect’ in the labour market that is particularly useful to interpret contemporary Polish migration and the links of the labour market and decision-making.
Figure 6.7: A flow diagram illustrating the role that ‘recruitment agencies’ play in Polish study respondents’ residential decisions at different stages of their internal migration moves.
Respondents’ excerpts reveal that they either migrated along social networks as the result of social ties with friends or relatives who spoke of the benefits of relocating to the UK, or who told the respondents that they would help with accommodation and assist them to find employment during their initial phase of migration. For example, Julia K, a thirty-two-year-old Polish respondent who lives in Rochdale spoke of the motivation for her decision to relocate as being her social ties (friends) already living and working in the UK.

My friends arrived before me, a couple of months before me and they got a flat in Whalley Range, so by the time I got here everything was organised.

Julia K, F, 32, Rochdale

The use of social networks is found throughout migration research on other migrant cohorts, however it seems for many study respondents that their migration, both international and internal, is facilitated independent of social ties existent in the UK – namely through their use of recruitment agencies. The following accounts show how migrants’ use of recruitment agencies assist them to move to specific places and access certain jobs in specific sectors.

The accounts in section 6.2.2 show how a migrants’ agency is mediated by the involvement of recruitment agencies and the way in which these affect their eventual migration patterns. The first account is by Oliwia, a thirty-five-year-old Polish lady who initially relocated to the Isle of Uist in the Outer Hebrides to work in the hospitality sector. She subsequently describes her moves between Scotland, Poland, and Wales before moving to Manchester to forge a career in accountancy. The second story is from Natalia who is a thirty-five-year-old Polish lady and who works in a biscuit factory in Ashton-Under-Lyne. Natalia’s account describes how her family previously moved between EU countries where she worked as a cleaner and her husband worked as a lorry driver before settling down in Bristol to start a family. They have two daughters and decided to move from Bristol to Ashton-Under-Lyne. This was so Natalia's husband could be close to his other daughter from a previous relationship, who lives in the Tameside area. Finally, the last account is by Kacper who is a thirty-year-old Polish man who lives in Ashton with his fiancé and young son.

The accounts suggest some key issues associated with Polish residential decision-making. First, the respondents’ accounts all highlight the significant role that recruitment agencies have as intermediaries between an employer and employee. This is evident in the lack of agency in their locational choices, which are often dependent on the place the agency sources the migrant’s employment. In Oliwia’s account, it seems she had relatively little involvement in the decision to move to Scotland or Wales but that the recruitment agency shaped her internal migration as the result of the employment they offered her.

In all accounts, the recruitment agencies and agents directly shape migrants’ internal migration patterns, and in many ways the direction of their migration. This is through supply and demand in specific sectors in the labour market. It appears this mechanism underscores migrants’ movement.
between areas and their employment moves within the same sector. For example, Oliwia’s movement between hospitality work opportunities that sees her shift between rural areas as well as Kacper’s movement between temporary employment opportunities whereby he makes small moves around urban places in Manchester. Like Oliwia’s case, it is conceivable that many of the moves described in chapter 5 (movement within similar area types) are of migrants moving within specific sectors that are characterised by short-term contracts of low pay and poor working conditions.

Second, Natalia’s account exposes the significance of intimate relationships and family dynamics for Polish migrants who use recruitment agencies and agents. Moreover, the employment trajectories of both Natalia and Kacper highlight the instability and insecurity of migrants who are employed and assisted by recruitment agencies. However, cases such as Natalia’s evidence that economic conditions also contribute to insecure personal circumstances. Natalia’s husband’s job is based on earnings that link to the number of journeys he makes and even though he is economically active, his employment conditions create a lack of security because the couple are unsure when he will receive work. These circumstances contribute to unstable economic capital and household insecurity.

6.5.1 Illicit Recruitment Agencies

It seems that one of the central features of recruitment agencies relates to their unregulated nature – more specifically, the lack of regulation on their practices (See chapter three section 3.2.4). This is shown in the variety of experiences encountered by migrants who used such agencies to relocate and find employment in the UK. Five respondents mention that their use of specific types of recruitment agencies contributed to multiple forms of insecurity. First, recruitment agency practices that assist migrants to relocate to the UK and also help them adjust to their new settlement areas; second, the employment and housing they are able to access or source on arrival; third, the employment conditions they experience in the UK that link to recruitment practices, which in some cases lead to experiences of unemployment, human trafficking, and homelessness.

It is worth mentioning that this theme emerges out of the interview data and highlights the benefits of a mixed methods approach. This is because the interview data shows how recruitment agency practices and vulnerable working conditions can lead to experiences of homelessness and external agency assistance that shape a migrant’s internal migration decision-making. This uncovers a relatively invisible dimension of Polish internal migration, and sheds light on the structural factors that can shape a migrant’s internal migration moves. The stories also make clear a limitation of the Census methodology as the data collection is based on migrants who move between registered accommodations. Moreover, the housing and employment practices that the migrant’s stories reveal suggest that the experiences of a subsection of the Polish migrant group’s internal migration moves are shaped by insecurity and homelessness. These are invisible from the Census due to their moves between unregistered housing.
He moved because he has a wife and three children and one grandchild in Poland and needs to provide and support them. He contact agent in Poland to help him move to the UK and they promise lots of amazing jobs, money, and houses. But he arrived, and the house he was living in was run by Gypsies, and he shared a bedroom with another Polish man.

**[Interpreter] Stanislaw, 45, Manchester**

He came to the UK because of jobs and money. When he arrived, some people recommended he contact a recruitment agency in Birmingham to get work. However, they work him like in an exploitative working camp, and he did lots of hours for little pay and was not what he was promised.

**[Interpreter] Igor, 39, Manchester**

He originally moved from Wroclaw where he worked in construction and decided to move for better life and money. He decided to use a recruitment agency after the work his friend promised did not happen. He had to use them because he didn't have many friends or family in the UK.

**[Interpreter] Piort, 22, Manchester**

He moved from Tromen...a small town in western Poland. He's quite disappointed in the UK...he worked before in Germany, Sweden, Denmark...two reasons he came, personal...he divorced his wife and have make payments...second, finances. He received help from a recruitment agency in Poland because he did not have any friends or family in the UK but heard that Britain is good for jobs.

**[Interpreter] Bartosz, M, 47, City Centre**

The respondents' stories show that a common practice of recruitment agencies that span the UK and Poland is to locate the office in Polish cities to attract migrants to use their services. For instance, Bartosz is a forty-five-year-old Polish man who lives in a men's refuge in central Manchester. He describes that his main motivation for moving to the UK is influenced by family matters. The migrants' account sheds light on some particular aspects of recruitment agencies. First, Bartosz’s experience shows his international migration decision-making connects family matters and family ties with economic factors. The account supports the notion that financial decisions made by the Polish respondents are embedded within social and economic circumstances. Bartosz’s motivation for relocating to the UK links with the stability of his relationship with his wife and the breakdown of their marriage but also his legal obligation to pay financial support to his ex-wife. His financial insecurity causes him to turn to recruitment agencies as a strategy due to lacking social networks or ties already in the UK to assist with relocation.
Second, the accounts highlight the connection between international and internal migration. For instance, it appears that a migrant exerts their agency in their initial decision to use a recruitment agency to facilitate their relocation. The recruitment agents then control the locational choices of migrants in the UK, the types of housing they are accommodated in, and the conditions under which they can access employment. The accounts further show that the agencies base recruiters in Poland to assist people who opt to use them to relocate abroad, often in the absence of social ties to help them. However, once they decide to use recruitment agencies, the recruiters facilitate the economic and social aspects of their relocation that include transport to the UK as well as support sourcing housing and employment, but also more informal assistance that includes local knowledge of the area and assisting the migrants to open bank accounts. For example, the account by Mateusz, a thirty-year-old Polish man who lives in central Manchester, describes how illicit recruitment agents strategically position themselves in major cities across Poland.

Finally, the migrants’ accounts describe the variability of experiences of respondents who use recruitment agencies. This supports previous work by Wilkinson et al. (2010) that reports how the lack of regulation imposed on recruitment agencies and their practices creates an unregulated area of the labour market.

It seems from the interviews that migrants benefit from the use of recruitment agencies in several ways. First, in cases like Mateusz’s, recruitment agencies it appears function to replicate some of the social support in the absence of any form of social or kinship ties. For example, they provide migrants with housing during their initial phase of migration as well as help them source and access employment. This extends to informal practices such as helping the migrants obtain national insurance numbers and open bank accounts (See Bartosz’ account). The problem is that there is variation in experiences of agencies and this means there is minimal control over these practices – which extend to exploitative practices – or any oversight regarding accountability for the type of assistance that recruitment agencies offer. The lack of regulation is apparent in later quotes from migrants that show how these practices often benefit the recruitment agencies; procedures such as opening migrants’ bank accounts means that they become de facto arbiters of migrants’ finances and thus have economic control over their resources. The accounts therefore clearly show how the migrants’ decision-making is placed solely in the control of the recruitment agents/agencies.

Meanwhile, the recruitment agencies use strategies that benefit from a continuous stream of vulnerable people by placing agents in Polish cities and recruiting migrant workers with false promises that they cannot refuse. Higher wages and accompanying housing appear to be an

‘He says he used them because he was desperate to come to the UK for jobs. He didn’t know anyone and doesn’t speak good English and therefore didn’t have anyone who could help him move. When he approached them, they told him he would receive maximum pay in the UK and help with moving from Poland to UK and accommodation when he arrived.’

[Interpreter] Mateusz, 32, Manchester
attractive offer to migrants who do not have the connections to facilitate the relocation on their own and to overcome their fragile economic circumstances or deprivation.

6.5.2 Conditional ‘Tied-in’ Housing and Employment in the UK

Many of the respondents mention that a key role of the recruitment agencies or agents is to source them employment in the UK as well as find them accommodation. For example, several accounts show how in many cases the two areas connect and are tied into each other. This is where recruitment agencies locate migrants housing that is provided on the basis of their employment status and they often have to share their accommodation with other migrant workers. However, this housing is conditional on their continued employment and, in many cases, if a respondent loses their employment they subsequently are not entitled to retain their housing.

He was promised lots of money by recruitment agent, and after three months he calculated that he earned £80 for 50 hours of work per week. You would get more for this in Poland. He was doing various cleaning services, renovating a house for Polish people and putting paving on the street for some people. After nine months they kick him out of work because he complained, but he had nowhere to go, so he arranged through work transport to Manchester through his work colleagues...he ended living in a hostel. He could not stay in hostel for long time so lived in streets then found temporary work and rented a room for few weeks and then back on the streets.

[Interpreter] Igor, M, 39, Manchester

He mainly said because gypsies promised him money to come...they took his passport...He said they run the house and they have to pay them money. He said he shared house with 6 other Polish peoples...He said he lived there for...two months in total....and gypsies found him work in bakery...only earned 32 pounds per day. He said this bad pay made him want to escape. The gypsies waited outside his work to collect half of his money every Friday...and one time on Friday he decided to leave the house and not return to avoid paying. He did not know where to go and slept on streets. He spent three years living on streets.

[Interpreter] Bartosz, M, 47, City Centre

The above accounts make clear that recruitment agencies play a significant role in the location choices of migrants as the direct consequence of sourcing migrants with assured employment and housing. This finding supports Wilkinson et al.’s (2010) on the role of recruitment agencies for new migrants and how they operate and allow many migrants to circumvent fundamental issues that associate with accessing housing and finding employment. Nonetheless, the problem with the ‘tied-in’ nature of their employment and housing appears to render migrant’s susceptible to various forms of insecurity. This finding supports work in chapter three on the structure of the labour market and the role of recruitment agencies (Sporton, 2013; Trevena, McGhee, and Heath, 2014; McCollum, in press). The growth of recruitment agencies in the UK to supply labour migrants to specific sectors continues to cultivate practices such as tied-in or conditional employment and housing (Shelter, 2017).
6.5.3 Insecurity, Exploitative Employment, Homelessness and Internal Migration

In chapters seven and eight respondents discuss the various strategies they deploy to overcome their racialized white identities and to navigate internal moves that consider family matters. However, the current chapter suggests that Polish migrants who access recruitment agencies encounter employment conditions and housing that can lead to different forms of insecurity, and in some cases homelessness. The power of the recruitment agency creates significant structural obstacles that limit migrants’ ability to exert their agency and control over their locational choices or wider migration decision-making.

The respondents’ stories highlight a relatively invisible form of internal migration that is missing from the wider narratives as well as knowledge on contemporary Polish migration at a sub-national level. For example, Piortr, a twenty-year-old Polish respondent who lives in a homeless shelter in the city centre of Manchester, spoke of how he escaped from a house in Dudley. He saw this as his only option to escape his circumstances.

He said Polish gypsies found him work in a cake factory, but because he did not speak good English he could not complain about the conditions... He said the gypsies helped him open a bank account which they had access to and regularly withdrew large amounts of his money for their help. One day he said Police raided the factory. He then was helped by the police and moved to place in Manchester.

[Interpreter] Piortr, M, 22, Manchester

So he went to work, and he knew he wasn’t going to go back to the flat. It worked that they would get paid at weekends and that the gypsies would be waiting and take half of the money and he wanted to say there are whole streets being kept like that all working for the gypsies. They are Polish gypsies.

He felt trapped in these bad working conditions. He did not know how to change work or try and make his situation better. One day he decided to not return to work and escape the gypsy but ended up living on the streets in the Dudley area for approximately four years.

[Interpreter] Bartosz, M, 47, City Centre

Not so many problems. Most difficult is when it is raining, or it is really cold.

[Interpreter] Igor, M, 39, Manchester

The quotes find that often migrants are channelled into employment on short-term contracts and in poor working conditions. However, due to the sourcing of their employment being negotiated by their recruitment agents, they are often unable to seek better working conditions. Furthermore, the increased involvement of agencies and the large stock of migrant labour in the UK mean there is little incentives for employers to improve their working conditions. This finding resonates with work by Shelter (2017) that finds ‘tied-in’ housing is common in the agricultural and hospitality sectors to avoid issues that relate to the distance and proximity of housing and work; that is, the rural location of employment, often in areas with insufficient housing stock to support a transient migrant.
population. In situations where they become homeless, and the conditional links of their housing and employment fall apart, they do not have the external and separate social ties to fall back on.

Piotr's experience, for example, highlights a 'reclaiming of migrant agency' in a precarious situation. Even though his description shows he was unable to escape from one form of insecurity, he was also faced with a new form of insecurity due to the connected nature of his housing with his employment. His escape rendered him homeless for four years. Homelessness is a relatively under-researched area in the wider internal migration scholarship and is often treated as a different sub-field of geography. In the homelessness literature, the notion of street homelessness is often conceptualised as an urban phenomenon, both by process and by the location of people. For example, Cloke, May, and Johnson (2011) find that many people who encounter homelessness in less urban areas often move towards urban places. This is because many of the resources and statutory services that assist homeless people are based in urban and city areas.

The emergence of homelessness amongst the respondents challenges the quantitative data in chapter five as failing to consider a whole segment of Polish migrants whose residential decisions were missing from official data collection. Piotr's account also highlights the intersections between employment, migrant identity, and racial identity. In much of the literature on homelessness, our understanding of who constitutes or is stereotypical of the homeless population in Britain is classed and racialized in a certain manner. Yet, new EU migrants such as Piotr challenge these notions of homelessness that are complicated by EU migrants' rights and access to the welfare state, and suggest that Poles' homelessness shows a different way they have been classed and racialized. A recent report by Shelter (2017) finds an increase in EU accession migrants who experience homelessness and explains it as a result of a misunderstanding by many migrants of their entitlement to the welfare state that includes social housing. However, Shelter (2017) reports that while an accession migrant can access social housing after meeting the necessary criteria, they often did not apply even though the Census data suggests high levels of economic participation. One explanation for the finding could be because they are unable to evidence their 'worker status', in addition to their lack of understanding of how to navigate the social housing system. Arguably, this finding increases their dependence on the PRS and the accompanying insecurity that circumstances such as the ones highlighted above place on a migrant's position in the British labour market.
6.5.4 Human Trafficking Responses and Structural Factors that link to Internal Migration

Additionally, all the respondents spoke of a mismatch between the employment and accommodation that was advertised compared to the actual conditions they experienced. For instance, Piortr repeatedly suggested he became trapped in exploitative employment practices and was forced to work long hours for minimal pay, and had to ensure these conditions were met to remain housed instead of the contracted, flexible, and regular hours he had been promised. Moreover, Bartosz describes how his limited proficiency in English resulted in him being reliant on recruitment agents to resolve any issues in his migration experience, yet paradoxically, these were the same agents who were exploiting him. The situation of forced entrapment can be considered a form of ‘human trafficking’, and while the respondents willingly entered into these employment networks, these contracts were misleading and not fulfilled on arrival. Due to additional obstacles such as language and knowledge of the labour market, the migrants were unable to negotiate their contracts or employment conditions or find other recruitment agencies offering better conditions. Bartosz’s account highlights the tempestuous and entangled relationship between individual agency and wider economic conditions to remedy these exploitative employment conditions.

Correspondingly, respondents such as Mateusz describe how the involvement and intervention of an external organisation and a statutory agency (the National Crime Agency) led to both his position as homeless and his residential location being altered. It is these events that are most interesting for explanations of intra-urban moves found in chapter five. This is because the respondents describe the NCA decision to move them to other locations was dual purpose; first to support their well-being and recovery, and second to escape the recruitment agencies who had exploited them. The statutory agency’s; decision to move the migrants seems to show their acknowledgement that the conditions the migrant’s endured were recognition that they had been victims of human trafficking. For example, Bartosz stated that he was given a grace period of 90 days to remain in the UK and relocated to central Manchester under the condition of him testifying against his oppressors. It is these types of moves, where outside agencies have intervened, that illustrate how the constraints on a migrant’s agency were not exclusively the result of recruitment.
agencies themselves, but also an outcome of the actions outside agencies take when intervening in the respondents’ exploitation. It also illustrates the lack of recognition these accounts are given in wider internal migration narratives and among official datasets; for example, seeing migration as moving away from harm but to locations that were decided by other people, or agencies to which they had no control over. The finding also shows a specific pattern of intra-urban internal migration that was localised to the Greater Manchester region. It is the role of recruitment agencies practices on internal migration that has illustrated why many quantitatively driven studies on migrants' residential geographies are criticised for their lack of inclusion of wider structural explanations that can complicate a migrant’s agency being expressed as part of their residential decisions.

6.5.5 Exploitation, Homelessness, and Future Internal Migration Strategies

The accounts from the respondents illustrate the significance of insecurity and homelessness to internal migration patterns and decisions. The qualitative data sheds light on a form of sub-national migration that escapes the Census methodology because of how internal migration is recorded and links to registered housing. Additionally, the interviews reveal the complex interplay between recruitment agencies and their practices in certain sectors and how these can lead to migrants experiencing insecurity in many forms that include exploitation and precarity. Moreover, it appears surprising that for many of the migrants their experience of ‘human trafficking’, or what is considered human trafficking by outside agencies, appears to have little impact on their future residential decisions. For example, all respondents suggest they wanted to remain in the UK even though they had undergone different forms of exploitation and homelessness. In Stanislaw’s case, for example, his family obligations limited any consideration of a return to Poland because he had to additionally support his wife and three children; this statement illuminates the importance of ‘intimate relationships’ in migration decision-making. In all cases, the migrants discuss that an additional factor that limits their return to Poland is a sense of shame of having fallen victim to exploitation by recruitment agencies and their periods of homelessness. Shame seems to feature as a significant obstacle to their future migration decisions, and even though they had experienced exploitation, the shame overrode these feelings. This appears to be a significant cultural factor that prevented returning to Poland being a viable future migration strategy. Piotr previously, for instance, suggests that he would remain in Britain instead of returning to Poland, which would mean he could avoid experiencing similar forms of exploitation and unregulated practices. To inoculate against future exploitation, he suggests that he would find formal and legal recruitment networks instead. Interestingly, his experience of illicit recruitment networks and practices appears not to have dissuaded him from using recruitment agencies again but rather has made him more aware of navigating the labour market and subsequently developing strategies to manage his expectations.

6.6 Summary

A limitation of the 2011 Census analysis in chapter five is that it is difficult to decipher the factors that are implicated in the decision-making processes of migrants. The section initially finds that economic factors that link to different levels of the economy are ‘embedded’ in wider social factors,
and these relate to a migrant’s family matters and their intimate relationships with their partners and children. The approach shows how economic insecurity created by shifts in the macro and micro economy as well as social ties mediates individual circumstances. These structures combine and result in migrants developing complex strategies to mitigate harms and better navigate the economy. The strategies include patterns of migration from Poland to the UK via other EU countries, and this challenges the straight-line trajectory of Polish migrants to the UK.

The chapter also shows that one explanation for some Polish people’s internal migration patterns links to a migrant’s economic and social status. Specific obstacles in the labour market such as English language proficiency, country-specific work experience and qualifications impede migrants from matching their status in the UK. For migrants who are unable to convert their occupational and social status, they encounter regular moves within specific sectors. Meanwhile, for migrants who are underemployed or unable to increase their occupational and social status, they cannot directly move to places with more employment opportunities or increase their economic capital that would allow them access to better quality housing in more affluent neighbourhoods. The chapter also demonstrates that migrants’ citizenship and migration status creates structural obstacles to their entry into specific tenures of the housing market, and that housing and practices in the PRS shape the places migrants can move to and their opportunities to enter the SRS.

Finally, the results suggest a specific period effect linked to the rise of recruitment agencies in the secondary segment of the labour market in the UK. The growth of recruitment agencies and their lack of regulation create variable experiences for Polish migrants regarding their relocation to the UK; namely the sourcing of their employment as well as housing. The results as concerns recruitment agencies add to our understanding of migrant decision-making. This is because some of their practices complicate the extent to which a migrant can exert their agency regarding their location choice and conditions of their employment and housing. Other practices reveal that recruitment agencies can function as arbiters to migrants’ finances and employment conditions, and in some cases function as synthetic social networks. The findings appear co-constitutive and support Ratcliffe’s (2009: p. 437) articulation of the ‘interpenetrated mutually embedded nature of structure versus agency’. Overall, the findings provide a more nuanced explanation of the multiple types of patterns Polish migrants exhibit in the analysis in chapter five.
Chapter Seven
Whiteness, Migrant Strategies, and Migrant Decision-Making

7.0 Introduction

The literature review suggests that ethnicity is significant to migrants’ internal migration decision-making. This is because migrants who are ethnic or racial minorities can experience discrimination and racism that can influence their decisions on the neighbourhoods they want to move to. Ethnic identity can also indirectly influence their migration decisions through practices in the housing and labour market. Analysis of the 2011 Census suggests that 93.5% of Polish residents in England and Wales self-identify as ‘White Other’. This signifies that Polish whiteness differs from white British identities and therefore there is a need to unpack the ‘White Other’ category and how this specific form of whiteness affects Poles’ residential decision-making. Furthermore, Chapter five suggests an overall pattern of Polish internal migration towards more racially white districts with a low percentage of non-white residents. There is a temptation to explain Polish people’s internal migration patterns towards areas that are more white as their movement away from non-white residents. However, the Census data and its variables restrict us from unpacking the complex way that ethnicity and whiteness might operate for contemporary Polish migrants as part of their residential decision-making.

This chapter finds evidence that Poles’ identities are racialized as the result of their labour market position, the way they are represented in the mass media, and through the ways in which other residents consolidate these representations. Indeed, the chapter highlights that Poles experience forms of discrimination in multiple situations and suggests that in many instances Poles’ whiteness intersects with other identity markers such as language, accent and dress to expose their ethnic difference. Their visibility contributes to various strategies that they deploy including, for example, verbal and implicit attempts to make claims to whiteness and Europeanness and their associated privilege/s, but also particular behavioural strategies to fit into their local areas. The findings suggest that ethnicity is significant to contemporary Polish migrants’ decision-making, and these spatiotemporal variations underpin the idea of local race configurations caused by the process of racialization and its interaction with local contexts. Lastly, the chapter finds that it is necessary to consider ethnicity and religion together to understand the migration decisions of Poles, particularly given that they have migrated from a post-communist state (see chapter two).

7.1 Race, Racisms, and their Portability

The construction of ‘race’ and ‘racism’ in Poland appears significant to how Polish people understand these concepts. These interpretations then have a significant effect on their residential decision-making. Explanations for the differences in ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’ in Polish society connect to the country’s lack of diversity (see chapter two) and their constructions of these categories under communism bisecting race and religion. Similar to Grill’s (2017) work that explores the position of ‘race’ among Roma migrants in the UK who moved from Slovakia, it seems that in Poland the terms are relatively underused and ascribed to discussing racially ‘white’ residents who are visible
because of the spaces they inhabit and their religious dress and markers, rather than their phenotypic differences. Where ‘racial’ and ‘ethnic’ differences are acknowledged among the respondent migrant population, they seem to interchangeably use religious and racial differences to talk about ethnic and racial minorities. Their descriptions imply that wholly racial or colour-coded differences are viewed as issues within other societies and not in Poland.

Drawing on explanations of understandings of race in post-communist countries from Grill’s (2017) work, the most important political dialogue from the post-communist states’ political establishment is to suggest that racism is not a matter for their societies. Racial diversity is, rather, an issue or scourge in countries such as Britain with rich colonial histories. The way that race is fashioned for Slovakian Roma, for instance, can be seen in their treatment under communism whereby they were classified as ‘lumpenproletariat’ – a group who are to be re-educated through their incorporation into the working class to become fully fledged Slovakian citizens. It is therefore important to understand the sociocultural-historical constructions of race and the portability of it among migrants, which arguably can show how ethnicity affects migrants’ decision-making at a subnational level for people from a post-communist state.

Poland, like many other post-communist countries, has undergone rapid economic, political, and social transformation after 1991. These processes have continued to occur after communism dissolved and rapid movements towards democracy had been instigated. Moreover, as established in Chapter two, while Poland was no stranger to invasion from external forces, their policies of the 1940s through to 1991 played an important role in the country’s relative ethnic and religious homogeneity compared to more Western countries such as Britain. Justyna describes how race is understood in Poland and the way Polish people talk about racial and ethnic differences. Her account also emphasises the bounded nature of Polish ethnicity as predominantly racially ‘white’ and Catholic.

We have a lot of informal words, for different communities. So like the Hindu community we just call them ‘Ciapak’…Which basically means you have stains on your body, so I think it’s just people of another colour…like different stains on your body. I think that’s just the way we discuss in Polish. Even when I moved to London, a lot of the shops are even run by Hindus – so we didn’t say I’m going to the local shop, we said ‘oh I’m going to the Ciapaki to buy some food…same with black people, you just kind of, you just call them brown – very brown.

Are there any groups in Poland you do think would be discriminated against?

I think…Roma!… So in the town nearby – almost got like a special district where they settled so there almost like a Gypsy – it’s almost like a ghetto – so you had a Jewish ghetto in the Second World War, but in that city, you almost have like a Gypsy ghetto.

Justyna, F, 25, Longsight

It appears from Justyna’s quote that ‘racial’ and ‘ethnic’ differences are phenomena constructed mutually along racial and religious lines. Verbal descriptions of difference tend to be colour-coded but entwined with the process of migration. This finding supports Grill’s (2017) work on Slovakian Roma that discusses how the terms for race and racism are frequently associated with countries such as Britain with colonial legacies and specific non-white migration histories. Ethnic diversity is
therefore seen as an alien matter that does not exist in their country. The use of terms such as ‘Racizm’, ‘Ciapak’ (Hindu’s) and ‘Brudas’ (Black) to describe and talk about South Asian and African people illustrates respondents’ confusion about racial talk and the different ways that ethnic diversity is constructed in Poland. The findings also resonate with Fox’s (2013) work on the uses of racism by Romanian and Hungarian accession migrants that reveals the complex application of registers to talk about race and deploy forms of racism that are distinct from the registers used in the UK.

It seems from Justyna’s account that the adoption of more explicit words in Poles’ talk of ‘racial’ and ‘ethnic’ difference is due to the lack of racial diversity previously experienced in Poland. What is more, Justyna’s quote illuminates the lack of familiarity with the way that racial matters are discussed in the UK, and this also reveals differences in the way that ethnicity is constructed between Britain and Poland. This is clear in Justyna’s use of Hindus in the same vein as racially black. It is also noticeable that like the repertoires of racialized difference in Britain, Poles use a mix of religion and racial categories to describe people’s difference.

Moreover, the entwined nature of Poland’s history and the atrocious acts carried out under the Third Reich are referenced as a feature as to why matters of race are not talked about openly in Poland (see chapter 2 section 2.1.1). Ethnic differences it seems become visible in Polish society when whiteness intersects with religion, language, and nation. This is evident in Justyna’s quote on the ‘Othering’ of the Polish Jewish community. And, this Othering appears to relate to a particular football club in the Krakow region, and the negative constructions of the Polish Roma who live near to Krakow. The areas near Krakow show that the places ethnic minorities live and their participation in specific leisure activities can denote their visibility. The different ways that Polish migrants describe ethnic difference can be recognised in Justyna’s use of epithets such as ‘ghettos’ to demarcate the area where the racially white Gypsies live. This choice of wording illustrates how Roma’s ethnic differences are constructed around certain locations and resonate with the sociocultural constructions of ethnicity evident in chapter two. Indeed, the findings indicate how in Polish society systemic processes of exclusion contribute to the racially white Roma group becoming residentially congregated in spaces. The talk about the Roma also shows how our interpretation about the way that ethnicity operates to shape Poles’ residential decision-making does not only include British registers of ethnicity but also suggests that we need to consider ethnicity alongside religious and linguistic minorities.

In Poland, it appears from Justyna’s quote that many Poles have minimal awareness of their racial identities. Arguably, this is because they are members of the dominant racially white and Catholic population. Normative structures in Polish society render their need to consider their racial identity contextually obsolete. However, nearly all respondents mention their shock and surprise on arrival in the UK at the racial, ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity on the streets. For example, the following quotes highlight some of their experiences.
For me, it was like…an eye-opener. I didn't meet this before in my life….I always consider myself like open-minded individual, but this was something new when I came to UK – not scary, just new. We don't have too much nationalities in Poland. It's hard to, for example, to meet some Black person or Asian even. It's very rare in Poland but how it looks in UK. It's very like multicultural.

Adam, M, 28, Whalley Range

[D]iversity, so there's so many foreigners, different cultures, I think people are quite open-minded…people are not as judgemental maybe as back…in home.

Julia, F, 32, Rochdale

I like how multicultural it is and how open it is.

Maria, F, 27, Green Quarter

The quotes reveal that some of the migrants relish the diversity that accompanies their migration, and this can be observed more readily in the accounts by three of the gay respondents and those in interethnic relationships whose moves to the UK are underscored by the UK’s diversity and tolerance towards minorities (See chapter eight).

For other respondents, particularly those who moved more recently, it seems that ‘race’ emerges as a more salient issue given the contemporary debates in Poland about the EU-wide quota system. It seems that Polish society’s heightened awareness of racial differences links to the top-level effort to spread asylum seeker applications more evenly across EU countries. For many political parties in Poland, this opens up the debate about race and how asylum seekers are purported to threaten different institutions and cultural values in Polish society; for example, they could increase competition in the labour market. Many hyper-nationalist parties continue to attempt to hijack asylum seekers’ migration, making discursive moves to denigrate immigrants whom they present as creating a threat to Polish culture. Respondents such as Oliwia (see later quote) appear to demonstrate a paradoxical understanding of ethnic diversity on the streets of Britain that sheds light on the way ethnicity operates for Polish internal movers. On the one hand, an openness to diversity facilitates their movement to Britain; yet, on the other hand, their confrontation with non-white people, particularly Muslim residents in places such as Hulme, caused them to dispute the presence of other migrant groups in the country. The respondents’ experiences seem to increase their sense of unease and decrease their perceived level of neighbourhood safety that directly affects the places they move or are willing to migrate to.

I think some of them [racist words] are used more frequently here – again because there are more people to use it against, so it’s not frequently used in the Polish community just because there is not much presence of the Hindu community or Black people, but from what I’ve experienced in London – speaking to a lot of my friends in London they use those words quite a lot to describe different nations…I think they were always present in the language but when they move here found the target to actually use them against – if that makes sense?!

Justyna, F, 25, Longsight
Justyna’s account and use of terms such as Hindu show that her understanding of race is portable and this suggests that in her mind racial others are a combination of race, ethnicity, and religion. Her account also shows how these understandings help her make sense of racial matters in Britain when confronted with ethnic diversity on her arrival into the country. Moreover, Justyna’s racial awareness since moving to Britain chimes with work by Goffman (1963), who argues that the very occurrence of migration often causes migrants to evaluate and reassess their identities as situated in a new context. For Oliwia and other respondents, their very act of migration to Britain transforms their identity. Their migration shifts their status as racially white and part of the majority population with hegemonic privileges, to racially white where their migration and identity’s intersection with gender, language, class and culture directly thrusts their whiteness into full view, as differentiated and contingent.

7.2 Polish Whiteness and Racialization

It’s tiring because we are different, sometimes we are, we just don't like certain behaviours of certain nations because you know that they are different, it makes you feel tired sometimes, so you prefer really to be really with people who are like from the same background. And sometimes I'm a bit stressed because I'm Christian and sometimes I'm worried that as everywhere in Europe, the people that belong to Muslim religion err they may just convert into like being Islamist, you never know that. So I kind of sometimes, do not feel so comfortable.

Oliwia, F, 36, Hulme

It appears from respondents’ accounts that their migration from Poland to the UK challenges their understandings of ‘ethnicity’ and attitudes towards other groups. Poles’ movement between places arguably led to a change in their social realities from being an insider and member of the dominant and normative racial group to becoming an outsider and racially conscious for the first time. On arrival in Britain, they encounter a new social reality where their whiteness no longer immediately or directly privileges them from having to think about racial matters. Instead, their migrant status and frequent position in the lower reaches of the labour and housing markets introduces them to new racial issues. This includes ethnic diversity in the places they live, their workplaces, and schools where they send their children. Three migrants’ stories illustrate the processes that underpin how their whiteness is viewed and may be understood by others. Their descriptions reveals how their whiteness becomes racialized and the way in which this process can influence the level of discrimination they encounter that can, directly and indirectly, affect their internal migration decisions.
Do you remember the time when there was a huge thing of tele that all the politics been saying all Polish people are stealing the jobs off English lads?

Kacper, M, 29, Ashton-Under-Lyne

My name is obviously Polish, and sometimes someone looks at my name and they sort of make an assumption that I am doing some sort of manual job or something like that, and then I come across people who are often surprised that I am actually a solicitor because they have this sort of association that I am a Polish woman and I should work as a housekeeper.

Aleksandra, F, 34, Broughton

A few years ago when we joined the European Union and there was so many people coming to the UK, English people they were very negative…They were saying to me ‘oh go back to your country, you came here for money’; I felt really bad for it that people were judging me just on the basis of nationality and the country I’m coming from. I found very unfair.

Oliwia, F, 32, Salford

Each account suggests that the overwhelming position of Poles in low-skilled and routine employment affects the way they are represented in the media and in everyday exchanges. These representations, particularly evident in Aleksandra’s quote, show that even if a respondent has a better occupational position, their whiteness still comes to the fore as a result of its intersections with class and immigrant status. It seems that the assumptions made about Aleks and her subsequent discrimination are based on a misalignment of her professional status versus the position and representation of many contemporary Polish migrants on the lower rungs of the labour market. Kacper’s account points to two issues: first, the dominant representation of Poles is primarily associated with the migrant cohorts’ labour market position in the initial years following EU accession, as competitors for lower level jobs, and this consolidates the importance of class interpretations of whiteness. Second, the role that the mass media plays in perpetuating these ethnic stereotypes is racialized, which diminishes the status of Polish whiteness compared to other forms of white identities. Alek and Oliwia’s quotes also imply that these representations are consolidated through everyday exchanges that further the racialization of Polish whiteness. The findings bolster the work of Fox et al. (2013; 2015) who found that Hungarian and Romanian accession migrants’ whiteness is also racialized but in different manners. For example, Hungarian migrants arrived as part of the ‘Accession 8’ migrant cohort and were subject to relatively lax restrictions on their labour market participation (Fox, Moroșanu, and Szilassy, 2012). Due to their numbers, however, and the large numbers of Poles their white identities were racialized as a product of their accession migration status. Meanwhile, Fox (2015) explains that Romanian migrants entered the UK on the back of anxieties associated with the previous accession cohort and the British government placed restrictions on their labour market participation, directly channelling them into programmes such as the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme to immediately benefit the agricultural sectors. For Romanians, their racialization seems to be a product of these anxieties about accession migrants in Britain, but there are also similarities with the negative constructions of Roma migrants and the misunderstanding of their identity and conflation as Romanian nationals (Grill, 2017). Further, their negative representation in Britain is also shaped by memories of the Romanian children’s crisis whereby the standard of living of
Romanian children was widely reported by the media after the fall of communism (Light and Young, 2009).

It seems from the accounts that Polish migrants' white identities are racialized to a greater extent than migrants who are middle class or those who originate in more Western EU societies. Moreover, Polish migrants’ racialization appears to be a consequence of their cohorts’ dominant labour market position. The effect of this is that they are positioned at the lower end of the racial hierarchy in Britain. Song (2004) explains that the racial hierarchy is an invisible hierarchy in British society that has been shaped by, first, the colonial experience of New Commonwealth migrants on arrival in Britain and their employment status. Second, the dominance of racially white residents in the higher echelons of the education and labour market contribute to the maintenance of white hegemony. Yet, the experience of Polish migrants in the labour market complicates the position of whiteness in this hierarchy because even if they possess high-level qualifications and skill sets, they continue to be channelled into specific poorly paid employment in the secondary segment of the labour market. For example, Kacper and Oliwia’s accounts illustrate this process. Likewise, the previous chapter explains that many Poles face specific obstacles in obtaining a similar occupational position in Britain compared with Poland and this can have an overall effect of contributing to the consolidation of their racialized whiteness. The findings mirror several pieces of previous research. Miles and Brown’s (2003) work on the links between the labour market and the position of migrants in Britain, for example, explains that often there is a deficit in specific sectors and positions that cannot be filled with resident workers, and therefore migrant labour is needed to plug these gaps. Where ‘race’ is involved in racialization due to the labour market, Miles and Brown (2003) explains that various racial and ethnic groups link to specific skill sets that distinguish that group. Miles and Brown (2003) continues to explain that when labour market gaps open up employers consider the different qualities of applicants: employers rank people in regard to the qualities that best suit the criteria for the position. Nonetheless, the race of a person is involved when the employer’s decision on suitability for a position is based on their perception of a racial group or collective, rather than the individual skills of the applicant. This process explains one way that certain groups come to occupy specific sectors and portions of the labour market. The findings also mirror the previous experience of Irish migrants to Britain and the US Roediger’s (2002) where, on arrival, their racial identities were viewed as ‘not-so-white’. As the largest share of ‘Accession 8’ migrants, Poles’ identities became highly racialized, firstly, as a result of their disproportionate location in the secondary labour market; second, because of their nationality; and third, because of their migrant status.

Finally, the perception in the UK regarding Eastern Europeans is generally derogatory, and they are seen as less sophisticated and educated than the UK population (McGinnity and Gijsberts, 2016; Piekut and Valentine, 2017). The lack of knowledge about Poland among British people adds to the perception that they are different and perceived as ‘alien’ despite their whiteness. These notions inform how the Polish migrants are represented and reproduced in the mass media that contribute to their racialized identities, thereby supporting Spigelman’s (2013) work that found that
‘accession’ migrants are extensively negatively framed in the British media and constructed as a threat to British employment as well as competition with British workers for job opportunities.

### 7.2.1 Othering, Discrimination, and Racism

One of the effects, it seems, of their ‘Othering’ and the differentiation of their white identities is respondents’ experiences of discrimination and racism. The experiences seem to occur if a migrant’s difference is made visible. For example, Patrycja O recounted the occasion of her relocation from Chorlton to Stretford with her three sons. She describes her experience of playing in a local park where her interaction with another resident highlights the process of her whiteness becoming visible. Likewise, Oliwia describes a situation in her workplace where an employee’s interaction with her shows how other people view Polish people and their position in relation to people from Western Europe.

I was going with my kids in park, and young girl start shouting…Saying ‘you better back to your country’…the funny thing was because it was [a] black girl…she said later to my boys, ‘oh because your mum works in Aldi…’ My oldest son said ‘and what is wrong with Aldi?’ ‘You know how hard I work in there’ that was, for me was ‘oh my god’ because I feeling bad, it's like…’oh you are shit because you’ve got shit job, shit pay and shit things to do.’ This must be came from home.

**Patrycja O, F, 35, Stretford**

I sometimes have impression…in the situation when in the society there are model one nationality. I get the impression that English people and the other nationalities that are from Western Europe, they are not interested in what is going on in like central European countries. They, they don’t want to hear, they sometimes ask each other about interesting like ‘how is it in France about this?’ ‘How is it with this?’ the other friends are staying there as well. I think a good mother would require them to ask how it is in Poland. They are not interested in it. They, they really like it when you say something like ‘but in Poland, it is like this’ – ‘oh is it?’

**Oliwia W, F, 36, Hulme**

In Patrycja's account, it seems as though the visibility of her Polish whiteness contributes to the discrimination she experienced in her local park. The other resident’s knowledge of her employment at a local supermarket intersects with her class status and migrant identity to make her identities both as an immigrant and Polish whiteness visible. The knowledge of this ‘difference’ is used to position her as an outsider and discriminate against her. Patrycja’s account also suggests the particular place-based interpretations of whiteness, which led to her identities being denigrated and discriminated against, while in other places, such as Oliwia’s experience of living in Scotland, their whiteness and identities were privileged and went relatively unnoticed. The varying accounts support and draw parallels with Grill’s (2017) work on the racialization processes of Roma migrants in Britain. Grill (2017) argued that Roma migrants were racialized by negative national and local cultural and historical constructions of their identity throughout Europe, which had contributed to specific regional, racial constructions of their identities. Likewise, Oliwia’s account of colleagues at a scientific research institute highlights the apparent underlying division between Eastern and Western Europe and the ways that whiteness is geographically differentiated. Subtle verbal exchanges are used to delineate her racialized position and diminish her status, even
though she has a doctorate in biomedical sciences and held a labour market position that is somewhat higher than other Polish migrants in Britain. Oliwia's experience of 'Othering' shows that racialization occurs in different contexts, such as the workplace. The important role that the workplace plays for Poles in shaping their inter-group experiences is highlighted in Rzepnikowska (2017). Here, the findings support respondents' testimonies of their experiences of conviviality in the workplace in a comparative study of Poles living in Manchester and Barcelona. Migrants use strategies of conviviality to mitigate matters that relate to 'othering' and not fitting into different places. These workplace experiences appear to play a principal role in the experience of conviviality with their colleagues; instead of strategies that focus on reducing the adverse effects that are the result of their racialized white identities, the respondents demonstrate strategies to improve their relationships and encounters with their work colleagues.

Lastly, the experiences Poles encounter as the result of their racialized identity in some locations in Greater Manchester draws similarities with Ray et al.'s (2004) work on South Asian residents. According to Ray et al. (2004), many South Asians had experienced backlash and racism in peripheral areas of Greater Manchester where they were observed to occupy particular sector jobs; for example, in the retail and tax sectors. Ray et al. (2004) explains that the racial victimisation South Asians experienced occurred in communities and on estates where white people were struggling economically. While South Asians’ ethnicity, as a visible minority, is explicit; the racial victimisation they experienced could be used to explain how their labour market position and historical migrant group status contribute in some part to their racialization and subsequent experiences of discrimination in local places.

Anna W and Oliwia's accounts below illuminate that in rural and seaside places that are not very ethnically diverse their whiteness makes their identities relatively invisible, and they did not have to consider whiteness as integral to their residential decision-making. For instance, Anna W describes one of her first moves to a rural village in North West England where her whiteness appears to privilege her and made her relatively unnoticed. Oliwia’s account describes her experience in rural Scotland as similar to Anna’s, characterised by a sense of possessing an ‘insider’ status.

I end up in a small village with retired people so I couldn't really find myself there to make friends…I moved only with three friends…Still with my English language was at a basic level. It's a nice village, but it's nice to go for a weekend, not to live there for young people.

Anna W, F, 28, North West England

‘I moved to Scotland –…on the island… I needed time to get used to language first…but after three months…I absolutely loved it, especially people. I worked in little family hotel, and whole community in this little village where I lived…everybody knew each other, so it was easy to like meet new people.

Oliwia, F, 32, Scotland
These accounts suggest that respondents encounter different experiences in varied contexts, which shape both ‘whether’ and also ‘how’ their ethnic identity becomes visible or goes relatively unnoticed. Their visibility appears to connect to the relatively low number of Poles who migrated to a place; for example, in Oliwia’s case relatively few migrants it seems moved to the Islands in Scotland, whereas wider accounts of Poles moving to rural places, such as Boston in Lincolnshire, clearly have been noticed. But also, their visibility seems to be a result of how their ‘whiteness’ is constructed in local places. Their descriptions of moves to more rural places also seems to highlight that in many areas that received relatively few Polish migrants, Poles were able to benefit from their class position. Furthermore, Oliwia’s language skills and knowledge of British culture seem to allow her to benefit from a middle-class status that enabled her presence to go relatively unnoticed. In Anna’s case, arguably the mere fact that she moved to a rural place with relatively few other migrants might have contributed to her whiteness being a resource. This opens up interesting questions about whiteness and culture and whether Polish whiteness becomes an issue due to demographics that link to the number of Polish migrants that move to an area, or the notion that their cultural practices are similar to British people and therefore make it easier to fit into these places (See Chakraborti and Garland, 2004 on the problems South Asian Muslim residents encounter in the rural idyll). Additionally, Oliwia’s account exposes that in the rural village the differences she experienced were drawn along generational lines, in comparison to the resident retirement population, rather than along ethnic lines. Oliwia’s experience in Scotland, again, appears to suggest that in more rural areas Polish whiteness is not noticed and thus is not racialized in the same fashion. As a consequence, migrants such as Oliwia can wield their whiteness as a resource to fit into these areas. However, this might be connected to their age profile, life-course stage and class background, as opposed to solely their whiteness.

Some of the respondents’ accounts also illustrate how language and accent reveal Polish whiteness. This is evident, firstly, in Maria’s account of her internship in Ellesmere Port where she talked about being the only non-British intern at the organisation, and secondly, from Jan W, who spoke about his experience in a local shop in Ashton-Under-Lyne.
Each of the accounts suggests that Polish whiteness should be understood as locally constructed and relational, hinging upon who was viewing their whiteness and in what contexts. They also highlight the transition from invisible to visible that respondents experience due to their language proficiency and accent. In Jan’s experience, his whiteness initially shielded him from becoming racialized and identified as Polish. This continued until he spoke to his wife in Polish and instantaneously in this exchange, he seemed to transition from insider to outsider. Before the redrawing of his status, he had access to the privilege that accompanied his whiteness, whereas afterwards his status changed and placed him in a position where his Polish whiteness and otherness is revealed and contributed to discrimination. Maria’s case sheds light on the way her language skills caused her identity to become racialized. In her account, her accent serves to categorise Maria as audibly different. Although Maria does not necessarily attribute her experience of discrimination to her racialized Polish identity, her language appears to demarcate her identity as a migrant and a non-British employee.

Both accounts support the idea that access to whiteness is fluid and temporal. Migrants in certain situations and places can obtain whiteness and its privileges until, for example, they speak or are overheard. This then puts them at risk of discrimination as the result of their racialized identities. The shifting process the respondents describe from being considered as an insider to becoming an outsider seems to connect to their whiteness transitioning from relative invisibility to visibility in particular contexts. The idea of the shifting boundaries of Poles’ identities being place-specific chimes with Myslinska’s (2013) findings of the social and everyday realities of European-born Americans. Myslinska (2013: p. 559) notes that European-born Americans’ identities often ‘oscillate between being visible as foreigners, and fading into the invisible “white” norm’. Empirical examples of the finding are also seen among Polish nurses in Norway. Van Riemsdijk, (2010) finds that the nurses on arrival are unable to claim the particular national construction of whiteness embedded in Norwegian society and are regularly considered ‘not-so-white’ (van Riemsdijk, 2010). For much of the time, Norwegians consider the Poles as outsiders; however, their status is subject to tectonic shifts when compared to non-white groups. In these situations, they are found to be more ‘like us’. Van Riemsdijk (2010:p. 132) notes that ‘in all situations, it is beneficial for Polish nurses to be
identified as white but the privileges that [were] accorded to this racial identity varied according to social context.' So, the differential status of Polish whiteness that exists in Britain is brought to the fore in particular contexts due to additional markers of identity, which also resonates with Halej’s (2015) work on constructions of Eastern European whiteness. Halej’s (2015: p. 247) thesis suggests that Eastern European whiteness is fashioned distinctly across England. Moreover, Halej’s (2015) findings show that migrants are ‘valorised for their hard work ethic in difference to a segment of the English working-class, and considered just like us in terms of sharing a European cultural background, possessing a white phenotype and this not standing out visually in the public space, sharing similar socialisation patterns and Christian religion’.

7.3 Strategies to Resist and Respond to Racialization and Racism

It appears from the interview data that respondents have developed an array of implicit and explicit strategies. The strategies are developed to respond to the racialization of their white identities that are described in the previous sections. It appears that often these strategies are used as temporary measures to fit in, to reduce the discrimination or racism they experience before they can move to a different area. Many respondents describe their language or accent as two common markers that distinguished their Polish whiteness. They also use these markers as strategies to overcome their racialization. For instance, Justyna describes her family's experiences of living in the UK and her perception of how she believed they have managed to circumvent discrimination and racism compared to other Poles. Justyna is relatively well integrated, and she and her five siblings have been in the UK for around ten years.

I think it's the language that usually triggers racism. So my friends that have had racist abuse were people that don't speak proper English or have a really strong accent. So my siblings because we came here when we were little, we mostly speak without a Polish accent so when they actually speak English they can't tell where we're from or from a different country – especially my little brother. A lot of Poles they decide, especially those, those guys that are builders, they almost build a community around the community, they only go to the Polish shop, they only go to the Polish church, they only work with Polish people, so they never learnt English and learned the language.

**Justyna, F, 25, Longsight**

S]ometimes prefer not to say...my nationality because I feel that...some people they following some stereotypes...I do feel that, if I would say 'oh I'm from Sweden' they have a little bit different attitude than from Poland, I do not feel comfortable with it.

Oliwia, F, 32, Broughton

Justyna’s account highlights that Poles’ level of language proficiency appears to connect to their labour market involvement and position, including the practical constraints that restrict them from being able to improve their level of English. Their class position, it seems, increases the likelihood that their white identity is racialized in various contexts. Oliwia, for instance, remarks that her accent is the marker that regularly identifies her as Polish and Eastern European. However, to overcome this issue she deploys a verbal strategy to benefit from misrecognition. Oliwia enforces this as an explicit and conscious strategy by stating she is Scandinavian and not Polish. The strategy functions to allow Oliwia to benefit from misrecognition and associations with another
more positively valued European migrant group. Oliwia had lived in the UK for over eight years and initially moved after completing her degree in English language and literature.

Language improvement and misrecognition are regularly remarked upon as clear and active attempts made by migrants to fit into places in Greater Manchester and push back against their otherness, visibility, and harms that associate with their racialized identities. It seems as though Justyna’s and Oliwia’s class position and length of settlement in the UK also affords them the ability to overcome some of these practical obstacles that relate to language learning and mediating their Polish accents. Yet, other accounts highlight that these strategies could be seen as privileged class strategies only benefitting migrants who have grown up in the UK, or with a high social status and more professional background. Natalia, a thirty-five-year-old Polish woman who lives in Ashton, reveals that for many migrants who work in low-skilled positions without the social status of Justyna and Oliwia, substantial barriers in the labour market restrict them from being able to improve their English language skill.

[She works in a biscuit factory]...She knows a lot of Polish women because she works in a factory and one shift there can be two hundred Polish women [no] British.


For Natalia, long hours working in the factory seems to restrict the time she has available to attend English language classes to improve her language proficiency. Working alongside many Polish women with no access to native English speakers restricts any improvement to her cultural and social capital. The lack of native English speakers at work also limits the places she has available to practise her English, which in turn restricts her occupational position and ability to apply for a better employment position. Her situation means she is unable to draw from and mobilise her cultural capital to increase her earnings and move to better housing in more affluent areas. Natalia’s account draws parallels with Garner’s (2007) work that describes whiteness in Britain as being conceptualised about a specific set of norms and values, and exists as a particular type of cultural capital. For migrants such as Natalia, to better be able to benefit from her racial whiteness she needs to gain access to this normative category of whiteness, which requires her to act or behave in a specific fashion. One of the core characteristics or expressions of this specific form of cultural capital is a person’s proficiency in the English language. Therefore, with limited access to classes and places in which to learn English, these restrictions limit Natalia’s ability to accrue more of this specific form of cultural capital. It is worth noting that Natalia is one of the respondents who asked for an interpreter to facilitate her interview even though she had been resident in Britain far longer than many of the other interviewees, and this again shows the limitations that language skills can instil.

In Natalia's case, a constellation of factors that include her language skills and occupational position work to maintain her class position. This resonates with work by Souza et al. (2016), which finds that a migrant’s accent often limits the opportunities they have available in the labour market.
The significance of both language and accents also draws parallels with Pearson’s (2014) work on English migrants in New Zealand. Cultural similarities between English migrants and residents of the majority population in New Zealand led to accents being significant at exposing the differential whiteness between the two groups. Nevertheless, English migrants experience less discriminatory or negative attitudes in New Zealand, due arguably to their cultural similarities as a member of white settler colonies.

Verbal and discursive attempts by Poles to claim access to the privileges that associate with whiteness mirror the strategies deployed by accession migrants whose identities are also racialized (Fox et al., 2015), as well as among historical accounts of Irish migrants in the US (Roediger (2002). Here it seems that, like the Poles, other racially white migrants deploy strategies to gain access to better-positioned white identities. Roediger (2002) comments that the racialization of Irish whiteness is also associated with the characteristics of the migrants who moved; for example, they were mostly from rural areas, Catholic, Gaelic-speaking, and from a working-class background. Famine and poverty versus the need for labour migration into low-skilled positions in the US job market saw the new Irish migrants being channelled into the lower echelons of the US’s professional ladder. Roediger (2002) wrote that it was these qualities that resulted in their racialized status and saw them deploy similar types of strategies to overcome these problems, as with the Polish respondents.

In addition to improving language competencies, name changing also emerges as an explicit strategy employed by Polish migrants. For example, Klaudia describes how her name being stereotypically Polish has in many contexts, and particularly at work, contributed to her identity becoming racialized. Klaudia initially relocated to Liverpool in 2005 and completed her bachelor’s and master’s degrees at British universities, and it seems that her name was the last explicit marker that identified her as Polish or Eastern European.

My original name is Magda Bankowski, and so I changed my name by deed poll. So when I was applying for my first job I changed it coz my role was client facing, and I would be interacting with English people …and I do believe that that has an impact….on how I work and just didn’t want to go through the uncommof of having to spell my name or having people spelling incorrectly. I think it would get mispronounced quite a lot of times…The spellings would be taken incorrectly whether it’s on my bank statements or…renting flats. And I think, just in general…It tells your ethnicity. I think it just kind of easiness of my name as it is at the moment is so much better to remember for people pronounce it and blend in.

Klaudia, F, 30, Salford

Klaudia suggests that her strategy for changing her name was twofold: first, to avoid being recognised clearly as Polish; and second, to reduce obstacles in her client-facing role as a management consultant. She explained that this role was highly dependent on communication and interpersonal relationship management, and therefore changing her name limited problems associated with clients and colleagues mispronouncing her name. For Klaudia, her
acknowledgement of the way Polish people are racialized in the British context led her to develop an explicit strategy to disguise her Polish ethnicity.

Klaudia felt that her old name prohibits her from accessing the privileges that link with British whiteness that occurs when her name reveals her as Polish. The nature of Klaudia’s work and her experience of the way in which her whiteness is constructed and perceived is instrumental in her actively choosing to avoid the identification of her ethnicity through a strategy of name changing. She argues that changing her Polish name, as a strategy, to a more Anglicised version makes it easier to work in certain environments as her name no longer directly identifies her as Polish. Strategies such as name changing seem to be commonly used among well-integrated migrants who usually have obtained a middle/high-class position and speak English fluently and without an accent. This strategy seems to be an option only for migrants with high-class positions and occupations because they have the necessary cultural capital to carry out these strategies. That is not to say that name changing is not a strategy that can be utilised by Poles in lower-class positions, but for migrant's like Klaudia, their name is one of the last markers of their Polish ethnic identity.

Respondents spoke of other strategies that are more explicit and marked by behavioural or aesthetic changes. The strategies additionally appear to be gendered and demonstrate the spatiotemporal differences to racialization that migrants experience across Greater Manchester. As an illustration, for Anna, the discomfort of daily harassment from local men contributes to her developing a strategy to negate some of these problems by mimicking the conservative dress of the resident Muslim population. Anna is a twenty-eight-year-old lady who lives in Longsight.

I wasn't feel safe… I was constantly on my own in the house, I was scared that someone was going to break in into the window. I had a bus stop just literally 2-3 minute's walk from my door…I was constantly stopped by people you know beeping with the car or offering the drive or sometimes… I was first look at me what I'm wearing to see if I was not so wearing, not so get some attention on the street. Kind of I tried to actually match the people, woman's living there, to not get any attention wearing whatever style of clothes I liked…this is for me a very bad experience…So after a year, I moved back to Salford Quays…Just on the canal in the flats, literally on the canal, which is close distance to the media city, which I love…so secure there against, it's a big building and it's a concierge there. There is the CCTV cameras. I absolutely feel so safe being on my own.

Anna W, F, 28, Media City

Anna's account highlights several factors. First, that whiteness also intersects with religion and gender in significant ways for Polish migrants; for example, in some places in Greater Manchester, respondents’ Polish whiteness was made visible by their attire. Anna’s account implies that Polish migrants dress like many women in Western Europe. This specific gendered form of racialization appears to be her deploying an explicit strategy of mirroring the conservative clothing of local Muslim women to fit into Longsight. Second, her racialization is a gendered experience as the discrimination or unwanted attention that she received from the non-white male residents outside her apartment in Cheetham Hill exposes numerous constructions of Polish whiteness and
femininity. Adopting the clothing of Muslim women appears to be a temporary strategy to fit in and reduce any harm before she can move to a less ethnically diverse urban area in Salford. The significance of clothing as a marker of identity can be found in the differences between Eastern European migrants and British Muslims in Bradford (Phillips, 2015). Indeed, the significance of clothing is also evident in work by Bhui et al. (2005) that looks at clothing, finding that young South Asian adults who adopt more Western clothing experience less mental health harm due to reduced exposure to racism.

The strategies employed by Poles to fit into their local areas can link to acculturation; the processes that accompany a migrant's progression towards structural assimilation, with migrants mirroring specific cultural traits of the majority population during the migrants' processes of fitting in. Gordon's (1964) suggests that acculturation is a process that is specifically undertaken by the minority population rather than the majority population – and is, therefore, one directional. Conceptually, Anna and Klaudia's accounts suggest that the acculturation strategies they deploy can be directed towards a specific segment of the resident minority, and not only the majority population. It seems from both examples that these strategies align with the segment of the population where they feel they have the most to gain from mirroring their dress or behaviour. For instance, Anna's account suggests that she copies the conservative clothing of Muslim women, and not the majority white British population, because she benefits the most from a reduction in the unwanted male attention she received from Muslim men. Therefore, the account implies that the strategies Poles deploy are gendered but also align with specific characteristics of a migrant's neighbourhood. The finding chimes with Knowles' (2013) work on the visibility of migrants in urban areas and how a group's visibility links with the amount of power they can exert in a specific place.

Another respondent, Filip, describes a specific racialized and gendered experience of living in Openshaw. Filip is a thirty-seven-year-old man and lives on the boundary between Ashton-under-Lyne and Stalybridge. He links his decision to move away from Openshaw with his perception and experience of living alongside non-white residents.

"I'm not racist, this is very important [He is Christian, but he's not anti-religious]. This area is many, many, many Muslim persons and, err, when I go to the shop, and I try and buy something different, stuff like beer or something like this, many peoples are looking at me; for me, it's very dangerous. I don't feel good, I don't feel nice, this, this specific area, what I can say, it's very dangerous, really dangerous – every day I hear something wrong about this place…Openshaw is very dangerous area because many black man who are not working and don't know what can do with free time than have it stupid ideas then I have problem with people, err then…people try robbing me and my wife, exactly!"

Filip, M, 38, Openshaw

Meanwhile, Filip's experience of Openshaw implicates ethnicity as a significant motivation for his future residential moves and appears to link with his 'Othering' of a specific segment of the resident population. Here, he seems to conflate racially black with Muslim residents and this highlights the fashion in which many Polish people view and construct ethnic difference, which is essentially a conflation of exported and local registers of ethnic difference in their description and understanding of other minority groups. The result of this is that Filip associates Openshaw with a lack of neighbourhood safety as the result of the resident population. His account describes that he felt he
could not buy alcohol from the local shop due to the external condemnation he would encounter from his non-white male co-residents. The account seems gendered by the semantics he uses and the reference to the ethnoreligious character of the area as well as his conflation of neighbourhood safety with a specific form of masculinity. He subsequently explains how he altered his behaviour to fit into his local area, as a coping mechanism, signalling his discomfort with these local experiences. On the one hand, the account seems to contest that gateway places across Greater Manchester, such as Openshaw, are welcoming places for all migrants; on the contrary, the extent to which they act as welcoming places for new Polish migrants seems connected to factors that include social networks, local services that cater for Poles, and religious spaces that demonstrate the local politics of each migrant group’s ethnicity.

Furthermore, Fillip’s and Weronika’s accounts illustrate how Pole’s deploy a specific form of racism – a colour-coded form of racism that is interlaced with religious undertones. These uses of racism are adopted to, first, rationalise or justify their racist remarks; second, explain why they deploy them in different places; and lastly, and more tacitly, how they wielded racism to re-position their whiteness further up Back’s (2012) hierarchy of belonging. It appears both accounts use racism to make claims to whiteness by denigrating other non-white residents and placing them at a lower position in an attempt to re-hierarchise their position in their local neighbourhoods. The accounts support Fox’s (2013) work on accession migrants that finds they use racism as a strategy to claim whiteness and reposition themselves amongst Britain’s hierarchies of belonging. Fox (2013: p. 1881) notes that both accession migrant groups use racism to ‘[insert] themselves favourably into Britain’s racialized hierarchies’. Racism, he explains, is primarily a method of claiming whiteness by making other residents/migrant groups inferior.

Back et al.’s (2012) work on the hierarchies of belonging assists to explain the different strategies Poles deploy in various contexts. Previously, the ordering of the hierarchies of belonging and the migrants that are included as insiders and outsiders were shaped by tolerance to racial differences. Whereas, more recently, new migrations have led to these hierarchies becoming reconfigured through labour market processes and being sustained by fear and suspicion (Back et al., 2012: p. 151). Poles are unable to deploy similar verbal and discursive strategies, such as those South African migrants use, because of their lack of shared ancestral connections to elevate their status in Britain (Halvorsrud, 2017). Moreover, for Poles, the relative erasure of their Second World War migration in Britain’s migration history arguably restricts any formation of strategies to claim some shared historical ties. Instead, respondents appear to use different strategies through linguistic competencies to make their accent unrecognisably Polish. This allows them to benefit from misrecognition and allows them to gain access to more beneficial and favourable versions of whiteness in the process.
7.4 Considering Ethnicity and Religion Jointly in Migration Strategies

It also became evident from multiple accounts that migrants’ strategies to fit into places in Greater Manchester include other identities that need to be considered in combination with a Polish person’s ethnicity. Justyna’s account, for example, sheds light on how ‘ethnicity’ and ‘religion’ are often jointly considered in constructions of ethnicity in Poland. She notes that the country’s lack of diversity often means that boundaries of ‘difference’ are drawn along religious lines as well as by markers such as language, dress, and behaviour.

[How would you understand racism in Poland…?]

[For example I lived in Krakow, and there is a big Jew community – there is this whole Jew quarter that’s still in the city and actually a lot of people in my village, even my grandma was hiding Jews…from Nazis in Second World War]

So there is this famous thing – where the football club in Krakow, which was founded by Jews, and there was a big rivalry between this club and the other club. When there is a match between the two clubs, they just call them Jews, Jews, Jews.

Justyna, F, 25, Longsight

Justyna’s account suggests that population differences in Poland are constructed along religious as well as colour lines. Unlike British registers that have historically tended to demarcate ethnic difference along colour lines, Justyna suggests that the visibility of minorities in Poland is also denoted by religious characteristics as well as specific local knowledge of the places that minorities live; for example, the Jewish connection in Krakow to the city’s local football team. Like the previous sections, Justyna’s quote shows that the way that Polish migrants understand population diversity to include ethnicity and religion is also implicated in their residential decision-making. Oliwia, for instance, describes the importance of Catholicism to her location choice. Oliwia had initially moved to Britain for work in a laboratory after she finished her PhD in Germany, but mentions the significant role of religious networks during her initial phase of migration.

So one of the first thing when I came here because I didn’t know anybody here in Manchester. My first call was to Polish parish to ask their Polish societies…Where people need information where you could be part of a group. As like a bigger formation, like a bible study. So that was really important to me because it was what I would do in Poland

Oliwia W, F, 35, Hulme

Oliwia’s desire to live in proximity to other Polish people seems to link with her motivation to live near other practising Catholics. Her desire appears to have a dual function, first in order to build local social ties and fit into her local neighbourhood, and second, to maintain her religious beliefs and practice. The significance for Poles’ residential decisions cannot be separated from the specific denomination of Christianity that has become portable alongside the Polish migrants in Britain. Porter-Szucs (2011) mentions that Poland has frequently been called the epicentre of Catholicism in Europe, and religion remains a deep cultural marker of Polish national identity.
Indeed, work by Trzebiatowska (2010) notes that such is the significance of Catholicism for Polish migrants that immediately after accession the number of Poles who moved meant that there was a lack of Catholic priests, particularly in more rural places, to serve the Polish migrant communities. As a result, some of the Polish clergy were flown by the Catholic authorities to Britain to maintain the Polish migrants' Catholic traditions and practices. Trzebiatowska (2010; p. 1067) explains, using Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and field, why Polish forms of Catholicism create problems for Poles fitting into their neighbourhoods, ‘in Poland, the Catholic Church continues to monopolise the “goods of salvation”. It has the authority to impose a particular religious habitus on the lay population, and it possesses sufficient capital to protect its objective position from competitors’. Problems occur when Poles migrate to a religious field such as Britain that is structured by ‘religious pluralism, secularisation, and a clear church-state divide’ (Trzebiatowska, 2010: p. 1067). This therefore causes some Poles in Britain to want to practice their specific form of Catholicism as it jarred against the British Catholic habitus.

Failing to consider the role of Catholicism alongside whiteness and processes of racialization arguably decontextualises and de-historicises the significance of Catholicism for migrants from the post-communist Polish state. Further, analysis of the 2011 Census micro data reveals that 50.1% of Polish people who moved after 2004 self-defined as Christian. The finding is higher than for many migrants from other countries. However, the Census restricts any further analysis of the significance of religion for Poles as it uses a relatively crude measure of Christianity, which inhibits any attempts to unpack and analyse the various constitutive denominations of Christianity as well as an appropriate variable to measure a migrant’s religiosity. While it seems apparent from respondents that it is hard to separate ethnicity from religion, Weronika’s account shed light on the significance of this joint construction of ethnicity with religion to her internal migration decision-making and decision to move from Hulme.
It seems as though Weronika's whiteness was made more visible in Hulme as the result of the area's diverse resident population. This visibility exposed her to unwanted male attention from the local Muslim residents. To remedy these issues she chose to avoid certain areas and people, and this appears to implicate gender and cultural differences in her decision to move from Hulme and exclude some areas in Greater Manchester from her search for a new location. The quotes resonate with Les Back’s (2012) work on the re-ordering of the hierarchies of belonging in Britain. While much of the literature on the existent hierarchies speaks about boundaries of inclusion and exclusion being racially motivated, it must also be understood that these boundaries include religious dimensions as well. Wider changes, such as the EU accession in 2004, have led to substantial shifts within Britain, resulting in boundaries of inclusion and exclusion continually evolving. Migrants who were previously outsiders in some circumstances are now considered insiders, whereas new boundaries of exclusion have been drawn. The events of 9/11 in the US in 2001 led to a substantial shift towards redrawing exclusionary boundaries against Muslim minorities, whereas previously minorities of Christian denominations, such as Catholics in Britain, have been othered. Weronika seems to base her future residential decisions on the wider reordering of these hierarchies of belonging and their specific links to places in Greater Manchester. For example, her decision not to want to move to Oldham seemed based on her perception of the area being settled by a large population of non-white and Muslim residents. The idea that specific areas link to a particular group’s ethnoreligious character is highlighted by Brown and Cunningham’s (2016) work on the settlement patterns of BME groups across Greater Manchester. Their work finds that the local Caribbean population predominantly settled in Hulme and Moss Side, which had been associated with the specific period they had moved to the area, as well as the employment and housing many of the migrants had initially entered. Similarly, places such as Oldham and Rochdale, as well as the inner-city neighbourhoods of Rusholme and Longsight, had been widely associated with Greater Manchester's South Asian and Muslim populations. The findings show how the residential patterns of various ethnic groups can reveal a migrant group’s migration history and the obstacles each group encountered.

Weronika, F, 28, Stretford

Cheetham Hill is not something I need. Although they’ve got loads of Polish shops. Not being…racist but I got problem with some Asian people…Asian men. They are chatting to girls a bit, but sometimes when you just saying no, I'm not interested, they do not seem to be bothered…It's just quite annoying. I’m saying this because I used to live above a takeaway shop. Every time I went there I met this guy from the takeaway from Kurdistan, and he was quite nagging. And even when I’m saying to him I’m not interested and started avoiding him. He say, ‘Okay, I'm going to ask your brother for permission to go on a date with you’ (laughs)

I wouldn’t choose Rochdale or Oldham just because of that. It's nothing to do with the colour of skin…It's just, just the way that they approach Polish women, I just don't like it. And I've got loads of friends, Polish friends, women who unfortunately married them and their life changed completely. They are not allowed to contact me anymore because I am not Muslim, so it is more like religion-based, to be honest. I'm not saying that everyone's the same, but I've had some really bad experiences with them.
Weronika's conflict with the local Muslim population suggests the need to consider religion as well as ethnicity in interpreting Polish residential decision-making, which chimes with Phillips' (2015) work on the formation of British Muslim citizenship in local places. Phillips (2015) observes how the arrival of accession migrants results in the self-assertion of British Muslims’ citizenship being contested in Bradford. British Muslims in the study speak of the privileges they perceive the new Eastern European migrants to possess and their ability to move with ease throughout the city due to their whiteness. Phillips’ (2015) work thus sheds light on the specific freedoms that Eastern European migrants have in the city that additionally exposes the obstacles or restrictions to British Muslims’ ability to move within Bradford. Nevertheless, Weronika’s account implicates Islam and the specific unwanted male attention she experiences as integral to the shaping of her future migration decisions from specific places in North Greater Manchester. Weronika therefore provides an insight into the way that ethnicity operates for Polish migration in terms of their residential decision-making.

The consideration of religion as a significant component of Poles’ residential decision-making can partially support work by Kempny (2012) on Poles in Northern Ireland. Kempny’s (2012) work finds Poles’ religion as significant to their ‘place experience’ in Belfast; however, she acknowledges that its role might have been more pronounced for migrants in Belfast than can be affixed to Poles in Greater Manchester, given the region’s religious amplification and association with unionist and nationalist movements. Few studies of Polish migration consider the mutuality of ethnicity and religion, despite the associations evident here, between Polish whiteness and Christianity as well as non-whiteness with Muslim and other religious identities. The lack of Kempny’s study’s consideration of ethnicity and religion is partly the result of the lack of theorisation on ethnicity and religion in contexts other than sites of overt religious conflict such as the genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I think it’s good when you go on Iris Road when there’s a Catholic church, and you have such a mixture...of nationalities. What worries me is that it may change at some point because that's what usually happens, you could see that’s happening in Germany...plus, I’m aware of the situation when, when white girls, were caught, were trapped by a group of some immigrants and they were raped. Sometimes I’m a bit stressed because I’m Christian, and sometimes I’m worried that as everywhere in European the people that belong to Muslim religion, they may just convert into like being Islamist.

Oliwia W, F, 36, Hulme

The respondent’s accounts illustrate how religion is also used by migrants to denote which other migrants and residents are considered insiders as opposed to outsiders, and as a result, the areas that respondents feel comfortable moving to, which is based on the areas’ demographic makeup. Oliwia’s account further illustrates two key points: First, the way in which migrants use Christianity, European and white interchangeably to construct and negotiate hierarchies of belonging. The insider group from a Polish person’s perspective is seen as racially white, European, and Christian. The insider group is subsequently contrasted with the outsider group who are frequently conceptualised as Muslim, and non-white. Second, Oliwia’s quote suggests that the asylum seeker migration across continental Europe has heightened the consideration of religion alongside
ethnicity. Oliwia’s discord with Islam and Muslim residents appears multi-layered and links to her encounters with Muslim residents, whereby their beliefs directly challenge her Christian beliefs. Her account also highlights that the westward pattern of predominantly Muslim asylum seekers further challenges these existent hierarchies as the result of migrants arriving in the UK, with Poles placed in the insider group and Muslim and non-white migrants placed in the outsider group. It also seems that these attitudes correspond to the international migration events that began in 2015 across Europe, where thousands of people moved overland to claim asylum in the EU. The event appears to shape Oliwia’s thoughts on a local level and seems to affect her residential decisions by extrapolating this broader event onto her local environment, whereby she decides on the places she could move to based on the Muslim demographics of the area. According to Wilbanks and Kates (1999), our incorporation of scale is significant as it intimately connects to the way we interpret local phenomenon. The Muslim identity and movement of asylum seekers at an international level appeared to impact on subsequent ideas of invasion and religious contestation. The process highlighted the intersections of ethnicity with religion, but also the intertwined nature of national and local scales. The quotes also revealed how religion was implicated as one of the boundaries in the hierarchies of belonging. Third, Oliwia’s use of racism seems to be an attempt to position her as an ‘insider’ and belonging in Britain. Her account of the migration pattern of asylum seekers far away on the continent appears to play into Oliwia’s strategy and her attempt to claim Europeanness, while simultaneously ‘othering’ Muslim asylum seekers and the local Muslim resident population. Oliwia’s strategy appears to have two functions; first to diminish the belonging of Muslim residents in Britain, and second, is an attempt to place her status above Muslim residents in her area. Oliwia’s account therefore confirms earlier observations made about the uses of racism by Polish migrants as a strategy to assert their status within ethnic hierarchies, by placing themselves ahead of non-white groups. However, the findings add to Fox’s (2013) and Halvorsrud’s (2017) work on Polish respondents’ status denigration and suggest that it is not confined to other residents’ ethnicity but their religion too. The findings can also be interpreted by more recent changes to Poland’s national identity (See chapter two). The chapter explains that the role of Catholicism in the democratisation movement sees their specific doctrine tightly embedded in more recent constructions of Poland’s national identity. Arguably, this not only affects the way Polish migrants interpret ethnic difference but also some of their perceptions towards other religions when they move abroad. The significance of religion, as is evident in Oliwia’s example, is nonetheless not a feature of all post-communist states; for example, the work on religious status in the Czech Republic notes its diminishing character in Czech society after 1991 (Need and Evans, 2001).

7.5 Summary

The above-mentioned accounts provide one of the first known pieces of evidence to demonstrate how ethnicity operates for Polish migrants regarding their residential decision-making at a subnational level in Britain. The chapter explains how cultural factors affect the way that Polish migrants understand and talk about ethnicity, and this connects to specific sociocultural and historical factors that continue to be the result of specific policies and practices that the Polish state underwent as it transitioned from a command to market economy. It appears that these accounts
highlight the importance of viewing the broader social, cultural and historical events and societal issues in Poland as they can help to interpret migrants’ future residential decision-making in the UK. Furthermore, respondents’ understanding of ethnicity and how it is constructed in Polish society underscores the need to also consider religion in terms of their residential decisions because many ethnic groups in Poland (such as the Jewish community) are delineated by their ethnoreligious identities.

In regard to Poles’ residential decision-making, it seems that ethnicity operates in two key ways: first, it informs the extent to which Poles feel comfortable living with members of other ethnic groups, and this affects where they chose to live; second, it shapes how their whiteness is viewed and reacted to by other residents in their neighbourhoods and workplaces. The chapter makes a substantial contribution to whiteness and migration studies and suggests that whiteness operates differently for Polish migrants than non-white and visible minorities, and is contingent on identity’s intersection with gender, class, and migration status to make it visible. Many accounts show that respondents in certain places do not have to consider their ethnic identity and can move relatively unnoticed and unchallenged with their ethnicity not featuring as a significant part of their decision-making process. This is most evident in their descriptions of diversity in Poland where they regularly do not have to consider their Polish ethnicity as a result of their membership to the dominant ethnic group. However, on arrival in Britain, they were forced to acknowledge their ethnicity for the first time and the status it held in the country’s established ethnic hierarchy. Respondents’ consideration includes how their status was affected by their labour market position, which for many was in low-skilled and poorly paid employment.

The findings reveal that Polish migrants deploy specific strategies to mitigate harms that are associated with their racialized white identities. Yet, because their visibility is contingent on the interplay of their whiteness with other identity facets, these strategies are diverse with some migrants of high occupational and social status able to benefit from misrecognition and name changing, while others are restricted to behavioural changes that include changing their dress. It seems that in some cases ethnicity is prioritised in a Pole’s decision-making and the strategies they deploy are temporary and exist as coping strategies to fit into places. Nonetheless, ethnicity interplays with other factors, such as economic capital, that are important as they allow migrants to afford them to be able to move to a different house or neighbourhood. Moreover, unlike the significance of ethnic concentration for visible migrants, it seems for Poles that living with co-ethnics can be detrimental as it can highlight their Polish whiteness and cause them to be visible. In fact, explanations from migrants clarify residential concentration as a product of social and religious networks rather than acting as a protective measure against discrimination.
Chapter Eight

Polish Residential Decision Making and Intimate Relationships

8.0 Introduction

The findings from chapter five suggest there are some significant patterns of Polish internal migration, and arguably, this reflects the diverse characteristics of Polish migrants who have moved to Britain after the EU expanded in 2004. Chapter three summarises that a more holistic approach to migration decision-making needs to incorporate social as well as economic factors to explain the location choice and the decision of Poles to move. Chapter three also points out, that the rise of family migration work suggests that aspects of gender, family ties, and care need to be the focus on migration analysis. In addition, specific work on Polish migrants argues that women and children continue to move to the UK as well as men and older migrants. Family migration work also points to the importance of exploring different intimate relationships, for example, same-sex and inter-ethnic relationships and how they can add to narratives on internal migration that traditionally use the heteronormative notion of relationships.

This chapter analyses the interview data from Polish respondents in Greater Manchester and argues that intimate relationships and family ties are significant to internal migration decision-making. Moreover, they intimately link to chapter six and seven's work on economic and identity factors and show that relationships frame much of the decision-making. The significance of intimate relationships influences the destinations of migrants’ moves, the types of housing they seek, as well as negotiating the balance between different family members' proximity to employment, services, and amenities. The chapter also argues that certain kinds of relationships complicate respondents' migration decision-making. For instance, inter-ethnic relationships and migrants in same-sex relationships add to the complexities of racial, ethnic and sexual identities and their role in residential decision-making processes. This sometimes seems at odds with the findings from the wider Polish migrant stock where specific societal attitudes to diversity are exported and constrain their prospective moves. The findings add to our understanding of how Polish migrants experience specific obstacles in their decision-making but also how they exert their agency at different stages and places during their migration experience.

The chapter initially looks at the stability of intimate relationships and how they affect internal migration decision-making, more specifically, how union formation and cohabitation as well as union dissolution frame a Poles' decision to internally migrate. The section then looks at the complexities of inter-ethnic relationships and families and how Poles in these types of relationships have to internalise the non-white identities of their partners and children as well as negotiate and compromise regarding their location choices and decisions to move. Finally, the analysis focuses on gay Poles and same-sex couples and finds the link between their international and internal migration intimately relates to their identity formation but emerges at different stages of their migration trajectory.
8.1 Relationship Change, Housing, and Migration Decision-Making

The interview data suggests that relationship change and its specific links to housing appear to be a significant theme relating intimate relationships to internal migration decision-making. In a plenary session at the BSPS conference at the University of Liverpool in September 2017, Professor Clara Mulder outlines the emerging literature on family migration that looks at international moves but notes the neglect of the consideration given to the role of family and intimate relationships in internal migration. The talk supports Moskal’s (2011) mention of the lack of focus on EU migrants and the family at a sub-national level.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EU14 (%)</th>
<th>Pol (%)</th>
<th>EU Acc (%)</th>
<th>Africa (%)</th>
<th>Mid East (%)</th>
<th>Bang (%)</th>
<th>India (%)</th>
<th>Pak (%)</th>
<th>NA &amp; CAR (%)</th>
<th>CA &amp; SA (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>79.10</td>
<td>55.70</td>
<td>62.50</td>
<td>48.80</td>
<td>57.20</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>33.30</td>
<td>30.30</td>
<td>53.50</td>
<td>44.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>16.10</td>
<td>33.90</td>
<td>27.00</td>
<td>40.30</td>
<td>35.70</td>
<td>56.30</td>
<td>63.70</td>
<td>61.30</td>
<td>36.40</td>
<td>43.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-Sex Civil Partnership</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>6.40</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>4.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3759 (100.0)</td>
<td>5471 (100.0)</td>
<td>4412 (100.0)</td>
<td>4290 (100.0)</td>
<td>1352 (100.0)</td>
<td>492 (100.0)</td>
<td>2756 (100.0)</td>
<td>1193 (100.0)</td>
<td>1104 (100.0)</td>
<td>781 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8.1: Country of Birth by Marital Status (Percentage), for migrants who arrived in 2004 or after, and who subsequently moved address between 2010 and 2011

Note: Age ≥16 & ≤65, Internal migration moves only, Year of Arrival ≥2004, Source: 2011 Census microdata regional dataset

Using the 2011 Census microdata, Figure 8.1 suggests that relationship characteristics of Polish migrants who arrived in 2004 or after, and who subsequently moved address between 2010 and 2011 comprise low levels of single and married migrants compared with other ‘country of birth’ groups. Figure 8.1 also indicates that the migrants exhibit low levels of those in same-sex relationships as well as in divorced or separated statuses. The findings support White’s (2009) work that draws attention to the unique nature of the EU space. The area permits migrants in various types of relationships to move unlike migrants from other ‘country of birth’ groups who face visa restrictions that link to family migration such as family reunification articles and legal loopholes, such as in the Surinder Singh British case law (Clayton, 2016). The variability of family relationships within the Polish group suggests a need to unpick the effects of relationships at a sub-national level that is missing from work on Polish internal migration. A problem, however, is that like chapters six and seven, the 2011 Census data restricts an analysis of the effect that intimate relationships have on migration decisions due to the crude and prescribed categories in the Census methodology and outputs. For instance, the relationship variables are built on legal
definitions of relationships whereas the interview data allows us to explore the subtleties of union formation and dissolution. As chapter three notes, many quantitative analyses of relationships offer very little explanation as to how the relationship stability or change affects residential decision-making.

Further, the Census data also allows us to look at relationship change that can extend to family formation and the arrival of children. Figure 8.2 suggests that Poles with children move less than migrants with no children, a finding that supports the work by Trevena, McGhee, and Heath (2013) which argues that Polish migrants with children in Britain are less likely to move than single migrants or Poles in relationships. One explanation for the decisions of migrants who have children not to move, relates to the disruption and upheaval that internal migration can cause of a child’s schooling and friendship networks (Trevena et al. 2013). However, it seems from the interview data that relationship change, whether it be union formation or dissolution or family formation, for many respondents closely links to changes in the housing circumstances that are implicated in their residential decision-making.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No Children</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same Address Internal Migration</td>
<td>72.70%</td>
<td>78.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Migration</td>
<td>27.30%</td>
<td>21.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7292</td>
<td>8983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8.2:** Dependent Children by Type of Migration (Percentage)

Note: Age ≥16 & ≤65, Year of Arrival ≥2004, Source: 2011 Census microdata regional dataset

Relationship change in the analysis includes union formation alongside cohabitation as well as union dissolution and is conceptualised as such due to the links established in chapter three. However, relationship change also involves the arrival of children as another significant element of intimate relationships and family formation. Several respondents describe how changes in the seriousness of their relationships with their partner such as deciding to cohabit link with changes to their housing needs. Their decision to move in together indirectly contributes to changes in their residential decision-making because they seek accommodation that fulfils the needs of both partners. Their decisions, it seems, often requires negotiations and compromises that consider each partner’s employment status and lifestyle needs. For example, Maria describes that her decision to move from Altrincham, where she previously worked as an au pair, to Ardwick relates to her intimate relationship she begun with a former boyfriend. Maria is a twenty-seven-year-old Polish woman who lives in the Green Quarter and works for a charity in Manchester City Centre as a fundraiser.

---

I lived with...three other students and my boyfriend at the time because...I met him in my stay in Altrincham, and he was looking for a place as well so we kind of shared a house.170 with other students as well. I mean I had my own room, he had his own room, yeah it was lovely.
Similarly, Klaudia who is a twenty-nine-year-old describes how her movement between housing in Liverpool relates to her relationship with her partner and their decision to move in together. Meanwhile, Julia who is a thirty-two-year-old and lives in Rochdale spoke of her decision to move in with her boyfriend in an effort to instil some normalcy in their relationship as it developed.

I really wanted to move in with my boyfriend at the time. So that was the main reasons…we viewed loads of properties. He really wanted to move somewhere nice because it was the first time he was ever moving away from his hometown… So we put in a ridiculously low offer for this gorgeous apartment, and to date, it was the best place we ever lived.

Klaudia, 29, F, Salford

We moved to Eccles [near to a park], and we lived there for about a year in one flat. Erm, my boyfriend at that time moved in with me. I was finishing my university degree…and then we decided me and Pablo wanna live alone. We wanna have a normal relationship without other people being involved, and…we just rented another flat in a centre location in St James Park.

Julia K, 32, F, Rochdale

The excerpts suggest some key points. First, respondents’ migration decisions often have to balance each partner’s proximity to their workplace against their individual and joint housing needs. Second, the type of housing is significant for couples cohabiting. Third, their decisions are also predicated on each couple’s demands for local amenities such as education, shopping, and recreational activities. The findings support work by Mulder and Hooimeijer (1999) that argues the analysis of relationships provides a significant window into the study of processes of housing formation. Mulder’s (2013: p. 355) work found the links of housing and marriage are characterised by the ‘concepts of housing space, quality, and safety or security’. It seems Poles’ intimate relationships and housing are co-produced and interwoven with their internal migration experience. According to Mulder (2013), these factors are more important for people in intimate relationships than single people as they additionally consider their partner’s position and joint circumstances in their relocation decisions.

In a similar vein, relationship changes associated with union dissolution suggests that the upheaval that connects to the breakdown of a relationship highly links to respondents’ internal migration decisions as the event requires one or both partners to move out of their shared home. Some interviews shed light on the turbulence that relates to partnerships and family’s dissolving. For example, Patrycja O’s account of her decision to relocate to Stretford is framed by her union dissolution and separation from her husband and the father of her three young sons.

Right, I didn't have too much choice because it was very difficult to find something for me and kids on my own because everywhere on the landlord they expect a lot of documentation, a lot of money or a lot of things and I must moving out from my husband, he couldn’t know too much. Because as well landlords are just see expecting any pre landlords or I couldn’t tell my husband I’m moving out…but one of my Polish friends, they know someone...Maybe it's not...very big...but it's our safe place...It's a bit more parks closer...It's beautiful places not far from me and that's really like and to go into my work – where...to my shop it's taking me thirty minutes’ walk.

Patrycja, 35, F, Stretford
Patrycja discusses how her relationship dissolution is integral to the change in her family’s circumstances that led to them requiring different housing. In her case, her decision to move relates to her decision to escape from her husband and the abuse she experienced to a place nearby. The account highlights how her move to Stretford required somewhere that is undetectable by her husband, but also includes elements such as their proximity to her three sons’ schools as well as her workplace. The quote shows how changes in a migrant’s relationship status, for example, the breakdown of their relationship (union dissolution) can become central to their residential decision-making. In Patrycja’s account, her need to separate and move away from her partner sees this re-prioritised over other factors such as her proximity to her work place. The finding, particularly in Patrycja O’s case, adds to Mulder and Wagner’s (2010) work on the links between union dissolution and mobility - although from a quantitative perspective. The findings on marriage dissolution in the Netherlands, using the Divorce in the Netherlands 1998 dataset, suggest that often the ex-partner who has custody of the children and more resources is less likely to leave the house. Patrycja O’s account highlights the dissonance between her family’s financial security in Chorlton set against the violence that is embedded within her intimate relationship with her husband. It also illustrates how this acts as a significant motivator to move, outweighing any sense of financial security she would have had if she had chosen to stay.

Her account also highlights the complexity of union dissolution, and how it does not often end in amicable separation. This is exemplified by her decision to leave their family home with her sons and without her husband’s knowledge. As well as providing evidentiary support for the idea of the interwoven nature of residential decision-making within intimate relationships and the family, Patrycja’s account also illustrates the complexity of choice and constraint. The finding reveals how she tentatively balanced her agency and decision to leave her husband and move away from Chorlton, against the caregiving aspect of her role as a mother ensuring that she remains near her sons’ schools and her place of work. Adding to this Patrycja’s account of utilising her ethnic social networks to facilitate her family’s undisclosed move to Stretford adds to Cooke et al.’s (2016) work on supporting the gendered model of family migration. Their study found that separated parents are less likely to migrate than their ex-partners without children. Equally explaining any residential decisions that separated parents made are often linked via their children, even after their intimate relationship has ended. Unlike the results, Patrycja shows the plurality of experiences of separation or union dissolution and how behaviour that is exhibited by one or both partners might be integral to the union separation, often leads to different dimensions applying to their residential decision-making. The findings suggest that Mulder and Wagners’ (2010) work is useful in deciphering the characteristics of those who move as the result of union dissolution. However, the current studies’ qualitative accounts show that often these decisions are interwoven with intimate relationships and shaped by financial and personal circumstances.

Similar to the findings from Chapter six, the role that ‘relationship change’ has on Poles’ internal migration seems deeply entwined with the moment or period that they moved to Britain. The finding includes experiences of insecurity that connect to an array of factors that link to their position in the labour market. For instance, chapter six finds that Polish post-accession migrants are mainly concentrated in routine employment that is characterised by poor working conditions, short-term
employment contracts, and in many cases, situations where their housing is ‘tied-in’ to their employment status. For instance, considering two of the previous respondents’ experiences mentioned in chapter six, Zofia and Patrycja, their migration to the UK and between EU countries appears to stem from the insecurity that is the result of macroeconomic events such as the 2008 recession and changes in their circumstances. The insecurity caused respondents to deploy strategies to mediate against future harm to their economic and social circumstances. In their decision-making process, they seem to balance their circumstances against those that link to their intimate relationships with their partner and children. For Patrycja, her husband’s experience of being made redundant seems to be placed ahead of her position as economically active showing how the importance of her marriage and how economic factors are embedded within relationships.

It seems unsurprising that relationship change is associated with union formation in the sense that cohabitation and housing appear to be a key part of the progression of a relationship over the life course of migrants as well as their age profile. The results from chapter six suggests that Polish internal movers tend to be characterised as young and between the ages of 18 to 25 and 25 to 35. Explanations for the links between relationship change and internal migration can be associated with the life course profile of Poles. The migrants’ young age profile and literature in chapter three suggest that their life course stage relates closely with intimate relationship formation and their progression towards cohabitation as well as family building. The two stages of the life course seem to directly implicate housing and internal migration as vehicles to support these relationship changes. Chapter three suggests that intimate relationships form throughout the life course.

White’s (2009) research finds that many of the Poles that move to the UK after accession are already in relationships – many also have families. The life course approach provides a useful framework for understanding internal migration decisions by age, viewing age as a fluid concept rather than static (Hopkins and Pain, 2007).

However, it seems from the interview data that the residential decisions of Polish migrants is a gendered process that illuminates specific issues between male and female respondents. Coyle (2007) documents that the international migration patterns of Polish migrants, particularly women, is fuelled by misogyny and discrimination in Poland. Coyle’s (2007) work finds that the experiences of Polish women lead to them seeking a better economic and lifestyle abroad in a similar way to Polish men; and, regarding relationships sees them as a primary partnership mover in Poles’ international migration to Britain, thus challenging the gendered nature of migration. However, no such accounts are noticeable amongst respondents in this research for internal migrants, and perhaps this is a particular explanation for Polish international migration. Indeed, the accounts also do not appear to show any Polish cultural links that could explain a specific group interpretation of residential decisions and the timing of movement. Arguably this could be the result of the lack of kinship and social ties of Poles that mediated these decisions. As previous accounts suggest, Polish families are often spread transnationally between different EU member states, and thus spatial proximity arguably diminishes the role of Polish culture similar to other ethnic minority groups. The significance of ethnic difference continues to be seen as pivotal to differences in the pathways BME groups have out of the family home. For example, multiple works see marriage as
one particularly important vehicle for some BME groups and their internal migration or movement out of their family homes (Goldschneider and Goldschneider, 1997; de Valk and Billari, 2007). According to Finney (2011), the internal migration differences among ethnic minorities suggests that, often, different cultural factors, such as practices of cohabitation and its links with marriage, contribute to the various moments in an ethnic minorities’ life course when they are more likely to cohabit. For the Poles in the current study, it appears that the experience of migration has often led to their families extending transnationally between Poland and Britain, often without the local kinship ties in Britain. Their family background appears to have minimal impact in overtly constraining their decisions.

While it appears that Poles’ internal migration decision-making connects to relationship change (and this is particularly noticeable in quantitative work on the subject) it also emerges that it is significant among Poles in stable intimate relationships in the study. For example, Patrycja, who is a twenty-five-year-old Polish woman and lives in Victoria Park, describes how her family’s residential migration decisions link to the stability of her relationships with her family and children. To bring additional members of their family to Britain, Patrycja’s spoke of her family’s decision-making process weighed up whether they could afford and sustain their large family reuniting in Britain at the same time, particularly regarding accommodation, and whether they could afford an adequate house to accommodate each family member.
Patrycja’s case illustrates many key issues. First, the account exposes the connection between international and internal migration, and second, for Patrycja’s family, the affordability of moving restricted reuniting all her family residing in Britain at once. Third, the stable relationships are evident in Patrycja’s migration experience, and their migration decisions appear to be built into these social relationships, especially, for example, considering the economic benefit of multi-locality, as well as the caregiving responsibilities associated with the different children. Fourth, children add complexity to their migration decisions, as the life course and their schooling career need to be taken into account. Whereas the material cost of relocating restricts respondents’ migration from Poland, the different ages and life course stages that each of the family’s children is at complicates their decision-making. The decision regarding which of Patrycja’s siblings can move to Britain seems to be dependent on the stage of their schooling career and how it related to their life course stage. Many of the older children appear to be able to enforce their agency in the wider family decision-making and this input allows them to remain in Poland to finish their studies.

Meanwhile, the younger children who are still dependent on their parents are immediately moved to the UK due to their age and relatives’ caregiving responsibilities. It also appears that Patrycja’s parents had to consider the material wealth, life course stage (disruption to their schooling careers), and caring responsibilities regarding each child at different stages of their migration. Their internal migration decisions are built into this step-wise migration pattern, where additional children being reunited in Britain require bigger housing, for example.

Another respondent, Antoni, describes how his internal migration decisions occur within his stable relationship with his wife and child, and how these are woven into his internal migration decisions as they chart a course of mobility across Greater Manchester, as well as playing a significant part of their return migration decisions to move back to Poland. Antoni is a thirty-five years old Polish man and previously lived in Chorlton for eight years with his wife and eight-year-old daughter before moving to Ardwick. He owns a house in Chorlton that is paid for using a mortgage and works as an engineer for a local firm. His account describes his family’s decision to return to Poland.

Patrycja, 25, F, Victoria Park

Patrycja’s case illustrates many key issues. First, the account exposes the connection between international and internal migration, and second, for Patrycja’s family, the affordability of moving restricted reuniting all her family residing in Britain at once. Third, the stable relationships are evident in Patrycja’s migration experience, and their migration decisions appear to be built into these social relationships, especially, for example, considering the economic benefit of multi-locality, as well as the caregiving responsibilities associated with the different children. Fourth, children add complexity to their migration decisions, as the life course and their schooling career need to be taken into account. Whereas the material cost of relocating restricts respondents’ migration from Poland, the different ages and life course stages that each of the family’s children is at complicates their decision-making. The decision regarding which of Patrycja’s siblings can move to Britain seems to be dependent on the stage of their schooling career and how it related to their life course stage. Many of the older children appear to be able to enforce their agency in the wider family decision-making and this input allows them to remain in Poland to finish their studies.

Meanwhile, the younger children who are still dependent on their parents are immediately moved to the UK due to their age and relatives’ caregiving responsibilities. It also appears that Patrycja’s parents had to consider the material wealth, life course stage (disruption to their schooling careers), and caring responsibilities regarding each child at different stages of their migration. Their internal migration decisions are built into this step-wise migration pattern, where additional children being reunited in Britain require bigger housing, for example.

Another respondent, Antoni, describes how his internal migration decisions occur within his stable relationship with his wife and child, and how these are woven into his internal migration decisions as they chart a course of mobility across Greater Manchester, as well as playing a significant part of their return migration decisions to move back to Poland. Antoni is a thirty-five years old Polish man and previously lived in Chorlton for eight years with his wife and eight-year-old daughter before moving to Ardwick. He owns a house in Chorlton that is paid for using a mortgage and works as an engineer for a local firm. His account describes his family’s decision to return to Poland.

We both planned for house, we start building a house…we decide to move to England to earn money quicker than we could do it in Poland.
Their purchase of land in Poland, but without the material assets to furnish or support their lifestyle, means that their international migration to Britain is one strategy of acquiring the necessary resources to build a house. For this, they also rely on kinship ties to circumvent the extensive costs of contracting builders to construct their house. Their subsequent career progression in the UK seems firmly wedded to their stable relationship, first between Antoni and his wife, and secondly, following the arrival of their daughter. Their internal movements to Chorlton, and then back to Wroclaw, appear to be shaped by these relationships, and due to financial commitments, and the stage that their daughter was at in school, they decide that their return to Poland should be step-wise and sequential, with Antoni remaining in the UK, and his wife and daughter returning to Poland. As he describes, the different needs of a single migrant regarding his translocal family show how these characteristics shape his various internal migration moves.

We build a house in small town. Big house and a garage on the back, so there's no mortgage, it's finished, and I'm mortgage free now so I can go there and just live without problems, much easier to live without any mortgage...It's the thing is my dad built...So it got much easier to do that. My uncle is an electrician, my dad, my dad is a builder, so he did that for free for me, all the installations, a friend make the roof for me for lower price. So I pay much less than you would normally pay for that, so they house didn't cost as much, quite a big four-bedroom house...Two years now. My wife, she went back to Poland with daughter and I'm staying here. Daughter finished first school so perfect time, but not for me and my wife as I needed to pay off house mortgage.

Antoni, 35, M, Ardwick

It appears that the financial issues are deeply embedded within Antoni’s intimate relationships with his wife and daughter, and given that his daughter is about to transition into secondary school, they decide that it was the ideal opportunity to move back to Poland even though they had not paid off their mortgage. Therefore, the couple negotiates their financial commitments against different factors that link to their intimate relationships. They decide that Antoni’s wife and daughter will initially move into their newly built house in Poland and he shall remain in Manchester. He will then downsize his housing, as he is the only member of his family who stays in England, moving into a shared house to keep his costs low. They decide that he will remain in the shared house for a year and a half to pay off the remainder of the mortgage for the house they own in Chorlton. The finding supports relatively new work, such as Ryan (2011), on family intra-EU migration that describes that many EU citizens’ families are socially and spatially located across the EU space, and often their proximity challenges our conceptualisations of the family and where these family’s lives occur over place. Equally, the findings support King and Skeldon’s (2010) approach that link international and internal migration and illustrate that the family’s financial, housing and ultimate migration decisions are embedded within their families. While financially it makes sense to relocate the family all together to Poland and into a house they already own outright. They also have to consider their daughter’s life course stage and how different migration strategies will affect her schooling career. The decision includes considering how her schooling career would be disrupted if they all relocate to Poland together or in a step-wise process to enable them to pay off their mortgage in Britain.
Therefore, it appears that the return migration strategy Antoni’s family craft of multi-locality across the EU space encompasses elements of both internal and international dimensions.

8.2 Poles in Inter-Ethnic Relationships

It appears from the interviews that Poles in inter-ethnic relationships encounter additional obstacles as a result of their ethnic identities and the ethnic identities of their partners and children. The term ‘inter-ethnic’ is used instead of ‘inter-racial’ as some respondents describe how their migration decisions are not confined simply to phenotypical features but to characteristics that link with ethnicity. The roles of their identities emerge as a significant theme to their internal migration decision-making but differ from the processes in chapter seven. In chapter seven Pole’s migration strategies link to their visibility and racialization of their white identities and the strategies they deploy to improve their status but also to denigrate the status of others. However, it seems that for Poles in inter-ethnic relationships the process is more complicated and Polish respondents have the added complication of their partner’s non-white identity but also their joint identity as a partner in an inter-ethnic relationship to consider regarding their internal migration decisions.

One of the consequences of EU free movement rights is the increase of opportunities for intimate relationships or unions to form for EU citizens with other EU nationals. However, due to the different migration histories of EU member states, it also increases the likelihood of inter-ethnic intimate relationships forming. Indeed, the results from the 2011 Census microdata in Figure 8.3 suggest a large number of Poles reside in ethnically homogenous households compared to other ‘country of birth’ groups.

![Country of Birth by Multiple Ethnic Identifiers](image)

**Figure 8.3**: Country of Birth by Multiple Ethnic Identifiers

Note: Age ≥ 16 & ≤ 65, Year of Arrival 2004-2011
Source: Census 2011 England and Wales, Safeguarded Regional Microdata File
Figure 8.3 suggests that Poles demonstrate a lower percentage of inter-ethnic relationships than other migrant groups. The findings are unsurprising given Poland’s recent history of events that link to the country’s lack of diversity and limited immigration under communism (Iglicka, 2001). The factors can provide one explanation for the low levels of inter-ethnic households and partnerships being evident amongst the Polish migrant stock. Another explanation for the low levels of inter-ethnic intimate relationships can link to cultural and religious constraints that restrict Poles from forming relationships outside of their ethnic group – a matter that is discussed in a more in-depth fashion in chapter two. Nevertheless, Figure 8.3 also suggests that inter-ethnic relationships and households are not the norms within the Polish migrant population. Figure 8.3 also suggests that Poles in inter-ethnic relationships could be exposed to a multitude of additional obstacles regarding their internal migration decision-making than migrants in mono-ethnic relationships.

8.2.1 Conflicting Ethnic Identities, Inter-Ethnic Couples, Residential Decision-Making

The interview data seems to show that an obstacle that respondents in inter-ethnic relationships with non-white partners experience are how these relationships are understood and conceived by other migrants in the Polish diaspora, as well as by other residents in Britain. In the four cases of inter-ethnic couples, respondents note that their migration decisions are comprised of their multiple identities. First, their identity being Polish, second, their identity being part of an inter-ethnic relationship, and third, their partner’s non-white ethnic identity. Two respondents describe how their relationships are significant and shape their national and local moves. The first respondent, Wiktoria is thirty-four and lives in Ashton-Under-Lyne with her husband and young daughter. Wiktoria’s husband is British-Bangladeshi, and she works in a clothing store in Manchester city centre. She is also attending college and studying for GCSEs in Mathematics and English. Second, Maja is thirty-two and works as a barista in Manchester city centre. She lives in North Manchester with her husband who is an Italian national and of Pakistani ancestry.

I’m living here five years… I move here because my partner living here… we considered living in Poland or to live in England but because… major part… he’s Asian and could be more difficulties for us. He can’t find a job in Poland that’s why we decide to live here.

Main factors were that we wanted to be together. Yeah and because of fact he couldn’t… he could have been abused from like Polish and we had some not so nice situations like people are not like how to say… because of colour of skin. Polish people are not… too much open, and… we was worried about that, and then I actually didn’t see any choice I actually must move here.

**Wiktoria, F, 32, Ashton-Under-Lyne**

[P]olice… involve for anything… like my husband 4 months in Poland and police check up the street his document 5 or 6 times like passport? Do you have visa? Do you have right to be here? Cause he have different colour of the skin, only because of this!

**Maja, F, 34, Moston**

These excerpts highlight that respondents’ migration decisions comprise of psychological aspects, as well as social and relational factors. Respondents’ accounts show that being part of an inter-ethnic couple makes them aware of their own ethnic identity, as well as the added constraints that
result from their partner’s non-white identity. Further, while in chapter seven some interviewees’ whiteness became a significant issue only when their whiteness became visible, it seems for several respondents in inter-ethnic relationships that their partner’s ethnic identity added a level of complexity to their own identity and how it shapes their migration decision-making. The descriptions from the respondents show that they are unaware of their racial identity up until the moment that they become racially conscious, which usually occurs through the formation of their particular configuration of an intimate relationship. It is at this juncture that they no longer have white privilege but have to consider their ethnic identity as part of a particular type of relationship. The recognition of racial consciousness chimes with O’Donoghue’s (2004) work; she examines inter-racial couples in the US and found that one of the consequences of the white identity of the female partner is that they become more aware of their own ethnic identity and the experience that their African-American partners encounter. O’Donoghue (2004) notes, however, that the racially white member of an inter-racial couple does not internalise their partner’s ethnic identity or express that they have somehow crossed over to a complete understanding of their partner’s experience. However, the results show that they become more aware of the role race plays in the social world and the adverse effects her partner could encounter in certain places.

Moreover, respondents’ accounts illuminated that becoming racially conscious by forming inter-ethnic relationships forces respondents to consider their ethnicity for the first time. The respondents’ racial awareness is a useful process to assist with the understanding of how their relationships and ethnic identities interplay in their residential decisions. This is because their racial awareness assists the respondents to formulate their future residential decisions that concern how their partner’s non-white ethnic identities would be viewed in different places and shed light of some of the experience that they could encounter that could limit the options of places they decide to move. Work by McHugh (2000:85) can be used to explain this finding, showing how the formation of inter-ethnic relationships makes ethnicity a significant feature. McHugh’s explains, “in crossing boundaries, take-for-granted identities are thrust into consciousness”. For racial whiteness in the UK, Frankenberg’s (1994) work also suggests that it is hard to appreciate the entrenched nature of whiteness in western societies as a normative structure. In these cultures, white people are taught not to recognise white privilege, just as men are taught to ignore male privilege, and that it is only contextual and relational circumstances that cause white people to become aware of their own racial and ethnic identity (Provenzo, 2010). Both respondents appear to explicitly recognise the difficulties that their husbands could encounter in Greater Manchester that link to their ethnicity.

Likewise, their accounts illustrate how respondents’ intimate relationships with non-white partners assist them to cross the imagined ethnic boundary and become, to an extent, aware and crucially empathetic to the experiences of their non-white partners. Goffman (1963) explains that one of the results of migration to a new place is that people’s experiences of inter-personal relations are subject to change and this causes them to reassess and evaluate their own identities. In some contexts, other people view the women as white while in others people view them as part of an inter-racial couple. The result is that in different contexts their strategies change. It appears that respondents in the study imagine their partner’s ethnicity in different places as part of their
decision-making process. Even as the racially white partner, they have to empathise with the harms they imagine their partners would subsequently experience in different contexts and places. For many Poles, the experience of diversity is complex given the lack of diversity and social attitudes towards racial, ethnic and religious minorities. Chapter two discusses the factors that might cause friction with other Polish migrants who are not in these types of intimate relationships. While work on family and internal migration is absent from the literature, this is one of the first accounts of the internal migration decisions of Poles in inter-ethnic relationships that link to their intimate relationships with non-white partners.

8.2.2 Obstacles that Poles in Inter-Ethnic Relationships Encounter
In the two respondents’ quotes above, their accounts highlight specific cultural differences distinct to Polish culture that affects their position as part of inter-ethnic relationships and, in turn, links to their decision-making process. In respondents’ accounts, their migration between different places forces the Polish partner to assess their identity as part of an inter-ethnic relationship and also the specific factors that link to the experience of their non-white partner. Their decision to move to a place they perceive as more tolerant of non-white people and inter-ethnic relationships actually shapes their residential moves. Unlike their movement as a migrant with a white identity who in some cases experiences the racialization of their identity that could affect their residential decisions, the respondent in an inter-ethnic relationship faces additional obstacles relating to the identities that their relationships bestow. For the respondents in the study, it seems that their intimate relationships are constrained by how ‘diversity’ and ‘relationships’ are understood in Polish culture. This is also relevant to how their relationships play out in their migration decisions. The respondents experiences seem to suggest that the role of their inter-ethnic identity and its complexities, link to the way that diversity is understood in Polish society and subsequently transported to the UK. Throughout Wiktoria and Maja’s accounts, as well as some of the same-sex respondents later in the chapter, it seems that their decision-making took into account how other migrants view their relationships. This understanding affected their strategies to live in particular places but more importantly whether they felt comfortable living near other Polish migrants. One respondent, Weronika, in the following quote, highlights her experience of friends in inter-ethnic relationships and how she believes they are constrained by religious aspects of their partners’ identity.

While chapter three outlines the benefits of living near co-ethnics and migrants in the initial phase of migration, for Poles in these specific different intimate relationships, the situation is different. Their desire to live near other Polish migrants can be complicated by other migrant’s attitudes towards their relationships composition. Weronika’s quote highlights how some of the other Polish respondents in the study feel towards other Polish migrants in inter-ethnic relationships and how this can complicate their continued friendships and interactions with these migrants but also some of the prejudice from other Polish migrants to respondents in these types of relationships. Weronika’s experiences of ethnicity, religion and diversity resonate with some of the cultural factors and lack of diversity that link to the nefarious policies that the Nazi party implemented in the state during the Second World War and Holocaust, which virtually wiped out its ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities. Later political changes that link to the transition from communism to capitalism saw the specific resurgence and entrenched nature of Catholicism as a fundamental part of Poland’s national identity. Previously many aspects of religious freedoms had been prohibited as
they jarred with communist ideology. However, the problem is that the significance of Catholic doctrine in post-communist society on notions of the family, sexuality and diversity creates a dissonance for Poles in specific relationships formations. This is because in many cases, living near to other Poles fills a purpose on their arrival to Britain. It assists migrants to overcome some obstacles such as their lack of local area knowledge to find suitable housing. However, the deeply entrenched notions of ‘family’ and ‘diversity’ impact on Polish respondents in inter-ethnic couples as their relationships is dually seen as a threat to Polish culture and an unfamiliar partnership combination of Polish women with a non-white man.

Furthermore, work by Rosenson (1996) who looks at Polish Jewish identities argues that their ethnicity is constructed of a combination of religious and linguistic lines that present a clear difference from how ethnicity is bounded in the UK. For example, Ghaill’s (2000) work shows, with the Roma population, that colour-coded differences that migrants encounter on arrival in the UK shock many of the Slovaksians. These findings highlight the additional issues that Polish migrants in different types of inter-ethnic relationships might experience with other Polish migrants. The constructs, arguably, define how many Poles, more accurately, migrants in the Polish migrant stock view relationships that are at odds with the existence of the inter-ethnic relationships of some of the respondents. The attitudes of their co-migrants, as well as differences with members of the white British population show the obstacles that the respondents face in the places they can and cannot move to. It must be noted that this chapter will by no means attempt to unpick Polish nationalism, or do justice to our appreciation of the evolution of the Polish family prior and post-transformation. However, these cultural factors provide one explanation of a specific Polish reading of the data and how Polish intra-ethnic relationships are different from other migrants’ experiences in the UK.

8.2.3 Inter-Ethnic Identities and Social and Kinship Networks

While the identity of a respondent’s partner appears integral to their decision to relocate to Britain, the experiences outlined above illustrate how each partner’s ethnic identity is intricately woven into their intimate relationship. The result is that it seems their migration patterns over time reveal the dominance of one partner’s ethnic identity above another’s regarding their migration decision-making. This very much sheds light on another aspect of their residential decisions, and this is the significance of social and kinship networks in the places the respondents chose to live. The finding occurs as the result of more harm being perceived against their partner’s non-white ethnic identity than their own white identity, but the significance of their relationship status means that it is considered as salient to the places to which they move. For example, in the respondents’ stories, they often seem to move to places with high levels of the residential settlement of one partner’s ethnic group – a concept that the thesis will define as ‘residential asymmetry’. This asymmetry is assisted to a large extent on the social and kinship networks that the couples and families use to assist their settlement choices on arrival in the UK and between different places at a sub-national level. The networks function to facilitate the couples’ movement to different places but also assist in signposting places in the UK, which are more welcoming to their status as an inter-ethnic couple where one partner is non-white. The asymmetry appears to be the result of one partner’s needs being prioritised over the Polish respondents. The process is evident in some of the following
quotes that show the places that some respondents view as safe for their partners/families that are perceived as areas that would accept their inter-ethnic and non-white relationship status and composition. The quotes also shed light on the assistance that usually the non-white partners’ networks have in their residential choices.

Is the area that you live in Ashton near your husband’s family?

Of course, of course, must be! …When I moved in, for me, this was a cultural shock. He told me something totally different. He’s a non-believer…in reality was totally different. His family was very, very Muslim. Very, very, like very cultural. When I see his mum in these clothes I was shocked…maybe because I think when Asian people coming here they expect so many things – like you respect our religion – Polish people nobody ask this. Polish people must adjust! I want to raise my daughter with Catholic religion, they want she go to mosque. For him it wasn’t important, but his mum our business…at end she make point and my daughter walking to mosque.

**Wiktoria, F, 32, Ashton-Under-Lyne**

I was pushing my husband, I want….to go out of London. We are young marriage….all the time sharing, we can’t make argument because people are listening, we can’t say whatever we want, and for him to live with Muslim people that non one bring to home pork. So for me is – okay you cook your way but later this Bulgarian couple start to bring pork at home, so every time before we use our place we wash it because we know they using some"

[H]e come first because he have member of family, if someone is near, he have somewhere, someone you know how is with Pakistani people, they have links, some cousin here. So he take part of our team, come to here to cousin, and we was looking at Gumtree rooms, because I said we don’t know Manchester – He rent room after three days. I come here as well and we work in Rusholme (different residence); so Pakistani area."

**Maja, F, 34, Moston (current place of residence)**

Both accounts suggest how their husband's ethnic identity took precedence in their migration decisions. The preference appears at each stage of their migration trajectory: in their initial decision to relocate to Britain but also in the smaller internal migration moves around Greater Manchester – albeit to different degrees. Both couples’ initial international decision-making consider the ramifications of their husbands’ non-white ethnic identity in Polish society. This decision includes the long-term issues their husband would face, for example, concerning Polish language issues. The respondents moving as an inter-ethnic couple seem no longer able to access many of the privileges that link with their whiteness in Polish society. Instead, the Polish partner has to additionally consider as part of their residential decisions the non-white and visible identity of their non-Polish partner and their status as one partner in an inter-ethnic couple. The finding chimes with the wider work on the role of identities that chapter two describes as context and place dependent. However, for respondents, the interviews uncover specific psychological dimensions of inter-ethnic couples. As the racially white partner, the respondent in certain contexts (on their own) could be understood by audiences as racially white and possess a similar identity to other Poles. However, internally they have the added knowledge that they were part of an inter-ethnic couples and additionally, in many cases imagine the position that their non-white partners would face and obstacles that constrain them.
It seems that the constraining factor in many of their residential decisions is the Polish respondent's partner's non-white identity and this results in their patterns of migration being uneven and based on the places where their partners would experience minimal discrimination. The respondents' move to Britain as the direct result of the perception of the degree hostility their partners would experience. Social networks also seem to be significant to their residential moves but appear to be gendered and show the interplay and enmeshed nature of their ethnic identities with the respondents' gender and relationship status. Both respondents are women, and one explanation for their uneven position and specific internal migration patterns could be because of their gender role in the family and power they can exert in their migration decision-making. The finding links to work by Massey (1993), which identified the different levels of power migrants can exert in their migration moves. Both respondents' accounts suggest that their partner's ethnic identity, not exclusively their racial identity, directly shape the places that they move, and this is contingent also on their social and economic circumstances. With kinship ties in Ashton, Maja's family initially move to a neighbourhood concentrated with South Asian families, and this appears to offer both partners support for their ethnic and religious identities. The findings relate to chapter seven that suggests it is difficult to separate notions of whiteness and Polishness from their religious identity as Catholics. The process is even more apparent in Maja's case, where ethnicity and religion appear to intersect in her family's migration decisions, but also in contestations over her clothing and the practices involved in raising her daughter. The addition of children to an inter-ethnic family seems to heighten the different identities being negotiated over place.

With no family connections to rely on to facilitate their move to the UK, Wiktoria's family initially relocated from Poland to Slough - an ethnically diverse town adjacent to London. This particular moves offer them support during their initial phase of migration, but also it seems, adds a protective effect on her husband's non-white identity and for their marriage a safe space to be an inter-ethnic couple (See Wright, Ellis and Holloway's 2011 paper on the places black-white couples live). Their subsequent experience of living in London with non-Muslim housemates illustrates the additionally complicated role that cultural practices play in their decision to move to Greater Manchester. Wiktoria's husband's religious identity and restrictions on eating meat seem to jar with their Bulgarian housemates' cooking habits. These factors, as well as their desire to live alone as a couple, motivate them to seek better and more spacious accommodation in a place where they could afford such housing conditions. Later descriptions, however, suggest that their residential moves around Greater Manchester rely extensively on her husband's kinship networks - moving to concentrated Asian areas, to places such as Rusholme and Longsight. Arguably, it is hard to reduce this residential asymmetry apparent in both respondents’ cases to the dominance of one ethnic identity over another, as opposed to the artefact of social and kinship ties. A central idea of the assimilation literature and its description of the place/s inter-ethnic couples live report that their settlement is predominantly to diverse and racially mixed areas (Wright, Ellis, and Holloway, 2011; Gabriel, 2015). It appears in both cases that the women’s families gravitated towards their husband's co-ethnics, at least at lower levels of geography. Explanations of this seem to be associated with factors attached to their partner's ethnic identities and the associated perceived
harms they would experience in different places, as well as a function of their social and kinship networks. It also seems that the gender of the partner plays a crucial role, but without similar male respondents in inter-ethnic relationships, it is hard to delineate more fully the apparent role of gender. The findings of residential asymmetry support Caballero et al.'s (2008: p.60) work, which observes the ‘spatially and social uneven’ nature of inter-racial couples’ residential settlement.

While this chapter by no means offers all the nuances of decision-making by migrants in inter-ethnic relationships, and how these are played out over residential spaces, the chapter does deconstruct some of the obstacles and complexities that these couples encountered, that are different from the migrant's experiences from chapter seven. The respondents in inter-ethnic partnerships, it seems, are continually forced to construct and re-constructed their identities among the various places. Moreover, these identities manifest themselves in various ways, at various stages of the migration process, and produce tentative and unequal settlement decisions that diverge from respondents in mono-ethnic relationships. The finding, arguably, is where their relatively different relationship configuration places them at odds with the majority population, both as migrants but also within the Polish migrant stock.

8.3 Conflicting Sexualities and Internal Migration

From the interviews, respondents’ sexual identities and their role in same-sex relationships are also significant, and present different obstacles that Polish migrants face that complicate their migration decision-making. The role of ‘sexual identities’ is also found to be essential to family migration studies and Figure 8.1 suggests Poles exhibit a higher level of migrants in same-sex relationships than other ‘country of birth’ migrants who have arrived at a similar time. However, these differences can also be explained by the large sample size of Polish migrants compared to other migrant groups. Moreover, the statistics tell us little about the way that sexuality and same-sex couples’ relationships complicate Polish migrant’s decision-making. Chapter three also points out how little research focuses on the links between union formations, cohabitation and dissolution upon internal migration. Again, the lack of focus on sexual minorities’ migration arguably links to the dominance of Census, and other large-scale datasets, that fail to capture the complexities and sensitiveness of people's sexuality adequately.

In the narratives of three gay respondents, the non-existence of their sexual identity was a common experience before they migrated. This seems a characteristic of societal attitudes towards same-sex relationships in Polish society but also the places that the respondents originated. The respondents in the study described that they moved from rural places where they faced intolerance to more urban areas that were more tolerant. An abundance of gay migration literature, noted in chapter three outlines the narrative has progressed beyond considering solely the migration of LGBT migrants (Silvey, 2004; Lewis, 2012), to how these patterns are similar and different to the migration of heterosexual migrants. The progress moves the debate to look at how sexual identities are constructed and re-fashioned in various places and how their identities are implicated at different stages of their migration trajectory (Fortier, 2002; Knopp and Brown, 2003; Gorman-Murray 2007). Respondents in the study articulate that a significant motive for their migration
decisions relates to problems or obstacles relating to their sexual identity. For instance, Szymon is twenty-nine and lives in Ardwick and describes his rural to urban moves from a small village in Poland to Manchester in the following fashion.

It's a small village near Lublin – the name is Kosajev…well, there are some experiences that was the main difference. There was nothing before I came to the UK. I had nobody to talk to about it. I wasn't open, and I didn't have any gay friends. I moved [first] to Manchester. I've always been here. I lived in Withington and then I been moving around, then Rusholme, Victoria Park [and] Ardwick

Szymon, M, 29, Ardwick

Plotting the migration patterns of gay Poles suggests that they exhibit different patterns to heterosexual respondents. For example, Szymon mentions that he moved from a relatively small and rural place in Poland. For all gay respondents, there appears to be an initial rural to urban pattern of migration that spans Poland and Britain. This pattern of urbanisation chimes with Burrell's (2009) work on the movement of Polish migrants to Britain predominantly moving from rural and small villages and towns in Poland to multiple places in Britain. Chapter three outlines that this is mainly due to the uneven nature of the labour market and pay across Poland. Likewise, this pattern of rural to urban migration supports Gorman-Murray's (2007) work on the rural to urban moves of gay men in Australia. The work explains that such movement corresponds to gay people and their ‘coming out’ process and their desire to be open and disclose their sexual identity. Urban places seem to appeal to LGBT migrants during this period for several reasons. First, rural attitudes towards sexual minorities are often more conservative and adverse than in urban places (Gorman-Murray, Waitt and Gibson, 2008). One explanation for this links to the differences between the levels of diversity in rural and urban areas. Second, often urban and city areas have services that cater specifically to the LGBT community, and therefore it is a good place for primarily young LGBT migrants to explore their sexual identities (Gorman-Murray, 2007; Hubbard et al. 2015).

Considering gay migration specifically, Stella (2015) examines gay Polish migrants who move to Scotland and found in fact that living or moving away from their friendship and kinship networks is beneficial for Gay Poles, enabling them to explore their sexual identities away from societal judgements or attitudes. While caution needs to be applied to the interpretation due to sample size, the lack of formal restraints that was increased by Poland's membership of the EU results in several benefits for LGBT migrants. First, it allows previous patterns of LGBT migrants of rural to urban moves being able to be reconfigured across the EU space more efficiently. In other words, gay migration is made possible from more rural places in Poland to more diverse and tolerant places in the UK without the added constraints of visa restrictions. Second, migration acts as a strategy for gay Poles to move away from specific networks that could prohibit them being able to explore and develop their sexual identities. The two findings show that international and internal migrations are contingent on a respondent’s sexual identity formation and vice versa or co-produced. Also, respondents’ sexual identities appear to come to the fore in Poland but seem less
significant in Britain within respondents’ internal migration accounts. For instance, Szymon describes the difficulties that LGBT people experience in Poland.

Does it differ, I guess, between the two countries [UK and Poland] how homosexuals are treated?

Yes, yes, officially…it’s supposed to be similar as in here as we are part of the European Union so of course weirdly we have similar laws but err, err, Poland is the Catholic country and err, err the church has a big influence still in the government, so it very conservative and of course it’s the old generation, it’s slowly changing, but it will… It’s quite hard to be a gay in Poland, especially in the small cities or in the villages.

I wasn’t open about it. I didn’t have any gay friends, and it took me a while after I came to the UK, after maybe two, three years before…I was open about it.

Szymon, 30, M, Ardwick

I was just coming back from work today and I’ve seen two guys just walking by hand-in-hand and it’s…normal here but in Poland, nope! You can get hit! It’s not possible, you can get his but here you can get hit but here people…looking at this in a different way. You've got lots of people here…lots of nationalities, and that's why people are very open-minded for all people, not in Poland. Poland is like a small country. Living in their own zone and that's why!

Wiktor, 29, M, Salford

I had two faces, one for friends and one for family. My family accepted they know but, like you know, I'm gay, but two friends I had thought that I got a girlfriend or something. I been lying all the time.

Mikolaj, 25, M, Salford

Respondents’ migration seems to link to their direct and indirect experiences of living as an open sexual minority in Poland. Often these experiences comprise of a particular type of performativity that occur within different social networks. The performativity or strategy of openness or closure is enacted to either conceal, or expose their sexual identity amongst different networks. This largely appears to depend on the level of trust between the respondent and various network members. The strategy seems to rely on the societal attitudes held by the respondents’ social networks, and their perception of the experience/s of sexual minorities had encountered in Poland. The type of performance Mikolaj describes (to conceal his sexual identity) appears to fluctuate in its extent between different places and amongst different groups of people. All respondents spoke of circumstances where they perceived that had to perform ‘straight’ to subdue their sexual identity and fit into Polish society.

Place, as a concept also seems significant, as it appears that migrants’ concealment and performativity link to their sexual identity and is subdued on arrival in the UK. However, their sexual identity seems integral to their location choice in Britain and appears to be prioritised over other identity facets such as ethnicity on their arrival. The findings of the restrictions that sexual minorities experience in Poland, such as societal attitudes towards homosexuality supports work by Gruszczynska (2006) that found that the intolerance sexual minorities encountered led to sexual identity formation occurring in alternative spaces. Cyberspace, for instance, continues to gain
prominence amongst the LGBT community in Poland as it operates as a private and safe space where sexual minorities can meet anonymously. They could explore their sexual identities, meet other gay people, and share information about local events and services, without having to confront societal judgement or negative attitudes directly.

Respondents’ experiences highlight the contention between their direct and personal experiences of discrimination. Also, an individual’s perception of societal attitudes towards homosexuality, and the associated harms that could befall them in Poland. Drawing parallels to the step-wise movement of heterosexual couples moving to Britain in the first section, Wiktor’s decision to move to the UK seems underlined by his relationship with Mikolaj, and whereby he initially moves, and Wiktor follows the year after. The interviews support the significant role of same-sex intimate relationships in Poles’ migration decisions. They also highlight that similar issues occur similarly to heterosexual Polish couples. Some of the experiences of same-sex couples in the study appear similar to those of inter-ethnic couples also. Chapter two highlights that the embedded notions of hetero-normativity and composition of the family - cemented through the Polish Catholic church - place same-sex couples at odds with these conceptions. The finding means they had the added consideration of their sexual identity to contend with and situated in their migration decision-making. The socio-historical dissonance between Polish society’s construction of diversity and relationships supports Graff’s (2006) work, which highlights the complexities of Poland’s attitudes towards homosexuality post-2004. On the one hand, it appears that attitudes are becoming more liberal as a result of the country’s openness (relating to their membership of the EU); however, on the other hand, the country seems to become more intolerant towards sexual minorities, seen in the resurgence of homophobic violence, particular during multiple ‘Gay Pride’ marches across the country in 2005. Graff (2006) explains that this apparent paradox is due to the construction of national identity formed out of communism and the entrenchment of religious notions of the family and sexuality. These conflict with the discussion and advancing of rights for LGBT people in the country.

Poland’s discomfort with homosexuality, Graff (2006) argues, is due to an array of socio-historical factors. First, under communist rule, religion and religious practice were suppressed and placed at a lower position to concerns for the state. Before communism, Poland was the epicentre of Catholicism in Eastern Europe - with Christianity firmly entrenched in psychological articulations of the country’s national identity and notions of what it meant to be Polish (Porter, 2001). Second, during this period, construction of notions of ‘relationships’ and the ‘family’ was subordinated to the state and its need for labour that was dictated by the communist ideology. During communism, religious practice and differential configurations of relationships and families were forms of active civil resistance. However, the two were not mutually exclusive. After the abolition of communism, the salience of Catholicism, its teachings and religious practice gathered momentum (Zubrzycki, 2006). Many commentators believe that liberalisation of Polish culture, previously held back during communism, would open up the political and legal space for sexual minorities to flourish. However, arguably, the transitional stage had the opposite effect and resulted in an escalation of violence, restrictions and the tightening of Poland’s attitudes towards gay and lesbian people (Graff, 2006).
This effect seems to result from the resurgence of religion, more specifically Catholicism, and its approach towards ideas of the family and relationships in Polish society. Furthermore, Wiktor’s decision to move to Manchester appeared to be associated dually by his boyfriend living in the city but also Manchester’s association with gay culture.

[T]here was couple of reasons. One was my boyfriend, and the other was, Manchester because it’s a very open-minded city.

**Wiktor, 29, M, Salford**

Wiktor’s decision to move to the UK and Manchester, in particular, appears to connect to a migrant’s perception of national and local attitudes towards gay culture and diversity. It also underscores the notion of gravitational migration that is mentioned in chapter three where people decide to move to be near people with similar characteristics. In this case, places that are gay-friendly and more tolerant to sexual minorities. The findings support Gorman-Murray’s (2009) study on the internal migration patterns of gay men in Australia that found that they tend to gravitate towards locations where other gay men live. The finding supports the idea that moving to places near other gay people acts as a social resource to support their identity development and likewise to BME groups – a buffet to discrimination and racism (Bécares, Nazroo, and Stafford, 2009; Finney and Simpson, 2009). The selection of Manchester as a gay-friendly city sheds light on the multi-spatial dimensions of respondents’ decisions, where the UK is chosen because it is seen as a more tolerant place and on a more local level, Manchester is selected because of its reputation as a gay-friendly city. The entrenched nature of a social identity in a particular place supports Easthope’s (2009) work, which found that group identities are regularly embedded in place, with examples that include the relationships that certain national and ethnic groups have with their ‘homelands’. This provides a common reference point for the group. Using this idea, the respondents’ selection of Manchester appears to be a benchmark of gay culture in the UK, and Canal Street provides a primary focal point for migrants deciding to move abroad that is place-bound and arguably affixed to their sexual identity. Wiktor’s decision-making arguably then takes into account his sexual identity and a place where he anticipates it acceptable to be open about his sexual identity and relationship with Mikoaj in British society at different spatial levels.

Respondents’ internal migration decisions also highlight the dissonance between different identity constructs, temporally and longitudinally, where, for example, on arrival in the UK, their sexual identity is placed behind their identity as a migrant or as a Polish person. However, over time this changes and their sexual identity come to the fore again.
The accounts appear to illustrate the competing and intersecting nature of respondents' sexual identities with other identity constructs (migration, gender, age, ethnicity) at different stages of their migration trajectory. It becomes apparent that respondent's sexual identities are explicit in their international decision-making, where previously their sexual identities are concealed and restricted on multiple levels, individually, at a family and societal level, and among different networks. On arrival in Manchester, however, it seems that moving to a perceived more tolerant area, as well as being confronted with an array of issues associated with their immigrant status, places their sexual identities behind their immigrant and Polish identity. Subsequent residential decisions illuminate the contestation of these different social identity facets as they carved up the cityscape. These include alternative factors they prioritised, such as their proximity to employment, good quality housing, and access to the city centre and link with other economic factors that chapter five explains in more detail.

8.4 Summary

Evidence about Polish family internal migration seems to be a relatively undernourished area within migration studies. The lack of research not only seems to be the result of issues that link to the small counts that limit the ONS from allowing data to be available to explore the additional characteristics but also the crude variables operationalised in the 2011 census to allow us to examine relationship change and relationship stability. Also, the numbers of migrants to the country and the pace of change have focused attention on international migration and this has contributed to the lack of research focus.

The chapter finds that the stability of respondents' intimate relationships closely links to their decisions to move at a sub-national level. The findings reveal the complexities of relationships, for
example, the array of factors that link to union formation and dissolution. The chapter also sheds light on the specific issues that face migrants whose relationships breakdown. The findings show that in these situations the migrants have to find new accommodation, often without their partner's knowledge, due to cases of domestic violence. These situations are undoubtedly complex and see the migrants having to balance finding new accommodation alongside issues that relate to their children such as their new accommodations proximity to their children's schools.

The chapter also considers how Poles in different types of relationships and families experience additional challenges that link with the diversity of EU migrants who can migrate to Britain under the free movement framework. The examination of Poles in inter-ethnic and same-sex relationships suggests, not only do we need to better incorporate scale, but also the on-going and fragmented nature of inter-ethnic and sexual identity formation. For Poles in inter-ethnic relationships and families, we need to consider the fluid and changing identities of each family member within our understandings of the needs of the household in their internal migration decisions. For gay Poles, rather than prioritise national and regional analysis of migration patterning, shorter, local level or peripatetic moves should be incorporated into our understanding of sexual identity formation. Instead of discontinuous and singular events, the pathways of gay and inter-ethnic migrants should be considered, as 'identity quests', which have temporal elements and by nature are untidy and predicated on movement rather than bounded by place and the uni-directionality of distinct patterns. Again, the obstacles that seem significant to Polish people's precise movement decisions link to cultural factors that relate closely with the country's particular transition into the market economy. Also, how social attitudes towards the family and diversity are embedded in religion and the country's accurate recent history.

The findings from Polish respondents point to migration decisions linking extensively to intimate relationships between migrants and their partners, as well as children, involving wider caregiving responsibilities and how these play out in the EU space and at a sub-national level. Again the chapter takes our theorising of internal migration to a more holistic stance, that shows how economic factors are embedded in people's identities and in the relationships and families that are involved in migration decisions.
Chapter Nine
Discussion

9.0 Introduction

It has been over a decade since the EU expansion led to the large-scale international and intra-EU migration of Polish people to Britain, with Rienzo and Vargas-Silva (2017) reporting that in 2015 Poland supplied the largest percentage share (9.5%) of international migrants to the UK by country of birth. A significant characteristic of Polish people’s residential settlement patterns was their movement into new geographies that include rural places that are relatively unfamiliar with international migration. However, we did not know where Polish people moved to next and whether there were any significant changes to their internal migration patterns as well as what factors were significant in their residential decision making. The lack of research on contemporary Polish migration at a sub-national level in Britain relates to a lack of adequate data and inadequate theorisations of internal migration patterns for new migrants from Eastern Europe who migrated to Britain.

The cause for the lack of investigation into Polish internal migration links to four issues: first, there is a relative paucity of data that adequately captures Polish migrants in the variables of ‘country of birth’, nativity, or primary language. Datasets such as Understanding Society that contain ethnic and migrant booster samples neglect a sample of post-accession migrants while other data like the Workers Registration Scheme have been discontinued due to criteria laid down as part of the EU transitional agreement with new EU member states. The release of the 2011 Census offers an unrivalled opportunity to measure Polish migration that uses the total population and includes the geographical units to measure characteristics of Polish people’s residential settlement. The introduction of origin-destination datasets has also opened up the opportunity to measure internal migration over a one-year interval.

Second, the literature review chronicled the abundance of models and empirical work that suggested the significance of race and ethnicity to the internal migration patterns of migrants and ethnic minorities. For many non-white groups such as South Asian, Caribbean, and African groups, ethnicity seemed significant to their agency and link to explanations such as the Resurgent Ethnicity Theory (RET) and Gravitational Theory (GT). Ethnicity also linked to structural explanations of factors that constrained their internal migration through practices in the housing market such as discrimination and racism by landlords and mortgage providers. However, before this study we knew very little about how whiteness and Polish ethnicity operated for Polish internal migrants in their migration decision-making. While the 2011 Census data provided the opportunity to examine their internal migration patterns, its relatively crude variables restricted the analysis of the complexities of how identities and other factors operate in a migrant’s decision-making. The suggestion is largely because of the methodology of the Census and its focus on aggregate data as well as non-refined variables (See methods chapter 4 for further details).
Third, the literature review discussed the complexities of whiteness and its place-dependent and contextual nature and caused the decision to be made to use qualitative data and semi-structured interviews additionally. The rationale is to unpick Polish migrants decision-making at an individual level and provide one explanation to some of the internal migration moves analysed from the Census data. However, a consistent problem of using the two types of data is how to successfully use quantitative and qualitative data together efficiently given their different approaches to investigating the social world. The solution in this research has been to employ Facet Methodology, a relatively new approach, which satisfies the use of qualitative and quantitative data by using them to answer different lines of enquiry or facets of the research question. Additionally, the approach allows flashes of insight to be gained through the iteration of the two types of data to provide new and novel information that would have been unachievable from using one data source on its own. In this thesis, the 2011 Census has provided data to analyse the patterns of Polish people’s internal migration using a representative sample of the population and the variables that permit the type of analysis. Additionally, forty-one semi-structured interviews have provided the data to unpick the factors that contribute to Polish people’s internal migration decisions.

Finally, the during the study the social and political landscape in Britain has drastically changed, and on the 23rd of June 2016, the British electorate voted to sever ties to the country’s membership of the EU. The Citizens Assembly, a piece of deliberative research, highlighted that a key theme among many of the electorates’ decision to vote to leave the union linked to debates on immigration (Citizens’ Assembly on Brexit, 2017). The political discourse that has accompanied the referendum campaigns drew on the negative representations of Poles and other accession migrants and argued that they were a threat to jobs and British culture. Furthermore, the perceived entitlement as EU citizens to the welfare state was also used to indicate they are a burden on public funds and this has contributed to supply the anti-immigrant discourse. The referendum result exemplified the escalation of anti-immigrant sentiment and Euroscepticism that continues to spread throughout Europe.

The thesis, therefore, looked at Polish internal migration during a specific period of political upheaval and change that has focused attention on migrants, namely Polish and other accession migrants, being a significant part of the political rhetoric in the run-up to the referendum vote. The thesis has answered specific questions about the evolution of their settlement geographies but more broadly has provided evidence to substantiate the characteristics of Polish migration and contribute factual information to address anti-immigrant sentiments. This chapter concludes the thesis by drawing out how the research has addressed the lack of understanding of internal migration patterns and decision making of Poles in Britain. It details the contribution of the research to internal migration theory and concepts as well as to the specificities of understanding Polish experience. Implications for methodological approaches in migration studies and social policies relating to the settlement and integration of migrants are discussed.
9.1 Polish Internal Migration and the Labour Market

Previous work on Polish international migration suggests that it links intimately to economic factors. The literature suggests a migrant’s position and status in the labour market in Poland or lack thereof creates the economic incentives to consider leaving Poland. The factors are weighed against employment opportunities in Britain that cause the relocation to be attractive (Burrell, 2009). Models such as the Spatial Assimilation Theory (SAT) suggests that a migrant’s residential geographies link to their occupational status and that their internal migration moves are driven by their upward occupational mobility. Therefore, the theory argues that as a migrant’s increasing occupational status influences their internal migration patterns by dispersing outward from their initial settlement in the inner city to more affluent neighbourhoods in the suburban places (Gordon, 1964; Massey, 1985). However, the problem with new migration patterns such as those of Poles in Britain is that there is evidence that they directly enter into suburban and rural places that are described in the SAT as being reserved for the most assimilated migrants rather than the newly arrived (Hall, 2013).

The work on the labour market characteristics of Poles and other accession migrants in the British labour market suggests that they are regularly under-employed (Cuipijus, 2011). However, after their initial phase of migration, it is theorised that they can gain the necessary capital, for example, country-specific work experience, equivalent qualifications, improved English language proficiency and are thereby able to seek better employment opportunities. The existing explanations show some of the obstacles migrants face in the labour market, but the work has not yet connected Polish people’s occupational mobility with their internal migration. The analysis from chapter four suggests that one of the dominant patterns of Poles’ internal migration using the DEFRA urban-to-rural hierarchy is moves towards more urban districts. However, due to the crude variables in the origin-destination data, we are unable to disentangle the characteristics of the migrants who move. The examination of the interview data from chapter five provides one explanation of the links between Poles’ occupational mobility and their internal migration. The analysis suggests that initially Poles moving from outside the UK move into a wide selection of districts that include the so-called new geographies across more rural places in England and Wales. Work by Knight, Lever, and Thompson (2014) suggested the place-specific nature of these experiences. However, chapter five argues that many of the Polish migrants in Greater Manchester (GM) who initially moved to more rural areas across the UK have been able to convert their lack of capital to become upwardly mobile. The findings are one dimension that has explained their internal migration moves to GM to seek and gain access to better employment opportunities. The two types of data highlight the use of mixed methods and a facet methodology framework to shed light on the patterns of internal migration and some of the economic explanations for Poles’ migration moves.

Chapter four, however, shows there is also a significant pattern, albeit smaller, of Poles who move between the most rural types of districts in England and Wales. The findings indicate that not all migrants can increase their capital to improve their occupational circumstances in the labour market. Lymperopoulou and Parameshwaran (2015) offer an explanation for their suggestion that unlike other nationality groups in the ‘accession 8’ cohort, Polish migrants are less likely to be
qualified and underemployed and therefore less able to rapidly increase their occupational status. The fieldwork has been carried out across GM that does not contain any rural districts and includes Poles in more urban places. We can assume that for many Poles in the Census 2011 data that continue to move between rural districts that their moves indicate their employment in specific sectors such as farming and agriculture that are characterised by short-term and fixed-term employment contracts. Some of the interview accounts from migrants about their migration trajectories explain these moves. For example, Oliwia moved between rural districts in Scotland and Wales, and her experience highlights that these rural to rural moves were underscored by her preference to remain in the hospitality sector.

A limitation of the 2011 Census data is that it is unable to examine internal migration moves at a lower level of geography than district level, but data from some of the migrants discussed in chapter five compensates for this by providing accounts that can explain their immobility or small level moves. Some respondents in chapter five that are working in the manufacturing and factory sectors suggest that a significant explanation for their lack of upward occupational mobility regardless of their length of settlement in the UK links to their low level of English language proficiency. Their stories explain that characteristics of their shift work in the previously mentioned sectors result in them having to work lengthy and unsociable hours. Therefore they had limited time to invest in ESOL classes to improve their language ability. Furthermore, another finding is that in many of the factories that the Poles work in there are very few native English speakers and migrant workers dominate the workforce. Without the social ties and access to native speakers (bridging social capital), the workers were limited in their opportunities to practise their language skills that are a key component of them improving their occupational position and can explain a facet of immobility for Poles in places across GM.

Models such as the Spatial Assimilation Theory (SAT) that link occupational mobility to internal migration can still be useful to offer one explanation of the residential geographies of Poles in England and Wales even if the configuration of place and occupational status require a rethink. It seems from the findings from chapters five and six that changes to the labour market structure and the sectors that require labour have resulted in a re-orientation of the reception sites of new migrants. For example, the agricultural sector requiring labour has meant the international migration of Poles into more rural places. However, it seems that Poles’ internal migration patterns and their links to occupational status reflect a reverse pattern to the one laid out in the SAT. Interestingly, some of the respondents in chapter five who are highly qualified and live in more urban areas of GM describe their dispersal to more suburban places. However, these moves cannot be entirely explained by their occupational status but link to changes in their housing circumstances and decisions to buy and enter into private renting. Equally, some respondents show that the characteristics of their age and relationships status are significant to their suburban moves that link to their intimate relationships and family building decisions. The findings go beyond the wholly economic explanations set out by the SAT. For some respondents, particularly those with children who are living in the Private Rented Sector (PRS) accommodation, their patterns of suburbanization appear to represent their access into the Social Rented Sector (SRS) of the
housing market. While it is clear from the literature review that Poles like other EU migrants are entitled to access SRS accommodation after they provide evidence of three-month continuous employment for worker status, the practicalities of the SRS market in GM means that there is an abundance of applicants for a limited housing stock. Therefore some of the respondent's moves reflect their access and the availability of an SRS house rather than their upward occupational status.

The unique nature of the EU space for EU citizens means that Polish migrants can move unconstrained based on their national citizenship in a similar way to internal migration moves at a sub-national level (Burrell, 2009). The findings from chapter five indicate that districts are significant for Polish migrants at different stages of their migration trajectories. Chapter five uses the origin-destination data and the migration of Poles from outside the UK to show that different districts are significant for international migration while others are important for internal migration. The analysis shows that new geographies in more rural, peripheral, and seaside districts across England and Wales are significant as the reception sites for international migrants. Housing and service providers there need to include services for the transient and new migrant communities to these reception areas. More urban areas function as both the sites of new migrants and internal movers as they occupationally advance in the labour market. Therefore, urban services and housing need to respond to both occupationally and socially mobile and static migrants.

9.2 Identities, Internal Migration, Residential Decision-Making

Much of the previous work about migrants’ settlement patterns emphasised their racial and ethnic identities in models that include the RET and GT. The models suggest that migrants’ agency is expressed through their desire to live in places where people with similar identity characteristics live, for instance, co-ethnic members (Logan, 2002; Gorman-Murray, 2007). Much of the quantitative work has focused on a migrant’s ethnic identity as the dominant facet and suggests that for visible and non-white migrant groups their identity constrains and influences their internal migration patterns through discrimination and racism and practices in, for example, the housing market (Rex and Moore, 1969). However, the problem, as mentioned throughout the analysis chapters, is that Poles are racially white Slavic and predominantly Catholic migrants and we have little idea about how whiteness and its intersections with other identity facets operate in the migration decision-making processes.

The findings from chapters six, seven, and eight suggest that Polish people’s residential decision-making relates to their identities in complex ways and, as with any analysis of identities, has temporal and place-dependent articulations that can make reifying or reducing their decisions to one identity facet hard. The findings from chapter five suggest that Polish migrants are predominantly moving towards districts with higher levels of non-white residents. The interview data paints a complex picture of the way whiteness and Polish ethnicity operate that differ considerably from the findings for non-white migrant groups. Chapters six and seven suggest that whiteness and Polishness seem to function in three main ways for single migrants as well as those in inter-ethnic relationships and families. First, their decision-making links to their comfort with other
ethnic and religious groups in their neighbourhoods, and second, to how well the migrants perceive they fit into the areas. Third, is the sophisticated fashion in which whiteness operates when Poles’ white identities become visible, and they experience discrimination and racism through processes of racialization.

For some of the respondents, the migrants’ movement towards non-white diversity that is evident in the 2011 Census data analysis can be explained by their preference to move to diverse areas where they could be whoever they want to be without encountering societal judgments. For specific groups such as respondents in inter-ethnic relationships and gay migrants, their moves to diverse areas seem to be to accommodate their diverse identities or those of their partners and children. The additional factors the subgroups of respondents have to consider further complicate their residential decision-making.

A theme running through the study is the cultural aspects unique to Polish migrants that affect migration decision including the way Polish migrants understand ethnicity, and how these understandings are portable from one social, cultural and political context to another. For many respondents, the lack of familiarity with non-white people and the portability of ideas of race and ethnicity is evident in both the historicism of diversity in Poland and the shock expressed by many respondents about the diversity they experienced on arrival in Britain. The respondents also show how they import specific ethnic registers to describe diversity that are informed by Polish society but also by locally ascribed registers in Britain. In Poland, it seems that ethnic difference is constructed differently to in Britain and is a mix of racial, ethnic, national and religious identities. For internal migration, the portable ways ethnicity is understood link to some respondents’ desires to move away from places with large populations of Middle Eastern and South Asian migrants/residents who are Muslim. Some of the female respondents also highlight how specific gendered experiences intersect ethnicity and religion and play a significant role in their desire to move out of an area and towards more racially white places. Many of the accounts support previous work on the historical dimensions of Poland’s lack of diversity and how it has affected the populations’ familiarity and comfort with ethnic diversity (See chapter two).

The third major way that whiteness and Polishness appear to operate emerges out of chapter seven and is to do with the visibility of Polish whiteness and the way it is racialized. The majority of respondents mention that they have experienced discrimination or racism at some point during their settlement in the UK. It seems that these encounters occurred when their Polish whiteness became visible. The analysis shows that inter-sectionality offers an adequate framework to show how a combination of a migrant’s identity facets that include gender, religion, and dress cause the whiteness to be visible in certain contexts and places. Several of the respondents in chapter seven show awareness of the factors that contribute to their racialized identities that support Fox and colleagues’ previously mentioned work on other accession migrants. Similar to their work, the Polish migrants in chapter six show they use discursive and behavioural strategies to improve their status and ameliorate any harms they encounter that are attached to their racialized whiteness.
The strategies that the migrants deploy vary and highlight differences in class, gender, and religion. For example, some of the professionals who gave interviews spoke of how they changed their name to make their Polish identity invisible. However, this seems to be a strategy that could only be used by the higher classes and the most integrated of migrants. Many respondents show that they use racism to denigrate the status of other residents, for example, the respondent who spoke about her encounter with black residents in a diverse ward in Greater Manchester. The findings from chapter eight show the added complexity that inter-ethnic couples and families experience where other identities are internalised by white migrants; this is particularly experienced by parents of mixed ethnicity children and highlights the importance of the identities of family members to migrants’ internal migration decisions. It seems that the strategies that migrants use are also their attempts to fit into their neighbourhoods and connect to their residential decision-making as a temporary measure to fit in and reduce the feeling of discrimination and racism until they can accrue enough material assets to be able to afford to move to a different place.

9.3 Whiteness, the Labour Market and Debate on Ethnic Segregation

The debate on ethnic segregation continues to dominate the discourse on place and non-white and Muslim minority groups in the UK; any separation in the residential geographies they inhabit is taken as support that they are self-segregating and living parallel lives. Chapter five shows the movement of Poles to districts of higher Polish residential concentration. However, a more nuanced analysis using the interview data links the patterns of segregated residential spaces or residential concentration with complex factors of the labour market and identities. The problem with the district-level analysis used in the Census analysis is that the level of geography used might wrongly implicate the agency of migrants to move to areas of co-ethnic settlement. The data from the interviews suggest the links between communism, labour market structures and their effect on ethnicity all influence a desire to live with co-ethnics. The transition from command to market economy seems to have contributed to a lack of ethnic solidarity and a heightened competition in the labour market that has been reported by some of the particularly older respondents as having reduced their desire to live near other Polish migrants. In fact, some of the interviewees spoke about the mistrust within the Polish community that stems from the atmosphere of surveillance that was in existence during communist times. While some of the more cultural explanations for ethnic congregation among collectivist societies is well documented, and there is evidence from chapter six that social networks assist migrants to live near their family and friends, there is little evidence of migrants’ desire to live near co-ethnics. The introduction of the market economy and latent structures to compete for jobs and resources provide one explanation for the lack of residential congregation among Poles. Furthermore, chapter six suggests that often when Poles expressed their desire to live near their co-ethnics, its foundation is a desire to live near other practising Polish Catholics and to be in proximity to a Polish parish, as well as to supply a social function to aid their initial period after migration. Chapter seven and eight also show that some respondents mention a benefit to living in more diverse areas is their ability to live without the experience of societal judgment that is frequently spoken about as occurring in Polish society.
9.4 Whiteness and White Hierarchies

The quotes and accounts from the respondents in Chapter 7 drew our attention to the importance of ‘whiteness’ and how for Polish people in the UK, it seems that their ethnic whiteness is culturally distinct from the whiteness of other groups. The findings show that the boundaries of Polish whiteness are caused by its intersections with other social markers of gender, class, dress, language and accent. Chapter 3 mentions the work by Song (2004) and Back (2015) who discuss different forms of hierarchies that distinguish migrants from one another and assist to delineate who belongs and who does not. However, given the increase in ethnic diversity that has occurred in Britain over the past two decades, a question that has emerged is whether these types of racial and migrant hierarchies are still useful to understand the complex processes involved in the sense of belonging, for example, the belonging of the Polish post-accession EU migrants.

The findings from Chapter 7 suggest that these hierarchies are still useful, as many of the respondents living in Greater Manchester deployed a variety of active or subconscious strategies to respond to the racialization of their Polish identities. The strategies, such as Oliwia’s strategy of claiming Swedish whiteness instead of Polish whiteness, show how the active strategy of name changing reveals the subtle, yet distinct hierarchies of whiteness. The strategy of misrecognition seems to work on the principle that some white identities are viewed more favourable than others. In this example, Swedish whiteness and white identities of migrants from northern European countries are viewed in a more positive light than Polish or other Eastern European white identities. Other strategies, such as Weronika’s, show the active strategies, such as racism, that Polish respondents use to improve their own status as well as denigrating the status of other people. The strategies show how these hierarchies are racial, as well as shedding light on the diversity within racial whiteness. Hierarchies of belonging, it seems, are still useful to explain how new white migrant groups' strategies are grounded in the relational position along these hierarchies that migrants are situated in. For example, the strategies of misrecognition work on the basis that some ethnic and racial positions are placed ahead of others. However, the strategies of misrecognition shed light on whiteness being more complex and contingent on its intersections with an array of social markers and not exclusively race or ethnicity.

The findings build on the work by Andrucki (2011) and Halvorsrud (2017) who looked at South African migrants and other racially white migrants to draw out how these various hierarchies can assist to better explain the complexity and intersections of whiteness as they are enacted as strategies by the migrants to fit into different contexts. The findings from the current study address the movement in ‘third wave’ whiteness studies that call for more empirical work to be undertaken to examine how whiteness operates for different groups and this can extend the theoretical rubric of whiteness within race and ethnicity studies.

9.5 Intimate Relationships and Internal Migration
The literature review sheds light on how the rise of family migration work has augmented our understanding of the complexity and the unique features that relationships and families add to migration decision-making. However, a lot has been written about family migration in an international migration context but very little has been undertaken on internal migration. The work by White (2009) and Ryans (2011) shows that a unique feature of the EU context for Polish migrants is that the lack of restrictions has meant that many families have moved to the UK along with single migrants. Chapter five was unable to analyse the specific internal migration patterns for different configurations of relationships and families because of SDC rules that restrict the variables that are available in the commissioned 2011 Census origin-destination dataset. However, chapter seven adds depth to our understanding of the role that intimate relationships play in Poles’ decision-making. For instance, chapter six shows that many of the economic factors that respondents spoke about and the ‘identity’ factors that are described in chapter eight show that these factors are tightly entwined with the intimate relationships that Poles have with their partners and children.

The findings from chapter six indicate that the new migration moves made from other EU countries connected to the recession in 2008 are embedded in the respondent's intimate relationships and how their decision to move is weighed up against their family ties. For instance, one respondent’s partner faced redundancy in Spain that was the result of his organisation’s response to the recession. The respondent had regular work. However, his redundancy contributed to them seeking more beneficial employment opportunities in the UK. Furthermore, some of the respondents in chapter six highlight how their whiteness in many cases privileged them from having to consider their race or ethnicity as part of their internal migration decision. However, their intimate relationships with their partners of a different identity meant that this became a significant part of their ascribed identity and influenced their decisions, forced them to become racially conscious, even though regularly in many places their whiteness made their own identity invisible.

Further, some of the patterns that chapter five describes of Poles moving from very urban to less urban districts that link to Poles’ entry into different steams of the housing market show how their intimate relationships are also significant. Chapter eight shows that many migrants who have children in the UK have to consider long-term settlement because of their children’s level of assimilating and schooling career. As a result, some respondents decided to apply for the SRS housing that is restricted until a migrant provides evidence of three months of continuous worker status (Shelter, 2017). Many of the migrants describe their initial moves to the UK as motivated by their desire to earn money with the eventual aim to move back to Poland. However, their relationships and family formation mean that uprooting their children could cause severe disruption.

From the accounts, it seems that the life course stage of their children, as well as their prospects in Poland and how further migration would disrupt their schooling career, are all weighed up in their migration decision-making. The finding supports work by Trevena et al. (2014) that finds that Poles with children are less likely to move than single or Poles in relationships without children. Alternatively, to avoid disruption, some respondents describe how they then decided to apply for housing in the SRS, but this was constrained by the local housing stock availability and location.
The findings from chapter six highlight that some of the SRS housing is in areas outside urban centres and this can be used as one explanation for some Poles’ counter-urbanisation patterns.

Much of the literature on family migration suggests that the stability and nature of migrants’ intimate relationships have direct implications for their internal migration patterns. The PartnerLife project found that union formation and cohabitation can explain some internal migration moves while union dissolution can often lead to one or both partners relocating to another place. The findings from chapter eight show that the internal migration of some of the respondents in intimate relationships can be explained by their union formation and desire to live independently as a couple. On the other hand, the chapter shows how union dissolution can also explain some internal migration patterns, for example, one respondent’s move to a place in Trafford is due to her experience of domestic violence but her subsequent location choice is a balance between her desire to move undetected from her husband weighed up against proximity to her work and her children’s school. The depth of chapter eight sheds light on the significance of family ties and how they operate alongside considerations of school and employment, commuting times and housing costs.

The chapter also highlights how notions of the family infiltrate internal migration decisions differently with some of the same sex or gay respondents highlighting their desire to live away from their co-ethnic migrants because of negative societal attitudes towards homosexuality. As mentioned the significance of Poland’s specific pathway out of communism has led to a resurgence of Catholicism that has also meant the re-assertion of certain constructs of the family and heteronormativity. For the respondents, their international migration decisions are often based on discrimination they experienced being gay in Poland, and therefore their internal migration decisions appear intimately linked to their gay identity formation but also living among people with similar identity constructions. The findings highlight the complexity of identities and their role by offering a window into how sexuality, a migrant’s status and their ethnicity regularly overlap and create dissonance in a migrant’s desire to live near other gay people to support their identity formation, other Poles to support their religious and ethnic traditions, and other migrants to support them during their initial phase of migration. The disjoint between sexuality and the family highlights a specific cultural way that the family and culture intersect for Poles in their internal migration decisions.

Chapter eight also concludes that relationship stability influence some respondents’ internal migration, for example, some Polish families who live transitional lives and decide to reunite in the UK have to negotiate dimensions of both their international and internal migration at the same time. The chapter finds that the process is regularly a step-wise process whereby the parent/s initially move into relatively small accommodation to get established in Britain then once they have found employment, they can bring members of the family to the UK and reunite the family. They then make their internal migration decisions depending on their economic and personal circumstances that consider, for example, the number of rooms they need to house their children. Chapter eight also finds that these decisions are entwined with the age of their children and their schooling.
career that complicates our understanding of internal migration for EU migrants who are transnationally located.

9.6 Gender and Polish Internal Migration

The innovation of this piece is the centrality of ethnicity in the examination of Polish people’s internal migration patterns and residential decision-making. The findings show the role that whiteness and Polish ethnicity seem to play in the fashion to which some respondents choreograph their residential decisions around the contours of Greater Manchester. However, Chapter 3 clearly shows the importance of ‘gender’ to explanations of internal migration in terms of the power relations between men and women in residential decision making, through to the barriers that men and women face as they move around the city. While chapter 7 focuses on whiteness and its intersections – one of which is gender – little has been said about the exact nature of gender in this piece of research. That is not to say that gender is not an issue, but that in this analysis it has been the cultural backdrop of Poles’ ethnicity that was paramount. Also, the sample of the research limited how much could be inferred about gender in different chapters such as the gender differences in recruitment agency use; the gender differences in inter-ethnic partnerships and families; and the gender differences in strategies to negate the racialization of Poles’ white identities.

Gender seems apparent in notions of positionality embedded within the study. I am male and my gender identity might have in some parts of the research shaped the willingness of Polish people to take part in my research but also have affected the type of data that respondents gave regarding their migration decision-making. For example, the account by Anna of the unwanted male attention she received when she lived in Longsight that is offered in Chapter 8 uncovers the significance that gender plays in the residential decisions of respondents, but also hints at the role that gender might play in the offering of data about certain topics. The accounts suggest that many of the other female respondents could have experienced similar encounters, but because of their gender identity, the gender identity of myself and the nature of the research - this could have caused them to withhold or make them reluctant to share certain details during the interview process. On the other hand, Chapter 6 discusses the accounts by primarily male respondents who shared their experiences of human trafficking and homelessness and how these experiences were intimately connected to their residential decisions. It could have been that one of the reasons that the male respondents were so willing to share these accounts with me was because of our shared gender identity. I argue this because a frequent theme that was discussed in more detail in chapter 6 was their reluctance to share these accounts with their families and wives, because of the cultural ‘shame’ associated. I believe that the male respondents shared these accounts because I am male and they found it easier to talk about these themes with a male researcher.

Gender also seemed apparent in the differences of experiences that male and female respondents encountered in this piece of research. For example, as previously mentioned, all the 5 respondents who experienced human trafficking and homelessness were male. While all the respondents who spoke about living in inter-ethnic relationships/families were female. The sample suggests gender-
specific experiences of internal migration that could not be examined because of the nature of the sample. The findings, therefore, pose interesting further questions about the role of gender. For instance, why did men in the study exclusively use recruitment agencies as opposed to women who did not? Could it have been that male migrants were targeted by recruitment agencies in Poland, or were certain family matters and caregiving responsibility prevalent in the gender differences? Do these findings confirm some of Silvey's (2004) work on the gender power differences between male and female migrant that affects their propensity to migrate, as well as who often holds the agency in decision-making to decide to migrate? It appears that gender is a theme that can be carried on in a future piece of work that further examines the gender differences in strategies that follow the racialization of Polish people’s white identities or the difference in experiences of homelessness by male and female Polish internal migrants.

9.7 Geographical Scale

The accounts suggest that migrants’ internal migration decisions are not bound by ‘geographical scale’, and Polish migrants regularly consider factors that relate to the economy, ethnicity, gender, class, religion, and family matters that span international, national and local borders. The results suggest that we should move beyond the current divisions in migration studies that treats international, national and sub-national migration decision-making as being separate and discrete entities rather than seeing them as intimately connected, as has been argued by King and others (See King, Skeldon and Vullnetari, 2008; King and Skeldon, 2010; Smith and King, 2012).

This is most apparent in the existent migration literature that treats internal migration as moves made between a 50-kilometre distance and within sovereign lines to differentiate it from residential mobility and international migration. However, it seems from respondents’ accounts that their explanations for moving take into account factors at an international, national, and local scale. This is explored in more detail in chapter eight, particularly in the internal migration decisions of inter-ethnic couples and families. This is where respondents indicate that their understanding of ethnic diversity is formed as a consequence of the way ethnicity is socially constructed in Poland. Social attitudes towards the non-white partner influence their international decisions, but they also affect their internal migration decisions. This is because their migration choices include aspects of their comfort of living near other ethnic minorities. These are influenced by their conceptions of ethnicity that are formed in Poland and are portable alongside the migrants. Moreover, their migration decisions also include how other residents understand their inter-ethnic and the non-white identity of their partners. Their decisions subsequently include the harms that their families could encounter in different places across Greater Manchester.

9.8 Structure and Agency

The PhD study has essentially been an examination of the age-old binary in migration studies that ask, to which extent do structural factors shape or steer the internal migration patterns of migrants? This type of question, by definition, suggests that either a migrant’s settlement geographies are a consequence of structure or alternatively that they have agency and freedom to choose where to
live and move to. While the divisions between structure and agency have long been put to rest in sociology, the current view now is that the two have context-specific qualities and temporal dimensions, there is still debate over how new findings for different migrant groups can be understood in relation to structure versus agency. Chapter 3 suggests how researchers such as Ratcliffe (2009), in housing research, put forth the view that for BME and migrant housing deprivation, other factors such as purchasing power often steer migrants into specific tenures of the housing market. However, it must be understood that migrants have agency in terms of where they choose to move to but that this agency is complicated by them not having a complete picture or complete information about the housing market or how to navigate it successfully. In order to highlight how the findings from the current research engage with structure versus agency, the accounts from respondents in Chapter 6 are used.

Chapter 6, for example, highlights how changes to the labour market in the UK in the past two decades, as a consequence of de-industrialisation and a move towards services, has led to the growth of low skilled and poorly paid employment in the secondary segment of the labour market. Geopolitical changes such as Britain's membership to the European Union and a lack of domestic labour have been two of the factors that have facilitated the rise of recruitment agencies to act as intermediaries between employers and employees. In the EU, their role has been to connect employers with potential workers in other EU member states. For the employers, the recruitment agencies are used as they connect them to a reservoir of migrants who they would not have been able to reach using other means.

For the employees, many of whom do not have any social connections already in Britain, recruitment agencies act as a synthetic social network to facilitate their sourcing of employment and assistance to move to the UK. Looking through a lens of structure and agency, the findings from the study suggest that recruitment agencies add a layer of complexity to our understanding of how these two concepts are involved in internal migration. For example, in understanding a migrant’s residential decision-making at a sub-national level, it seems that the recruitment agencies become arbiters over a migrant’s location choice. In the twelve respondents interviews who spoke of using recruitment agencies, the accounts suggest that they assisted migrants source employment but steered them into specific locations, for example, Weronika’s account of using a recruitment agency to find a hospitality role in the UK ended up in the Western Islands of Scotland. Therefore, recruitment agencies are a product of structural forces set out in the labour market to ease the challenges of recruitment in certain sectors, but also benefit from their lack of regulation and migrants knowing their rights and their responsibilities when using them.

The findings from this section complicate our understanding of Polish people’s migrant agency because they use recruitment agencies to assist them to find employment and housing during their initial phase of migration and in place of any social connections. Nevertheless, once utilised, the recruitment agencies constrain their agency in multiple ways. First, they place them in employment in locations, often, where the migrants have little control over their location choice. This is because they often have a small foreign-born population and little services that cater for international
migrants. Second, they negotiate contracts, that due to language and a lack of awareness over their employment rights and responsibilities, migrants have little room to negotiate and these practices often then indirectly affect where the migrant moves in relation to dimensions of their employment. Third, for some respondents, the recruitment agencies assist them with wider integration matters such as opening bank accounts and thus become arbiters of a migrant's finances. This gives migrants less agency and control over their migration experience. These labour market findings and others in chapter 7 and 8 show how the research can provide empirical evidence to show how structure and agency are involved in Polish people's internal migration in Britain. Crucially, the findings suggest that we need to incorporate the period-specific dimensions of their structure-agency to better interpret their internal migration experience after the EU accession within Britain.

9.9 Recruitment Agencies and Policy

The findings suggest the need for policy to respond to the growth and practices of recruitment agencies, particularly ones that operate transnationally with limited regulation in the UK. Free movement rights reduce any visa restrictions being placed on Polish migrants as EU citizens and therefore, they can access Polish workers as a reservoir of labour migrants. A problem links to the lack of regulation of recruitment agencies that work internationally and recruit Polish migrants from abroad. It is essential that intra-EU regulation target recruitment practice to ameliorate placing further insecurity on vulnerable people deciding to work abroad. Unfortunately, chapter six suggests that many use unscrupulous practices on migrants on their arrival in the UK. They regularly place them in unsatisfactory employment with poor conditions and low wages. Additional, many recruitment agencies administer unregulated payments – often without the migrant's permission due to their control over their finances. For example, accounts show how some recruitment agencies help migrants to open British bank accounts but then have access to their finances, and this practice places the recruitment agents as arbiters of the migrant's finances and in a dominant position that can undermine their economic and housing circumstances. The literature review highlights that the Gangmasters Licensing Authority is unable to regulate recruitment agencies due to their remit and therefore its creation is only a piecemeal attempt to appease the growth of recruitment agencies and the lack of regulation in the sector.

Another policy issue relates to migrants' housing, as Poles are unable to access social housing until they have met the minimum criteria of three months worker status. Therefore, they are dependent on PRS accommodation. Chapter six supports previous findings by Drinkwater, Eade and Garapich (2009) and shows that Polish internal migrants are predominantly employed in routine work that is low skilled and poorly paid. In this type of employment, it is often hard to evidence continued worker status due to practices such as cash in hand and a lack of formal employment contracts. The result of these labour market characteristics for Poles causes them to be further restricted from entry into the SRS housing market and results in them remaining in the PRS. With limited material resources due to their employment status they often only have access to poor quality PRS housing in a housing sector where there is considerable variability between accommodation and housing types.
9.10.1 Policy and ‘Tied-in’ Housing Practices

The findings from chapter six raise some additional issues that relate to recruitment agencies, employment and housing policy. The implications of the findings are vital to Poles’ experiences in the PRS of the housing market and policy’s future attempt to install protective measures. Policies need to protect tenants from experiencing housing insecurity as the direct result of changes to their employment status. The findings from chapter six suggest that some respondents encountered homelessness as the result of changes to their housing status. Previous findings that are supported by this study show that some sectors that migrants enter provide housing for workers that link to their employment status. The practice is often used in agriculture, manufacturing, and hospitality and regularly in places where housing is scant or the employment is difficult to access. Respondents in the study recount that they entered into verbal contracts that tie their employment to their housing on the agreement that their housing will remain as long as they stay employed. The accounts from migrants show that exploitative practices lead some migrants to become jobless and thus face heightened insecurity as many lose their houses due to their tied in housing agreements. Some internal migration moves that Poles describe link to the effect of their loss of housing and transition into homelessness. The findings confirm Shelter's (2017) report regarding migrant homelessness and support the particular need for policy to increase regulation of recruitment agencies and employers that provide housing. Practices of ‘tied-in’ housing need to be regulated to control who is running the housing migrants move into and to increase housing checks to examine the housing contracts, if any are signed in the first place, to limit migrants entering into detrimental situations before they spiral into street homelessness. These measures could prevent migrants from moving towards increased precarity and periods of homelessness.

Another issue that emerges from chapter six is the experiences of Poles in housing that could be termed as multiple occupancy housing, which corresponds to the HMO policy introduced in 1985. The policy permits landlords to divide existing private housing into multiple and small accommodations. The implementation of houses in multiple occupation (HMO's) commits the landlords to have extra responsibilities. The problem is that for many Poles in chapter six who move using recruitment agencies and are placed in HMO type of housing in the PRS, the accommodation is substandard and poorly maintained. Better regulations are therefore needed for landlords who run these types of HMO houses as well as those that house migrant workers and are linked to recruitment agencies.

9.10.2 Integration Policy

A significant part of Britain’s comprehensive community cohesion policy has been directed at reducing ethnic differences in residential location. The British government’s policy was produced to remedy anxieties and concerns following Cantle’s (2001) report that introduced the idea that South Asian communities in Northern English towns were self-segregated and lived ‘parallel lives’. The additions to the community cohesion agenda since 2015 arguably have specific relevance to Polish migrants. There has been a greater focus on ‘British Values’, and a refocus on residential places
and schools as the sites for community cohesion. Second, the recently published Casey Review (2016: p.17) highlights that the government should ‘improve the integration of communities in Britain and establish a set of values around which people from all different backgrounds can unite’. The problem with these two policy amendments is that they very much focus their attention on specific ethnic and religious visible and non-white minorities in Britain. We can see from chapter seven that Poles also experience discrimination and racism that occur once their Polish identity becomes visible. Community cohesion policy, therefore, should target all groups and pay attention to subtle differences between each group which can be the basis for divisive racialization.

The findings from chapters six, seven, and eight show a mixed picture of ethnic residential segregation or concentration for Polish migrants living in Greater Manchester. The findings suggest that residential concentration is a characteristic of Poles’ initial stages of migration that links to processes such as chain migration. Work by Bécares, Nazroo, and Stafford (2009) highlights the benefits of residential concentration on health outcomes. However, residential congregations of Poles are not formed as a protective measure as for non-white migrants and do not supply the same buffer effects for Poles for several reasons. First, residential concentration for Poles appears to be an artefact of the labour market and employment opportunities as well as the sourcing of employment by recruitment agencies. Second, there is also a strong desire by some Poles to live near their co-ethnic migrants to maintain their religious practice and also as a social resource. While a clear argument has been raised for the benefits of visible and non-white minorities living in concentration, the thesis finds the situation to be unclear and complex for Poles. Poles living in large groups arguably highlight their presence and thus visibility to an increased level than living in spread-out and dispersed residential locations. It appears that in relative isolation Poles escape being identified by their ethnic identity but in large groups can be identified by their Polish background and can, as chapter seven suggests, experience forms of discrimination and racism once their whiteness become visible.

Advances in community cohesion policy need to look at so-called invisible and racially white migrants and how they encounter other residents in a local context and include how racism is deployed as an active strategy and as one temporary measure that assists their internal migration decision-making. Recommendations from the Casey Review to target Muslims and their social isolation places one group's needs above another, and this study suggests that policy can no longer assume that whiteness is a category that is advantageous for all and that additional markers such as language, nationality, gender complicate its boundaries.

9.11 Methodological Implications

A significant problem the study encountered was the lack of quantitative data available in the UK to examine Polish internal migration. The release of the 2011 Census offered a unique approach to measuring Polish people’s internal migration, but it was relatively restricted in how much it could tell us about the factors that contributed to their migration decision-making. A decision, therefore, was taken to conduct qualitative interviews that allowed for the examination of the factors that are involved in migrants’ decision-making, with Facet Methodology being employed to overcome
problems of using two types of data to investigate migration. Facet Methodology allows the research to use the data to tell us different things about Polish people’s internal migration with the Census data being used to examine the patterns and the interviews unpicking some of the factors that may explain them.

The use of two types of data also provides flashes of insight into events that would have been missed by using one set of data. For example, these include Pole’s experiences of homelessness and human trafficking that were shown in chapter six to be intimately linked to their experiences of recruitment agencies in certain sectors and the exploitative working conditions of the employment that they were engaged in. Facet methodology was useful because it shows how the migrants' internal migration moves also occurred as the result of specific statutory practices. In the case of the Census data, these would be missed because of internal migration being measured over a one-year interval, and being defined as people moving between registered housing/accommodation. The interview data in chapters six, seven, and eight show the messiness of internal migration and how it occurs at different times that make it problematic to measure on a large scale. The findings from chapter six provide an insight into how some moves made by migrants are largely shaped by institutional and statutory processes whereby agencies move human trafficking victims to different places to assist them to escape from their exploitation and in some cases to testify against recruitment agents and traffickers. The insights would have been missed if the two types of data were not used and also would not have been recorded had it not been for the additional use of the interview data. Furthermore, the dominance of models such as the SAT, RET, and GT as explanations of the way that race and ethnicity operate in internal migration has been questioned by this study. Particularly, interview data have shed light on migrants’ experiences of discrimination and racism, and the active strategies they deploy to work against the racialization of their white identities that would not have been uncovered had the Census data be used alone.

9.12 The practical use of ‘facet methodology’

A significant challenge of the thesis has been to write up a mixed methods PhD that uses ‘facet methodology’ as a methodological framework. The challenges of this approach have included how to design the data collection, how to analyse the different data and how to integrate the findings into a narrative or monograph thesis style. Chapter 4 describes ‘facet methodology’ theorised by Mason (2011) at the Morgan Centre at the University of Manchester as an approach to best integrate different types of data to shed light on different ‘facets’ of the phenomenon under investigation.

As with all types of mixed methods, research that has been undertaken by methodologists such as Creswell (2015) identifies that the central challenge is in integrating different types of methods and data in a fluid and meaningful fashion that overcomes the difficulties - ontologically and epistemologically - between quantitative and qualitative approaches. Mason (2011) describes ‘facet methodology’ in a clear fashion using a ‘gemstone’ metaphor that marks out the theoretical basis for its use. However, as with many mixed methods work, there is no roadmap or blueprint for
undertaking a facet methodology piece of research, which shows how a researcher overcomes some of the practical challenges of its use.

The current thesis uses the framework to examine, first, the internal migration patterns of Polish people in Britain and more specifically Greater Manchester, and second, the factors that relate to Polish people's residential decision-making in Greater Manchester.

The quantitative portion of the work uses data releases (origin-destination and microdata) from the 2011 census for England and Wales; while the qualitative segment uses the data from 41 semi-structured interviews with Polish people who moved after the EU accession in 2004 and are resident in Greater Manchester. In practice, facet methodology in this PhD functions to collect quantitative and qualitative data together and use them to answer or examine different facets of Polish people's internal migration. The innovation or novelty of the approach, however, is in its iteration and framework, which endorses the two methods and data to reveal flashes of insight that uncover new dimensions of a phenomenon that would not otherwise have been uncovered by using one method alone.

Chapter 6, for example, uses the accounts from six respondents who describe how they encountered 'human trafficking', 'exploitative working conditions' and 'homelessness' – all of which were intimately linked to their residential decisions involved in their internal migration movements. Their accounts uncovered new dimensions of internal migration such as how quantitative analysis of internal migration, that uses the Census 2011, is built on certain assumptions about housing and residence. The thesis disrupts this through the accounts of homelessness and a missing subsection of the Polish migration who might be otherwise be missed due to the methodology of the census. These flashes of insight not only extends our conceptualisation of internal migration to include moves made by Polish people who become homeless or experience human trafficking but also considers additional external factors, such as the involvement by external organisations (for example, the NCU and church groups) who steer migrants away from harm. Facet methodologies in a practical sense allow the data and methodology used to be broken down to shed light on new insights into internal migration.

Facet methodology also allowed the researcher to make future inferences about possible areas and sites that could be explored further. The methodological limitation of the 2011 Census in measuring internal migration suggests the possibility that many Polish people, due to their initial settlement geographies and occupational characteristics in routine employment and on fragile contracts, could be experiencing homelessness in more rural places. This would only have been gleaned from using facet methodology as the framework used to provide flashes of insight to uncover this possibility. Finally, the iterative process embedded in facet methodology was particularly useful at constructing a narrative layout for the final thesis structure. The 2011 census analysis was initially presented and then the interview data was used to unpack the patterns and direction of Polish people's internal migration. The two data sets were then synthesised and the work went on to include an insight paragraph.
9.13 Future Work

The referendum result that showed British people’s decision to sever the ties to their membership of the European Union has drastically changed the political and social landscape across Britain. It is unclear how Brexit will play out for multiple parts of society, and that includes how it will affect migrants and their status and position in the country. The vote and the turbulence that is associated with the referendum result is a useful marker for future research, and this is because the qualitative fieldwork was undertaken between November 2015 and February 2016 during the run-up to the referendum vote. The findings from chapters six, seven, and eight present some significant lines of enquiry that could be extended and could add to the internal migration findings from the study.

9.13.1 Changes to Immigration Policy and Internal Migration

An overarching theme across all analysis chapters is the unique nature of the EU space where Polish people’s rights and entitlements as EU citizens enable them to make specific internal migration moves. At a sub-national level, the entitlement of EU nationals affects their access to the welfare state and benefits that include social housing. The different patterns from chapter four can be explained by the diverse characteristics of migrants that continue to move to Britain who unlike non-EU migrants are relatively unconstrained, aside from structural constraints, to move. The introduction highlights that immigration is a significant topic in Britain that is best exemplified as one of the core themes that galvanised the electorate to vote for Britain to leave the EU (Fischer, 2016). The arguments levelled by many politicians from the right, at the same time the fieldwork was undertaken, suggest an increase in restrictions on EU migration due to the perceived unfair access migrants have to the welfare state. The outcome of the vote places Poles and other EU migrants in a precarious position with Britain’s decision placing Poles’ citizenship in a tentative state and the final changes to immigration policy at the forefront of ideas for future analyses.

Very little is known at the moment that relates to how EU migrants’ status will change when British exits the EU. However, what we do know is that there will be some loss of status and the migrants will likely lose some of the rights to free movement and many of their entitlements. The questions that have emerged include Britain’s position towards the naturalisation and citizenship of EU migrants. The questions include the country’s position towards EU migrants with dual citizenship and the threshold that will be used to discriminate between EU nationals who have settled in Britain long-term versus migrants who have arrived more recently. Politically, the decisions will overwhelmingly be tempered against the political climate to be seen to make moves to reduce immigration.

Looking at the British Government’s rhetoric, it aims to try and curb immigration and satisfy many leave voters who are concerned about the levels of international migration to the UK. One way to accomplish this is to restrict the rights of EU nationals to move and settle in the UK. A points-based system, for example, could be established to attract only the most qualified and skilled migrants to
the country while restricting the migration of low-skilled workers but this will impact directly on many sectors that require a reservoir of low-skilled workers. We can assume that should only highly qualified migrants be allowed into the country that this will directly impact on Poles’ internal migration patterns and they would shift from new geographies and wide dispersal patterns to more concentrated settlement geographies in urban places where the majority of well-paid and highly qualified workers are usually located.

Additionally, future work can also look at the strategies migrants use to respond to the referendum outcome and perceived changes to their citizenship status. Work by Szewczyk (2016) found that many Polish people that moved to the UK after accession had begun to apply for British citizenship as the result of their long-term settlement. However, we know very little about whether the numbers of applications for naturalisation have increased since Brexit. Similarly, the insecurity that links to a migrant’s citizenship status could indirectly change their strategies in the labour market where migrants through their agency select certain jobs and roles to protect their status in sectors vital to the British economy and further their opportunities of applying for naturalisation through more stable employment.

On a more anecdotal note, as part of the community work that I have been undertaking as part of the UK Data Service Impact Fellowship, I continue to volunteer with many members of the Polish community aligned with Europia. I regularly hear stories of Polish people leaving the UK and returning to Poland or migrating to other EU countries because they feel a lack of belonging in the UK after the vote. Therefore, as well as examining the affect of Brexit on citizenship, future work could look at who moves and who stays and how identities might be implicated in these decisions.

9.13.2 Brexit Implications for Identities

The Brexit vote continues to have significant implications for migrants living in Britain. Media reports in the days and weeks after the vote suggest an escalation of racially aggravated attacks and an increase in hate crimes. It arguably exemplifies some of the anti-immigrant sentiments that continue to increase since Poland joined the EU in 2004. While it is hard to tell if there has been an increase in racist attacks and hate crimes or an increase in the reporting of the events, it is clear that Brexit has created a space in the UK where anti-immigrant sentiments are more openly expressed (Goodwin and Milazzo, 2017). It would be interesting to see in future work drawing on the findings from chapter six whether race and ethnicity had become more significant to Poles’ internal migration decisions after Brexit. The future work could explore if there has been a spike in Poles’ experiences of discrimination and racism post-Brexit and how this links to racialization. Additionally, how these experiences had contributed to the migrants’ internal migration decisions or in fact led to international migration decisions would be an interesting avenue for further enquiry.

9.13.3 Data Improvements

The findings from the study can benefit the consultation and discussion surrounding the 2021 Census. The paucity of available UK datasets to measure Polish and new migrants groups suggest
that the datasets with the potential to capture new migrant groups such as the Census need to be adapted to best capture their migration patterns. The study recommends the improvements, first, to the lack of exit data at different levels of geography that limits the analysis of internal migration because we do not have an accurate number of the migrants that remain and leave the UK and their destinations. Second, a major theme throughout the study is the result of the categories contained in the Census constrains some of the statistical analysis of Polish internal migration. The recommendation links to the significance of Poles’ ethnic and religious identities that cannot be adequately explored using the Census. For example, chapters seven and eight argue the significance of Catholicism to Poles’ desire to live near each other and in close proximity to a Polish church. The study had to use some proxy variables for ethnicity that included country of birth that could have led to some inconsistencies. In most other data Polish migrants are recorded in larger and un-theorised categories that include ‘White Other’ that need to be broken down. Improving larger categories such as religion and ethnicity would permit more sensitive analysis of religious denomination and Polish ethnicity to allow for the analysis of the sub-national internal migration patterns that link to the two characteristics that would enable a deeper understanding.

9.13.4 Migrant Homelessness

Lastly, the issue of migrant homelessness that is discussed at length in chapter six points to two avenues for future work to explore. First, chapter six suggests that Polish migrant homelessness is a feature of Polish migration that is relatively invisible in the academic discourse but is evident among frontline services. Methodologies that are based on capturing the population through registered accommodation and housing ‘a priori’ omit homeless migrants/residents due to their lack of formal housing. However, the findings highlighted that homelessness had been a particular problem for some Poles who have used recruitment agencies where their housing status was dependent on and maintained by their employment status. Chapter five also suggests that Polish international and internal migration very much involves rural and suburban places outside the urban places with which homelessness is usually associated. The ‘tied in’ nature of Poles’ employment with their housing that is practised in several sectors opens up questions about migrants in other locations in sectors such as the agricultural sector where tied in practices are also widely used (See literature review). Surely, there could be an invisible Polish homeless population in these types of places which is further made vulnerable by their homelessness occurring in a location that does not have the services to support homeless populations. Further research could be undertaken on this hypothetical segment of the Polish people and the factors involved in their internal migration decisions before and after their experiences of homelessness. Additionally, the tied in nature of Polish people's employment and housing in urban locations found in chapter six suggests the need to investigate the transitions that occur that lead to migrant homelessness and if better structures and policies can be implemented to protect the migrants from transitioning into homelessness.

9.14 Conclusion
In conclusion, it has been over a decade since the expansion of the European Union altered the international patterns of migration to Britain, which included a resurgence of Polish immigration. This significant population change provided an opportunity, which this thesis exploited, to advance understanding of contemporary, post-immigration internal migration decision-making and, particularly, how ethnicity is implicated in these processes. The thesis is grounded in 'facet methodology' and uses a mixed methods approach of the 2011 Census micro, and origin-destination data combined with forty-one semi-structured interviews carried out with Polish residents of Greater Manchester. Descriptive methods, geographic information systems, and thematic analysis are integrated to illuminate patterns and processes of Polish internal migration. The results show the freedoms and entitlements attached to a Poles' citizenships permitted many internal migration patterns. Examples of these many patterns include, first, underemployed Poles directly entering urban places once their qualifications and work-experience are recognised and language proficiency improved. Second, Polish families counter-urbanising as a result of their entry into secure social rented sector accommodation located outside of inner-city neighbourhoods. The thesis conceptualised Poles' residential decision-making as embedded in a constellation of factors. The conceptual innovation is the centrality of ethnicity, whose role in residential experience is examined in relation to other factors influencing migration and these included economic factors as well as intimate relationships. The emphasis on Poles' new migrant white identity challenged and disturbed our understanding of the position of new migrants' whiteness, and provided evidence about how constructions of Polish whiteness and its role in decision-making are mutually constituted by structures in the labour and housing markets. From a policy standpoint, the specific period effect of a turbulent time of austerity that Poles have encountered in Greater Manchester has implications for recommendations for national and local labour and housing market and community cohesion policies. These recommendations include; improving the regulation of recruitment agencies practices that tie in a migrants’ employment status with their housing. Additionally, for policy to better acknowledge an understanding of how a Polish migrants' white identities can be racialized and lead to discrimination that can affect the places they feel comfortable moving to but also strategies they deploy that can have an adverse effect on other residents. Finally, the findings promote policy to better support Polish families moving at a subnational level who lives might be spatially located across different EU countries.
REFERENCES


Adamczyk, A., 2014. Ukrainian immigration to Poland during the political crisis in Ukraine. 3, pp.19-44.


Fischer, T.B., 2016. Lessons for impact assessment from the UK referendum on BREXIT.


Kruse, K., 2005. White flight. On the history of surveillance and countersurveillance of black activists and elected officials, see Musgrove, Rumor, Repression, and Racial Politics.


Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census Commissioned Special Migration Statistics (England and Wales) [computer file]


Scragg, T.W., 1986. The Polish community in Manchester and the North West. A dissertation submitted in part of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History of the Manchester Region.
Sporton, D., 2013. ‘They control my life’: the role of local recruitment agencies in East European migration to the UK. Population, Space and Place, 19(5), pp.443-458.


The Treaty of Accession 2003. L236. Commission opinion of 19 February on the applications for accession to the European Union by the Czech Republic, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Cyprus, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovak Republic.


Vargas-Silva, C. and Yvonni, M., 2016. “EU Migration to and from the UK” Migration Observatory Briefing, COMPAS, University of Oxford, UK.


Appendices
Appendix A: Ethics
School of Social Sciences

Project Title, Ethics and Risk Assessment Statement

The purpose of this form is to confirm that supervisor and student have agreed on an appropriate title for the student's project and addressed any ethical considerations or fieldwork practicalities raised by the research. When approved by the relevant signatories listed at the end of this statement (p. 2), the form will be submitted to the appropriate Programme Administrator. Specific deadlines may apply: check on the School student intranet or with the Programme Administrator.

After submission of the form, students may still change the title of their project with the agreement of their supervisor. If a change to title has ethical or risk implications however then the form should be resubmitted, this should also be indicated.

Section 1. Your Details and Title of Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
<th>Shankley</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First name(s)</td>
<td>William Thomas Carlos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registration Number</td>
<td>7727263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme/Degree</td>
<td>PGDR PhD Applied Social Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Supervisor or Course-unit Leader</td>
<td>Dr Mark Brown, Dr James Rhodes, Dr Nissa Finney and Dr Kitty Lymperopoulou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title of project</td>
<td>New geographies of ethnic diversity - Post accession Polish internal migration in England.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section 2. Risk Assessment

Please tick (✓) one box (there is no need to print out or submit a copy of the generic assessments):

| | The proposed research does not involve any fieldwork but complies with the School Generic Risk Assessment C: On Campus Working. I confirm I have read and understood this assessment. |
| ✓ | The proposed research does include a period of fieldwork, but complies with the School Generic Risk Assessment A: Off Campus work in the UK. I confirm I have read and understood this assessment. |
| | The proposed research does include a period of fieldwork, but complies with the School Generic Risk Assessment B: Off Campus work overseas. I confirm I have read and understood this assessment. |
| | The proposed research does include a period of fieldwork, but falls outside of the School’s Generic Risk Assessments and therefore I have completed and attached a full risk assessment for approval. |

Section 3. Ethical Considerations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question 1</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Will the research for your project involve you in gathering or holding data from living human participants in any form (i.e. interviews, surveys, observation)? Yes or No, please tick (✓) one box</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you answered No to Question 1, then you are free to undertake your research, but if your research alters at any time before submission to involve the gathering of information of data from living human participants then you must recomplete and resubmit this form.

If you answered Yes to Question 1, please continue onto Question 2.
Question 2
Please confirm that you have read and understood the School’s template for Ethics Approval for Student Research Projects with Consenting Adults and that your project falls within the parameters described in the template. Yes or No, please tick (✓) one box

If you answered Yes to Question 2 then you are free to undertake your research providing you abide by the following conditions.

- You must work to the information contained in the School’s template for Ethics Approval for Student Research Projects with Consenting Adults, regarding use of participant consent forms and participant information forms, and regarding the safe collection, storage and handling of data.
- If your research alters at any time before submission to depart from the School’s template for Ethics Approval for Student Research Projects with Consenting Adults, then this approval is revoked and you must speak immediately to your supervisor.
- You must complete and submit with this form a sample participant information sheet and, where appropriate, a sample participant consent form (see appendix of the template).

If you answered No to Question 2, then Ethical Approval cannot automatically be granted by the School of Social Sciences. You may need to apply for approval from the University Research Ethics Committee. Please speak to your supervisor, the relevant course leader, the relevant programme director, or the relevant school administrator for your discipline (UG or PG).

Section 4. Project Description, Information Sheet and Consent Forms
In the box below, enter a description of your proposed project, max. 500 words. This should not be a theoretical or intellectual rationale, nor a detailed methodology. It should specify the location(s) and duration of your project and describe, as far as possible, who you will work with and what your interactions with research participants will consist of (i.e. what you will actually do with them and in what contexts) and what kind of data you will collect.

The box will expand to accommodate your text.

**PhD Project**

The aim of the proposed research is to investigate the internal migration patterns of Polish migrants in England and the factors that inform their migration decision making.

**Research Questions**

- a. What is the direction of Polish internal migration in England; are post accession Polish migrants moving from more urban areas to more suburban and rural areas? Are they moving from more ethnically diverse areas to less ethnically diverse areas?
- b. What are the migrant characteristics of the post accession Polish movers and settlers?
- c. What are the internal migration movements of Polish migrants in the Greater Manchester area of England?
- d. What factors drive/shape their internal migration decisions? What are their neighborhood experiences of living in Greater Manchester and what factors shape their aspirational internal migration decisions?

**Research rationale**

Where people move to and why has been of the utmost importance to politicians, policy-makers, local/community stakeholders as well as the general public. As Britain’s population has become increasingly diverse, the dynamics of ethnicity and patterns of migration have come under the spotlight. Furthermore the characteristics of the migrants and the push and pull factors that have framed their decision to migrate to the UK have been heavily scrutinized. Major discourses exists in migration studies and population diversity and extensive work has been undertaken on Britain’s Caribbean, South Asian and Irish ethnic minority groups, however Britain has entered somewhat of a migration renaissance which Vertovec (2007) described as an era of ‘super-diversity’ where migrants moved to Britain from a wide variety of countries and no longer were the exclusive remnants of Britain’s colonial past.

One particular route or pathway of new migration to Britain has been the direct result of the expansion of the European Union that has seen large-scale immigration of Polish citizens to the UK. A plethora of research has been conducted on the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors that surrounded accession international; however there has been a redundancy of information about the internal migration trajectories of this new migration group. Moreover, little knowledge has been gathered about what factors have underpinned Polish migrants internal migration decisions.

It has been over a decade since the European Union expanded its borders eastwards and led to the inclusion of
many former communist states in the eastern part of European territory. Polish migrants were by far the largest migrant group from Eastern Europe who against many initial studies on the nature of the new post accession Polish migration patterns were not transient or temporary with many migrants settling and establishing themselves long term in the UK. What has been missing from accounts of Polish migration has been the subsequent migration trajectories following their initial point of entry or destination neighbourhood which widely departed from previous waves of migration to Britain as many post accession migrants moved directly into suburban and rural neighbourhoods as well as urban and gateway neighbourhoods that were usually reserved abstractly as the place of population diversification. Furthermore, in an era where migration (both international and internal) have become highly politically charged matters and also growing concern about societal dislocation along ethnic lines has reared its ugly head once again, little has been undertaken to investigate the dimensions of Polish and whether it sits neatly against the socio-spatial linkages that have been well established for BEM’s in Britain. These trends have supported patterns towards counter-urbanization and movement of BEM’s to more ethnically mixed neighborhoods. It is these large-scale questions that this proposed PhD seeks to address for the new Polish migrant community in England and add to the dialogue on internal migration and diversity for this new ethnic minority group.

**Methodology**

To determine the direction of the post accession Polish community’s internal migration in England as well as the factors that shape their internal migration decisions, a mixed methods PhD research design was proposed as the most appropriate research design to answer the research questions. As such the research will contain both quantitative and qualitative research elements that will use different types of data (numeric and verbal) to describe the internal migration of the Polish migrant group at a sub national geographical level.

**Quantitative**

The quantitative section of the PhD will focus directly on answering the research questions relating to the directionality of the sub national flows of Polish usual residents in England as well as the migrant characteristics of the movers and settlers. The data sources that will be used are different statistical releases from the Census (England and Wales) 2011. The data releases include the; 1) Census 2011 key statistics; 2) the Census 2011 micro data; 3) Commissioned origin-destination LAD/ward level data 4) Commissioned migration area data for usual residents in LAD/wards in England.

**Qualitative**

The qualitative section of the PhD will focus directly on answering the factors that underpinned the migration decisions of Polish migrants in the Greater Manchester area. Semi-structured interviews will be used as well as biographical accounts of the migrants that detail their previous migration trajectories as well as their migration aspirations. The interviews will be audio-recorded and because some of the interviews maybe conducted in Polish an interpreter may be used. Therefore the interview data might be shared with the interpreter in order to facilitate the interview. To conform with ethical guidelines the interpreter will sign a form to state that all data will be kept confidential.

**Sample**

The sample is a purposive sample with the hope that 15 Polish interviewees will be gained from each of the two case study research sites. This will make a total sample of 30 interviewees. As the PhD is a mixed methods PhD, the sample will need to be appropriate and feasible given practical issues such as access and data collection time constraints. The sample size also will reflect the realities of pursuing a mixed-methods PhD research project. This is to reflect the extensive time demands that quantitative and qualitative data analysis places on a research project. The rationale for collecting equal numbers of respondents from the two case study sites is because it is anticipated that their internal migration trajectories will be different and so too will the factors that motivate their internal migration decisions. As with any study on migrants or difficult to access communities, respondents will be recruited using a snowball sampling frame. This will result in respondents making recommendations for future study respondents via their social networks and connections. Moreover I will use community gatekeepers and local service providers as a method of gaining access and recruiting respondents. The research design is flexible and the final number of interviewed cannot be fully determined. Many researchers that conduct qualitative interviews support gaining interviews until saturation point, however due to practicalities and time and resource constraints I will endeavor to collect as many interviewees as possible.

**Location**

Two case study locations have been chosen in the Greater Manchester area (Broughton in Salford Local Authority and St Peters in Tameside Local Authority) that have contrasting characteristics ( High levels of Polish immigration, ethnic diversity, deprivation, health and education/qualifications) to observe the internal migration trajectories of the post accession Polish community. Interviews will be conducted in public spaces such as the library and coffee shops in order to adhere to the risk assessment and ensure the safety and practicalities of conducting research with adult participants. In addition, I will ensure that I contact my supervisors before I interview clients and again after the interview to ensure that I have finished collecting data and left the case study site.

**Interpreters**
Respondents will be given the option to conduct the interviewees in English or Polish. To facilitate the interviews I will use Polish interpreters. I will either use a Polish interpreter who will attend the interviews with me or use a Polish interpreter over the phone. This will be dependent on the preference of the interviewee and has been consistent with frontline work that I have undertaken with migrants (asylum seekers, refugees and irregular migrants with my previous employment.

Reimbursement
All interview respondents will be provided with shopping vouchers as reimbursement for their time for participation in the interviews. A maximum £15 pounds limit of shopping vouchers per participant per interview will be applied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Information Sheet</th>
<th>YES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please confirm that you are attaching a sample participant information sheet.</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(See Appendix 1 of the template for a suggested format. This can be adapted to the needs of your project. Small-scale projects may have much simpler information sheets.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Consent Form</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If you are intending to use a participant consent form, please confirm that you are attaching a sample version.</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See the template Section 6.2.ii and 6.2.iii for guidance on consent forms.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(See Appendix 2 of the template for a suggested format, which can be adapted to your needs.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Please tick (✓) to show you understand the ethical approval granted:**

I have read through questions 1-2 above and I can confirm that my research does not need additional ethical approval. I have also read and understand one or more of the following:

- The Ethical Guidelines of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK
- Statement of Ethical Practice for The British Sociological Association
- The Research Ethics Framework (REF) of the Economic and Social Research Council

**Do not print out** and submit the entire template that comes with this form.

**Section 4. Signatures**
I confirm that this project falls within the parameters described in School’s template for Ethics Approval for Student Research Projects with Consenting Adults.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signature (Student)</th>
<th>[William Shankley]</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17/08/2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signature (Supervisor or Course-unit Leader)</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24/08/2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Section 5. Approval by Discipline Area PGR, PGT or UG Director (as appropriate)**
I confirm that this project falls within the parameters described in School’s template for Ethics Approval for Student Research Projects with Consenting Adults.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>ASR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yaojun Li</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signature</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19/8/2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet
University of Manchester  
School of Social Sciences

The arrival of Polish citizens since 2004 has diversified the United Kingdom's population. Polish culture has become very much part of British life, but very little is known about Polish citizens internal migration in the UK and the factors that shape their movement decisions about where to settle and where to move. Manchester has consistently been suggested to be a beacon of multiculturalism in the North West of England and has played host to many citizens from east and central Europe following the expansion of the EU; however very little is known about the places Polish people live and move to in Greater Manchester with emphasis previously been placed on London and the East of England.

The aim of the study is to explore the factors that have shaped the areas that you have moved to and settled in Greater Manchester and your thoughts on the areas that you have moved to. You will be compensated for your time participating in interviews in the form of shopping vouchers that are redeemable in local stores.

The proposed work is part of a Postgraduate Research Study that is interested in the dimension of internal migration of new migrants to England. The PhD project is based in the Centre of Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE), which is a research centre that is interested in the dynamics of ethnicity in the United Kingdom.

What is the title of the research?

The title of the research is the new geographies of ethnic diversity: the internal migration of Polish migrants in England.

Who will conduct the research?

The research will be conducted by the principle investigator (William Shankley).

What is the aim of the research?

The aim of the research is twofold. Firstly to look at the directionality of Polish internal migration in England to determine if there is a trend of counter-urbanisation occurring and whether Polish migrants are moving to more ethnic diverse areas. Secondly, to look at the different factors that shape Polish migrants internal migration decisions.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?

If you agree to participate in the research you will be asked a number of questions about your settlement since moving to the UK and the factors that influenced your decision to move to different areas/neighbourhoods.

What happens to the data collected?

The data will be used to look at what factors influence the internal migration and residential patterns of Polish in the Greater Manchester area and interview data will be used as evidence to support patterns of settlement and dispersal in the area.

How is confidentiality maintained?

Confidentiality will be maintained in a number of ways. Respondents will be asked to sign a consent form that outlines the purpose of the research and to provide consent that the data will remain private and confidential. This will include acknowledgement that all identifiable data will be removed from all stages of the data collection and research write up. Furthermore any quotes used in the PhD or research output will be anonymised and assigned a proxy identity label. Moreover, if an interpreter is required they will be asked to sign a confidentiality form that agrees to keep all data confidential.
related to the study confidential. All data will be kept in a password-protected computer to maintain confidentiality. Moreover, all research has undergone review by the University of Manchester’s ethics committee.

**What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?**

If at any point during the study you wish to remove your data all you have to do is contact the principle investigator.

Principal investigator: William Shankley

Mobile: 07894555840

Email:

- william.shankley@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk
- will081186@hotmail.com
- hello@europia.org.uk

**Will I be paid for participating in the research?**

Interviewees will be reimbursed for their time participating in the study. Shopping vouchers will be reimbursed to participants for their time. Additionally, all interviews will be arranged at a convenient location to avoid incurring additional travel costs.

**What is the duration of the research?**

The duration of the research varies according to the length of each interview.

**Where will the research be conducted?**

The research will be conducted in a public location that is convenient for the respondent. This will be agreed prior to the interviews being conducted.

**Will the outcomes of the research be published?**

There is potential that the research will be published but as previously stated in the confidentiality section of the information sheet all confidentiality procedures will be maintained and any quotations will be referenced using a proxy identifiable label.

**What benefit might this research be to me or other subjects of the research?**

The research will benefit the participants by increasing the knowledge we have about the Polish community and the lives and experience of Polish citizens as residents in England.

**Contact for further information**

If you would like any further information or have any other questions about the proposed research please contact me on the details below.

Principle investigator: William Shankley (University of Manchester)
Email: william.shankley@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk / will081186@hotmail.com
Mob: 07894555840
Appendix C: CONSENT FORM
University of Manchester
School of Social Sciences

The patterns of Polish internal migration in England and Wales and the factors that shape
internal migration decisions

CONSENT FORM

If you are happy to participate please read the consent form and initial it:

1. I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above project and have had the
   opportunity to consider the information and ask questions and had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any
time without giving a reason and without detriment to any treatment/service

3. I understand that the interviews will be audio-recorded

4. I agree to the use of anonymous quotations

5. I agree that my information might be shared with an interpreter to facilitate the interview

I agree to take part in the above project

Name of participant ___________________________ Date ___________________________ Signature ___________________________

Name of person taking consent ___________________________ Date ___________________________ Signature ___________________________
Appendix D: Arkusz informacji dla uczestników

University of Manchester
School of Social Sciences

Arkusz informacji dla uczestników

Populacja Wielkiej Brytanii została znacznie zróżnicowana poprzez imigrację polskich obywateli od 2004 roku. Polska kultura stała się znaczną częścią brytyjskiego życia, lecz niewiele wiadomo o wewnętrznej migracji polskich obywateli w Wielkiej Brytanii oraz czynnikach, które kształtują ich decyzje o osiedleniu i przemieszczaniu się.

Manchester konsekwentnie wspiera wielokulturowość w północno-zachodniej części Anglii i po rozszerzeniu UE przyjął wielu obywateli wschodniej i środkowej Europy. Dotychczas niewiele jednak wiadomo na temat tego jakie rejony Manchesteru wybierają Polacy ponieważ wcześniejsze badania skupiły się głównie na obszarach Londynu i wschodniej Anglii.

Celem tego badania jest poznanie Pana/Pani motywów związanych z przeniesieniem lub osiedleniem się na terenie Manchesteru oraz Pana/Pani opinii na temat okolicy, w której zdecydował sie Pan/ zdecydowała się Pani zamieszkać.

Proponowana praca jest częścią badań doktoranckich, które mierzą wymiar wewnętrznej migracji nowych migrantów wewnątrz Anglii. Praca ta jest prowadzona pod kierownictwem Centrum Badań na Dynamikę Mniejszości Ethnicznych w Wielkiej Brytanii - Centre of Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE) in the UK.

Jaki jest tytuł tego badania?
Tytuł badania to: „Nowe geograficzne obszary różnicodności etnicznej: wewnętrzna migracja polskich migrantów w Anglii”.

Kto będzie prowadził badanie?
Badanie będzie prowadzone przez kierownika badań (William Shankley).

Jaki jest cel tego badania?
Cel badania jest dwoujaki. Po pierwsze, przyjrzenie się kierunkowości wewnętrznej polskiej migracji w Anglii, które umożliwi sprawdzenie czy istnieje tendencja do przemieszczania się Polaków z terenów bardziej zurbanizowanych do mniej zurbanizowanych. Po drugie, jest to przyjrzenie się czynnikom, które kształtują decyzje polskich migrantów.

O co zostałbym poproszony gdybym wziął udział w badaniu?
Jeśli Pani/Pan zgodzi się na udział w badaniu zostanie Pani/Pan poproszona/(y) o odpowiedzenie na kilka pytań na temat miejsc zamieszkania od czasu przeprowadzenia się do Wielkiej Brytanii oraz czynników, które wpłynęły na Pani/Pana osiedlenie się w danych rejonach/dzielnicach obszarach lub dzielnicach.

Co się stanie ze zebrałmy danymi?
Dane te pozwalają zbadać, jakie czynniki wpływają na to w jakim rejonie Manchesteru Polacy decydują się zamieszkać i co wpływa na ich decyzje o zmianie miejsca zamieszkania. Wyniki badania będą użyte w celu zrozumienia wzorów zamieszkania i rozproszenia w danej okolicy.

W jaki sposób zostanie utrzymana poufność?
Poufność zostanie utrzymana na wielu płaszczyznach. Respondenci będą poproszeni o podpisanie formularza zgody, który nakreśla cel badań i potwierdza poufność danych. Formularz ten gwarantuje również, że wszystkie możliwe dane osobowe będą usunięte podczas wszystkich etapów badania oraz podczas pisania sprawozdania.

Ponadto, wszelkie cytaty użyte w pracy doktorskiej będą anonimowe i będą miały przypisaną Anonimową etykietę. Co więcej, jeśli wymagane będzie tłumaczenie, tłumacze zostaną poproszeni o podpisanie formularza poufności. Wszystkie dane będą przechowywane na komputerze oraz
zabezpieczone hasłem w celu zachowania poufności danych. Wszystkie badania również podległy przeglądowi przez Komisję Etyki na University of Manchester.

**Co się stanie jeśli nie wezmę udziału w badaniu lub zmienię zdanie?**
Jeśli w dowolnym momencie badania zechce Pani/Pan usunąć swoje dane, należy skontaktować się z Kierownikiem Badań.

Kierownik Badań: William Shankley
Tel: 07894555840
Email:
• william.shankley@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk
• will081186@hotmail.com
• hello@europia.org.uk

**Czy otrzymam wynagrodzenie za udział w badaniu?**
Rozmówcy otrzymają rekompensatę za ich uczestnictwo w badaniu. Dodatkowo, aby uniknąć pobocznych kosztów podróży, wszystkie badania będą przeprowadzone w dogodnych lokalizacjach.

**Jaki jest czas trwania badania?**
Czas trwania badań jest zależny od długości każdej rozmowy.

**Gdzie będą prowadzone badania?**
Badania będą prowadzone w publicznym miejscu dogodnym dla respondenta. Będzie to uzgodnione przed prowadzonym wywiadem.

**Czy rezultaty badań zostaną opublikowane?**
Istnieje możliwość, że badania zostaną opublikowane, ale jak już wspomniano w sekcji informacji arkusza poufności, wszystkie procedury poufności zostaną utrzymane, wszelkie cytaty będą anonimowe.

**Jakie korzyści mogę uzyskać poprzez uczestnictwo w badaniu?**
Badania zwiększą wiedzę uczestników na temat Polonii oraz życia i doświadczeń polskich obywateli mieszkających na terenie Anglii. Ponadto, respondenci będą rekompensowani za czas poświęcony na badanie.

**Dalsze informacje i dane kontaktowe:**
Jeśli Pani/Pan zechciałby uzyskać dalsze informacje lub ma pytania na temat proponowanego badania, proszę o kontakt z Kierownikiem Badań:
Kierownik Badań: William Shankley (University of Manchester)
Email: william.shankley@manchester.ac.uk / will081186@hotmail.com
Tel: 07894555840
Appendix E Consent Form Polish
University of Manchester
School of Social Sciences

Wewnętrzne wzorce osiedlania się polskich obywateli na terenie Anglii oraz czynniki kształtujące ich wewnętrzną migrację

FORMULARZ ZGODY

Jeśli Pani/Pan wyraża zgodę na wzięcie udziału w badaniu, proszę O przeczytanie oraz podpisanie formularza zgody

Proszę o zaznaczenie pustego pola.

1. Potwierdzam, że zapoznałem/zapoznałam się z załączonym arkuszem informacyjnym na temat powyższego badania oraz miałem/miałam możliwość zanализowania informacji, zadania pytań oraz otrzymałem/otrzymałam satysfakcjonującą odpowiedź.

2. Rozumiem, że mój udział w badaniu jest dobrowolny oraz że mam prawo do wycofania się w każdej chwili bez podania przyczyny i bez jakichkolwiek konsekwencji.

3. Rozumiem że rozmowy będą nagrywane

4. Wyrażam zgodę na wykorzystanie anonimowych cytatów.

5. Wyrażam zgodę na udostępnienie moich informacji tłumaczowi dla ułatwienia wywiadu.

Wyrażam zgodę na wzięcie udziału w powyższym projekcie.

Imię i nazwisko uczestnika Data Podpis

Imię i nazwisko osoby wyrażającej zgodę Data Podpis
Appendix F: Demographic Information
Faculty of Humanities
School of Social Sciences

The patterns of Polish internal migration in England and Wales and the factors that shape their residential decision-making

What is your full name?

What is your age?

What is your gender?

What is your marital status? (For example, single, in a relationship, engaged, married?)

Do you have any dependents (children)?

What is your profession?

What is your highest level of education you have completed? (circle)
  - Middle School
  - High school/secondary school
  - Vocational/technical school
  - College
  - Bachelor’s degree
  - Master’s degree
  - Doctoral degree
  - Professional degree (DR, LPC)

How many years have you lived in the UK?

What date did you move to the UK?

What city/town/village in Poland do you come from?

What area in Greater Manchester do you currently live?
Appendix G: Advert (English)

An Exciting Opportunity

Biography

Who I am?

My name is William Shankley and I am a student at the University of Manchester. My project is about Polish people’s thoughts about their local area and the factors that made them move to these areas.

The reason I am interested in the Polish community is because when I moved to the UK from Ecuador in South America, my family moved to Ealing in London. I went to school with a many Polish people and became fascinated with their stories and about their culture. This is why I chose the topic for my postgraduate study.

Polish participants needed to take part in a research project

- Are you a Polish citizen and living in the United Kingdom?
- Have you moved to the United Kingdom after 2004?
- Do you currently live or have ever lived in the Greater Manchester area?

If you answered yes to the above questions would you be interested in taking part in an interview exploring what factors made you move to the Greater Manchester area and your experiences of your local neighbourhood?

You will be reimbursed for your time participating in the study and to avoid any undue costs, interviews can be arranged in a location convenient for you.

If you are interested in participating or would like to hear more information about the research then please contact me, Will Shankley (PhD Researcher at the University of Manchester)

Contact Details
Tel: 07894555840
Email: william.shankley@manchester.ac.uk
w.shankley@gmail.com
hello@europia.org.uk
Nazywam się William Shankley i jestem doktorantem na uniwersytecie w Manchesterze. Mój projekt pracy doktorskiej jest na temat tego gdzie mieszkają i gdzie przeprowadzają się Polacy w Anglii i Walii oraz jakie czynniki wpływają na ich decyzje o przeprowadzeniu się do tych konkretnych miejsc. Moje zainteresowanie społecznością Polską wynika z tego, że gdy przeprowadziłem się do Wielkiej Brytanii z Ekwadoru w Ameryce Południowej, moja rodzina osiedliła się w Ealing w Zachodnim Londynie, gdzie uczęszczałem do szkoły z wieloma Polakami. Zafascynowały mnie ich historie i kultura do tego stopnia, że wybrałem ten temat na projekt badawczy do mojego doktoratu.

Polscy uczestnicy potrzebni do wzięcia udziału w projekcie badawczym

- Jesteś Polskim Obywatelem i mieszkasz na terenie UK?
- Czy przeprowadziłeś się do Wielkiej Brytanii po 2004 r?
- Czy aktualnie mieszkasz na terenie Greater Manchester?

Jeśli odpowiedziłeś 'tak' na powyższe pytania, czy byłбыś zainteresowany wziąć udział w krótkim badaniu na temat czynników, jakie sklonili Cię do osiedlenia się na terenie Greater Manchester oraz na temat Twojej opinii o lokalnej dzielnicy? Rozmówcy otrzymają rekompenzatę finansową za udział w badaniu. Dodatkowo, aby uniknąć dodatkowych kosztów związanych z podróżą, badanie może zostać przeprowadzone w dogodnej dla Ciebie lokalizacji. Jeżeli jesteś zainteresowany wzięciem udziału w badaniu lub chciałbyś poznać więcej szczegółów, proszę o kontakt ze mną: (Will Shankley, Doktorant na University of Manchester)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dane Kontaktowe</th>
<th>Tel: 07894555840</th>
<th>Email: <a href="mailto:william.shankley@manchester.ac.uk">william.shankley@manchester.ac.uk</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:hello@europia.org.uk">hello@europia.org.uk</a></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix I: Interview Schedule

Research on the internal migration patterns and processes of Polish people living in England and Wales

General Questions

A. Could you briefly introduce yourself? [Open question] To probe for more information ask the remaining questions below.
   • What is your name?
   • What is your age?
   • Where do you currently live in Greater Manchester?
   • What is your marital status?
   • Do you have any children?

B. How long have you been living in the UK?
   • What date did you move to the UK?

C. Can you tell me why you came to the UK? And why you chose the UK over other European countries to move to?

D. What did you do before you moved to the UK?
   • Did you study or work in Poland before you moved to the UK?
   • What course did you study?
   • What job did you do?

E. What do you do right now, in terms of employment, self-employment or study?
   • How long have you been doing that [job, course or business?]

Theme 1: Internal Migration

A. Can you tell me the first place you moved to in the UK?
   • Why did you choose that area to move to? What factors made you choose that area?
   • How long did you live there for?
   • What job did you do whilst you were living there?
   • What did you think about the area?
   • What did you like and what didn’t you like about the area?
   • What do you think of the other residents in your neighbourhood?

B. Where did you move to after that? [repeat until you have a full overview of all the places the respondent has lived in the UK]

C. Thinking about the future do you have any plans to move? If so where do you plan to move to?
   • What will you consider when deciding on a place to move to?
   • Do you have any plans to move back to Poland? If so, why?
Theme 2: Community, family and experience

A. Do you have much involvement with the Polish community in your area? If so, what involvement?
   • Do you know much about the Polish people in your area?

B. Was living near other Polish people a factor when you decided where to move? If so, why/why not?

C. What do you know about the wider Polish community living in the UK? What are your thoughts about it?

D. What do you miss most about Poland living in the UK?

E. What has been your experience living with British people?

F. Tell me about your family in the UK?
   • Do you speak more than one language at home? What languages? Does everyone speak the same languages?

G. Are most of your friends in the UK Polish?

H. What do you think is the thing/event that most Polish people that you know need?
   (Question for Europia to formulated a place based project for the Polish community members living in particularly areas of Greater Manchester)

End of Interview
## Appendix J: Characteristics of Polish Interview Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Area Resident in GM</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Interview venue</th>
<th>Origin in Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aleksandra Nowak</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Salford</td>
<td>Solicitor</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Łomża</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Paulina Kowalski</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Eccles</td>
<td>Teaching Assistant</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Rumunki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anna Wiśniewska</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Salford</td>
<td>Community worker</td>
<td>Europa Office</td>
<td>Gdansk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Karolina Dąbrowski</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Irlam</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Varzaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Klaudia Lewandowska</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Salford</td>
<td>Management Consultant</td>
<td>Home arts venue</td>
<td>Gdansk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Weronika Wójcik</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ardwick</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Café Nero</td>
<td>Poznan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jakub Kamiński</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Gorton</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Europa Office</td>
<td>Silwesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Magdalena Kowalczyk</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Little Broughton</td>
<td>Cleaner</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Godeljev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Julia Zielińska</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Crumpsall</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Europa Office</td>
<td>Krakow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Patrycja Szymańska</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Victoria Park</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>My home</td>
<td>Helm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Antoni Woźniak</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Ardwick</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Olawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Szymon Kozłowski</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Ardwick</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Lublin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Maria Jankowski</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ashton</td>
<td>Community Worker</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Nowy Sacz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Wiktoria Wojciechowska</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Ashton</td>
<td>Retail worker</td>
<td>Ashton Library</td>
<td>Gruziadz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Jan Kwiatkowski</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Ashton</td>
<td>Services manager</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Gdansk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Filip Kaczmarek</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Staylbridge</td>
<td>Lorry driver</td>
<td>Church Hall</td>
<td>Gdansk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Natalia Mazur</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Oldham</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Church Hall</td>
<td>Gdansk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kacper Krawczyk</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ashton</td>
<td>Services manager</td>
<td>Costa Coffee</td>
<td>Warsaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Aleksander Piotrowski</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Fallowfield</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>HBS buildings</td>
<td>Swiecie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Zuzanna Grabowska</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Fallowfield</td>
<td>Teaching Assistant</td>
<td>Café Nero</td>
<td>Elblag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Oliwia Nowakowska</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Salford</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>Café Nero</td>
<td>Lublin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maja Pawlowska</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Moston</td>
<td>Café Barista</td>
<td>Café Nero</td>
<td>Trzenszno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Karolina Michalski</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Fallowfield</td>
<td>Café Barista</td>
<td>Starbucks</td>
<td>Pszczew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Aleksandra Nowicki</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Stockport</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Białystok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Adam Adamczyk</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Whalley Range</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Europa Office</td>
<td>Lublin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Franciszek Dudek</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Whalley Range</td>
<td>Lorry driver</td>
<td>Café Nero</td>
<td>Gdansk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Zofia Zając</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Old Trafford</td>
<td>Actress/ Interpreter</td>
<td>Café Nero</td>
<td>Gdansk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mikołaj Wieczorek</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Salford</td>
<td>Dance Teacher</td>
<td>Café Nero</td>
<td>Myszkow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Weronika Jabłońska</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Strefford</td>
<td>Teaching Assistant</td>
<td>McDonalds</td>
<td>Lebork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Julia Król</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Salford</td>
<td>Marketing Assistant</td>
<td>Café One</td>
<td>Poznan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Maria Majewski</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Green Quarter</td>
<td>HR officer</td>
<td>Foundation Café</td>
<td>Lebork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Patrycja Olszewski</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Strefford</td>
<td>Deputy Manager Supermarket</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Lebork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Wiktor Jaworski</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Salford</td>
<td>Landscape Architect</td>
<td>Café Nero</td>
<td>Olszyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Olivia Wróbel</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Hulme</td>
<td>Biomolecular scientist</td>
<td>University Place</td>
<td>Wrocław</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Piotr Malinowski</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>europa</td>
<td>Brotwye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Igor Pawlak</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Hulme</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Europa Office</td>
<td>Poznan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Mateusz Witkowski</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Hulme</td>
<td>Builder</td>
<td>Café Nero</td>
<td>Muelec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Bartosz Walczak</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>Builder</td>
<td>Europa Office</td>
<td>Lipno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Stanisław Stępień</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Europa Office</td>
<td>Poznan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Anna Górski</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Wigan</td>
<td>English Teacher</td>
<td>McDonalds</td>
<td>Elblag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Justyna Dudek</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Maths Building</td>
<td>Krakow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>No. of children</td>
<td>Partnership</td>
<td>Length of time in UK</td>
<td>No. of internal moves</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aleksandra Nowak</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>British partner</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Paulina Kowalski</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anna Wiśniwska</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>9 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Karolina Dąbrowska</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>3 and 1/2 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Klaudia Lewandowska</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>British partner</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Weronikia Wójcick</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jakub Kamiński</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Magdalena Kowalczyk</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>25 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Julia Zielinski</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Irish partner</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Patrycja Szymański</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Antoni Woźniak</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Szymon Kozłowski</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Kazak partner</td>
<td>10 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Maria Jankowska</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Wiktoria Wojciechowski</td>
<td>Couple</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>British Asian Partner</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Vocational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Jan Kwiatkowski</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Filip Kaczmarek</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Natalia Mazur</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4 children</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kacper Krawczyk</td>
<td>Engaged</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Aleksander Piotrowski</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Zuzanna Grabowski</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Oliwia Nowakowski</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>7 Years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Maja Pawłowski</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Pakistani partner</td>
<td>2 Years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Karolina Michalski</td>
<td>Engaged</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Slovakian</td>
<td>5.5 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Aleksandra Nowicki</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>British man</td>
<td>10 years (8th July, 2005)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Adam Adamczyk</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>British Asian Partner</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Franciszek Dudek</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Zofia Zając</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Married Polish</td>
<td>5.5 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mikołaj Wieczorek</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>5.6 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Weronika Jabłońska</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>7 Years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Julia Król</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Married Spanish</td>
<td>10.5 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Master's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Maria Majewski</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>9 years</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Patrycja Olszewski</td>
<td>Sperated</td>
<td>3 children</td>
<td>Separated Polish</td>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Wiktor Jaworski</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>2 Years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Batchelors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Oliwia Wróbel</td>
<td>Engaged</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>6 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>PhD study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Piotr Malinowski</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>11 months</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Igor Pawlak</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Secondary school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Mateusz Wilkowski</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Polish partner</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Secondary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Number of Children</td>
<td>Highest Education</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Place of Birth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Bartosz Walczak</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>4 children</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Stanislaw Stępień</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Stanisław Stępień</td>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>3 children</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39 Stępień</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Anna Górski</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>1 child</td>
<td>Married Polish</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Anna Górski</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Justyna Dudek</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Justyna Dudek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix K: Polish Respondents’ Profiles

**Aleksandra Nowak, F (34)**

Aleksandra (Alex) is a thirty-four year old Polish solicitor who I met through Europia. Alex volunteered for Europia on their drop-in service offering free legal advice to CEE migrants resident in Greater Manchester. Alex's interview took place in October 2015 at the Central Library in the city centre of Manchester. Alex initially trained as a barrister in Warsaw where she practiced law before moving to Manchester. Alex has a high level of education and possesses a law undergraduate degree and master's degree from the University of Warsaw. It is here where she first passed the bar and obtained her barrister status. She described the main factor underlying her move to Manchester was her marriage to a British man who lived in Bramhall in South Manchester. On arrival, she retrained as a solicitor in British law and completed her GDL conversion course at Manchester Metropolitan University in 2011. She explained that her decision to move to Manchester caused her salary to increase, even though she had to retrain and work at a lower legal position than she had obtained in Poland. Alex initially moved to Bramhall where her husband already had a house and close kinship ties. However, she described how they had divorced after four years and she had subsequently moved to Manchester near her employment at a law firm in the city centre. What struck me when transcribing Alex’s interview was her apparent ease in moving to Manchester and the subsequent moves she made between Bramhall, Manchester and Cheetham Hill. Alex described how she had moved from Bramhall to a flat share in Manchester city centre and had subsequently moved to Little Broughton with a Polish lady because she was in the process of buying an apartment in Ancoats which had been delayed and had decided to move into a lodging situation in order to save money. My connection with Alex before I started my PhD was integral to my project as she went on to act as an interpreter for a number of my interviews with respondents who did not speak very good English.

**Paulina Kowalski, F, (35)**

Paulina was a thirty-five-year-old Polish lady who lived in Eccles. Paulina described herself as single and has been in and out of different relationships during her time in the UK. Paulina was my second interviewee who I met through a project I volunteered on with Europia aimed at equipping CEE migrants with the skills needed to gain employment. Paulina's interview took place in the central library in the Manchester city centre. Paulina was a teaching assistant and, prior to moving to the UK, lived in a small town called Rumunki in Poland. Paulina was highly educated and possessed an undergraduate and masters degree in psychology from a university in Poland. Paulina had lived in the UK for six years and described how she had moved extensively around the UK. She initially relocated from Poland to a village in Lincolnshire in the east of England where she found work in a factory. At the time of the interview, Paulina was working as a teaching assistant at a school in Eccles but described that she had ambitions to work as a life coach in Manchester, which is why she had taken the lead in running the employment skills workshop for Europia. Paulina's migration trajectory was very interesting and gives a very clear window into Polish migrants' moves from more rural areas where they find work in factories and then subsequently decide to move to more urban areas to find more beneficial employment opportunities. Paulina's interview describes how frustrated that she has been as she is not able to use her university qualifications in the UK to find a job as a life coach. Paulina spoke very good English and like Alex, she was integral to my recruitment process, in meeting potential respondents, developing rapport, and facilitating the interviews with Polish people involved with Europia.

**Anna Wiśniewski, F (28)**

Anna was a twenty-eight-year-old Polish lady who was living in Salford. I met Anna through Europia where she had been doing some freelance research work alongside working as a development worker for another charity in Greater Manchester. Anna had been living in the UK for eight years and had contacted me through Europia to take part in my research project. The interview was conducted in a room at Europia’s office in central Manchester near the Northern Quarter. Anna and I got on well because she had visited Ecuador a few years ago to stay with her old housemate who was also Ecuadorian. Anna had lived in the UK for a long time and initially moved in 2007 to Manchester to visit friends for the summer. After working in factories during the summer whilst on holiday from university, she permanently moved to Manchester whilst finishing her studies; she flew back to Gdansk every two weeks for a few days to attend the lectures for her final year. She then found work in Manchester and had subsequently moved to different private rented housing in Rusholme and Longsight followed by the Wirral in Merseyside where she had worked in a restaurant. Anna then decided to move to London where she worked for six months before relocating back to Manchester to find work in the charity sector. Anna spoke a high level of English and volunteered with me on a number of different charity...
and social events run by Europia.

### Karolina Dąbrowski, F, (31)

Karolina was a thirty-one-year-old Polish lady who was living in Salford local authority. Karolina was my fourth respondent and had contacted me after seeing the advert that I posted in Europa's monthly newsletter. Karolina initially moved from an area called Varzaven in central Poland and was married to a Polish man who was volunteering at Europa running a football camp for teenagers in Salford city centre. Karolina had lived in the UK for three and a half years and had followed her husband who had been working as a lorry driver transporting goods between Poland and the UK. Karolina had been assisting Paulina in running the employment skills sessions for CEE residents at Europa's office. Karolina moved to the UK with her children after her husband had been living in the UK for four years. He had initially worked in Scotland and other places in England but once he had secured work as a lorry driver the rest of his family moved to Salford. Karolina had initially moved to Salford city centre and moved around Eccles and then secured social housing in Irlam. Karolina's descriptions of her decisions to move appeared to reflect the needs of her husband and children and she talked extensively about securing a home near a park for her children and access to the motorway for her husband to leave for work. Karolina also frequently mentioned living in different private accommodation and then eventually securing social housing, which she said afforded her family more stability. Karolina's family's choice of house was driven by the availability of houses in the social housing allocation and the procedural aspects of the bidding process that occurs with social housing allocations. Karolina had said that she wanted to move back to Poland but felt that she couldn't for the foreseeable future because her children wanted to remain in Greater Manchester as they have friends and were settled in their school and local area. The family had become active in their local church and this familiarity has solidified their long-term settlement.

### Klaudia Lewadowski, F (29)

Klaudia was a twenty-nine year old Polish lady who lived in Salford at the time of my interview. Klaudia's interview took place in the HOME arts centre in Manchester city centre. Unlike my other respondents, I already knew Klaudia before starting my Ph.D. project. We had initially met in 2006 when she had transferred from the University of Warsaw to the University of Liverpool to study on the same psychology BSc course. Back then, Klaudia was known by a different name. She changed her name because she decided to work in management consulting after finishing her Master's degree in occupational psychology at the University of Manchester. During our time studying psychology, we had become very good friends and remained friends when we finished the course. After hearing about my Ph.D. project and of me moving back to Manchester, Klaudia got in touch with me to ask if I needed any help with my work. Klaudia's experience has been substantially different from many of the other respondents; not least because of the amount of time she had lived in the UK, but also because she is married to an English man who she had been in a relationship with for eleven years. As she has been educated in the UK and is part of a wider British family her outlook is very similar to many of our British friends and being Polish in Manchester and the UK is not a large consideration; however, she does reflect on instances and experiences that people she had known and her sister have had in the UK that she acknowledges are substantially different from her own experiences. Klaudia’s residential trajectory started in Liverpool moving between the city centre and the Smithdown area and then to Manchester and around the neighbourhoods adjacent to the city centre. On completing her degrees, she moved to Stockport to be close to her work and then back to Salford city centre. Klaudia was integral to the success of the Ph.D. project and alongside one of my Polish colleagues had assisted me in translating the participant information sheet, recruitment advert, newsletter and other documents into Polish. Through snowball sampling, I was able to speak to multiple other Polish people in Klaudia’s social group who lived throughout Greater Manchester. Klaudia also acted as my interpreter on multiple occasions particularly with Polish respondents living in the Tameside area.

### Weronika Wójcik, F (28)

Weronika was a twenty-eight year old Polish lady who was living in Hulme at the time of the interview. Weronika's interview took place in Café Nero on Portland Street in Manchester city centre. Like Klaudia, I have known Weronika since 2008 when we studied together in Liverpool. Weronika also studied psychology and was in the same academic year but at Liverpool John Moore's University. I had initially met Weronika at a party held by Klaudia and Weronika had subsequently moved into the same flat as one of my other close friends after finishing university. Weronika worked as a project officer for NICE in Manchester City Centre near Piccadilly Gardens. Weronika was originally from Poznan in western Poland and has been in the UK for eleven years. She has moved extensively...
around the North-West region between Merseyside and the Greater Manchester area and was clear throughout the interview that she did not deem it necessary to live close to other Polish people. Weronika moved to the UK after already starting a university course in Poland in the sciences, but given the opportunities and the chance to learn English, she migrated to Liverpool to undertake a different course in Psychology. Weronika talked extensively about missing Poland and how she has considered moving back many times; however, work and different opportunities have kept her grounded as well as the political and economic situation. Weronika talked a lot about her migration decisions in England being motivated by the type of accommodation she had found and lived in as well as her experiences with her housemates. Weronika’s aim is to progress further up the public health sector and she stated she was relieved at the chance to stay in short-term privately rented accommodation as this gave her the opportunity to follow the job and educational opportunities.

Jakub Kamiński, M (59)

Jakub was a fifty-nine-year-old Polish man who was living in Gorton at the time of the interview. Jakub’s interview took place in a room at Europa’s office in central Manchester. Jakub had lived in the UK for twelve years and moved here to support his son in university and to earn a better salary than in Poland – where he previously worked in the government. Jakub is divorced and has a son who is a football coach and currently living in Germany. At the moment, he is unemployed and has moved eleven times since he moved to the UK. Jakub had initially moved to Sale where he had found work in a bakery and subsequently, he had moved to Stockport and to Greenfields in South Manchester after he found work as a porter in a hospital. He had encountered extensive problems since living in the UK after his landlord evicted him during his time living in southern Manchester. He had been unaware of his legal requirement to pay utility bills in PRS accommodation and had come home one day to find his landlord had changed the lock on his apartment and rendered him street homeless. He described throughout his interview his experience of living on the streets and moving between different homeless shelters and the other problems he experienced. He had eventually secured accommodation in Gorton in social housing with the help of a homeless charity who had assisted him to claim damages for his treatment in the PRS. A lot of his interview reflected on the social problems he had witnessed in Gorton and recommendations he made to resolve these problems. Jakub was also a volunteer for Europa and had been involved in many of their projects, particularly the social projects where he acted as a community facilitator and translator. Jakub eagerly volunteered to take part in my research and his interview is one of the longer interviews that I conducted.

Magdalena Kowalczyk, F, (55)

Magdalena was a fifty-five-year-old Polish lady who lived in social housing on the boundary between Little Broughton and Cheetham Hill. I met Magdalena through Alex (the Polish solicitor) who was a lodger in her house and had asked if she could take part in my research. Magdalena had been living in Manchester since 2004 and had moved over after both her sons had previously moved to attend school in Greater Manchester. Even though Magdalena has lived in Britain for several decades, she did not speak very good English and had requested Alex be the interpreter for the interview. Magdalena has only lived in two places since moving to Greater Manchester: Blackley and Cheetham Hill. She described how she had gained access to her social housing with the assistance of her sons who were now adults and also living in Manchester. When I visited her house, she had provided a full spread of Polish food to welcome me. I was also greeted by a bug whom she had recently been given by one of her sons. She described in her interview how she had worked as a cleaner in a Polish bakery and her close involvement with the Polish community in Blackley meant she had never been able to pick up English. Her sons had installed Polish TV in her home and subscribed her to several Polish newspapers and magazines. When she moved to the house in Cheetham Hill she had been given an extra room and subsequently advertised it on a Polish community group for a lodger, which is how Alex had found the room listed and moved in.

Julia Ziębińska, F (31)

Julia was a thirty-one-year-old Polish lady who lived in Crumpsall in northern Manchester. Julia’s interview was conducted in the office at Europa in central Manchester. I had met Julia through volunteering at Europa where we had been tasked with planning community events in Wythenshawe and Ashton-under-Lynne. Julia was initially very suspicious of my research and its focus on Polish people, but following several months of working together closely, she was more at ease. She also mentioned later that being Ecuadorian instead of South Asian, as she had initially incorrectly assumed, made her warm to me. Julia had been working as a teacher in Manchester as well as volunteering with Europa and had lived in the UK for eight years. Julia’s residential trajectory in Britain included initially relocating from Poland to North London and then to Manchester to take up a position in her friend’s
childcare business in Salford. She had subsequently moved between childcare opportunities in Tameside and Manchester and also opened her own childcare home in Broughton where she also lived before moving in with her Irish boyfriend in Crumpsall. She had acted as Europa’s main point of contact with Ashton’s Polish community because of her connections to Polish families there having lived in the area and been invested in the community through her role as a childminder. Her interview sheds light on the connected nature of the changing demographics of the Polish community in different areas and how some migrants working in some sectors had benefitted from these changes, which they exploited and how these factors had subsequently shaped their residential decision-making.

**Patrycja Szymański, F, (24)**

Patrycja was a twenty-four Polish lady who had lived in the UK since 2014. Patrycja was also my housemate between 2014 until 2016 when we lived together in Longsight. Patrycja was originally from a town in the very east of Poland on the border with Ukraine called Chelm. Patrycja had described how she had previously gone to university in Krakow to study music before deciding to relocate from Poland to Leigh near Wigan in the west of Greater Manchester. She had made this decision because a friend offered her free accommodation and pointed her to opportunities in the hospitality sector. After living with her friend in Leigh for six months, Patrycja had moved to Hulme where she had run into trouble in the PRS and described how she had not been aware of having to pay council tax or utility bills and had subsequently been evicted. She had then returned to Poland and applied to study acting at Manchester College and had moved to Gorton with her boyfriend. She described how she had lived there for a year and had worked in Subway whilst attending university but had broken up with her boyfriend which had resulted in her moving into a shared house. Unlike my other interviews, Patrycja’s interview was carried out at home in our kitchen. Patrycja had also translated some of my Polish interviews into English to make sure that the translation was correct.

**Antoni Woźniak, M, (35)**

Antoni has lived in the UK for eleven years and moved immediately after EU accession with his wife. He had studied in Poland to be an engineer and had moved to seek opportunities in the sector. During their time in Manchester, his wife had given birth to their daughter. Antoni described in his interview how they had originally migrated to Trafford because of a family connection with the area. Antoni’s uncle had migrated to Trafford as part of the Second World War cohort of Polish migrants and been unable to return to Poland as he was considered a traitor for serving in the exiled Polish army. Before he left Poland, Antoni and his wife inherited land, which they had started to construct a house on. Due to their finances, they had to rely on their family and friends to construct the house and it was eventually completed in July 2015. As a result, Antoni’s wife and daughter had moved back to Poland but he had to stay in the UK for a year and a half longer to pay off the mortgage he has accrued on the accommodation he owned in Chorlton before he left for Poland. Antoni described his initial residential trajectory in the UK; he started in Trafford followed by several different houses in Sale and then to Chorlton after his wife had found work in the area. His daughter had subsequently attended school in the Chorlton area and his interview described the tentative balancing act between the different places important to different members of his family. It has always been his intention to return to Poland one day but for economic reasons, it had been more advantageous to stay in the UK for a decade to gain the finance to support their return to life in Poland. Due to Antoni’s work experience he had gained in the UK in engineering, he was able to return to a job in Poland that paid a similar salary to the UK, but living costs were cheap and therefore was able to return to Poland unhindered to a certain extent by some of the economic constraints that had appeared to factor into many of the other respondents decisions to return or remain. I met Antoni in the central library in Manchester as it was near to his work in Deansgate and near to his home in Ardwick. He was only temporarily living in Ardwick to reduce costs and pay back his mortgage and then return to Poland. Antoni was very creative and was also, on top of his employment, completing his GCSE art project at the city college. His work was looking at completing portraits of artists whilst they were completing their own work.

**Szymon Kozłowski, M (29)**

Szymon was a twenty-nine-year-old Polish artist living in Ardwick with Antoni. I originally met Szymon through mutual friends in Manchester. Szymon rented his own studio in Salford and also worked part-time at Tesco to support his artwork. Szymon has got three sisters and two brothers and two of his sisters are living in the UK as well. He comes from Eastern Poland and moved over ten years ago. He initially studied fine art at Manchester Metropolitan University and then moved to being a freelance artist straight away. When he moved to the UK, his sister was already living in Manchester. Szymon was living between Ardwick and Victoria Park where he shares a flat with his boyfriend who is central
Asian and is also a musician. Throughout his interview, Szymon described that his residential choices were often embedded in his relationship and job as an artist that fluctuated according to personal economic circumstances. He also described extensively about his problems with mental health and how they had helped and influenced his artwork. Szymon’s residential trajectory had included initially living in student accommodation before moving in with his older sister who also lived in Greater Manchester. He then moved to different short-term PRS housing in Victoria Park, Fallowfield, and Rusholme and as his relationship became more serious he moved to the Ardwick and Victoria Park area. Szymon’s interview took place on an evening in the middle of November in the café located inside the Central Library. Szymon was also a key respondent in my research who helped me at various stages that included emailing interested respondents back in Polish and to answer any questions people had about my research.

Maria Jankowski, F, (30)

Maria was a thirty-year-old Polish lady who worked as a community project worker and lived in Ashton-Under-Lyne with her daughter and husband. Maria’s interview took place in December 2015 in her flat in Ashton-Under-Lyne. When the interview took place, Maria had only been living in the flat for 4 days and it was the week before Christmas. Maria had moved from the three-city area in northern Poland and her interview revealed the multiple choices her and her husband faced at the time between countries such as Spain for lifestyle reasons as well as economic factors linked to Britain. Due to Maria’s work at Surestart and teaching English in Tameside she assisted me in recruiting multiple respondents in the Tameside area. She was also a volunteer at Eurovia and we co-hosted several social events in Ashton between 2015 and 2016. Maria had initially migrated to Britain with her then boyfriend after finishing high school. They had initially moved to Birmingham after a friend’s offer of employment didn’t materialise. They then relocated to Greater Manchester where they stayed on the floor of her husbands’ cousin who was a student at one of the Manchester universities. They then moved to many different houses in Cheetham Hill, Stockport, and Denton before finally moving to Tameside after securing a position in the finance and charity sectors. During this time, they had one daughter and were planning a further move to Nottingham where her husband had recently been made manager. Her account sheds light on the precarious nature of Polish migrants in the labour market and the ‘tied in’ or connected nature to their housing as well as the tentative and multiple moves made during their initial phase of migration.

Wiktoria Wojciechowski, F (34)

Wiktoria was a thirty-four-year-old Polish lady who lived in Ashton-Under-Lyne. Her interview took place in a room in the central library in Ashton-Under-Lyne in Tameside. Wiktoria was one of the community members that has been involved with the Tameside arm of Eurovia for the past few years and had enquired about my research through Maria who was one of her close friends. Wiktoria had initially moved to Aston (Birmingham? Or Ashton?) after marrying a British-Bangladeshi man and had subsequently had a child. Wiktoria’s interview talks extensively about the difficulties of managing these relationships in Ashton and how they had explicitly shaped her family’s residential decisions and the tentative balancing act of raising her child between the local Bangladeshi community and her transnational Polish community. Wiktoria had left Poland before starting university and had been working in Primark for the past year. She was also studying for her GCSE maths and English at the local college and was intending to apply for another course. Wiktoria had only ever lived in Ashton and had moved between two addresses in the local area. Her interview described the problems she faced with her housing as well as accessing medical services in and around Ashton. One of the main events in Wiktoria’s interview was her description of a hate crime that took place in a local park in Ashton. This provided a window into the role of race and ethnicity in residential decision-making and a window into local constructions of whiteness.

Jan Kwiatkowski, M, (32)

Jan was a thirty-two-year-old Polish man who lived in Ashton-under-Lyne and was Maria’s next-door neighbour. He had enquired about my research after talking about it with Maria after I had conducted her interview. Jan has lived in the UK for six years and the interview took place in Jan’s flat. The flat was immaculately decorated and Jan chose the interview time of 4 pm on a Friday because he had been working a night shift the previous day in the bakery and this was the time that he usually got up to go to his next shift. Strewn throughout the room were history textbooks and other books relating to Soviet history, the history of Poland and the Polish Navy. Jan’s wife, Anna, was also in the flat but stayed in the kitchen. Jan described how he had initially moved to Stalybridge that borders Ashton after his wife’s had wanted to live near her sister who had migrated to the area the year before. Jan
had then found work through an agency and moved to Ashton into a flat after gaining more secure employment in a permanent job. Later in the interview, the discussion turned to the upcoming Christmas holiday and Jan made it apparent that he was a Jehovah's Witness and therefore would not be celebrating Christmas in keeping with his beliefs. He also acknowledged that his involvement with the Polish and wider British community in Ashton might have been different from other Polish people because of the foundations of Jehovah’s beliefs. He suggested that as the majority of Polish people were Roman Catholic that this underpinning of Christian beliefs might have resulted in his answers differing substantially from other Polish people in the area.

Filip Kaczmarek, M, (37)

Filip was a thirty-seven-year-old Poland man who lived in Stalybridge with his wife and two daughters. I met Filip at a Europia event on the 16th of January 2016. I had spoken to Filip’s wife on several occasions at previous Europia events. The Europa event was mainly for Polish women to meet and discuss their weeks and foster social ties and friendships for support. They brought their husbands and children to the event also. Many of the men attending the event did not want to take part so Filip’s wife suggested he took part my research and he readily agreed. Filip had initially decided to move to Greater Manchester after working for many years as a lorry driver moving shipments between Poland and Manchester. He had initially moved to Longsight alone and then around the local authority between different houses before securing employment in a security firm and bringing his young family over to a house he had found in the PRS in Tameside. They had subsequently moved to Stalybridge as the result of the dilapidation of the house and to accommodate the needs of their growing family. Like other interviews, Filip’s interview shed light on the workings of race and ethnicity in different places across GM, particularly during his initial phase of migration. Filip also described that his family’s future intention was to move to the US or Australia and they had used their time in the UK to gain the necessary English language skills and finance to further migrate. He described that this was mainly for lifestyle reasons as the weather in Manchester had put him off remaining in the area. The interview was stopped at different parts as his daughters wanted to join in and talk to their dad. The interview used an interpreter as Filip wanted to ensure that he was correctly understood even though he had a good level of English. At different points, the interpreter intervened to use better terms to describe his situations.

Natalia Mazur, F, (35)

Natalia was a thirty-five-year-old Polish lady who lived in Ashton-under-Lyne and the interview took place at a church in Ashton on the 16th of January 2016. I have spoken to Natalia at a few events in Ashton before but I hadn’t had a Polish interpreter to interview her. Natalia described how she had initially moved to Bristol to live near her extended family who had moved previously to that area. Natalia and her husband had migrated throughout the EU to multiple countries working in the hospitality and construction sectors and as domestic workers. Natalia described how she had moved to Tameside to live near her husband’s other daughter who he had had following a previous relationship with a Polish lady. She described how she had been working at a biscuit factory but due to complex health needs, she had signed off as sick. She mentioned throughout her interview the bullying she encountered from other Polish workers in the factory and the problems she had experienced accessing support and health services for her condition. Natalia did not speak very good English and it became apparent this had been heightened by the long hours she worked in the factory that had limited her opportunities to take English lessons (even though she wanted to) and to practice with native English speakers.

Kacper Krawczyk, M,(30)

Kacper was a thirty-year-old Polish man who lived in Ashton-under-Lyne and had migrated from a small town just outside of Warsaw. He described his initial motives for migrating because of the financial situation in Poland and because of the quality of life he could get in the UK. He lived in a house with his fiancé and one-year-old son and I had gained access to Kacper through Jan who also worked at Greggs. After the interview with Jan, Kacper had contacted me via telephone and we agreed to meet in Ashton-under-Lyne on a Monday afternoon in January. I met Kacper at Costa Coffee in Ashton-Under-Lyne and we sat on a table on the upstairs level that looked over the shopping centre. He was very approachable and easy to talk to but noticeably, he kept apologising for his working-class background. Kacper was a service manager for Greggs UK. He was engaged to a Polish lady who migrated over to join him in Ashton three years ago. Kacper attended high school in Poland but did not have any higher-level qualifications. He had lived in the UK for eight years and had moved extensively
and these moves were linked to job opportunities and the temporary and flexible nature of his employment status. He chose Ashton because of its safe environment and because of its links to the recruitment agency where he gained lots of his employment opportunities. Kacper moved many times and from his interview, it was clear there were links between employment and internal migration. His housing choices linked to the permanent nature of his employment or lack thereof. He talked a lot about how he facilitated chain migration and many of his friends came and lived with him during his time in the UK. He spoke about the poor economic and political condition in Poland and how this constrained him in the UK but then readily acknowledged that as a new father, some of his priorities had changed and he would consider moving back to Poland should the economy and political system change for the better and to provide a better future for his son. Like some of my other respondents, language was the biggest factor that constrained his employment prospects and Kacper was actively trying to better his options by taking a management degree at the local community college.

Aleksander Piotrowski, M (22)

Aleksander was a twenty-two-year-old Polish man who lived in Fallowfield in a student-shared house. The interview took place on the first floor of the HBS on the chairs in the snug near the lift. Aleksander had contacted me after I put an advert on the University of Manchester’s Polish Society Facebook group. I wanted to avoid looking at student internal migration due to the substantial difference between internal migration of students and other migrants but Aleksander’s family migrated to the UK when he was 14 and settled in Newcastle. His mother was the first to move and recruited to a cleaning job via a recruitment agency in Poland. She then moved to accommodation paid for by the recruitment agency and after a year, the rest of the family moved to join her. Aleksander and his sister entered a school in Newcastle at 14 and 15 years of age and the interview discusses their integration into place and at school. Shortly after he moved from Poland to the UK, his mother died and consequently, a lot of his interview talked about the hardship faced from this experience as well as the difficulty adapting to life in the UK. His mother’s death has a substantial impact on the closeness Aleksander had with Polish people in Newcastle, as a form of support. His interview is interesting because of the age that he migrated with his family to the UK and I got a good insight into the integrating process that Aleksander faced in school. What is also interesting is the different migration trajectories taken by different members of his family highlighting familial differences. I found that places matter and the interesting narrative about his family’s experiences in Newcastle and in social housing show the difficulties that Polish people have faced in specific areas where they have gained access to social housing. Aleksander’s interview detailed that his residential trajectory included three initial moves with his family in Newcastle as they moved further away from the city centre as a result of their access to social housing. He then gained acceptance to the University of Manchester to study Italian and Spanish and moved to student halls near the main university site and then into shared accommodation in Fallowfield in his second year. He planned on moving abroad after his degree finished to use his language skills. Aleksander’s interview laid bare the importance of English language for residential decisions and the role that children played as intermediaries for their parents in the migration experience.

Zuzanna Grabowski, F, (32)

Zuzanna was a thirty-two who I also met through the Café Nero respondents. The interview also took place at a Café Nero on Market Street. Zuzanna was a highly qualified Polish lady with an undergraduate and Masters degree in psychology and pedagogy from the university in Gdansk. She described how her initial decision to move to the UK was motivated by her boyfriend at the time and she relocated and moved straight in with him in Manchester. Her decision to move had been shaped by receiving an employment offer from a large company in Manchester city centre. She described how she had initially moved to Salford and then moved to various addresses in central Manchester. Zuzanna also volunteered for Europia at their drop-in sessions every weekend and acted as a volunteer interpreter but to help service users with housing information. Zuzanna had been very interested in my research since I started my project and was very excited about taking part. In her interview, she described how she was currently working as a teaching assistant in a school and lived in the Fallowfield area where she shared a house with Karolina and her boyfriend.

Oliwia Nowakowski, F, (32)

Oliwia was a thirty-two-year-old Polish lady who lived in Salford and has been living in the UK for seven years. She had initially migrated to Britain because she had studied the English language at a university in Poland and described her chief motive was to practise the language and learn about British culture. She described how she migrated using an online recruitment agency to rural Scotland where she worked for a year in a family run hotel before using the money to travel to the United States
where she travelled on a working holiday visa in St Louis and down the Californian coast. She then returned to Poland before securing work using the same recruitment channels in hospitality in rural Wales. Her interview detailed her decision to move to Greater Manchester was linked to her desire to develop a career and one of her previous housemates had previously moved to Salford and offered her a room in shared house. She moved and had been working in a Café Nero before getting the opportunity to work for an insurance firm and began to form a career. Oliwia has moved three times since living in Greater Manchester and these moves have been motivated largely by personal circumstances and employment opportunities. Oliwia was lovely and was really interested in where I was originally from and also why I was interested in interviewing Polish people. Once I had mentioned I was Ecuadorian, she got very excited and started to reminisce about all the Hispanic people she had met in the UK and how one day she hoped to go to South America on her travels. She also mentioned that she lived in a small city in Eastern Poland where my housemate also is from (Chelm, Eastern Poland).

**Maja Pawłowski, F, (32)**

Maja was a thirty-two-year-old Polish lady who lived in Moston in Manchester local authority. I met Maja through several of my other respondents who also worked as baristas for Café Nero in central Manchester. The interview took place in a Café Nero on Market Street on a Saturday afternoon in late January. Maja was married and throughout her interview described the additional factors such as her husband’s ethnicity as a non-white (Italian-Pakistani) that she needed to consider in her residential decisions and how this was positioned in the places to which they had moved. Maja described how her initial decision to move to the UK was associated with the perceived country’s tolerance and diversity and how this played out on a local level. Maja mentioned that much of the time she has spent here has been in London and the difference between Manchester and London came out in her interview. They had moved between different places in London as the result of the price of accommodation but had decided to move to Manchester given many factors that occurred whilst house sharing in London. Maja detailed that the cost of living coupled with their quality of life was significant to the residential decisions as was the stage of their life course and their relationship. Towards the end of the interview, Maja’s husband came to join us and featured in the background discussion to the interview. Maja’s interview detailed how they had moved to Rusholme as the result of her husband connections with the Pakistani community in the area and how they had subsequently moved to Moston after being able to afford a place of their own.

**Karolina Michalski, F, (24)**

Karolina was a twenty-four-year-old Polish lady who I had met through Zuzanna. The interview took place in Starbucks near the University of Manchester. She was a barista for Café Nero and lived in Fallowfield. She described that her residential trajectory included a move to Altrincham and then to central Manchester when she got a job at the coffee house. She had been living in the UK for five and a half years. For several years she had been in a relationship with a Slovakian man and they lived in a house together in Fallowfield. Her interview was relatively short compared to some of the other respondents but it did detail the complicating factors that arise due to being in a relationship. Karolina also described that her future plan was to attend the University of Reading to study Biology and that she planned to enrol in September 2018.

**Aleksandra Nowicki (22)**

Aleksandra Nowicki was a twenty-two-year-old Polish nursing student who was married with a one-year-old baby and lived in a house in Stockport. Aleks had moved to the UK, living in the Crewe area during her formative years. She had initially moved with her mum and dad and her family expanded whilst living in Britain as her mum gave birth to her younger sister who is five years younger than Aleks and had been born in Crewe. Aleks described the main decision for her parents to move to Britain was job opportunities and her interview gave a vivid insight into Polish transnational family migrants maintaining their kinship ties between different places. I met Aleks through my boyfriend who was on the same nursing course at the University of Manchester. She had been forced to suspend her studies to have her first child. Aleks’ interview describes how her family initially moved between different houses in Crewe as the family gained access to better employment opportunities and gained a better sense of the local housing market. Equally, her interview gave a thorough insight into the difficulties of being a Polish child in a British school. Her account described how she was regularly teased and how she faced discrimination but reflected on the different experience her sister had as she had grown up entirely in the UK, shedding light on the intersections of whiteness with the length of time resident and the life course. Aleks had moved numerous times since living in Crewe, first to the home counties where she took up an internship before she moved back to the north to take up a place on the
that they had to migrate abroad because of the age that she moved to the UK and that she was a new parent and married to a British man and the interview reveals the complexities of the nature of place and identity over a place.

Adam Adamczyk, M, (28)

Adam was a twenty-eight-year-old Polish man who lived in Hulme with his girlfriend and also volunteered with Europia. He has lived in the UK for about seven years, first moving to Birmingham and then relocated to Manchester following several disputes and problems with employment in the Birmingham area. He attended one of the ‘storytelling’ sessions that were run at Ada House in November. I was initially taken aback by Adam’s brash and outspoken nature but also warmed to his enthusiasm for getting involved. Adam had volunteered at Europia since it began and had recently rejoined the volunteer team to gain experience to support him in finding better employment opportunities. Adam was from the Lublin area of Poland and has moved seven times since arriving in the UK. For Adam what was striking was the importance of place; he talked throughout his interview about the negative experiences of living in Birmingham and contrasted it to living in Greater Manchester. When discussing whether he would return to Poland, Adam was curt and suggested the economic and employment opportunities made returning to Poland very unlikely in his case. Adam also described the importance of employment but also being in a mixed ethnic relationship as significant to his residential decisions and described how he moved from Birmingham even though he had social housing because of the social networks and the fragile nature of the factory work he was involved in. Many of the male respondents I interviewed who had been living in Birmingham prior to Manchester contacted me through the research poster that Adam was passing around his social networks. The interview took place on a Friday evening in January and Adam as two hours late for the interview, which he had rescheduled five times. The head of Europia informed me that I would be lucky if I managed to track Adam down to conduct the interview but after a few minutes into the interview he was quite forthcoming, as you will be able to see from the interview transcript.

Franciszek Dudek, M, (31)

Franciszek was a thirty-one-year-old Polish man who originally came from the three cities area of northern Poland. The interview was conducted in Cafe Nero in Manchester city centre. Franciszek informed me that he was very interested in my research and was really excited about taking part. I found him to be very happy, relaxed and friendly and wanted to speak to a British person to continue to improve his English. Franciszek had lived in the UK for three years and was living in Whaley Range and lived in a shared house. He was a lorry driver having recently completed his HGV license. He currently works in Lidl but mentioned that he had previously worked in Aldi in Poland. He had a master’s degree in economics and described his relationship status as single having broken up with his girlfriend over a year ago. My reflections from transcribing his interview were that he enjoyed that the UK has to offer. Unlike some of my other respondents, issues such as nationality, religion, and ethnicity did not seem to feature in shaping the places that he had moved to. He initially moved because he lost his job in Poland and his friends mentioned the opportunities in Manchester, so he moved and they provided him with accommodation. His social ties also shaped the location where he moved to in the UK. Franciszek’s internal migration moves seem to be shaped by his employment in Lidl and also the needs that are present when he was first in a relationship as he had to move somewhere both close to work but also that had enough space for him and his partner. When single, Franciszek then moved to a place that was in better proximity to his work and then also enabled him to use more money to pay for his HGV license. He described that the hardest thing about moving to Manchester was English language but also the accent; however, due to his personality, he quickly tried multiple ways to learn English that included attending ESOL classes, speaking to English speaking customers and living near English speaking people. His interview provided an avid description of the significance of English language in order to engage with local residents.

Zofia Zając, M, (37)

Zofia was a thirty-seven-year-old Polish lady who lived in Trafford with her husband and daughter. They had previously lived in Ireland and had moved from Poland for lifestyle reasons and to see the world – initially they wanted to move to New Zealand. They both had high levels of education and had studied finance at Polish universities and spoke fluent English. They had worked in Ireland as management consultants and as an interpreter and Zofia talked at length about working as an actress. I met Zofia in January in a Café Nero on Market Street. After the recession hit in 2008, they described that they had to migrate abroad given the insecurity they faced in the Irish economy. They chose the
UK because of kinship ties her husband had with an uncle in the Trafford area. Zofia told me she came from a very well-off family in Poland and was shocked about the conditions of living in the UK. Zofia worked as an interpreter (Polish-English) and is also an actress and was originally from the Gdansk area of Poland originally. Unlike many of the other Polish people I have spoken to, she was very critical about living in the UK and as she and her husband were confronted with discrimination and prejudice in Manchester because she was Polish. Zofia had moved twice since living in the UK between houses in Trafford and remarked on her frustration that they couldn’t afford a better house in the city given their personal circumstances and the success of their business.

Mikolaj Wieczorek, M, (25)

Mikolaj was a twenty-five-year-old Polish man who lived in Salford with his boyfriend who later also became one of my respondents. Mikolaj approached me from an advertisement that I placed on the Europia website. It took several days to arrange a convenient time for Mikolaj to complete the interview. This was because he taught a pole dance class at a studio in the city centre and so I met him just before he taught one of his dance lessons. We met in café Nero on Market Street and the interview took place entirely in English. Mikolaj was originally from Myszków in Poland. He is currently a pole dance teacher in the city centre of Manchester. Mikolaj had initially migrated from Poland after he had failed his veterinarian nursing degree. He decided to move to the UK because he already knew friends in Greater Manchester and decided to learn English. His family is also spread out throughout Europe with his parents living in Germany. His sister also used to live in the UK but returned to Poland to find work. Another reason he described he moved to the UK was to live freely and openly as a gay man and chose Manchester in particular because of its historical links with gay culture. Mikolaj chose his accommodation and housing in Salford as it was close to the city centre and he could easily travel around the wider Manchester area. It was close to the Canal Street area and this was important to him. He had initially lived in a shared house and then moved to more beneficial housing options given his increased economic status and also his boyfriend moving from Poland to live with him. When asked if he would ever move back to Poland, Mikolaj replied with a definite no. What comes out strongly in Mikolaj’s interview is the links to gay culture and the openness of the UK and Manchester. Place and the residential choice was determined on the basis of proximity to transport links but it also coincided with proximity to the city centre and Canal Street.

Weronika Jabłońska, F, (29)

Weronika J was a twenty-nine-year-old Polish lady who currently lived in Stretford near the shopping mall. Weronika contacted me through one of my other Polish contacts to tell me that she wanted to take part in my research study. The interview took place one Wednesday evening after work outside the Stretford Mall in a McDonalds. Out of all my interviews, Weronika’s was the most difficult to conduct because of some very negative comments and beliefs that she had about Asian and Caribbean people. The first question she asked me was where I was from and once I gave a satisfactory answer (in her opinion) she let out a deluge of derogatory and racist comments about different ethnic minorities. Weronika had lived in the UK for seven years and had moved extensively around the Trafford local authority. These moves, her interview describes, were between different areas with large populations of Polish Catholics, which were a key feature of her life in the UK. She possessed a master’s degree in English language and initially moved to the UK because her siblings were already living in Manchester and because she wanted to try out her English. She was working as a teaching assistant in Eccles at the time of the interview and was also running voluntary English classes at Europia to gain experience to work as a full-time teacher. Weronika’s interview also described how she was very religious and was very pleased to hear that I came from Ecuador and once I attempted to clarify where that was, she quickly dismissed my attempts, saying, of course, she knew where Ecuador was as it was a very Catholic country. Due to certain assumptions, I feel that Weronika felt able to open up to me. I later also interviewed her brother who had a very different internal migration pattern and decision-making to her even though they had lived together. A key moment in her interview was her description of an encounter with some black residents whilst her and her brother were living in an apartment in Hulme which shed light on white privilege, superiority, and denigration of other minority groups where a person had utilised their whiteness and Europeanness to make a greater claim to space than other residents.

Julia Król, F, (32)

Julia was a thirty-two-year-old Polish lady who was one of the first respondents to contact me but due to scheduling clashes, we didn’t manage to arrange an interview until very late in my fieldwork. Julia currently lives in Salford with her husband and works as a marketing assistant. She has lived in Salford and has moved six times since living in the UK. The interview took place in Café One in the Northern
near Manchester city centre. When he initially arrived in the city, he found work in Swatch watches shopper whilst also assisting his boyfriend in starting a pole dancing school. Wiktor Jaworski was a twenty-nine-year-old Polish man who lived in an apartment with his boyfriend near Salford city centre. Wiktor spoke fluent English and his interview took place in Café Nero on Market Street. Wiktor found out about my study through his boyfriend (Mikolaj) who also took part; his initial reason for moving to Greater Manchester was actually associated with his boyfriend who already lived in Manchester and their relationship starting whilst he was living in Poland. They initially met through a Polish pole-dancing group on the internet and their relationship had flourished. Wiktor has trained as a landscape architect before moving to the UK but had decided on arrival to retrain as a personal shopper whilst also assisting his boyfriend in starting a pole dancing school in the Northern Quarter near Manchester city centre. When he initially arrived in the city, he found work in Swatch watches

Maria Majewski, F (27)

Maria was a twenty-seven-year-old Polish lady who was recruited through another of my respondents. She had lived in two different four-bed houses on the boundary between Trafford and Salford local authorities and was dating an Uruguayan man. At the same time, she was balancing studying Marketing at Manchester Metropolitan University with having a part-time job and she described how after this finished, her and her husband married and they wanted their own space so moved into an apartment in Salford. Her interview described how one night they were robbed and the feeling of a lack of neighbourhood safety forced them to move but also, this influenced their subsequent decisions and in her current accommodation she described how housing security featured highly in the places they chose to view and eventually moved into.

Patrycja Olszewski, F, (35)

Patrycja was a thirty-five-year-old Polish lady who lived in Stretford in Trafford local authority. She worked with one of my previous respondents at Aldi who told her about my research and she was very eager to take part. It was very difficult to arrange final interview date with Patrycja because of her busy schedule. She worked part time at Aldi and had three young boys to take care of, so when I finally arranged to meet her the interview was conducted on Pancake Day at her house in Salford after she had finished her shift. Patrycja initially migrated from Poland to Spain where she lived for seven years working illegally as a cleaner in the Madrid area. She moved with her husband and they had three sons whilst in Spain. The onset of the recession in 2008 catalysed her family’s decision to further migrate to the UK which they explained was associated with the opportunity to learn English but also because of the economic climate and employment opportunities. Patrycja explained in her interview how she had separated from her husband because of domestic violence and that her most recent residential decision was motivated by her escaping the family home during the middle of the night with her children. She explained that by utilising her Polish networks she had found a Polish landlord who had a cheap top floor flat she could rent in Salford which enabled her to remain working at Aldi but was also near her son’s schools. Patrycja described how she had recently been made deputy manager at Aldi in Stretford and readily mention how whiteness and the ethnic identities of other residents motivated her residential decisions in different places. Her residential trajectory only included two moves in Britain, which was initially to Chorlton and then to Salford. She explained that her family’s initial decision to move to Chorlton was motivated by her husband already owning a house there which he rented out from a previous move to the UK before they had been married.

255
where he eagerly described in his interview that he became a top seller. His interview described that he had moved between three apartments all near each other in Salford city centre and this provided him access to the Polish community and was close to the gay village and other gay people in the area.

**Oliwia Wróbel, F, (36)**

Oliwia was a thirty-six-year-old Polish lady who lived near the city centre. She was working as a senior research scientist at the science park near to the HBS building on the University Campus. She previously had studied a Ph.D. in Germany and had initially moved to the UK for a number of employment and familial reasons. She had moved often within both the North-West Region and Greater London. We had arranged our interview one night after she had finished work in the university cafe located near the HBS. Throughout the interview, it was clear that Oliwia had made many assumptions about my identity and this played out in the answers that she gave. It must be noted that I did not confirm or deny her assumptions and only gave her descriptive information about my background that was already evident in the recruitment poster (See Appendix G and H) she had initially seen when contacting me to be part of the study. She described that she had moved multiple times between London, Greater Manchester and the Warrington area but most recently between housing near the University of Manchester, that allowed her to be located adjacent to the research park that she worked at. Oliwia mentioned that she was highly religious and regularly attended Bible readings and church and was heavily invested in the Polish Catholic community. She described in her interview that the Polish church and accompanying religious network provided social functions as well as supported her religious practice.

**Piotr Malinowski, M, (22)**

Piotr was a twenty-two-year-old Polish man who had been living in the UK for ten months at the time of interview. The interview was carried out at Europa's office in the city centre of Manchester. Piotr described in his interview that his move to the UK was voluntary as he sought a better life and more opportunities. He originally came from Brotaiv in central Poland, where he had previously studied and worked in construction. He moved to West Brom (Birmingham) under the assumption he had secured employment from a friend; however, this work did not materialise and he found himself without work. He then found employment in a local cake factory. Even though his friend provided him with accommodation, he explained that Polish Roma secured factory work but exploited his need for work and unfamiliarity with the local labour market and employment structures, for example, the Roma helped him to open a bank account but took control of his earnings, often taking a large portion of his payment for their employment assistance. Nevertheless, the police intervened in the exploitative cake factory. His interview described that after the intervention, he was helped to move to Greater Manchester where he moved into a homeless shelter until they find him more permanent housing. He described that at the time of his interview he was unemployed, but he said that his friends often took him to their work in restaurant kitchens to earn a bit of money from a few days of work.

**Igor Pawlak, M, (39)**

Igor was a thirty-nine-year-old Poland man who approached me to discuss homelessness. His interview was carried out in Europa’s office in central Manchester. Igor had been living in the UK for four years and was originally from Poznan in western Poland and decided to move abroad after his marriage broke down and to secure better employment. Igor was initially offered a package in Poland that promised employment, accommodation and a good wage in the UK but it appeared he did not have much choice in his decision to move to Birmingham. His location choice was simply where the offer of work was located. Igor's interview described that his initial move to the UK was to Dudley where he lived in a house with four other Polish people. The accommodation was provided as a condition of their employment and was secured by a group of Polish Gypsies (Roma). Igor described that his employment was defined by long working days and unsociable hours and he remained working in these conditions for approximately nine months. It was at this juncture that Igor encountered after nine months the Polish Gypsies suddenly left the house he was living in but were replaced soon after by new Polish Gypsies who asked Igor and the other workers to leave. Subsequently, he became street homeless and this lasted for over three years. His interview detailed how he spent most of his days begging for money on the street and attending different homeless drop-in services. The Salvation Army then assisted him with temporary accommodation in Manchester and he has moved since between two homeless shelters. Towards the end of the interview, Igor suggested that his experiences in Dudley had left him with health problems, more specifically back problems, and he had ended up in hospital in Manchester for several weeks. After his release, he was rehoused in a different hostel adjacent to Oxford Road and this accommodation would be provided until the outcome of his legal case had been resolved.
### Mateusz Witkowski, M, (30)

Mateusz was a thirty-year-old Polish man who contacted me through Weronika’s brother who had heard about my study through her. Mateusz lived in Hulme but previously lived in multiple places around the UK, initially relocating to London and then different neighbourhoods in Crewe. He had then secured employment in Greater Manchester and had spent the past few years living between flat and house shares with his sisters and different partners. The interview took place in the Cafe Nero in central Manchester on Market Street. It was clear from Mateusz’s interview that his migration movements had been driven by a collection of factors that included employment as well as personal, economic and social circumstances. His initial migration appeared to fit closely with the different phases of migration with his rapid movements at the beginning of his migration trajectory signalling him adjusting and becoming aware of the local housing and labour market opportunities.

### Bartosz Walczak, M, (47)

Bartosz was a forty-seven-year-old Polish man who I interviewed towards the end of my fieldwork. He was forty-seven when I interviewed him and had lived in the UK for ten months and had recently divorced his wife in Poland. He had four adult children (eighteen, nineteen, twenty-five and twenty-six) and was from a small town in central Poland that he described as surrounded by forest. Bartosz said his move to the UK was the result of his divorce and his legal requirement to pay continued maintenance to his wife as well as the promise of employment in Birmingham that included accommodation and a good rate of pay. When he initially moved to the Birmingham he was housed in the West Brom area but discovered that Polish Gypsies ran his house. The house he lived in contained six Polish workers who were placed across three rooms with two people sharing each room. He recounted that he lived there for two months and during this time, the Polish Gypsies secured them with work. He mentioned, one place he worked was a bakery where he packed food and earned approximately thirty-two pounds per day. He described poor working conditions and that this eventually led him to leave the house. He suggested that the Gypsies would wait outside his workplace on Friday knowing that he had received his weekly pay and take half the pay for their assistance in securing work and providing accommodation. Because of this, he decided to leave the house and one day he left for work and decided not to return to the house. Unfortunately however, as a result of his actions, he became homeless. His interview described that his homelessness lasted for approximately five months and he detailed throughout his interview, different strategies to survive. His interview also provided rich information about how different services such as the Police viewed Polish homeless people. Additionally, Bartosz explained that his move to Manchester was coincidental and the result of a police intervention and a charitable organisation facilitating his move to escape further insecurity. This, he described, was associated with his label of a ‘modern slave’ which he said he didn’t really understand but had been given to him by the police. Unsurprisingly, Bartosz was reluctant to discuss his experiences of assistance in Manchester, which was understandable, given his previous experience and possible lack of trust in outsiders. He often described the hostel where he stayed as a ‘special place’ and would not provide exact details of its location or the type of support he had received but it was obvious he was uncomfortable and vulnerable. His interview also provided a window into the different ways ethnicity was constructed in Poland by reflecting on the different forms of diversity in the country.

### Stanislaw Stępień, M, (45)

Stanislaw was a forty-five-year-old Polish man who was from Poznan in western Poland. He had been married previously but had divorced sixteen years ago and had three adult children (eighteen, twenty-one and twenty-three) who all still lived in Poland. He described that his initial migration to Birmingham was linked to an offer of employment and accompanying accommodation. On arrival, he was moved into a house of eight other Polish people and provided with different types of work. These included constructing furniture and loading products in a warehouse. His accommodation was run by Polish gypsies and during the three months of working and living in Birmingham, he explained that he was earning only eighty pounds per week for more than fifty hours of work. He explained that he would probably have earned more in Poland and as a result, he moved out of the house and arranged his own transport with work colleagues to Manchester. Without contacts or social ties in Manchester, Stanislaw became homeless and lived in and out of a hostel but was then offered the opportunity to work in Hull but this fell through. The result was that he moved back to Manchester and became homeless again. He then managed to secure accommodation in a hostel just off of Oxford Road. Over the subsequent months, he recounted how he was able to secure temporary work on and off and when
he did, he was able to rent a temporary room and when he could not secure work he was back on the street. Accounts of his work in Manchester included pavement maintenance, cleaning services and renovating homes. The fluctuation and instability of his employment contributed to the insecurity he experienced with his accommodation. Throughout the discussion about his homelessness, he was reluctant to provide specific details but did suggest that during this period, he would move between the streets and several of his friends, one of which lived in Bolton. His descriptions of homelessness were not very negative but he did mention that conditions were made worse by the weather in Manchester. Surprisingly, when questioned about a future return to Poland, Stanislaw suggested he would be reluctant to given his perception of the future opportunities for employment in the UK. He described the benefits of living in the UK were the freedoms he enjoyed such as the lack of judgment about the style of clothes and the lack of surveillance by the Police. It was this reluctance to speak about his homelessness that I wanted to probe into but he was reluctant to do so and this, my interpreter suggested, was because of the great shame that he felt about his experiences and how it would be viewed back in Poland.

Anna Górska, F, (30)

Anna was a thirty-year-old Polish lady who lived in Wigan with her son and husband. She described the main reason that her family moved to Wigan was due to an accident that her husband had had in a factory in Poland. He subsequently required long-term treatment and an operation that they would have had to pay for in Poland; however, they had family connections in Britain and moved so that her husband could access the free healthcare provided by the National Health Service. Anna was my last respondent and her interview took place in McDonald's in central Wigan.. Anna messaged my recruitment email account saying that she had heard of my research from friends and wanted to give me the perspective of a Polish person living in Wigan. Her interview described how they had initially moved in with her husbands' family in a small flat in Wigan and subsequently moved to social housing in neighbourhoods around the city centre. She described how these decisions were often made for two reasons: availability of both the PRS and social housing but also due to her family's access to Wigan town centre. Anna held a Masters degree in English and wanted to teach English full time but currently spent time looking after her husband and her young son. As her son accompanied Anna, we decided to conduct the interview in McDonald's, near the town centre and this was to help occupy her son so that he wasn't too bored during the interview. Whilst it appeared that the move to the UK was to assist her husbands' treatment, Anna shared that they probably wouldn't move back to Poland any time soon as their son was settled in Wigan and the UK. Yet the interview also revealed that Anna had utilised the opportunity of living in the UK to pursue British qualifications in GCSE English and Maths with the intention to eventually study an MA in teaching English as a second language. By gaining English GCSE qualifications, Anna hoped that she could then utilise her previous bachelor's degree in the English language to be able to study a postgraduate qualification and pursue a career as an English teacher. I sensed that Anna had no problems with having to go back and study a lower qualification in Wigan but in fact, seemed to relish the opportunity to learn more and improve her English language skills so that she could make progress in meeting her future career goals.

Justyna Dudek, F, (25)

Justyna was a twenty-five-year-old Polish lady who lived in Longsight with her housemates. She described the main reason that her family moved to the UK was employment factors that related to her parents being unable to get work. Justyna has six siblings all of whom currently live in the UK. Justyna was my housemate and moved to Longsight to study a master's degree in Mathematics. She also holds a undergraduate degree in Mathematics from the University of Kingston. Justyna’s parents moved to the UK in 2010 and moved into a flat in North London (Near Hendon Central). They initially moved with her three youngest siblings due to their age at the time of the move. Justyna and her two elder sisters remained in Poland to continue their high school studies and all moved over one by one once they had completed their leavers certificate. Justyna’s interview was conducted in the University Mathematics building in between her lectures and highlights her experience of moving at a specific time in her life course but also sheds light on the ethnic differences between Britain and Poland and how many Polish people understand and talk about racial and ethnic difference. Justyna's family is from a small village 50 km outside of Krakow with around 3000 people living in the area. The area her family moved to in London is very diverse and multicultural and you can hear in her interview her shock and surprise at the diversity she encountered in the UK. Due to Justyna’s proficiency of English language and her advanced degree she is very articulate at being able to express her understanding of ethnicity and the key differences between Poland and Britain that are illuminated in chapter seven.