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The Employment Relationship of New Labour Migration

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy

2013

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I will begin by thanking my supervisors, Professors Dennis Nickson and Paul Thompson for their intellectual guidance and help throughout the past five years. Also thank you to Dr Kirsty Newsome for her excellent feedback at my mock-viva. Thanks are due to my colleagues and fellow students in the Department of HRM for listening and understanding. I am incredibly grateful to my parents and sister for their proof reading and unwavering support, to my fiancé Jamie for encouraging me and believing in me even when I didn't, and to all my friends particularly Caroline and Jennifer for always listening to me. Lastly, I would like to thank everybody who took part in my research for happily sharing their experiences of life and work. Without this my doctoral research would not have been possible.

LIST OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

LIST OF CONTENTS iv

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 FOCUS AND OBJECTIVE 2

1.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH 7

1.3 OUTLINE OF THESIS 9

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN REGION

2.1 CAPITALISM AND STATE SOCIALISM 12

2.2 TRANSFORMATION IN CEE 16

2.3 HRM AND TRADE UNIONISM 20

2.4 PUSH AND PULL 25

2.5 NEOCLASSICAL EXPLANATIONS 28

2.6 CONCLUSION 31

CHAPTER 3: EXPLANATIONS OF MIGRATION

3.1 NEW LABOUR MIGRATION AND THE UK IMMIGRATION POLICY 34

3.2 MARXIST AND SEGMENTATION EXPLANATIONS 36

MARXISTS ACCOUNTS 37

DUAL LABOUR MARKET AND SEGMENTATION 42

3.3 MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES OF EMPLOYMENT 48

SIGNIFICANCE AND DISTINCTIVENESS OF POST-2004 CEE MIGRATION 49

PRECARIOUS AND VULNERABLE WORKERS 54

THE 'GOOD WORKER' 63

MIGRANT WORKERS' MOTIVES AND ASPIRATIONS 66

3.4 CONCLUSION 69

CHAPTER4: CONCEPTUALISING CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCE OF THE SCOTTISH LABOUR MARKET AND EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP

4.1 THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP UNDER CAPITALISM 72

4.2 CAREER THEORY AND MOBILITY POWER 75

CAREER THEORY 76

MOBILITY POWER 80

4.3 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT 83

BREACH 90

4.4 THE EFFORT BARGAIN 94

4.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS 101

4.6 CONCLUSION 104

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

5.1 PHILOSOPHICAL POSITION AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS 105

PHILOSOPHICAL POSITION 106

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS 110

5.2 RESEARCH FOCUS: RESEARCH QUESTIONS 112

5.3 RESEARCH DESIGN 115

SAMPLING STRATEGY 115

SELECTING THE CASE STUDY ORGANISATIONS 116

MULTIPLE CASE STUDY DESIGN 123

TESTS OF VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND GENERALISABILITY 125

METHODS/TECHNIQUES WITHIN MULTIPLE CASE STUDY DESIGN 126

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS 131

WORKING WITH AN INTERPRETER 136

5.4 FIELDWORK AND ANALYSIS OF DATA 141

FIELDWORK UNDERTAKEN 142

DATA ANALYSIS 145

5.5 CONCLUSION 148

CHAPTER 6: CAREER AND MOBILITY POWER: LABOUR MARKET OPPORTUNIITES AND CONSTRAINTS

6.1 NEW MIGRANT WORKERS' WORK AND CAREER DECISIONS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE 152

6.2 PUSH AND PULL FACTORS 156

6.3 EMPLOYERS' RATIONALE FOR EMPLOYING NEW MIGRANT WORKERS 160
6.4 MIGRANT WORKERS' CAREER DECISIONS IN SCOTLAND 164
6.5 FUTURE CAREER EXPECTATIONS AND ASPIRATIONS 167
DESIRE TO REMAIN WORKING IN THE CASE STUDY OR INDUSTRY 167
CAREER MAP AND DESIRE TO IMPROVE FUTURE CAREER PROSPECTS 174
CAREER BREAK AND NO ASPIRATIONS 182
6.6 DISCSSION AND CONCLUSION 186

CHAPTER 7: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT

7.1 ENTERING THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP: RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION 189
SKILLS AND ATTRIBUTES 194
7.2 INITIAL EXPECTATIONS OF THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP 198
7.3 THE EXCHANGE OF EXPECTATIONS AND OBLIGATIONS 203
MANAGERIAL EXPECTATIONS 203
EMPLOYEE EXPECTATIONS 207
EMPLOYER OBLIGATIONS – SKILL DEVELOPMENT 232
7.4 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION 245

CHAPTER 8: THE EFFORT BARGAIN

8.1 DETAILED SPECIFICATIONS, TARGETS AND SUPERVISION 248

8.2 CUSTOMERS AND EMOTIONAL EFFORT 255

8.3 POOR JOB QUALITY AND ARDUOUS WORK 263

8.4 REWARD: MONEY 270

8.5 MANAGERS ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFORT BARGAIN 275

8.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION 279

CHAPTER 9: INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION

9.1 REVISITING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS 281

9.2 POSITIONING THE RESEARCH AGAINST THE LITERATURE 284

CAREER AND MOBILITY POWER 285

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT 290

THE EFFORT BARGAIN AND DIGNITY 301

INTERACTION BETWEEN CONCEPTUAL RESOURCES 311

9.3 PRACTICAL AND THEORETICAL LIMITATIONS 314

9.4 FURTHER RESEARCH 316

REFERENCES 320

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The current wave of Central and Eastern European (CEE) migrants to the United Kingdom, or New Labour Migration (NLM), has been described as: 'one of the most important social and economic phenomena shaping the UK today. This movement of people has dramatically changed the scale, composition and characteristics of immigration to the UK' (Pollard et al. 2008: 7). CEE nationals play an important role in the British economy as they have filled many low to semi-skilled occupations, which the British population were unwilling to do. Moreover, new migrant workers undertake 'dirty, hard work' (de Lima and Wright, 2009: 395) and are valued by employers for their general attitude, work ethic and positive orientations to work (Dench *et al,* 2006; LSC, 2007; Mathews and Ruhs, 2007). It is against this backdrop that the thesis examines the employment relationship of NLM. The first section begins by explaining the rationale for the focus on the employment relationship of NLM. The research objectives, which shall guide the thesis, are then examined. Following this, the next section discusses the general methodological approach that shall be utilised in order to meet these objectives. The final section provides an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 FOCUS AND OBJECTIVE

The focus of this thesis is upon the work and employment context of NLM. In 2004 ten new states, including the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, the so called Accession 8 (A8), plus Cyprus and Malta, joined the European Union (EU). Only three out of the fifteen existing member states, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Ireland, granted free access to their labour markets immediately upon enlargement. This could be attributed to the widespread apprehension in Europe during the lead up to the expansion, in which concern was expressed about numbers of CEE nationals leaving their home countries to enter the labour markets of the existing members. The resultant competition for jobs and depletion of wages anticipated to follow, were areas of major worry. Media speculation intensified such unease, and the Treaty of Accession allowed existing members, the EU15, to impose restrictions upon the movement of workers from all of the new states, with the exception of Cyprus and Malta. Advantageous conditions in the UK *at the time of the accession,* and the under-estimation of CEE in-migration numbers to the UK, may help explain why the British government decided to grant freedom of movement to the new accession nations.

Employing the methodology of Pollard et al. (2008), Sumption and Somerville (2009) estimate that around 1.5 million A8 workers came to the UK between May 2004 and September 2009. It is worth noting, however, that not all 1.5 million new migrants have settled in the UK. In the third quarter of 2009 the population of A8 migrants was approximately 700, 000 (calculations based

upon the Labour Force Survey (LFS)). This is less than half of the number of people who first came to the country. The largest numbers of Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) applicants came to the UK from Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia: in the period between 1 May 2004 to 31 December 2007, 66% of approved applicants were Polish, followed by 10% Lithuanian and 10% Slovakian (LSC, 2007). The high number of Poles could be attributed to the fact that Poland is the largest of the accession countries, with a population of 40 million and has one of the weakest labour markets. Yet, it is clear that the numbers of CEE migrants coming to the UK have declined. In the first quarter of 2009, new registrations of new migrant workers were around half of those in the same period as those in the prior year (Home Office, 2009). Flows of A8 immigrants peaked in 2006 and have slowed ever since, which could be attributed to the economic downturn facing the UK.

CEE workers are important in the UK labour market, as they fill many low skilled and low paid occupations. According to the LFS, new migrant workers are more likely to be in employment than UK born workers or other immigrant groups (MAC, 2008). Their participation in the labour force is well above average, with 95% for men and 80% for women (Dustmann et al, 2009). Given the volume of people coming to the UK to work, it is essential to examine the work and employment context of NLM in depth.

CEE nationals are often well educated and/or experienced workers, however the jobs they undertake are relatively poorly paid and low skilled. They are, therefore, viewed as being underused within the labour market (Anderson et al

2006; Baum, 2007; Wickham et al, 2008a; Wickham et alb; Moriarty, et al 2012; Janta, 2011). Piore (1979) argues this is because there is a demand for certain types of disposable labour, which is an inherent feature of advanced industrial economies. Within such economies the labour force is argued to be divided between migrant workers and indigenous workers. This results in migrants undertaking the unpleasant work, with the poorest pay and worst working conditions (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Piore, 1979; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). Yet, this fails to take into account that many new migrants are ambitious and motivated individuals who aimed to use their time in the UK to invest in their education and careers (Schnieder and Holman, 2005). Wickham *et al.* (2008) analyse the interactions between employers' strategies and migrants' careers in the Irish hospitality sector. A distinction was made between those migrants who viewed employment as simply a job, and those who see it as a career or means of gaining vital experience, either in terms of learning a new language or work experience. This is an extremely important distinction to make in terms of the diverse experiences that different migrants have in Scotland. It is therefore essential to analyse new migrant workers' labour market and employment experience with this distinction in mind. This shall help examine the expectations and aspirations that people may have, in addition to the opportunities and constraints faced in the labour market and employment relationship.

Within the literature on migrant labour a great deal of attention has been placed upon migrant workers (Rodriguez, 2004; Eade et al, 2006; Bach, 2007; Morgan and Finniear, 2009; Cook et al 2010; Parutis, 2011) as well as the role of

employers (Fellini *et al,* 2007; McGovern, 2007; Forde and MacKenzie, 2009; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Yet, limited attention has been paid to the employment relationship and the exchange of expectations and obligations. Thompson et al (2012:2) also make this point, arguing that 'migrant labour can only be studied effectively when a workplace context is added, primarily because this allows an examination of orientations *at* as well as *to* work.' At its most basic level the employment relationship represents the buying and selling of labour power. However, it is a distinctive contract in that it is incomplete and can be ambiguous, and unlike other exchanges, it does not, and cannot, happen instantaneously (Edwards and Wajcman, 2007). A key manifestation of this is apparent when considering that employers can only purchase the capacity to work as opposed to a fixed, definite quantity or quality of labour: actual labour is only realised in the workplace. Key features of the employment relationship include 'the effort–reward bargain, asymmetrical power, the commodity status of labour and the worker's economic interdependence with the employer, producing a relationship of structured antagonism and calculative cooperation (D'Art and Turner, 2006: 523). Moreover, Mc Govern et al (2007: 15-16) assert:

> Contracts will contain some explicit provisions that detail certain employee obligations, but most elements have to remain implicit. Thus, employees place themselves under the command of employers, who then have to find ways to ensure that they pursue their interests... Incomplete and implicit contracts under conditions of information asymmetry matter because employees cannot be

> relied upon to promote employers' interests and vice versa. Both parties to the employment relationship have different interests and therefore employment relationships, while they involve cooperative activity, are also potentially adversarial.

It is precisely these issues that are of interest in this thesis, particularly the implicit aspects of the employment relationship and the way in which each party realises their interests in a cooperative but potentially adversarial relationship.

Moreover, when considering CEE workers, attention has been drawn to the fact that they are valued by employers mainly for their general attitude, work ethic and positive orientations to work (Dench *et al,* 2006; LSC, 2007; Mathews and Ruhs, 2007). The perceived attitude of the worker has been an important consideration for employers. Yet, some of the main themes to emerge when considering the occupations that migrants work in include: breaches of health and safety, low pay, long and irregular working hours, lack of training and loss of accommodation where this was coupled with employment (de Lima and Wright, 2009). Additionally, many employers state that A8 migrant workers fill low skilled jobs that involve 'dirty, hard work' or travelling long distances to remote areas (de Lima and Wright, 2009: 395). The importance of analysing employment relationship, and questioning the extent to which it is distinctive, is therefore evident.

Given all the above mentioned issues, the key problematic in this thesis is to explain *The Employment Relationship of New Labour Migration.* Therefore, the research objectives that aim to interrogate these issues are:

- To propose a way of conceptualising the employment relationship of NLM
- To examine CEE nationals' expectations, experience and aspirations in the Scottish labour market
- To determine the extent to which the employment relationship of NLM is distinctive

1.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The methodological approach that is appropriate to meet the objectives of the thesis is located within the critical realist tradition. According to critical realism, the world is comprised of entities, which possess causal powers and liabilities. Easton (2010: 120) contends 'Objects, or more generally entities, provide the basic theoretical building blocks for critical realist explanation and can be things, such as organisations, people, relationships, attitudes, resources... They can be human, social or material, complex or simple, structured or unstructured'. Furthermore, the world is differentiated, structured and stratified, which has important implications for the way in which the employment relationship is studied. Mechanisms belong to different layers of reality, which are hierarchically organised. The employment relationship of NLM is comprised of an employer on the one hand, and new migrant workers on the other. Both

parties have unique powers and liabilities that combine to form something that is qualitatively different from their constituent parts. An employer does not have the same powers and liabilities as the employment relationship, nor does an employee. The employment relationship, therefore has '*emergent powers'*. Thus it is imperative that analysis encompasses many different levels. This study focuses upon employers, employees and the employment relationship, however, consideration is also given to new migrant workers' experience of the UK labour market and the wider European labour market.

Yet, it is important to be aware that social science problems are generally extremely complex, therefore, it is often not possible to analyse a large number of cases in great detail. Researchers are often faced with the choice of examining a large number of entities, whilst restricting the number of properties used to define them, or looking at a smaller sample more comprehensively (Sayer, 1992). The approach undertaken in this thesis is to study a small number of case studies intensively. Case studies have been argued to allow 'a researcher to attempt to tease out ever-deepening layers of reality in the search for generative mechanism and influential contingencies' (Harrison and Easton, 2004: 194). By studying three cases in-depth, this provides the opportunity to examine the way in which causal processes operate in specific cases. In addition, studying more than one case provides the basis for 'theoretical reflections about contrasting findings (Bryman, 2004: 55). The next section provides an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.3 OUTLINE OF THESIS

Chapter 2 begins by providing a contextual understanding of the economic and employment conditions in CEE. The process of transformation and transition from command to liberal market economy, and the resultant effects on economic and employment opportunities shall be considered. The chapter also analyses two influential theories of migration, which explain why such a large wave of migration to the UK occurred. The focus of Chapter 3 moves to migrant workers' labour market experience, and considers theories such as dual labour market and Marxist accounts of migration. Issues relating to the employment relationship of migrant workers and employers are also examined. It is evident that literature on previous waves of migration, such as Marxist account and dual labour market theory fail to give attention to the individual and collective agency that migrant workers possess. The importance of considering the wide variety of expectations, experiences and aspirations that CEE workers have in the Scottish labour market is stressed. Additionally, attention is drawn to the lack of literature that focuses specifically upon the employment relationship of NLM. Chapter 4 outlines the conceptual framework proposed to study the employment relationship of NLM. It is essential that the concepts employed encompass the employer and employee, and their relationship. Moreover, recognition must be given to new migrant workers' experiences of the labour market in terms of opportunities and constraints and their individual and collective agency. Four concepts that propose to do this are then examined, namely: career theory and mobility power, the psychological contract, and the effort bargain. Taking into consideration the research objectives that were set at

the beginning of the thesis, and the issues explored in the literature review, the final section of Chapter 4 outlines the research questions that shaped the empirical fieldwork.

Chapter 5 outlines the research strategy employed in the thesis and provides justification for the choices that were made. The rationale for selecting the three case study organisations, Laundry Co, Hotel Co and Bus Co, is also examined. The cases were selected as they are representative of the nature of work CEE workers undertake in the UK. This shall provide an accurate representation of the employment relationship of NLM. Chapter 6, 7 and 8 present the data from the case studies. The chapters are organised thematically and structured around the four concepts utilised to study the labour market experience and employment relationship of NLM. In Chapter 9 there is an interpretation and discussion of the key research findings. The chapter revisits the research objectives and questions and examines why and how they were met. Additionally, the way in which the findings relate to extant literature and theory is analysed, and attention is drawn to key findings and concepts. Throughout the chapter the conceptual and empirical contribution is stressed. The conceptual contribution is twofold. Firstly, the way in which the employment relationship has been conceptualised in the thesis provides an effective way in which to analyse the distinct expectations, obligations, experiences and aspirations that new migrant workers and employers bring to the employment relationship. Secondly, the conceptualisation of the psychological contract employed in this thesis differs considerably from extant literature. The empirical contribution draws attention to the distinctiveness of the employment relationship of NLM.

The chapter concludes by outlining the practical and theoretical limitations of the study, as well as considering the potential areas of future research.

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN REGION AND THEORIES OF MIGRATION

The purpose of this chapter is to convey contextual understanding of the Central and Eastern European (CEE) region to the reader. It is hoped that this will provide an understanding of why such a significant wave of migration to the UK occurred. The process of transition and transformation in CEE is discussed generally, however, it is clear that the process differed between and within countries. Some key areas of convergence and divergence in the transition shall be analysed. Focus is also drawn to workplace issues, including the adoption of HRM, workplace relations and trade unionism. Building upon this important contextual information, two theories that assist in explaining why migration from CEE to the UK occurred, will be examined critically. The discussion begins by considering some important areas of comparability between state socialism and capitalism.

2.1 CAPITALISM AND STATE SOCIALISM

At this point it is essential to outline the key features of a capitalist and state socialist political economy. This shall highlight distinctive aspects of each approach and will also help to identify the fundamental and constituent features of each political economy. The key features of capitalism and socialism are often reduced to dichotomies between planning and market regulations,

bureaucratic centralism versus personal control, command and scarcity versus over production and over consumption (Thompson and Smith, 1992). However, it is also worth noting that there is a great deal of variety between, and within, capitalist and socialist societies.

The private appropriation of production is a fundamental feature of the capitalist economy and an important aim is the accumulation of profit in the ever-changing context of market competition. The impact of uncontrollable market forces compels capitalists to direct and manage the labour process: 'The dynamics of capitalism rest on the continual pressure to transform products and work organization in order to maintain profit in a competitive market' (Burawoy and Krotov, 1992: 33). Lowering the cost of labour power, intensifying labour by introducing new forms of work organisation and technological innovations are the main ways in which capitalists react to market competition (Burawoy and Krotov, 1992). Profitability is the key component of a capitalist enterprise and the market is responsible for the allocation of inputs and outputs. This establishes the competition between enterprises, which determines the extent to which they will be profitable. Therefore, capitalist organisations are subject to hard budget constraints, which are rigidly defined.

State socialism, on the other hand, can be viewed as command and shortage regimes whose central force is hierarchical bargaining between the state and enterprise: 'The relations of production are based on centralised appropriation and redistribution of the surplus through a strata of planners empowered by the fusion of party and state apparatuses. A ruling class combining the leading

sections of administrative, economic, political and military elites emerges from these relationships' (Thompson and Smith, 1992: 5). The institutional context of state socialism is the plan, which regulates the allocation of goods and services and establishes targets (Burawoy and Lukacs, 1985). Expansion is an important objective and shortage problems are endemic to the functioning of State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and the wider economy (Burawoy and Lukacs, 1985). Until 1990 socialist enterprises were largely protected against world markets through centrally controlled and organised production and distribution (Cazes and Nesporova, 2004). During this era labour markets were heavily regulated and employment security and job stability were common features. Without competitive markets and the law of value it was unfeasible to employ rigorous financial criteria to measure efficiency. Therefore, enterprises were confined by soft budget constraints rather than the hard budget constraints of striving to make a profit in a capitalist economy. Prices were subject to political negotiation as opposed to market forces and the relationship between organisations and the state was paternalistic. The existence of such enterprises was dependent upon political forces, rather than the economic forces present within a capitalist system (Burawoy and Lukacs, 1985).

While capitalist managers are never sure if their products shall sell, in state socialism managers were never sure if they would have the necessary supplies for production (Burawoy and Krotov, 1992). Uncertainty and shortage were common in state socialist economies and enterprises, and influenced the way in which management could manage their organisations and staff. Under capitalism the labour process can be controlled, however state socialist

managers do not have this luxury due to shortages of both materials and labour. Distinct labour process characteristics were produced in SOEs, as the twofold managers and party control system assembled to meet production targets through various means. Thompson and Smith (1992) outline these as: an employment relationship based on a 'social contract' with the workforce; a technical division of labour that is often dependent upon high degrees of flexibility and work-group autonomy; piece-work and normative reward systems. Furthermore, the capacity to enforce control and increase labour intensity was constrained by a range of factors like the pressure of employment security and protection of enterprises from the consequences of poor performance. Therefore, workers had considerable autonomy (Hethy, 1990).

It is clear that at the level of labour process in a SOE there were numerous paradoxes, which Smith and Thompson (1992: 37) identify: the *ideology* of state socialism concealed work in social and national ideals, and workers were tied to political goals and obligation that progressed beyond the economic transaction of capitalism. However, the *actual experience* of work is similar to capitalism in terms of the economic instrumentalism. The subsequent section considers some of the key consequences of the transition from state socialism to capitalism.

2.2 TRANSFORMATION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Following the death of Josef Stalin in 1953 real Stalinism and the terror ended, and continued and sustained revolts during the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s and 1980s presented a challenge to communism and the Soviet Union. The revolution in CEE took place against a backdrop of economic decline during the 1980s, which can be attributed to the inadequacy of the command economy. The end of The Cold War in December 1988 and Gorbachev's allowance of the countries of CEE to go their own ways lead to the fall of communism. However, the process by which communism ended differed across the CEE region and each country had a unique experience. In Poland and Hungary there was a negotiated process, however in other countries communism ended as a result of coups or revolutions. It is evident that the speed at which change took place increased dramatically. Garton Ash (1990: 78) joked 'In Poland it took ten years, in Hungary ten months, in East Germany ten weeks: Perhaps in Czechoslovakia it will take ten days!'. In fact it took only one day! The strong centralised control kept communism alive longer than anticipated, however, in the early 1990s it was widely accepted that this system could no longer succeed. The introduction of employment flexibility and lower social protection were important ways in which labour markets were transformed in the new market economies. National legislation was amended and public employment services and labour market policies were introduced in order to reduce high employment protection.

Economic transformations in CEE have been governed by neoliberal ideology and practice. Marketisation and privitisation reshaped class interests, creating

new social contradictions (Thompson and Smith, 1992). Initially there was incredible optimism that, despite some teething issues, neoliberal reform would result in economic restructuring. Many commentators, however, rejected the neoliberal account of the teleological transition to capitalism. Furthermore, proponents of shock therapy, the programme of reforms that included severe cuts in government spending, a programme of privatisation and liberalisation of trade, a wage freeze and tightening of new fiscal measures, failed to take into account the extent of depression and economic displacement from the global economy (Hardy and Zebrowski, 2005; Thompson and Smith, 1992). Massive growth rates were required to not only catch up with the developed world, but to simply preserve pre-1989 rates (Hardy, 2009). Additionally, large state enterprises found it unattainable to compete in the world economy due to debts, over-manning and irrational price structures.

Amable (2003) asserts that although it is evident what the countries of the CEE region are transitioning from, it is not entirely clear what they are transitioning to. Thompson and Smith (1992:12) contend that the 'pace, timing and combinations of measures differed widely'. Moreover, 'socio-economic transformations are constituted by, and constitutive of, an integral web of institutional, governing and regulatory practices' (Swain and Hardy, 1998: 587). Different paths of disentanglement from state socialism combined with unique relations between the state, society and the economy had constricted but not prevented the choices open to actors in the transition to capitalism (Swain and Hardy, 1998). Therefore the transformation process, the development of capitalism and degree of integration with the global economy has been highly

uneven across CEE. Initially, some countries fared better (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland), whilst others lagged behind with little integration and falling living standards (Bulgaria, Romania). Bedo et al (2011) argue that different clusters of economies in CEE are moving along distinct trajectories. The first cluster, the Eurozone countries including Slovenia and to a lesser extent Slovakia, have utilised aspects of the European social model. In the second cluster are the relatively developed economies of Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic and the Baltics. The third cluster falls into 'wild capitalism' category (Upchurch and Marinkovic, 2011), which is characterised by institutional weakness and a dominance of the informal or 'black' economy. Countries like Russia, Serbia, Ukraine, Albania and Moldavia are members.

The countries of CEE clearly faced significant social and economic upheaval during the first half of the 1990s. Labour markets of former command economies have gone through extreme transformation over the past twenty years following political, social and economic reforms. As a result there was huge polarisation between the nomenklatura on one hand and majority of the population on the other. The former enhanced their position and wealth by utilising assets for entrepreneurial ventures or ensuring they were employed in highly lucrative occupations, whilst the latter experienced unemployment and poverty: 'the majority of Soviet people will almost certainly experience a shocking reduction in their real and money incomes, with the greatest burden falling on the working class as prices for necessities rise and the availability of non-essential substitutes shrinks' (Rosefielde and Quinn Mills, 1990: 17).

The transition period clearly drew attention to new economic conditions, forcing CEE countries to transform their labour input. Unemployment was an inevitable aspect of the move to capitalism. Employment declined throughout CEE by almost 16% during 1990-1994 following the transition, which can be attributed to a profound and long recession (UNECE, 1996: 82). In 1993 registered unemployment across the CEE region was 14%, and remained at 11.6% until 1997 (Pollert, 1999). Additionally, in countries like Czech Rebuplic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, youth unemployment (people under 25) was responsible for about one third of unemployment. This substantial decrease in employment was coupled with important revisions and significant cuts to unemployment benefits. Living standards in Poland and Slovakia increased after 1996, however despite improvements in consumption and living standards, there were cuts in real wages in 1990/1991, and a decline in public welfare (Pollert, 1999). Moreover, Pollert (1999) contends that poverty has risen: the number of poor has grown amongst the elderly, disabled, unemployed, part-time workers and those with large families. Inequality in wealth has risen enormously (Haynes, 1996), thus there is very little evidence that the transition has been a success, in economic or human terms.

However, from 2000 onwards the economic recovery began to gain pace with the Baltic states, Bulgaria and Romania experiencing the highest economic growth (Morley, 2007). Following the EU enlargement in 2004 Poland was hailed as the ‘tiger’ economy of CEE, however it is evident that there is growing polarisation and poverty within the country (Hardy and Zebrowski, 2005). Paci et al (2004) analyse rising levels of poverty in Poland from 1999 onwards

despite modestly positive economic growth. Official Polish statistics highlight that 11.8 percent of the population are below the subsistence level and 19.2 per cent below the legal poverty line. Moreover, unemployment was around 20 percent in 2004 and in some areas 40% (Hardy and Zebrowski, 2005). When considering unemployment, CEE countries tend to fall into two distinct categories with the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia and more recently Romania with between 6 and 8 per cent, and Poland, Slovakia and Bulgaria ranging between 16 and 20 per cent (Morley, 2007). It is also worth noting that in some countries, like Czech Rebublic and Slovakia, there is huge divergence between rural and urban regions. While average living standards in the A10 were low, they were 56 per cent of the average of the whole EU25 in 2004, Poland, Slovakia and the three Baltic States were below average with 50, 55 and 50 per cent (Morley, 2007). The next section considers the way in which the aforementioned changes have influenced the workplace and the employment relationship.

2.3 HRM AND TRADE UNIONISM

As a result of the influx of foreign capital and small privatisation during the transition to capitalism, there has been a significant increase in the number of private employers in the CEE region. In 1993 Poland’s private sector produced 45% of GDP, and in Hungary this was 40%. One of the key changes to labour relations is the emergence of the employer as a distinct actor from the state. The status of managers of commercialised enterprises changed considerably, and their autonomy increased substantially (Egorov, 1996). However, it is argued

that the socialist system was not complimentary with value adding activities and the transition countries had a great deal of ground to make up if they were to be competitive (Garavan et al, 1998). Some of the key issues regarding the employment relationship and HRM shall be considered, and this will be followed with a discussion on labour relations and trade unionism in the CEE region.

Due to the transition to privatisation, there were profound changes to the internal structures of organisations, which had important implications for the personnel department. A key impact that the process of privatisation had on the employment relationship was the change from a collectivist to individualist HRM model. Yet, personnel and HRM issues often have low priorities in many CEE organisations, and HR functions in recently privatised organisations are argued to be underdeveloped in comparison with their western counterparts (Clark and Soulsby, 1999; Landa, 1990). During the transition it was imperative that personnel departments were 'de-politicised', however this was often unaccompanied by significant changes to managerial practice (Campbell and Pedersen, 1996; Garavan et al, 1998; Martin, 1999). Pucetaite et al (2010) stress the difficulty of building organisational trust in post-communist countries, and argue that it centres upon sufficient, ethical principle based practices as opposed to formal ethical management tools. Importance is placed upon ensuring that fairness and justice in HRM practices are clearly visible, because 'the post-socialist society has been socializing in the context where acquaintances and friendships often determined the possibility to get a job, be promoted or get a higher bonus' (Pucetaite et al 2010: 213). In Ukraine very few companies have

HR management systems and HR exists in name only in many organisations. Additionally, managers have often been renamed HR managers, but have a limited role in the organisational hierarchy (Croucher, 2010). However, research highlights that since 1990 there has been significant change to the HR function in Lithuania. Kazlauskaite and Buciuniene (2010) contend that HR has had to develop competencies that were underdeveloped, whilst establishing a reputation. HRM practices in CEE are clearly fragmented (Szamosi et al 2010) and the region is argued to be characterised by structural/institutional and configurational differences (Morely et al 2009). At this point, it is also important to consider the important implications that the transition has had on trade unionism.

Following World War 2 there was a rise in the Communist Party in the CEE region and a centralisation of the scattered trade union movement (Pollert, 2000). Communist labour relations and trade unionism followed the 'socialist emulation' pattern in 1930s Soviet movement. Trade unions, as representatives of the working class, concentrated upon production concerns as opposed to workers' interests and representation (Petrov and Thirkell, 1991). Moreover, trade unions were often described in the literature as 'transmission belt' mechanisms for the high-level decisions taken by the communist parties that had to be implemented at the enterprise level (Schienstock and Traxler, 1997). The enterprise and its political institutions (the communist party and trade unions) in state socialism exerted an important influence upon the total life of workers and their private lives. However, at the same time workers ensured that their effort and performance was to a minimum on the shop-floor (Mickler,

1992). Trade union density in socialist countries was typically extremely high, with many countries having over 90% density. This can mainly be attributed to the availability of enterprise social funds for housing, holidays, nurseries, transport and other social welfare benefits distributed through trade unions.

The restructuring of the CEE economy had implications for union membership as large numbers of workers were laid off or retired, and additionally, new workplaces derived from foreign investment were often extremely hostile towards unions (Hardy and Zebrowski, 2005; Hardy, 2009). It is fair to question the extent to which industrial relations can continue to be pertinent in CEE given their socialist history, orientations towards neoliberalism and increasing integration with the global economy. Empirical evidence on collective bargaining coverage would appear to support this contention: trade union density is low in CEE countries, standing at around or below 10 per cent, except Cyprus (30 per cent) and Malta (26 per cent) and Slovenia (27 percent) (European Commission, 2006). This is in stark contrast to trade union density prior to the transition from state socialism to capitalism, which was over 90%. Moreover, Pollert (1999) contends there is an increasing fragmentation of industrial relations in Hungary and Poland, and non-unionism is an increasingly important feature of employment relations in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic. Poland looks more likely to be faced with conflict and more fragmentation due to the lack of political legitimacy and industrial strength of employee organisations.

Yet despite pessimistic academic commentary on trade union membership in Poland, most notably from Ost (2002), Hardy (2009) contends that workers' organisations are playing an important role in the country. She argues that, firstly, there has been a reinvigoration of old unions like ZNP and the development of new ones, and secondly, Solidarity has turned its attention from parliamentary politics to previously un-unionised workplaces in the 'new economy'. Additionally, trade unions are gaining popularity in Lithuania and it is argued that they are 'taking a serious stand' (Kazlauskaite and Buciuniene, 2010). There are three officially recognised trade union centres and in 2008 there were 131 strikes in the country. The majority of which were by teachers who were demanding higher pay.

This section has provided a contextual insight into some of the profound changes, and process of transition, that has taken place in CEE. The countries of CEE clearly faced significant social and economic upheaval during the first half of the 1990s. Labour markets of former command economies have gone through extreme transformation over the past twenty years following political, social and economic reforms. This had implications for the social, political and economic conditions in each country, and also for the adoption of HR, the nature of workplace relations and trade unionism. It is important to note that not all the issues related to the transition could be considered, as this is beyond the scope of this chapter. However it was important that the reader was provided with background information, which may help to explain why such a significant wave of migration occurred. The subsequent section delves deeper into

explanations of migration and considers the various theories that explain why migration occurs.

2.4 PUSH AND PULL EXPLANATIONS

Push and pull explanations are typically employed to explain migration: ‘As this metaphor has persisted, it has become part of a received, though fading wisdom about what drives migration’ (Samers, 2010: 59). Push factors refer to those factors that act to push migrants away from their home country, whereas pull factors refer to advantageous conditions in a host country, which pulls migrants towards them. Lower living standards, political and social instability, repression, a lack of available opportunities in terms of work or in life, and natural and ecological deterioration are all push factors (Nunn, 2005: 31). The three CEE countries from which the largest numbers of migrants have come to the UK, Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia, also all have three of the lowest GDPs per capita of the A8 states (Eurostat, 2007). In the period 1st May 2004 to 31st December 2007, 66% of approved applicants were Polish, followed by 10% Lithuanian, 10% Slovakian. The high number of Poles could be attributed to the fact that Poland is the largest of the accession countries, with a population of 40 million and has one of the weakest labour markets in Europe. In other states, the difference in living standards may not be a significant push factor to come to the UK. Another contributing factor could be attributed to the level of unemployment in migrants’ home country. The three aforementioned countries with the largest numbers of migrants living in the UK, that is Poland, Lithuania, and Slovakia, also had the highest levels of unemployment, with 19%, 18.2%

and 11.4% respectively (Eurostat, 2007). Moreover, in 2003 youth unemployment reached forty percent in Poland (Pollard et al 2008), which may explain why so many young Poles decided to come to the UK to work. Pull factors, on the other hand, consist of 'higher wages, job opportunities, good working conditions, access to research funding, freedom from political instability or oppression' (Nunn, 2005: 32). Throughout the mid 1990s to the early 2000s, the British economy had extremely favourable economic conditions: unemployment rates in 2004 were below 5%, coupled with high levels of job vacancies (ONS, 2008). Evidently at the time of the enlargement, the UK demonstrated many pull factors with a powerful combination of demographic, economic and policy factors.

However, it is important to consider the way in which the economic situation has changed in the UK since the accession in 2004. Between 1993 and 2007 the UK witnessed a period of sustained economic growth, which averaged 2.8 per cent real growth per annum, and peaked at 3.1 per cent in 2007 before falling to 0.7 per cent in 2008 (ONS, 2009). In the second quarter of 2008, the UK economy went into recession, and has remained there for five subsequent quarters. Moreover, the UK economy shrank again in the final quarter of 2011 and first quarter of 2012, highlighting the prolonged economic problems facing the UK. At the same time, unemployment in Poland decreased from 19% in 2006 to 9.9% in 2010 (Eurostat, 2010). This is still higher than the UK, however people may be discouraged from moving to the country as there are not the same vast differences in living standards as there were at the time of the accession. Furthermore, since early 2004 the value of the pound relative to the

Polish Zloty, has fallen by around a quarter. In addition, it is likely that: ‘further devaluation will narrow the gap between potential earning in Britain and Poland, reducing the incentive for new migrants to come to the UK, and increasing the incentive for those in the UK to go home or elsewhere’ (Pollard et al, 2008:6).

Perhaps during a recession in a receiving country, like the UK, it may be reasonable to expect that the incentives to migrate would decline, whereas the appeal of remaining at home would remain the same or increase. Consequently, inflows of migrants may decrease, whereas outflows could increase. It is clear that flows of migrants have reduced due to the economic downturn. In the first quarter of 2009, new registrations of A8 workers were around half of those in the same period in the prior year (MAC, 2009). Migration from CEE peaked in 2006 and has slowed ever since, which could be attributed to the economic downturn. Dobson et al (2009) posit buffer theory and argue that temporary migrants can be brought in to fill labour shortages and will return home during economic downturns. However, it is clear that the decision to move to another country is far more complex than the economic performance of destination countries alone. In their review of migration flows during three periods of recession, Dobson et al, (2009) found that inflows fall at the onset of periods of economic downturn. However, as the declines were mainly temporary, and inflows improved and returned to previous levels quickly, the relationship between migration inflows and the economic cycle is weak.

Despite the popularity of push and pull explanations of migration, there are some problems, as the theory is rather simplistic. Firstly, some push factors like dissatisfaction with lifestyle cannot be discussed in an isolated manner. Certain issues cannot simply be divorced from other cultural, economic, political and social processes (Samers, 2010). Secondly, viewing migration in this way is very simplistic, and does not consider that some issues could be both a push and a pull factor, for example some people migrate to embark upon adventure (Goss and Lindquist, 1995). This is particularly true of young Polish migrants moving to the UK (Pollard et al, 2008). It is difficult to determine if this should be classified as a push or pull factor. Thirdly, due to the proximity of CEE, many migrants engage in circular migration patterns, moving between their home and the UK several times a year. However, push and pull theories fail to explain this form of migration. Nevertheless, despite problems viewing migration in terms of push and pull factors, the theory does highlight the uneven development across Europe and why people may be compelled to move to different countries. In addition, considering migration in this way has continued to be prominent in the neoclassical approach.

2.5 NEOCLASSICAL EXPLANATIONS

Due to the intensification of migration in the last quarter of the twentieth century, many different theories offering explanation were posited. Some of the major contributions at this time came from the realm of economics. One of the oldest and most well known theories of international migration is neoclassical economics. This theory is founded upon ideas such as rational choice, utility

maximisation, expected net returns and factor mobility (Massey et al, 1993). The main focus of analysis, when considering migration, is upon wage differentials and employment conditions between countries, in addition to a consideration of the costs associated with migration. Migration is also viewed as an individual decision for income maximisation. One of the key advantages of neoclassical economics is this combination of a micro-perspective, which places emphasis on individual decision-making, and a macro-counterpart of structural determinants (Arango 2000).

According to the macro neoclassical model, international migration results from the uneven geographical distribution of labour and capital. In some countries labour is scarce in relation to capital, and accordingly, the levels of wages are high. However, in other countries there is an abundance of labour relative to capital and a correspondingly low level of wages. This differential in wages is what entices workers from low wage countries to move to higher wage countries. In CEE, professional occupations often attract fewer wages than lower skilled jobs in Western Europe (Ruhs, 2006: 25). Therefore, it is easy to understand why people may be compelled to move to the UK. By migrating to different countries due to wage differentials, workers ‘contribute to the redistribution of the factors of production and equalisation of wages between countries in the long run, redressing original inequalities’ (Arango, 2000: 285).

Corresponding to the macro-model is a mico-model of individual choice, which explains why individuals respond to structural differences between countries or regions and engage in migration (Todaro 1969). Individuals, according to this

view, are seen as rational actors who decide to move on the basis of a cost-benefit calculation that leads them to expect a positive net return, which is usually monetary (De Haas, 2000). Providing that free choice and full access to information is available, migrants are expected to go where they can be the most productive, namely where they can earn the highest wages (Arango, 2000). Yet this is dependent upon the particular skills an individual possesses and the specific structure of labour markets. A great deal of CEE migrants are well educated, however the jobs they work in are low skilled. This may be attributed to the language barriers, which prevent people from working in their chosen profession (Pemberton, 2008). Therefore, the occupations in which CEE migrants can be most productive, and earn the highest wage, are in lower skilled sectors of employment in the UK.

An important benefit of this perspective is the combination of the micro and macro dimensions, and the consideration of how the two dimensions interact. However, there are some problems, and one of the main issues is the application of the concept in reality. An essential point worth questioning is why so few people migrate when there are vast differences in income and wages in many countries throughout the world. According to neoclassical economics, considerably more people should have migrated than actually have in reality. For example, Poland has a population of forty million, yet around 1.5 million people came to the UK (Pollard et al 2008). Perhaps people do not always act as rationally as the concept suggests. Many young people may view migration as an adventure and way of 'broadening their horizons' (Pollard et al, 2008: 43). A great deal of young Poles state that tolerance and diversity are important

motivating factors in their decision to migrate (Pollard, et al 2008). Further, the concept also fails to explain why some countries have relatively high out-migration rates, whereas other countries with similar structures do not (Arango, 2000). The same problem is applied to the explanation of in-migration rates. A possible reason for this could be ascribed to the lack of importance that neoclassical economics attributes to the political domain. Different countries have diverse migration policies, particularly in terms of who is allowed to work in the country. This will have a significant impact upon the flows of people coming into the country, and must therefore be considered when discussing migration. When considering the recent flows of CEE migrants to the UK, the political domain is particularly pertinent, as it was changes in the political environment that allowed new migrants to come to the UK to work.

2.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The countries of CEE clearly faced important social and economic changes and upheaval during the past fifty years. Moreover, the state socialist legacy and process of transition to market economy contributed to the uneven development between new and existing member states, creating push and pull forces that compelled many people to migrate from the CEE region to the UK. At the time of the accession, countries like Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia suffered from poor economic conditions and high unemployment rates. In addition, the UK demonstrated extremely favourable economic conditions: unemployment rates in 2004 were below 5%, coupled with high levels of job vacancies (ONS, 2008).

Clearly the EU expansion provided many CEE citizens with an opportunity to move to another country with better economic conditions.

Yet, providing an explanation of why people choose to migrate is an extremely complex task and it would be naive to assume that people move solely for instrumental economic reasons. There are factors other than wage disparities that motivate people to migrate and it is essential that they are considered (De Haas, 2000). Paraskevopoulou and McKay (2007) contend that it is important to recognise that motivations are multilayered, and the decision to migrate can be an important stage in personal development for some people.

At the same time it is vital to remember that the central focus of this research is the employment relationship of NLM. Therefore, the work and employment context of NLM is the key concern. After a discussion concerning the UK immigration policy, the next chapter retains this focus and considers why migrant workers are segmented into low skilled sectors of the economy, and identifies some of the key themes to emerge when considering migrant workers' experiences of employment.

CHAPTER 3: EMPLOYERS' AND MIGRANT WORKERS' EXPERIENCES OF THE LABOUR MARKET AND EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP

From the previous chapter it is evident that the region of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) has endured seismic changes to the social, political and economic landscape over the past fifty years. This has radically altered living standards, employment rates and workplace relations. In 2004 the countries of CEE joined the EU and as a result the UK has witnessed one of the most extensive waves of migration in recent times, with around 1.5 million new migrants entering Britain between May 2004 and September 2009 (Sumption and Somerville, 2009). CEE nationals play an important role in the economy as they fill many low to semi-skilled occupations, which the British population are often unwilling to do. Moreover, many employers state that CEE migrant workers fill low skilled jobs that involve 'dirty, hard work' or travelling long distances to remote areas (de Lima and Wright, 2009: 395). They are valued by employers mainly for their general attitude, work ethic and positive orientations to work (Dench et al, 2006; LSC, 2007; Mathews and Ruhs, 2007). Clearly, the changes to the political-economic environment, in the form of the EU expansion, provided an opportunity for people to move to the UK where economic and employment conditions were favourable. Living standards are generally lower in CEE countries due to the history of, and problems emerging from, totalitarian regimes (Pollard et al, 2008). This coupled with advantageous conditions in the

UK *at the time of the accession* may help explain why so many CEE nationals moved to this country to work.

3.1 NEW LABOUR MIGRATION AND THE UK IMMIGRATION POLICY

Changes to the UK economy coupled with large inflows of A8 nationals have brought about modifications to the UK Government's immigration policy for countries outwith the European Economic Area (EEA). The points based immigration system was phased in between 2008 and 2010 as a means of providing a tighter system of regulation for non-EU migrants. Underpinning the new system is a five tier framework, with each tier targeting a different group of migrants. Tier one is designed to attract migrants with the highest level of skills to the UK; those who qualify for this category do not require an offer of work, and are granted unrestricted access to the UK labour market. Tier two is an employer-led system, which targets medium to high skilled migrants with the offer of work; this employment opportunity is what makes them attractive applicants. Under this tier there are four main routes including: ministers of religion, sportspersons, intra-company transfers and the shortage of occupation route. The shortage of occupation route shall be discussed in greater depth in the section, which follows. Tier three concerns low skilled migration, which according to the five year strategy, was to be phased out in response to the number of workers available from the newly enlarged EU (Home Office, 2006). Tier four regards overseas students. Finally, tier five considers individuals who

come to the UK to help satisfy non-economic objectives, namely youth mobility and temporary workers.

In 2007, the UK Government established the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) to provide evidence-based advice about where shortages of skilled labour can sensibly be filled by immigration from outside the EEA. This is the shortage of occupation route into tier two of the points based system discussed earlier. To qualify for the list it is imperative that jobs pass three 'tests'. They must be skilled, there must be a labour shortage, and it must be sensible to allow non-EEA labour to fill the shortage (MAC, 2009). The MAC has produced various shortage lists, which are continually updated according to the requirements of the labour market**.** In addition to the introduction of the new tier based system, the former Prime Minister Gordon Brown announced in April 2010 that unskilled migrant workers from outside the EU will not be allowed to work in the UK. This could be attributed to the recession and large numbers of CEE migrants who have come to the country to work in low to semi-skilled occupations. More recently with the new Conservative/Liberal Democrat Coalition Government, tighter controls have been imposed on migration from outside the EEA. Now that the broad contextual issues surrounding the EU expansion, numbers of A8 migrants residing in the UK, and the Government's immigration policy have been discussed, it is time to outline some theories that help explain employers' demand for migrant workers.

3.2 MARXIST AND SEGMENTATION EXPLANATIONS

This section considers Marxist and segmentation explanations of migration, namely the reserve army of labour concept and dual and segmented labour market theory. Both the reserve army of labour and dual labour market theory reject the view that migration is an outcome of individual decision making within the context of push and pull factors. Instead, analysis is place upon significance and dynamics of migration in the material and structural processes of capital accumulation and uneven development (Miles and Satzewich, 1990). Moreover, it is argued that there is a demand for certain types of disposable labour, which is an inherent feature of advanced industrial economies (Piore, 1979). Within such economies the labour force is argued to be divided: from the Marxist paradigm migrant workers are considered as a reserve army of labour, and from the dualist perspective migrant workers are regarded as a secondary labour force. In each concept, the division between migrant workers and the indigenous population results in migrant workers undertaking the unpleasant work, with the poorest pay and worst working conditions (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Piore, 1979; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). However, the line of enquiry in each theory differs: the reserve army explains the effects that the division in the working class has on society, whereas Piore (1979) and Waldinger and Licher (2003) consider why migrants are segregated in poor quality occupations. It is now essential to consider each of the theories in-depth in order to determine what they can contribute to the discussion on NLM.

Marxist Accounts

The reserve army of labour was a central concept in Karl Marx's critique of political economy. According to Marx (1930: 708), any worker who becomes unemployed or partially unemployed becomes part of the industrial reserve army (Marx, 1930: 708). This reserve was viewed as an integral element of the capitalist mode of production, and was described as 'the lever of capitalist accumulation' (Marx, 1930: 632). Engles (1962: 119) contended that 'English manufacture must have, at all times save the brief periods of highest prosperity, an unemployed reserve army of workers, in order to produce the masses of goods required by the market in the liveliest months'. Marx identified three forms in which the surplus population exist continuously: first there is a 'floating' form; second there is a form that is not yet part of the reserve and is not in transition but exists in latent form in the countryside; third is the stagnant type, which has a tendency to remain more or less permanently in this state:

> The third category of relative surplus population, the stagnant, forms part of the active labour army, but consists of persons whose employment is extremely irregular. It thus offers capital an inexhaustible reservoir of available labor power. The conditions of existence of those who belong to this category fall below the average conditions of the working class; and for this reason such persons form the material for special kinds of capitalist exploitation. Their lives are characterised by working hours of extreme length for wages of extreme lowness (Marx, 1930: 710).

The reserve army was important to Marx, not because this group was being exploited by the capitalist system, but because they perform essential functions for capitalism. Firstly, the reserve army are available for the expansion of capitalism. Introducing more workers to the production process ensures the capitalist can accumulate capital, which is the precondition for extending production and applying new techniques. Certain groups of workers make it possible for capitalists to develop new working techniques, which in turn make them redundant. This process provides a reserve of labour, which is available to be moved into other sectors when required by the capitalist. Second, the reserve army also exert pressure on the working class, in terms of wages, labour discipline and the intensity of exploitation. Workers who are employed are pressured by the industrial reserve army to accept long hours and poor conditions, therefore benefitting the capitalist. It is upon these ideas that academics, such as Stephen Castles, based their analysis of post-war migration.

Stephen Castles is widely considered as providing the classic Marxist argument of the interrelationship between capitalism and migration (Miles and Satzewich, 1990). According to Castles and Kosack (1973) an immigrant's social position in Western countries is determined by the function the immigrant has in the socio-economic structure, and not by race and racialism as a great deal of previous literature has argued (Rex, 1973; Sivanandan, 1976). Capitalist rule, as maintained by Castles and Kosack (1980), is based on two mechanisms, the industrial reserve army and the labour aristocracy. The former is an objective product of the economic process, whereas the latter is a subjective phenomenon, which arises as a result of the manipulation of attitudes.

Throughout the early post-war years, capital accumulation allowed many workers in Britain to gradually move to higher skilled jobs, resulting in a demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour. Therefore, it was imperative to employ internal reserves of labour, such as women. Eventually, as internal reserves were exhausted, there was the need to employ other devices such as labour saving technology, or foreign born labour (Miles and Satzewich, 1990). The recruitment of foreign born labour was deemed the cheapest option to increase labour power. While many of the advanced industrial countries also witnessed enhanced economies, the less developed economies in the world became desperate to include themselves in the capital accumulation process, and increasing numbers of migrant workers were attracted to the West (Brown, 1995). Initially workers came from southern Europe, however by the late 1960s migration came from as far as colonial and excolonial formations in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean (Massey et al, 1993; Miles and Satzewich, 1990). These migrant workers were argued to have been an industrial reserve army of labour.

In addition to the industrial reserve, a separate fraction of the working class developed into the labour aristocracy. This section of the labour force worked in occupations that were secure and unionised with good wages, allowing these workers to adopt similar views to the bourgeois. Consequently, this group were intent on securing and maintaining their privileged position, thus undermining class consciousness and solidarity amongst the working class.

The restructuring of the working class into an indigenous and immigrant stratum, according to Castles and Kosack (1973: 310), is the most important effect that immigration has on society: ‘It is through this restructuring that the principle societal effects of immigration are mediated’. The effects can be divided into three categories: economic, societal, and political effects. Firstly, the main economic effects of the industrial reserve are believed to be the holding back of wage increases for unskilled workers, which may even keep down the wage for the entire economy. Secondly, societal effects are the impact that immigrants have on indigenous population. As immigrants come in at the bottom of the labour market they have allowed indigenous workers to move out of unskilled occupations and achieve social promotion. This social promotion has important effects on the consciousness of the indigenous worker:

> Those who have obtained better jobs no longer feel that they belong to the lowest group of society and that improvements can only be achieved collectively. Their advancement is taken as a sign that individual merit can bring gains.... At the same time, such workers tend to distance themselves from the immigrants, who might in the long run threaten their newly won privileges if allowed equal opportunities. Moreover, even those indigenous workers who have remained in unskilled occupations do not feel solidarity with immigrant workers (Castles and Kosack, 1980: 311).

Thirdly, there are political effects of immigration (Castles and Kosack, 1980: 311). This includes changes to the indigenous workers' consciousness, which lessens political unity and the strength of the working class. It is important to recognise that each of the aforementioned issues do not occur separately but are the general effects of immigration.

From the reserve army perspective, migrant workers have been given a huge role in the economy considering they only constitute a small fraction of the productive working class who are involved in producing surplus value. It is, therefore, rather optimistic to believe that migrant workers regulate the overall level of wages in the economy (Lever-Tracy, 1983). According to Government reports, the arrival of CEE migrant workers has no overall impact on wages or unemployment for indigenous workers (Lemos and Portes, 2008; Gilpin et al 2006). Furthermore, to be a part of the reserve army of labour entails workers being unemployed or partially unemployed. This is challenging when discussing new migrants, due to their high levels of labour market participation: their participation in the labour force is well above average, with 95% for men and 80% for women (Dustmann et al, 2009). Another crucial point worth making is that employers may select migrant workers for reasons other than cost minimisation. This is particularly pertinent when considering new migrants, as many employers often stated that CEE workers were preferable to British workers due to their good work ethic and positive orientations to work (Dench at al 2006).

Dual Labour Market and Segmentation

Dual labour market theory shares some similarities to the reserve army of labour concept, in that migrant workers are viewed as being concentrated in semi-skilled, repetitive jobs that have limited job security, and are of low social status. However, Piore (1979) draws upon labour market segmentation theory to elucidate why this is the case. The key rationales that underlie the demand for foreign workers, highlighted by Piore (1979), are outlined below.

Similar to Castles and Kosack (1973), Piore argues that migration is viewed as a response to labour shortages, which occur during times of prosperity. As the economy expands, local workers gradually move to better paying, higher status jobs, which then in turn creates labour shortages in certain sectors of employment (Piore, 1979). Employers are then faced with the choice of raising wages, replacing labour with capital, or recruiting foreign workers. Recruiting foreign workers is the easiest and cheapest alternative. The main reasons that employers rely on migrant labour are outlined in a comprehensive CIPD study: short supply of candidates with the required experience for the job (59 per cent of employers); a short supply of candidates with the required skills (56 per cent); migrant workers are more committed to work (18 per cent); migrant workers are more productive (10 per cent) and to lower wage costs (5 per cent) (CIPD, 2005). Taylor and Rogaly (2004: 37) support this in their study of migrant workers in Norfolk, by asserting that migrant workers are filling a gap in the labour market that was not being filled, and will not be filled, by local labour. Research concerning A8 migrants highlights they have become an important source of labour in many sectors of the economy, and have filled jobs

that domestic workers were unwilling to undertake due to the nature of the work (Dench et al, 2006; Pemberton, 2008).

This is related to Piore's second reason behind the demand for migrant labour, the motivating effect of occupational hierarchies. Piore (1979) asserts that people work not only for money, but also for social prestige, which comes with moving up the occupational hierarchy. Employers require groups of workers who view low status jobs simply as a means of earning money. Students and foreign workers often satisfy this requirement, as they are likely to be more concerned with economic survival than social prestige. Holgate (2005) asserts that black and minority ethnic, and migrant workers, often fill the jobs that white workers have abandoned in favour of more preferable employment. Such workers are therefore segmented into low skilled, poorly paid areas of employment and fill jobs that the indigenous population have rejected (Fellini et al, 2007; Massey et al, 1998; Piore, 1979).

The third reason is the inherent duality between capital and labour. Capital is viewed as a fixed element of production, which cannot be redundant as this would incur considerable costs to its owners. Labour, on the other hand, is a variable aspect of production, which can be made redundant as it will endure the costs of its own unemployment. Employers will endeavour, when feasible, to utilise capital to meet the stable element of demand, using labour for the more flexible elements. This dualism, therefore, creates an inherent division of labour between those who work in capital intensive and labour intensive occupations, otherwise known as the primary and secondary sectors of employment

relatively. Those who work in the primary sector receive good pay, promotion opportunities, while those in the secondary sector endure poor wages and working conditions. Piore argues that immigrants are often concentrated in the secondary sector, as job opportunities are more readily available in this sector, and migrants are initially unconcerned with social prestige. In his study of Polish migrant workers in the construction and food processing sector, Fitzgerald (2007) found that many migrants experienced low wages and poor working conditions. Moreover, it is argued that good employers were being undercut by companies that pursue a low cost competitive strategy, which is reliant on the use of migrant workers.

Similar to Piore (1979), Waldinger and Lichter (2003) examine employers' rationale for hiring low skilled migrant labour in Los Angeles. They draw upon labour segmentation theory and network theories of migration and outline three mechanisms, which they argue result in the concentration of migrant workers in specific sectors of employment. The first concept, hiring queues, highlights the way in which entire ethnic groups are ranked according to socially meaningful but subjective stereotypes (Waldinger and Licher, 2003). McDowell, et al (2007) support this in their study of a West London hotel, stating that migrant workers are selected for their embodied characteristics, for example their dress, style, appearance, language ability and smile. However, some embodied characteristics are often associated with stereotypical views regarding their national origin. Moreover, it has been argued that there is an ethnic division of labour in London, specifically in cleaning work, where workers are able to

attain jobs because of ethnicity and regardless of skills and experience (Allen et al, 1998).

The second method concerns a way in which migrant workers may actually contribute to their own segmentation in certain sectors of employment, mainly through the use of social networks to fill jobs (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). Social networks are a significant aspect of NLM, and friends and family often help migrant workers to find employment and accommodation (Spencer et al, 2007). Furthermore, migrant workers are likely to be attracted to an area where there is an existing chain of migration, as family and friends can then help reduce the cost of migration (McKay and Winkelmann-Gleed, 2005; Ryan et al 2009). Yet, an important consequence of this is that groups of migrants become segregated in specific organisations, while other groups are excluded. However, in their study of the spatial organisation of migrants in London, Batnitzky and McDowell (2012) argue that rather than utilising established co-ethnic social networks in the country of origin to obtain labour market opportunities, people draw upon a diverse range of strategies. In fact out of their 120 respondents nobody found employment through co-ethnic social networks in London. The 'community', as conceptualised by many new migrants, encompasses those with similar migration trajectories and employment situations rather than people with the same nationality and culture. Many migrant workers, therefore, seek employment in specific sectors of employment, 'ethnic economies', rather than 'ethnic specific owned enterprises'. Batnitzky and McDowell argue this could be attributed to 'lack of integration with established co-ethnic immigrant

communities; temporary migration trajectories; and living arrangements with co-migrants' (p1).

The third mechanism analyses the achievement of skills or knowledge. Waldinger and Lichter (2003) maintain that work is fundamentally a social phenomenon, where employees share knowledge of how to do the job with their colleagues. This task is often easier when employees share social ties, such as race or ethnicity, and employers may feel the need to listen to the views of their workers when making hiring decisions. Yet when this process combines with social networks, migrant workers may take over the hiring process, which may result in negative consequences for employers. An important point when considering Polish ethnic identity is that many Polish people present an individualised and situational attitude towards their ethnicity. Moreover, many Poles deliberately compete and undermine one another (Ryan et al, 2008). Putnam (2007) contends that in the context of diversity people often become distrustful of those who are not like them, but also those who are like them.

Both Marxist and segmentation approaches to labour migration draw attention to the divide between indigenous and migrant workers, whilst highlighting why there is not a great deal of competition between these workers. The way in which international migration originates, and the importance of the macro-economic and social context, is also central to dual labour market theory and the reserve army of labour concept. In addition, each theory makes an important point by highlighting that work is more than a discrete set of tasks; occupations often signify the social status of the worker. A crucial point, however, that

differentiates Waldinger and Lichter's (2003) work from Piore (1979) and Castles and Kosack (1973), is that attention is drawn to the way in which migrant workers can contribute to their own segmentation. Social networks can be an important way for migrants to find employment in new countries, however this may lead to their concentration in certain occupations.

Despite advantages with each of the theories, there are some important weaknesses when explaining the work and employment context of NLM. Perhaps the fundamental problem with Marxist and segmentation accounts is that little attention is given to migrant workers' experiences and the individual and collective agency that they possess in employment. Waldinger and Lichter (2003) do provide an insight into migrant workers' experience of social networks and the sharing of knowledge and skills, however this only highlights a small aspect of the employment relationship. It is important that consideration is given to migrant workers' expectations, perceptions and aspirations of employment, and how this interacts with employers' views. Additionally, each concept is economically deterministic and problematic in terms of distinguishing which sector groups of workers are located in, or explaining the prospect of movement between sectors (Grimshaw and Rubery, 1998). An important point when considering this is that migrant workers' willingness to accept low skilled poorly paid work often lessens the longer they settle in a receiving country, and their aspirations become similar to those of non-migrant workers (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). In their study of the impact of the EU expansion on the UK labour market, Blanchflower and Lawton (2008) assert that Polish workers have become less prepared to do unskilled work at the

national minimum wage than before. Thus, it is essential to recognise that new migrants are not simply passive workers who will accept poor work and conditions, rather they have aspirations, expectations and experiences that must be analysed. The subsequent section analyses the main themes to emerge in the literature when considering migrant workers' and employers' experience of employment in the UK.

3.3 MIGRANT WORKERS' EXPERIENCES OF EMPLOYMENT

Immigration has always been a contentious topic. Since the EU enlargement in 2004 and subsequent increase in CEE migrant workers entering the UK, there has been concern about public hostility towards migrant workers. Gordon Brown's ill thought out 'British jobs for British workers' strategy did nothing to ease relations. An opinion poll conducted in February 2008 highlights the importance of race relation concerns amongst the British electorate, with more than 40 per cent reporting this to be their most pressing concern. Such concerns have been manifest in the Lindsey Oil Refinery strikes, and more worryingly, attacks on Romanian immigrants in Belfast in 2009. There have also been reports of abuse and exploitation of migrant workers in the media, particularly following the death of 18 Chinese cockle pickers in Morecombe Bay in 2004. This section analyses the literature on migrant workers' experiences of the employment relationship. Focus is placed upon three dominant themes to emerge from the literature, namely vulnerable and precarious workers, the rhetoric of the 'good worker' and migrant workers' motives and aspirations. This thesis marks a point of departure from the abovementioned debates,

namely by emphasising the importance of analysing the interaction between employers and new migrant workers in the employment relationship. This section begins by considering the unique characteristics of CEE workers and then examines each of the abovementioned themes.

Significance and Distinctiveness of Post-2004 CEE Migration

The new wave of migration, or NLM, has been described as: 'one of the most important social and economic phenomena shaping the UK today. This movement of people has dramatically changed the scale, composition and characteristics of immigration' (Pollard et al. 2008:7). Sumption and Somerville (2009) estimate that around 1.5 million CEE workers came to the UK between May 2004 and September 2009. This figure has been calculated by employing the methodology of Pollard et al. (2008) who multiply the total number of approved Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) applications (1, 001, 475) by 1.49 to account for an estimated 33% of A8 workers who did not register. Pollard et al, (2008) estimate 33% because self-employed workers, and those who have been working legally for twelve continuous months, do not need to register. Additionally, some non-exempt workers also did not register. It is worth noting, however, that not all 1.5 million new migrants have settled in the UK. In the third quarter of 2009 the population of A8 migrants was approximately 700, 000 (calculations based upon the Labour Force Survey (LFS)). This is less than half of the number of people who first came to the country. Moreover, it is also clear that the numbers of new migrants coming to the UK has reduced: in the first quarter of 2009, new registrations of CEE workers were around half of those in the same period as the prior year (MAC,

2009). Flows of A8 immigrants peaked in 2006 and have slowed ever since, which could be attributed to the economic downturn facing the UK.

Although new migrant workers share some key similarities with previous waves of migration, there are several distinguishing characteristics, which shall be examined in this section. CEE workers are predominately young (Blanchflower and Lawton, 2008; Home Office, 2008; Sumption and Somerville, 2009). Forty three per cent of those registered on the WRS are aged 18-24 and 39% are 25-34 (Blanchflower and Lawton, 2008). Additionally, according to the LFS CEE migrants are more likely to be in employment than UK born workers or other immigrant groups (MAC, 2008). Their participation in the labour force is well above average, with 95% for men and 80% for women (Dustmann et al, 2009). Yet, it is important to consider the nature of work undertaken by CEE nationals in the UK. Over three quarters of A8 migrants, compared to less than half of UK born workers, have been employed in occupations defined as low skilled since 2004 (MAC, 2008). A Home Office report (2007) highlights the specific industry sectors that new migrants are employed in. Among the top five are distribution, hotels and restaurants (24 per cent), manufacturing (21 per cent), construction (14 per cent), banking, finance and insurance (12 per cent), public, admin, education and health (11 per cent) and transport and communication (10 percent). The main occupations include: 37% as Factory Workers, 10% as Warehouse Operatives, 9% as Packers, 9% as Kitchen and Catering Assistants, and 9% as Cleaners and Domestic Staff, respectively (Home office 2007). Moreover, of all the workers who applied to the WRS between April 2007 and March 2008, 70% stated their hourly wage was £4.50-£5.99, while 23% said

their wage was £6.00-£7.99 per hour (Blanchflower and Lawton, 2008). Clearly, new migrant workers share similarities with previous waves of migration, in that they are segregated into the lowest sectors of employment with the worst pay. However, importantly, CEE workers are more highly skilled, in terms of their education credentials, than early waves of post-colonial migration to the UK. A survey of more than 900 CEE workers in Fife found that nearly 30% had a university degree (Fife Research Coordination Group, 2008). Therefore, it is fair to conclude that new migrants are underused in the labour market. Yet, Scott (2012) argues: 'The human capital and the youth of European migrant workers, allied with their employment at the bottom of the UK labour market, effectively mean that low-wage employers obtain "more for their money" by recruiting migrants over would be domestic workers' (Scott, 2012: 2). Moreover, CEE nationals are more likely to view low-wage work differently to would-be domestic workers. Employment in the UK has presented them with an opportunity as opposed to a constraint, and it is argued that new migrants are likely to be motivated by their view of the secondary labour market as temporary 'escalators' to upward mobility (Scott, 2012). The human capital of CEE workers and their views of low-wage occupations differentiate them from past migrant workers who were not as highly skilled or upwardly mobile in the labour market. At this point attention must also be drawn to CEE migrants' rights to work in the UK and their free access to the labour market, which sets them apart from post-colonial migration movements. The next section shall focus upon this issue.

A fundamental way in which CEE migration differs from other forms of migration, such as post-colonial, guestworkers and/or asylum immigration, is that new migrants are ‘regional “free movers” not immigrants’ (Favell, 2008: 703). In other words, CEE nationals have no restrictions on their movement in the UK and have free access to the labour markets because they are EU citizens. Previous waves, on the other hand, faced visa restrictions, such as the nature of work they could undertake and the ability to bring dependents with them to the UK. New migrants are, therefore, more likely engage in temporary, and at times circular migratory movements that are dependent upon the ebb and flow of economic demand as opposed to long-term immigration plans (Favell, 2008). People often take trips between the UK and their home country in order to perform seasonal work, or to balance work in the UK with their family life at home. Movements like this would not have been possible for earlier waves of migrant workers.

Another facet of this argument is linked to new migrant workers’ skin colour, in that they are white Europeans. McDowell (2008) argues that in a society where discrimination exists against black and minority-ethnic (BME) British born population on the basis of their skin colour, whiteness is a marker of privilege even at the bottom end of the labour market. CEE workers are less visible due to their skin colour and European identity. In their study of a London hotel, which employed a large number of Indian and CEE migrant workers, McDowell et al (2007) highlight the racist views held by CEE nationals. Racist views were often linked to new migrants’ perceived superiority due to their European citizenship. A quote from a Hungarian room service employee highlights this:

'This government gives too much power to other people who's not belong to the European Community, you know what I mean?' (McDowell et al, 2007:20). Moreover, he expanded upon this when asked why he found his conditions of service difficult:

> It's a kind of ethnic thing. . .a lot of Indian people, there's a lot of Indian people working there and they think they are gods and they can do everything when they want. You have to stay shut up, that's it. You know one more thing? I went to school for four years to learn this and they come in from out of nowhere, they come in and they can do the same job as me, how come? This is a kind of shame on myself, you know?... I mean I went to school to learn this whole thing, okay? Then I was happy to get the job in this hotel but when I saw these people are coming here without anything, they can have the same job as me (McDowell et al, 2007:20).

This employee clearly held racist views, and some of his argument was linked to his perceived superiority based on his European citizenship. This perceived superiority of CEE workers is not only held by new migrants themselves, but also has a policy dimension. Favell (2008: 712) highlights that although new migrants may face some hostility, they are still more desirable, from the point of view of populist politicians: 'than other, more visible, actual and potential immigrant populations. It might be speculated that, in the long run, West European publics are likely to be more comfortable with the scenario of getting

used to Balkan and Slavic accents, rather than seeing black and brown faces in the same jobs, or (especially) hearing them speak the language of Allah' (Favell, 2008: 712).

In conclusion, recent waves of CEE migration share some important similarities with previous waves, namely that migrant workers are segregated into the lowest sectors of employment with poor pay and the worst working conditions. However, there are also key differences, in that new migrant workers often have high levels of human capital and view jobs at the bottom-end of the labour market positively due to potential career mobility opportunities. Importantly, CEE workers are European citizens who have free access to the labour market. This is a significant difference from post-colonial, guestworkers and/or asylum immigration movements who often face strict visa restrictions. Moreover, new migrants' skin colour means they are less visible, and therefore more favourable to populist politicians than other groups of migrants. The next section focuses on new migrant workers' experiences of employment by considering the precarious and vulnerable work they often undertake in the UK.

Precarious and Vulnerable Workers

CEE workers often experience poor terms and conditions in low to semi-skilled occupations, and therefore, have a weak position in the labour market, which makes them vulnerable and susceptible to exploitation (TUC, 2008). Despite their relatively high level of education, A8 workers are disproportionately employed in low skilled occupations (MAC, 2009). They are, therefore, viewed as being underused within the labour market (Anderson et al 2006; Baum, 2007

Wickham et al, 2008b; Moriarty, et al 2012, Janta, 2011). Key themes to emerge when considering the occupations that migrants are employed in include: breaches of health and safety, low pay, long and irregular working hours, lack of training and loss of accommodation where this was coupled with employment (de Lima and Wright, 2009; Anderson, 2010). Therefore, 'tough choices and trade-offs' can be an important aspect of CEE workers' labour market experience in the UK (Spencer et al, 2007: 23). These can be in the form of tolerating poor work and conditions due to the economic advantage, skills and experience gained and, importantly, the perceived temporary nature of their employment (Piore, 1979; Anderson et al 2006; Ruhs, 2006; Spencer et al 2007; Wickham et al, 2009).

Employers in receiving countries like the UK often require a cheap pool of migrant labour. Meeting labour shortages and cost minimisation were cited by employers as two of the most important reasons for employing migrant labour (Fellini et al, 2007; Rodriguez, 2004). In their study of the attitudes and strategies of a UK based employer as they develop their use of migrant workers, MacKenzie and Forde (2009) show that recruitment policies were focused upon those actors who were lacking power in the labour market. Further, many organisations employing low skilled migrant workers utilised a hard HRM approach, which makes the assumption that labour is a disposable and interchangeable commodity (Forde and MacKenzie, 2009). Consequently, an important theme to emerge from the literature on migrant workers refers to the vulnerable and precarious nature of work undertaken in the UK. The TUC's inclusion of migrant workers under the vulnerable worker category highlights

that this issue deserves consideration. According to the TUC Commission on Vulnerable Employment (CoVE) (2008:11) the definition of vulnerable employment is: ‘Precarious work that places people at risk of continuing poverty and injustice resulting from an imbalance of power in the employer-worker relationship’. Anderson (2010: 303) prefers the term precarious when referring to the work that migrant workers undertake as the term vulnerability or vulnerable worker ‘risk naturalising these conditions and confining those workers so affected to victimhood..... the notion of precarity captures both atypical and insecure employment and has implications beyond employment pointing to an associated weakening of social relations’. Whatever term we use, it is clear that migrant workers are susceptible to having a weak position in the labour market, which leaves them open to exploitation.

In his study of the working and living conditions of migrant workers in the UK, Wilkinson (2012:15-16) asserts that migrant workers’ experience of work included:

> routine, systematic and widespread exploitations. These included immediate and unwarranted dismissal, withholding of holiday and maternity rights, refusal of time off for medical treatment and failure to return accommodation bonds. Migrants portrayed their existence as a constant and debilitating struggle... Working conditions are often appalling, and sometimes dangerous... Unsociable hours are the norm... Those refusing to comply risk the loss of work and accommodation. Racist remarks, verbal abuse and

> harassment by gangmasters, employers and fellow workers are also commonplace (Wilkinson, 2012: 15-16).

The experience of work can be even worse when migrant workers are trapped in forced labour. Scott et al (2012) analyse the experiences of forced labour in the UK food industry, which considers some of the most vulnerable workers in the UK. Scott et al adopt the ILOs definition of forced labour, which involves 'threat or actual physical harm to the worker; restriction of movement; debt bondage; withholding of wages or excessive deductions; retention of passport and identity documents; and threat of denunciation to the authorities' (p3-4). They highlight that the ILO has expanded upon the list to include 19 items: 'deceived by employer; non-payment of wages or illegal deductions; fear; breaches to, or lack of contract; psychological harm; excessive working hours; payments below the National Minimum Wage; crowded accommodation; confinement to the workplace' (p4). At the other end of the scale are the following indicators: 'sexual harm; fearful of harm to family and friends; trafficked/smuggled to the UK; threat of denunciation to the authorities; indebtedness; purposeful isolated at work; retention of ID documents; physical harm; restrictions on movement beyond workplace; desire to return to home country' (p4). Scott et al utilised these indicators to select interviewees and also to gain aggregate statistical data on the extent of the exploitation. Fourteen forced labour practices are identified, which include: 'upfront fees and debt bondage, threats and bullying, disciplining through dismissal, productivity targets and workplace surveillance, overwork, no breaks, non-payment and underpayment of wages, underwork and indebtedness, deductions and charges,

threats of denunciation, tie-ins – work payments, tie-ins – accommodation, tie-ins – money. The abovementioned fourteen practices can be categorised into three different domains related to employers' and employment agencies' actions that make workers: 'time poor; money poor and feeling controlled, insecure and oppressed' (p6). Five outcomes result from the experience of forced labour indicators, contexts and practices, namely: 'poverty; dreams before migration turning sour; fear and a sense of powerlessness; psychological harm and physical harm' (p6). An important point is made by Scott et al, in that forced labour is not confined to a few criminal employers, rather it is concentrated in specific industries due to the competitive conditions and structures.

In addition to vulnerability and exploitation, racism is still prevalent in the labour market, which affects people from minority ethnic groups, particularly migrant workers (Wills et al, 2010). Wright and Pollert (2006) found discrimination in the labour market and employment is one of four features that differentiates ethnic minority and migrant workers' experience of employment. Looking specifically at the tourism industry, Baum (2006) states that implicit or explicit discrimination is unacceptable, yet many incidents are reported, therefore it clearly does occur**.** Janta et al (2011) describe the discrimination faced by Polish workers in the UK hospitality sector, who reported being treated worse than their British colleagues, being reprimanded more frequently, paid less and expected to work harder than British workers. Additionally, management were criticised for abusing their position of authority. Bullying and verbal abuse were common problems identified by ethnic minority workers in the hotel and catering industry. Abuse sometimes had a racial element and racist

abuse was also common from restaurant customers and management. Wright and Pollert (2006) found that several interviewees perceived they had limited opportunities for promotion due to discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnicity, nationality or age. Ready access to both illegal and legal migrant workers in the hospitality sector is viewed as enabling employers to ignore issues of productivity, skills and workplace enhancement (Baum, 2007).

Discrimination and racism is not limited to the hospitality industry, and Holgate (2005) draws attention to racist practices by the management of a London sandwich factory and the problems faced by a union in organizing migrant workers. Work in the factory was monotonous, arduous and low paid, and workers commented on the racialised nature of work. Moreover, many people described themselves as second-class citizens and reports of racism and lack of respect were common. Holgate provides two examples that highlight the racialised nature of work in the factory. The company prevented production workers from using the car park, meaning only office workers who were predominantly white could park there. Additionally, Holgate describes the replacement of electronic clock-in cards with a finger print scanner. Management claimed that workers sent their friends or relatives to the factory to work for them when they were sick. Understandably, workers were alarmed and suspicious of the finger print scanner, and also highlighted the fact that the scanner had not been introduced in any of the company's other factories, therefore they felt that racism was the reason behind its introduction. Fear of losing one's job was another aspect of work in the factory and this was made worse by delays in processing asylum claims at the Home Office.

It is also interesting to consider relations between different groups of ethnic minority and migrant workers. Hopkins (2011) investigates this and exposes complex informal hierarchies in low skilled food and manufacturing organisations. Drawing on Braverman's (1974) argument that the removal of lower levels of official hierarchies is a key feature of deskilling, as workers cannot accrue skills to progress in a hierarchy, he highlights the creation of informal hierarchies. The importance of English language skills is emphasised, and Hopkins stresses that language skills were a critical determinant of who worked directly for the organisation or who was employed by an agency. The majority of directly employed staff were White British or British Asian, and a small number of people were migrants and immigrants who had been in the UK for enough time to develop their language skills. Poor language skill created tension between managers, directly employed workers and foreign workers. Hopkins (2011: 495) finds that agency workers were differentiated from permanent workers due to the 'intersectionality of ethnicity' and their contractual status, and additionally, they were given harder jobs to undertake. Thus, it is argued that agency workers could be the victims of both formal and informal hierarchies. Hopkins then goes on to analyse agency workers in more depth and finds further informal hierarchies were formed both between and within this group of workers. Notably, CEE migrant workers viewed themselves distinctly from other groups due to their perceptions of their superior work ethic. Many CEE workers were racist to workers from outside the EU and were often surprised at the multi-ethnic nature of the UK workforce. This created a great deal of tension between CEE workers and those from outwith the EU.

It has been argued that the situation for many vulnerable workers is deteriorating, which can be attributed to the UK Borders Agency being awarded with additional powers to tackle illegal working and initiatives like the points-based system for work and study and the consequences of the global financial crisis (Wilkinson, 2012). Furthermore, Anderson (2010: 301) contends that immigration controls 'function both as a tap regulating the flow of labour' and also shape forms of labour. Migratory processes and immigration controls are argued to have a crucial influence upon migrant workers' experience of the labour market and contribute to the creation of precarious workers who are segmented into the lowest sections of the labour market (Anderson, 2010). This may be the case for non-EU migrants whose immigration and visa status can influence the type of work they undertake. CEE migrants, however, have no restrictions upon their rights to work and live in the UK and this may influence the type of jobs that they are employed in, and importantly, are able to be employed in (Anderson, 2010; Ciupijus, 2011). This point is supported by McDowell et al (2009) who argue that migrant workers are not all equally vulnerable to exploitation and do not all have the propensity to be trapped in precarious forms of work. Although CEE workers were employed in precarious jobs in their case study of a London hotel, they had the skills and credentials for future occupational mobility. This contrasts with the experience of migrant workers employed in a London hospital, who were predominantly from places like Afghanistan, Jamaica, India and Sudan as opposed to Europe. These migrant workers had few educational credentials, and were therefore more likely to be trapped in forms of insecure work. Moreover, they argue that 'a new

division of labour is being constructed based on a distinction between the "hardworking" newcomers, often possessing valued forms of social and educational capital, and unskilled, often poorly educated and uncredentialized non-migrant workers especially, people of colour, in London and other British towns and cities with significant minority populations' (McDowell et al, 2009: 20).

Ciupijus (2011: 547) asserts 'with EU citizenship, mobile CEEs have greater freedom to navigate the labour market than without it. However, such migration/mobility is characterized by low-wage employment and Britain's reluctance to extend full social rights to new EU citizens'. Moreover, it is argued that UK public policy makers regarded CEE migration/mobility as a way in which to fill low paid/low status occupations in the UK labour market as opposed to being about pan-national citizenship rights (Ciupijus, 2011). Yet, it is vital to note that the temporary nature of the employment bargain is an important aspect of NLM and the temporariness is deemed vital for both parties (Wickham et al, 2009; Thompson et al, 2012). Moreover, Thompson et al (2012: 10) argue that there is evidence of 'mutual gains between the enhanced capacity of employers to cope with temporal flexibility and labour turnover, and migrant preference for mobility and opportunity to save money and improve their English'. Therefore, the type of occupations new migrant workers undertake in the UK may actually be favourable to both them and their employers. However, it is worth noting that new migrant workers' stay in the UK is 'not state enforceable and their time horizon may indeed expand' (Anderson, 2010: 306).

It is therefore worth questioning the extent to which they will become fixed to a particular location, employer or type of occupation.

The 'Good Worker'

A common theme to emerge both anecdotally and within academic literature when considering CEE migrant workers has been the rhetoric of the 'good worker' (Dench et al, 2006; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Thompson et al 2012). A good attitude is one of the most important characteristics sought by employers (Mathews and Ruhs, 2007; Wickham et al 2008b). A key advantage of CEE nationals, according to employers, is their ability to fill vacancies where people shortages exist, and their strong work ethic (Anderson et al, 2006; Dench et al, 2006; Pemberton, 2008). Moriarty et al (2012) draw attention to the importance of the macro-economic context in which the recruitment of migrant workers takes place. The recruitment strategies of employers are examined during the Irish Celtic Tiger boom labour market, and the reasons why Irish employers pursued the strategy of employing migrant workers, as opposed to other strategies such as raising productivity, are explored. During the boom years it was evident that a more casualised approach to recruitment occurred, which favoured 'competences understood as attitude, work ethic and potential above traditional skills understood as education and qualifications' (Moriarty et al, 2012: 1885). Migrants became the favoured employees due to the new skills, particularly the soft skills they brought to the employment relationship. An important finding from the research was that informality in the recruitment process was not confined to low skilled occupations, but employers in software

and financial services, and higher skilled areas of construction, also employed less formal strategies.

In the Canadian labour market Bauder (2005) maintains that employers made cultural judgements and distinguished between certain groups of migrant workers. This intersects with migrant workers' 'corporal' (bodily) performances and 'embodied cultural capital', resulting in particular labour market outcomes for migrant workers (Samers, 2010). In this case segmentation involves more than just stereotypical views, and employers openly have specific traits they deem desirable for a particular job. In order to gain a job, migrants must follow employers' rules and look and dress for the role. Rather than viewing embodied cultural capital as something workers simply bring to the labour market, Bauder notes that it is dependent upon the interplay of employers' expectations and workers' performance in specific spatial contexts. Having the correct attitude is often crucial in semi- to low skilled occupations as little knowledge or previous experience is required, and much of what needs to be known can be learned from other employees. MacKenzie and Forde (2009: 150) illustrate that migrants were viewed as good workers with a strong work ethic, and in addition, were 'elevated above all others'. For Thompson et al (2012) this good work ethic of CEE migrant workers was related to their willingness to work long hours rather than them working harder or being more cooperative. The ability to work long hours and therefore earn good money is often one of the key reasons that migrant workers regard their current employment in this country as 'favourable' (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Both Anderson (2010) and Thompson et al (2012) recognise that at certain stages in migration, there

may be a degree of mutuality between the temporal requirements of certain labour markets or employers, and the temporal capacity of migrant workers. However, it is simplistic to assume that employment is therefore favourable for migrant workers. Perhaps poor pay in low skilled occupations compels migrants to work as many hours as possible in order to earn an acceptable income (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Thus, employers' demand for flexibility may actually mean compliant or easily exploited (Sumption and Somerville, 2009).

Another facet of the 'good worker' rhetoric is that the 'good work ethic' is argued to have an 'inbuilt obsolescence', and the returns gained from employing migrant workers will consequently reduce as they become established in the workplace and wider community (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). This will result in employers moving between successive groups of migrant workers to gain benefits. The idea that there are only two sectors in the labour market is therefore extremely simplistic, and it is vital to be aware of the numerous layers of groups in the secondary labour market and the way in which they are repeatedly replaced by employers (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Evidence by Pemberton and Stevens (2010) would appear to support this argument. They found that employers perceived non-EU economic migrant workers as becoming more likely than CEE staff to work long or anti-social hours because their position was less secure in the UK, and they couldn't access welfare support. Yet, it is argued that rather than having an in-built obsolescence: 'Their behaviour, like any wage labour is conditional on context and dynamics of power and legitimacy in the employment relationship' (Thompson et al, 2012:

14). Therefore, it is essential that the employment relationship is studied in-depth in order to explore some of these interesting issues further.

Migrant Workers' Motives and Aspirations

Recently, more studies have focused upon the diverse motives, opinions, experiences and aspirations that new migrant workers have of employment (Eade et al, 2006; Wickham et al 2008a; Wickham et al, 2008b; Wickham et al, 2009; Cook et al, 2010; Parutis, 2011; Thompson et al 2012). This highlights that people are not solely dependent upon economic gains (Conradson and Latham, 2005). Despite working in low skilled jobs, many new migrants are ambitious and motivated individuals who aimed to use their time in the UK to invest in their education and careers (Schnieder and Holman, 2005). Thompson et al (2012) highlight the importance of recognising migrant workers are not a homogenous category. Wickham et al (2008b, 2009) also draw attention to this when they argue that primary motive for many people to migrate was financial but there were also less straightforward instrumental reasons like adventure and travel. They then go on to make an important distinction between different types of new migrant workers. First there are *tumbleweeds,* that is people with aspirations that are unconnected to concrete plans of action. Second are *residents* who are committed to their current employer where they generally have a good job with reasonable pay and working conditions. This group has no desire to move jobs. Third there are *careerists* who view a job as a stepping stone to something better. They are ambitious, however their goals are often lower than tumbleweeds and they have explicit strategies to realise their goals. This is an extremely important distinction to make in terms of the diverse

experiences that different migrants may have in the UK. Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of Wickham et al's research is the choice of methodology. A key element of this includes the study of migrants' life histories, which shall enable the researcher to examine the succession of jobs occupied by migrants, providing a deeper insight into the way in which their aspirations and motivation are realised.

English language skills are viewed as an important way that new migrant workers can exercise their agency and be more successful in the UK labour market (Cook et al, 2010). Moreover, learning English can promote integration and mobility within the labour market (Cook et al, 2010; Parutis, 2011). Many CEE workers view their occupation in the UK as a means of improving their language skills and accessing higher skilled work (Pemberton and Stevens, 2010). However, new migrants often work entirely among CEE workers, which may limit their ability to learn English and interact with British workers, despite having a strong desire to learn English (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; EHRC, 2010). Paradoxically, a lack of English language skills often prevents the recruitment of CEE workers, whereas the acquisition of such skills had a detrimental effect on the retention of this group of workers (Pemberton and Stevens, 2010).

One of the key influences on the expectations that migrants have of employment is how long they expect to stay in the UK. Spencer et al (2007) argues that the long-standing lack of employment at home means that many new migrants have often settled in the UK for longer than they had previously intended. Yet, one of

the key findings in Schneider and Holman's (2009) study of A8 and A2 migrants in the East of England is the ambiguity and complexity in terms of migrant workers' length of stay in the UK. The majority of migrants have a 'let's see attitude' regarding this, even those who had been in the UK for four years or longer demonstrated this outlook. When considering migrants' decision to return home or not, it is evident that economic reasons are not always the dominant driver. Instead, personal or family reasons are often cited as the most important factor influencing this choice, even amongst migrants with the poorest pay (Pollard, et al, 2008). The three most important reasons for leaving include: missing home (thirty six percent), leaving to be with family members (twenty nine per cent) and finally sixteen percent had always intended to leave when they had saved enough money. This highlights that while money is an important issue for many migrants, personal and family issues are equally important.

Furthermore, Schneider and Holman (2009: 49) list numerous factors that have a connection between migrants' intended length of stay in the East of England, including: marital status, arrival time in the UK, employment barriers and aspirations. Firstly, migrants in a partnership were more likely to stay indefinitely and less likely to have a 'let's see' attitude than migrants who were single. Secondly, the longer migrants had stayed in the UK, the more likely they were to have a 'let's see' attitude. Thirdly, migrants who felt their skills were not being adequately utilised in their occupations were less likely to stay in the UK long-term or indefinitely. Fourthly, migrants who had career and educational aspirations in the UK were more likely to stay long term or

indefinitely. This highlights the way in which career and educational expectations and perceptions may influence the length of time migrant workers decide to stay in the UK.

3.4 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

It is important to recognise that employers in advanced industrial economies, like the UK, often require certain types of disposable labour. This was the case following the EU accession: cost minimisation and labour shortages in low skilled occupations were two of the main reasons employers required A8 migrant workers. In receiving countries like the UK, migrant workers are often segmented into low to semi-skilled occupations, and are viewed as a distinct source of labour for many employers. However, when considering the way in which migrant workers negotiate the labour market of receiving countries, it is imperative to consider their individual and collective agency, which Marxist and segmentation explanations often fail to emphasise. Migrant workers have diverse expectations, perceptions and aspirations that must be considered rather than viewing them as passive employees.

Three key themes have emerged from the literature on migrant workers, namely vulnerable and precarious workers, the rhetoric of the 'good worker' and migrant workers' motives and aspirations. The literature has taught us a great deal about migrant workers' experiences of employment in receiving countries like the UK, and has also explained why employers often have a preference for employing migrant workers. Yet, it is vital to note that focus is often placed

upon migrant workers (Rodriguez, 2004; Eade et al, 2006; Bach, 2007; Morgan and Finniear, 2009; Cook et al 2010; Parutis, 2011) or upon employers (Fellini *et al,* 2007; McGovern, 2007; Forde and MacKenzie, 2009; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Limited attention has been paid to the employment relationship and the exchange of expectations and obligations in this relationship. This is where this thesis marks a point of departure from existing debates. It is crucial to analyse the exchange of expectations and obligations between migrant workers and employers in the employment relationship. Therefore, the correct theoretical resources must be provided to enable an analysis of this nature. The subsequent chapter shall outline some theories that shall help explore the employment relationship in more depth.

CHAPTER 4: CONCEPTUALISING CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN WORKERS' EXPERIENCE OF THE SCOTTISH LABOUR MARKET AND THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP

From Chapter 2 it is evident that the region of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) has endured changes to the social, political and economic landscape over the past fifty years, which may partly account for the significant wave of migration to the UK. Chapter 3 followed on from this discussion by examining dual and segmented labour market and Marxist accounts. An important point made in this chapter is that emphasis must be placed upon the individual and collective agency of migrant workers, which Marxist and segmentation explanations often fail to do. Migrant workers have diverse expectations, perceptions and aspirations that must be considered rather than viewing them as passive employees. It is important to recognise that different migrants will have diverse experiences of employment in Scotland. Additionally, limited attention has been paid to the employment relationship of New Labour Migration (NLM) and the exchange of expectations and obligations between employers and migrant workers. Thompson et al (2012: 2) also make this point, arguing that 'migrant labour can only be studied effectively when a workplace context is added.' It is therefore essential that the employment relationship of NLM is studied by employing appropriate conceptual resources. This chapter aims to do this by examining career theory and mobility power, the psychological contract and the effort bargain. First, however, the main features of the employment relationship are outlined.

4.1 THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP UNDER CAPITALISM

Thompson (1989: 40) contends: 'The specific features of capitalism derive from the fact of the capitalist purchasing the various components of the labour process – the means of production and labour power – setting one to work on the other'. Under the capitalist labour system, the creative skill of labour is subjected to degradation in order to secure private accumulation of surplus value' (Marx, 1976). This surplus value provides the capitalist with profit, which makes the logic of accumulation possible. The logic of accumulation compels capital to constantly revolutionise the production process and cheapen the cost of production, which can be ascribed to the inherent competition between capitalists, and between capital and labour.

Key features of the employment relationship include: 'the effort–reward bargain, asymmetrical power, the commodity status of labour and the worker's economic interdependence with the employer, producing a relationship of structured antagonism and calculative cooperation (D'Art and Turner, 2006: 523). At its most basic level the employment relationship represents the buying and selling of labour power. However, it is a distinctive contract in that it is incomplete and can be ambiguous, and unlike other exchanges, it does not, and cannot, happen instantaneously (Edwards and Wajcman, 2007). A key manifestation of this is apparent when considering that employers can only purchase the capacity to work as opposed to a fixed, definite quantity or quality of labour: actual labour is only realised in the workplace. This is a fundamental

aspect of the effort bargaining process, which shall be examined later in the discussion. In order to overcome this indeterminacy of labour there is a control imperative, which will ensure the capitalist revolutionises the production process, hence securing surplus value (Thompson, 1990). Capital must maintain control in order to ensure that the labour process is transformed and developed, however it is vital to note that this control imperative does not take any specific form. As a result of the control imperative and requirement to maximise capital's side of the wage effort bargain, it is recognised that forms of conflict and resistance are prevalent in the capitalist mode of production. It is also imperative to note that there must also be some degree of cooperation between capital and labour. Mc Govern et al (2007: 15-16) assert:

> Contracts will contain some explicit provisions that detail certain employee obligations, but most elements have to remain implicit. Thus, employees place themselves under the command of employers, who then have to find ways to ensure that they pursue their interests... Incomplete and implicit contracts under conditions of information asymmetry matter because employees cannot be relied upon to promote employers' interests and vice versa. Both parties to the employment relationship have different interests and therefore employment relationships, and while they involve cooperative activity, are also potentially adversarial.

Clearly there is an inherent structured antagonism between labour and capital that is argued to be built into the fabric of the employment relationship (Edward,

1986; 1990). The structured antagonism does not determine what happens at the level of day-to-day behaviour, however it exerts distinct pressures. Edwards (1990) asserts that it is important to differentiate between conflict of interests and structured antagonism. The former implies that the interests of capital and labour are opposed, whereas a structured antagonism shapes how day-to-day relations are handled but is not something which feeds directly into the interests of the parties. The capitalist mode of production is inherently exploitative: capital exploits labour because workers are subordinate to capitalists or their agent, which creates the basis of structured antagonism between the two parties.

Organisations must discover ways to continue to extract a surplus; if they do not then both the organisation and their workers will suffer (Edwards and Wajacman, 2006). Balancing the needs of controlling workers and securing commitment rests ultimately on ensuring that a surplus continues to be generated. It may be in workers' interests that it is generated, but this should not disguise the fact that they are exploited. Employees and employers engage in struggles, which stem from the exploitative character of capital-labour relations. The term struggle, namely the activities of employers and workers concerning the frontier of control between them, is useful as it is a sign of continuous interactions around the extraction of effort:

> struggles are active and creative... They represent the working through of structural influences, they mediate effects from outside the capital-labour relation, and they have a dynamic and history – indeed, a logic – of their own: as they develop, they create

> understanding about how work shall be performed. The terms of the labour contract are not hammered out from scratch every day; in any workplace there are norms as to what is usual conduct. Struggles produce and reproduce these norms, and in so doing they develop logics of their own... To stress the indeterminacy of the labour contract is to emphasise the uncertainty of struggles. But indeterminacy is not complete, and systems of regulation permit some forms of behaviour and tend to rule out others (Edwards, 1990: 129-130).

The key aspects shaping the employment relationship have been outlined. It is now essential to consider career theory and mobility power.

4.2 CAREER THEORY AND MOBILITY POWER

Chapter 3 highlighted that the labour force is divided within advanced industrial economies, which results in migrant workers undertaking the unpleasant work, with the poorest pay and worst working conditions (Piore, 1979). This is the case with CEE nationals who are predominately well educated and/or experienced workers, however are employed in relatively poorly paid and low skilled occupations in the UK (Dench et al, 2006; Wickham et al, 2009; Anderson, 2010; Cook et al, 2010). Wickham et al. (2008a; 2008b) analyse the interactions between employers' strategies and migrants' careers in the Irish hospitality sector. A distinction was made between those migrants who viewed employment as simply a job, and those who see it as a career or means of

gaining vital experience, either in terms of learning a new language or work experience. This section builds upon this important distinction and analyses career theory and mobility power as potentially appropriate conceptual resources to analyse CEE workers' careers and labour market experiences in Scotland.

Career Theory

The concept of career can be traced back to research produced by the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920s. Social scientists here studied life histories of the local community, and were primarily concerned with social ecology, demography, urbanization and social deviance. The main objective of their research was to comprehend the way in which people construed their lives (Barley, 1989). In the late 1920s Shaw, and numerous other investigators at the Illinois Institute of Juvenile Research, embarked on a project where they collected the life histories of thousands of juvenile delinquents serving time in correctional institutions. Respondents were invited to write their life stories and then clarify the details in an interview. In 1931, Shaw wrote *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*, where he argued that an individual's life was determined by a series of relationships with significant others, which helped to establish their sense of self: he argued that the unfolding of an individual's life was bound to the contingencies of his social situation. Shaw concluded that delinquents' careers developed in a series of typical stages. The term career was frequently referred to by Shaw and other social scientists as a heuristic concept that was applicable to a wider range of situations than is typical of current usage

in both the management literature and in practice (Adamson et al, 1998). For example consider Shaw's (1930: 25) first mention of career in *Jackroller*:

> An important initial step in the study of a delinquent child is to procure a rather complete and accurate description of his delinquencies and other behavioural difficulties. Among other things, this description should show the specific offences in the order of their occurrence, the chronological age of the child at the time of each offence, the immediate circumstances in which each offence occurred, and the number of persons involved. It is especially important to know also the age of the child at the time of the onset of the delinquent career and the immediate circumstances surrounding the initial experience of the delinquency

The passage stresses the situational (the social environment); relational (represented by an individual's interactions with significant others in the workplace); and the chronological (the *moving* perspective of time) themes that were later to be associated with the emergence of career as a formal sociological concept. Each theme is as relevant to contemporary notions of work career as they are to the career concept generally (Adamson et al, 1998). It is essential to utilise each of the aforementioned themes as a means of analysing those migrants who view their time in this country as a means of gaining vital experience for their careers. An important point to note is that the situational and relational elements might be influenced by A8 national status as migrants in this country. The way in which migrants view the workplace (the social

environment), and the relationships that they have, could be determined by experiences they have had of employment in their home countries. It is also worth noting that the chronological element may also be influenced by CEE workers' status as migrants, in that their time in the country may be viewed as temporary.

Adamson et al (1998) contend that the career may have many meanings for individuals: it may be the means through which basic economic needs are satisfied; it could provide a sense of social status or social worth; the career may, symbolically, or literally represent an individual's 'life dream' (Levinson *et al.*, 1978), offering structure, direction, meaning and purpose to one's daily activities. However, a crucial point is that the career 'journey' does not have meaning without some ordering of work experiences over time, or some logic to the linkages between successive positions occupied over time. Arthur et al (1989) define a career as 'the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time'. Central to this definition is the theme of time, along which the career provides a 'moving perspective' (Hughes, 1958: 67) on the unfolding interaction between a person and society. For CEE nationals, their time in Scotland would have to be viewed as a way of gaining specific skills related to their job or as a way of progressing in an organisation, to be viewed as part of their overall career trajectory. A career is not merely a job, rather it is something which embraces notions of development and logical progression. Some migrants may simply view their job in Scotland as a means of making money. In this case career theory would not adequately explain their expectations and experiences of employment.

Careers are often viewed as an all-encompassing and explicit mechanism for the effective management of human resources, which allows organisations to negotiate implicitly employment contracts at the subjective level. The notion of a career links matters internal to the individual with matters external, such as those concerning official positions (Goffman, 1961). Careers therefore reflect the relationships between people and the providers of official positions, namely institutions or organisations, and how these relationships alter over time. Considerations of the career in this manner are perhaps more related to those migrants who wish to develop their career within a particular organisation. Career theory is also utilised within this research as a way of explaining migrants who want to gain skills relevant to their career, regardless of the organisation.

As work can be conceived as a social activity, to 'have a career' implies more than an exchange of labour for money. The term 'career' implies a 'route', which has both direction and purpose. Therefore, it is important to examine the direction and purpose of new migrant workers' career 'journeys'. The career is an extremely useful concept to analyse the linkages between new migrant workers' work experience in CEE and the UK. Moreover, it is possible to determine the extent to which this experience is related to future aspirations. However, it is also of great importance to consider the interactions between new migrant workers' careers and employers' strategies. The following section shall build upon this and consider the concept of mobility power.

Mobility Power

Smith (2006: 390) notes that indeterminacy is the theoretical key to understanding antagonism in the employment relationship, as ‘it addresses the structural absence within the capitalist employment contract of a mutual agreement between the two parties over the magnitude of work effort required in exchange for wages’. This can be termed production indeterminacy and relates to the effort bargain, which shall be considered in greater depth further in the discussion. However, Smith (2006) argues there is another type of indeterminacy, which recognises that a worker can quit one employer and move to another and this can be a source of conflict and negotiation between workers and employers (p290). Mobility power consists of ‘strategies by employers over labour movement and retention, selection, reward and career development. For workers, mobility power is manifest in the time involved with network building, the resources used at work for the planning of job moves, and the use of mobility threats to create strategic rewards’. This provides a ‘terrain of strategy and tactics, which could influence not only the length of stay in any workplace, but the nature of work’ (Smith, 2010: 269).

This concept is argued to be useful when considering new migrant workers' careers, and labour market opportunities and constraints. An important aspect of CEE workers' labour market experiences in the UK are the ‘tough choices and trade-offs’ they often make (Spencer et al, 2007: 23). These can be in the form of tolerating poor work and conditions due to the economic advantage, skills and experience gained and, importantly, the perceived temporary nature of their employment (Piore, 1979; Anderson et al 2006; Ruhs, 2006; Spencer et al

2007). As mentioned earlier in the chapter, CEE migrants are often ambitious and motivated individuals who aimed to use their time in the UK to invest in their education and careers (Schnieder and Holman, 2005). There are many ways that CEE workers can exercise their labour power within the UK. English language skills are viewed as an important way that people can exercise their agency and be more successful in the labour market (Cook et al, 2010). This is related to what Smith (2010) terms *the conversion question,* and the variability and plasticity of labour power. When an employer hires an employee it is possible to train and retain them and workers can learn new skills and qualifications and 'transform themselves and their "utility" repeatedly over a working life cycle' (Smith, 2010: 280). Additionally, migrant networks are a way that migrant workers can demonstrate their labour power. Yet, it is vital to note that networks frequently act as a means of segregating migrant workers into low paid and low skilled occupations. Smith (2010: 276) contends that labour power can be stored socially in social networks, however, 'such stores are "fictive" and vulnerable because labour power is not "property" like capital and the need to animate labour power through the labour process in order to secure exchange/realisation (and wages) forever requires labour power to seek out capital'. Therefore, it is essential to view labour power as moving and dynamic 'with mobility-capability that means it is not actually a resource of the individual firm, but the worker' (280). It is also important to note that labour power is structured through the life cycle of workers (Smith, 2010). Therefore the age, and importantly the life-stage of people, will have important implications for the way in which they exercise and realise their labour power. Attention is drawn to the fact that capital is not fixed naturally, however it does

gain a certain degree of fixity. Labour power on the other hand can obtain fixity by undertaking a particular occupation or skill (task fixity), or by working for a specific employer for a number of years (temporal fixity), or through being located in a community (place fixity) (Smith, 2010: 270). Some migrant workers may have a particular advantage over the local labour force as they do not wish to be fixed to place or employer in the UK. Therefore, they may be more willing and able to move to different locations in search of employment.

At this point it is essential to consider the mobility power of organisations, and consider this in relation to the employment of CEE workers. As mentioned in Chapter 3, migration has been viewed as a response to labour shortages, which occur during times of prosperity. As the economy expands, local workers gradually move to better paying, higher status jobs, which then, in turn, creates labour shortages in certain sectors of employment (Piore, 1979). Employers are then faced with the choice of raising wages, replacing labour with capital, or recruiting foreign workers. Recruiting foreign workers is the easiest and cheapest alternative (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Piore, 1979). This appears to be the case with CEE workers who have become an important source of labour in many sectors of the economy, and have filled jobs that domestic workers were unwilling to undertake due to the nature of the work (Taylor and Rogaly, 2004, Dench et al, 2006; Pemberton, 2008). Clearly, certain sectors of employment were struggling to recruit workers and thus had mobility power problems. The expansion of the EU provided an opportunity to draw upon a new source of labour and increase the flow of labour coming into the organisation. Many employers therefore targeted this group of workers.

The consideration of career theory and mobility power is a useful means of considering the way in which CEE workers and employers negotiate the labour market in the UK. Career theory is also anticipated to piece together migrant workers' experiences of employment both in CEE and in the UK, which is essential given that people are moving from one country to another to find work. The subsequent section considers two concepts deemed appropriate to analyse the employment relationship of NLM.

4.3 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT

New migrant workers' work experience in CEE, their experience of migration and the nature of work undertaken in the UK may result in people having distinct expectations and obligations in the employment relationship. Chapter 3 highlighted the key themes to emerge when considering the occupations that migrants work in: breaches of health and safety, low pay, long and irregular working hours, lack of training and loss of accommodation where this was coupled with employment (de Lima and Wright, 2009). Moreover, Wright and Pollert (2006) found discrimination in the labour market and employment is one of four features that differentiates ethnic minority and migrant workers' experience of employment. It may, therefore, be reasonable to assume that CEE workers will have a distinct experience of the employment relationship. Thus, it is essential to employ the correct conceptual resources to help interrogate this, namely the psychological contract.

The psychological contract is generally viewed as an exploratory framework for analysing the employment relationship (Shore and Tetrick, 1994), and is often utilised to understand employees' and employers' attitudes and behaviours. The construct's origins can be traced back to the work of Barnard (1938), March and Simon (1958), Menniger (1958), Argyris (1960), Levinson et al. (1962) and Schien (1965). Since Rousseau's (1989) seminal article there has been a wealth of research into the psychological contract. However, there have been several important critiques regarding the literature (Arnold, 1996; Conway, 1996; Guest, 1998; Conway and Briner, 2004; Cullaine and Dundon, 2006). Conway and Briner (2005) contend that although there has been a great deal of research activity, it has not often been utilised in a comprehensive manner, and many features of the construct have been ignored or overlooked. Additionally, the psychological contract is consistent with a unitarist outlook, which is not complimentary with the labour process perspective adopted in this thesis. However:

> the psychological contract and its attention to social exchange does not have to be a monolithic unitarist construct. Arguably, in the hands of more critical analysis and discourse, it might well have additional value and empirical utility. Indeed, the very opacity and imprecision that we have examined means it might well be amendable to more pluralistic and critical approaches (Cullaine and Dundon, 2006: 125).

This section shall provide a critical commentary of the psychological contract, while considering the ways in which the construct shall be applied in this research.

The literature on the psychological contract has expanded considerably since Rousseau's seminal paper in 1990, however the roots of the concept can be traced back to social exchange theory (Blau, 1964). From the literature it is apparent that there is no consensus in defining the construct; rather there are a multitude of definitions, which consist of: 'a variety of material and non-material incentives… in return for their behaviour during the time of their employment' (March and Simon, 1958: 90), mutual expectations (Levinson *et al.,* 1962), implicit contract (Kotter, 1973), unwritten set of expectations (Schien, 1980), reciprocal exchange agreement of reciprocal obligations (Rousseau, 1989), set of obligations implied in the employment relationship (Herriot and Pemberton, 1997). The construct has evidently been conceptualised in numerous ways, with many researchers offering new definitions, or adapting existing ones with little consideration for alternative views (Roehling, 1996). Such diversity in defining the concept may lead to confusion in identifying the key attributes, which will impact on the way in which research is conducted. If each study measures different aspects of the psychological contract, it may be complex to evaluate the construct or draw comparisons between studies and there may be problems regarding the uniformity of the construct.

In her highly influential article, Rousseau described the term psychological contract as follows: 'The term psychological contract refers to an *individual's*

beliefs regarding the terms and conditions of a reciprocal exchange agreement between the focal person and another party. Key issues here include the *belief that a promise has been made* and a consideration offered in exchange for it, binding the parties to some set of *reciprocal obligations'* (Rousseau, 1989: 123) (Italics added). This statement reveals some key insights into the way in which Rousseau views the construct, and therefore, the way in which she has conducted her research. Firstly, Rousseau explicitly differentiates between conceptualisations of the psychological contract at the level of the individual, and the level of relationship (Roehling, 1997). It is evident that Rousseau's research is conducted at the individual level of analysis, and not as Argyris (1960) asserts as an agreement between parties. The majority of research concerning the psychological contract, which was published prior to 1988, has adopted this focus on the individual (Robinson *et al.,* 1994; Morrison and Robinson, 1997; Turnley and Feldman, 1999). Secondly, Rousseau (1990: 309) also emphasises the word promises: 'psychological contracts differ from the more general concept of expectations in that contracts are promissory and reciprocal'. Earlier definitions of the psychological contract contained beliefs regarding expectations (Levinson *et al.,* 1962; Schien, 1965; Kotter, 1973); however Rousseau's (1989) conceptualisation differed from this, as she stressed the importance of promissory based obligations. Roehling (1997) contends that prior to Rousseau, it had not been suggested that promises were the basis for the beliefs that comprise the construct. By employing the word promise, Rousseau stressed that some kind of a 'contractual agreement' was taking place, highlighting the reciprocal nature of the contract, and that parties will be bound to each other by such promises. The majority of research has maintained the

promissory focus (Rousseau and McLean Parks, 1993; Guzzo et al, 1994; Robinson, 1995). Thirdly, the use of the word obligation indicates that the terms of the contract are influenced by, to a certain extent, the actions and promises of another party (Rousseau, 1989). This is opposed to definitions that include expectations, which imply that the psychological contract is formed by the beliefs, values and desires of one party.

It is therefore essential, at this stage, to clearly specify the main components of the psychological contract employed in this study. In keeping with earlier definitions of the psychological contract (Levinson et al., 1962; Schien, 1965; Kotter, 1973), this research focuses upon new migrant workers' and employers' *expectations* and *obligations* in employment. An important point made by Conway (1996) is that expectations, promises and obligations all imply different levels of psychological engagement and are not comparable. Therefore, it is essential to unpick the reasons for adopting or rejecting each term. Whilst the reciprocal nature of the psychological contract is not disputed in this thesis, it was felt that employing the word promise would invoke notions of an explicit contractual agreement and mutuality. The word promise is, therefore, deemed too strong. Moreover, Guest (1998) contends that in employing the promissory form of implied contract advocated by Rousseau (1989; 1995) it may become similar to the conventional employment contract, particularly for newcomers to an organisation. It is worth noting that reciprocity in the psychological contract is not doubted. It is believed that new migrant workers have expectations of their managers, and in return feel obliged to perform certain work and employment related duties and likewise for management. This thesis focuses

upon the extent to which each party's expectations and obligations matched. For example, if new migrant workers expected progression, did management deem this to be an important obligation to them? In other words was there a match between employers' expectations and employees' obligations on the one hand, and employees' expectations and employers' obligations on the other.

Extant research views the psychological contract as an individual-level subjective phenomenon, which exists only 'in the eye of the beholder' (Rousseau, 1989: 123). This view implies that there is no consensus of opinion between groups of workers as to what the psychological contract entails: each employee can possess an entirely different psychological contract from the next. The majority of research concerning the psychological contract, which was published prior to 1988, has adopted this focus on the individual (Robinson et al., 1994; Morrison and Robinson, 1997; Turnley and Feldman, 1999). Yet, Boxhall and Purcell (2003) argue if the psychological contract is entirely subjective and constructed only in the head of the individual employee, it cannot in any meaningful way be considered 'contractual'. The word contract assumes a degree of mutual consent between parties, and this is not consistent with the conceptualisation of the psychological contract as an individual, subjective construct (Cullaine and Dundon, 2006: 122). Moreover, a contract implies that both parties have come into the agreement equally and freely, and consent is required to alter the terms and conditions of the contract. Yet,

> Employment contracts are rarely made amongst equals, nor are they explicitly negotiated and agreed in the same way as buying a

> house or car. In entering into a relationship with an employer, for the majority of employees, it means that they become subordinate to their employers' power and authority because it is employers who control and direct the productive resources of the enterprise (Cullaine and Dundon, 2006: 122).

Moreover, this inequality in the employment relationship has implications for the way in which unvoiced expectations are communicated and understood (Cullaine and Dundon, 2006). Conway and Briner (2005) state if the psychological contract is predominantly a subjective construct then conducting an analysis at the individual level is appropriate. Conversely, if it involves agreement across and between parties, then analysis at a relational level is more suitable. It is argued that in certain circumstances, groups of workers can share aspects of their psychological contract (Freese and Schalk, 1996). In this case, due to their experiences of migration, status as migrant workers, and work experience in low to semi-skilled occupations, new migrant workers are analysed at group level, as opposed to individual level.

This focus upon the individual by psychological contract researchers has also contributed to the failure to recognise that there are two parties in the exchange. Guest (1998) contends that in neglecting the employers' perspective researchers are misrepresenting the core of the psychological contract; that it is the reciprocal obligations between two parties. A more suitable definition of the psychological contract is the perceptions of both parties in the employment relationship of the expectation and obligations implied in that relationship.

There is often debate within the psychological contract literature regarding the extent to which an employees' psychological contract is formed by factors internal or external to the organisation. Looking back to earlier research, psychological contracts were thought to be shaped, to a large extent, by experiences that pre-date an employees' new or current employment relationship (Levinson et al. 1962; Schein, 1980). However, more recent contributions (Rousseau and Greller, 1994; Morrison and Robinson, 1997) consider the organisation to be predominantly responsible for affecting the psychological contract. The view held here is that, due to the nature of the employment relationship studied, CEE workers' experiences in CEE shall have a reasonable impact on the nature of their expectations and obligations of employment in this country. This is not to detract from the influence that the organisation exerts, which is viewed as having the greatest impact upon the formation of the psychological contract. The point stressed is that the influence of migrants' experience of employment in their home countries could be a determinant of the nature of their perceptions of employment. However, their perceptions may alter as their employment experience within this country develops.

Breach

When assessing the way in which the psychological contract affects the feelings, attitudes and behaviours of employees, one of the main themes to emerge in psychological contract research has been the concept of breach. Breach is 'borrowed' from legal contracts where one of the parties fail to meet the

contract terms, and occurs ‘when one party in a relationship perceives another to have failed to fulfil promised obligation(s)’ (Robinson and Rousseau, 1994: 247). This is the opposite of fulfilment, which invokes strong notions of promises. An important point is to distinguish breach from the similar concept of violation (Robinson and Rousseau, 1994). The key point to note is that breach involves perceptions of discrepancies between what has been promised and what has been received, whereas violation encompasses the emotional reaction attributed to perceptions of discrepancies (Conway and Briner, 2005).

The concept of breach like the psychological contract is subjective and is based upon perceptions as opposed to actual agreements (Conway and Briner, 2005). This thesis differs from the majority of research on the psychological contract because expectations and obligations are argued to comprise the conceptualisation of the psychological contract, and not promises. Therefore, claims cannot be made that the contract has been breached. For breach to occur, this implies that a promise has been broken, and this differs from an unmet expectation. Moreover, breach is a common area of research within the psychological contract literature, however there is little understanding of the cause and effects of breach. An important point is that if employees perceive there to have been a breach of their psychological contract, this could be false expectations rather than management failing to meet promises (Cullaine and Dundon, 2006). Furthermore, ‘models of the psychological contract may be seeking to measure the unattainable, and what is lacking here is not so much that managers fail to deliver on some unspecified deal, but “how” and “why”

employees come to perceive and interpret managerial expectations and behaviours in the first place.' (p11). Conway and Briner (2005: 87) assert:

> One possible explanation is that, at its core, the breach idea is about an *event:* a specific and particular thing that happens at a point in time. The approaches taken to explain the effects of breach, such as fairness or unmet explanations, are not conceptualised or researched in terms of events. Rather, they are construed, like many constructs in organizational psychology, as perceptions or attitudes, held more or less strongly, varying in strength between individuals. These approaches do little to help us understand how events such as breach occur and the likely effects of such events. Furthermore, events can probably best be understood in the context of ongoing processes, which is also at odds with most approaches within organisational psychology. It seems to be the case that the idea of breach as an event-based phenomenon has presented researchers with problems that are simply not solvable using traditional research ideas and methods.

A great deal of literature on breach find that managers do not meet their side of the bargain, which is attributed to a failure by management, and to some extent the pressures of the market. Cullaine and Dundon (2006) argue that this explanation is incomplete and does not consider the deeper issues related to political and economic power. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Thompson (1989: 40) contends: 'The specific features of capitalism derive from the fact of

the capitalist purchasing the various components of the labour process – the means of production and labour power – setting one to work on the other'. Under the capitalist labour system, the creative skill of labour is subjected to degradation in order to secure private accumulation of surplus value (Marx, 1976). This surplus value provides the capitalist with profit, which makes the logic of accumulation possible. The logic of accumulation compels capital to constantly revolutionise the production process and cheapen the cost of production, which can be ascribed to the inherent competition between capitalists and capital and labour. Key features of the employment relationship include 'the effort–reward bargain, asymmetrical power, the commodity status of labour and the worker's economic interdependence with the employer, producing a relationship of structured antagonism and calculative cooperation (D'Art and Turner, 2006: 523). These features of the capitalist economy shall influence the expectation, perceptions and obligations that employers and employees have in the employment relationship. Cullaine and Dundon (2006: 125) contend that 'the underlying problem with the psychological contract literature is its neglect of a consideration of the design of the employment relationship under capitalism, and the possible influences arising from structural factors and institutional inertia'. This is why the conceptualisation employed in this study is favourable due to the recognition of the dynamics of capitalism and the way in which it influences the employment relationship. The next section considers the other aspect of the employment relationship, which focuses specifically on the sphere of work, the effort bargain.

4.4 THE EFFORT BARGAIN

A common theme to emerge both anecdotally and within academic literature, when considering CEE migrant workers, has been the rhetoric of the 'good worker' (Dench et al, 2006; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Thompson et al, 2012). In order to analyse this and focus upon the sphere of wok, the effort bargain shall be considered. This conceptual resource is primarily concerned with the levels of effort expended in work and the issues apparent in bargaining process between management and workers.

The term effort bargain was first used by Hilde Brehend (1957) and popularised by Baladamus (1961) in relation to the competing rationalities held by management and employees regarding work. A fundamental motivation for Baladamus' study was to enhance the current approach to industrial organisation by analysing the concept of efficiency and effort. He argued that industrial administration is a complex network of managerial controls over the wage-earners' effort. The social factors that underpin the motivation to work were outlined by Baladamus, and he argued that if supported by moral attitudes acquired throughout childhood, some motives may become relatively stable. Such motives then develop into habitually maintained standards and norms of conduct, which may be difficult to alter despite a change in circumstances. Obligations to work are considered a dominant factor, which offers a measure of stability to industrial organisations, however the effects on effort expectations are remote and diffuse. The standardisation of effort in the course of prolonged and unvaried activities is another stabilising element. It is argued that this

explains the existence of surprisingly rigid standards of required effort in the context of industrial administration. The contents of these standards are expectations among wage earners and managers as to what is right and wrong, too much or too little effort intensity, which prescribes the wage earners' conduct. Wage and effort expectations are therefore intertwined through this process. Baldamus also argued that the standardisation of effort values are the institutional basis that ensures predictability and control of the wage earners' effort: 'It reveals a strange world of intricately mixed, highly organised, and yet morally compulsive expectations... it can easily be shown that, independent of the method of wage payment, the interlocking of standardised effort and wage expectations in the form of effort values governs the entire realm of administrative controls within the institution of employment' (Baldamus, 1961; 125-6).

The lack of precision of the employment contract and formal wage is an important reason for the existence of bargaining opportunities over the amount of effort expended in work (Behrend, 1988). This lack of precision may give rise to conflicting views held by management and workers as to what constitutes a fair day's work. Smith (2006: 390) contends: 'The contract to sell labour power is open-ended, subject to the direction of employers (or supervisory labour) to enforce or create through consent, a definite measure of output from workers over a definite period of time'. Simon (1957) has argued that an important aspect of the employment contract is that the worker agrees to accept the authority of the employer to select a given set of tasks for him or her. This results in some aspects of workers' behaviour being stipulated in contract terms,

while others are placed within the authority of the employer, and other aspects are left to the worker. He then went on to liken the acceptance of a job to the signing of a blank cheque, in that by accepting the authority of the employer, the employee agrees to do what he or she is told to do. In theory this means that it is up to management to decide what constitutes a fair day's work, however in practice the employee is often given a degree of freedom as to the amount of work he or she will do. Another important point is that workers are generally aware, in advance of starting a job, how much wages they shall be paid, however the amount of labour effort required is not so clear. Therefore, labour power is best viewed as indeterminate as the exact amount of effort expected cannot be stipulated prior to the worker engaging in work. Karlsson (2012) discusses two additional aspects of the production indeterminacy. Firstly, formal and informal agreements between management and workers are subject to change and are also conditional. Secondly, employers often have limited and incomplete knowledge of the detailed aspects of the labour process. Therefore, only workers are aware of the best way in which to undertake their job.

Furthermore, effort is not a substance that can be measured, as it is a subjective experience and only the product of effort, that is output, can be measured (Brehend, 1988): 'Output effort combines physical, social and psychological elements for the worker, and employers operate within all these dimensions to ensure that the working day is as productive as possible. The objective of work effort for workers and employers consists of different strategies for maximizing wages, productivity, and social benefits' (Smith, 2006: 391). This, it is argued, presents a real dilemma for managers because judgements of the change in

effort can only be made by the individual who carries out the task. The difference, however, cannot be defined quantitatively but can be distinguished by different intensities of effort per unit of time. This means that the rightness of an effort standard in an effort bargain can only be established after the event and must accommodate the judgement of the workers, which provides workers with a degree of power in the effort bargain. Roy (1951) illustrated the way in which workers made distinctions between different experiences of effort in work by discussing three types of jobs: the 'gravy' job, where earnings could be made with little effort; the 'ordinary' job, where reasonable earnings could be obtained with normal effort; and the 'stinker' where it was not possible to make reasonable earnings, however great the effort. The ability to discriminate different standards of effort makes it possible for management and workers to bargain about effort intensity, highlighting the importance of the effort bargain. It is essential to analyse the way in which migrants and management bargain over the intensity of effort in the workplace, and the extent to which migrants' perceptions of effort are shaped by their status of migrant workers. This shall help assess the extent to which new migrant workers are 'good workers'.

Clearly a crucial aspect of the effort bargain is that labour power comes from human beings, and this is why there are indeterminacies and bargaining opportunities in the employment relationship. Karlsson (2012) argues that human labour power contains two important, yet contradictory elements. Firstly, labour power is beneficial as it has 'the power of initiative, skill, adaptability and creativity that employers can make use of' (Karlsson, 2012: 11). Secondly, labour power is disadvantageous as it is 'held by people with a will of their own

and who do not at all, perhaps, want to direct their capacities towards what their employer wants' (p11). Therefore, conflict is a more natural outcome of the labour process than cooperation. Human labour power brings a diverse range of needs and expectations to the employment relationship, which influences the effort bargain. According to Hodson (2001: 266) 'The struggle over the specifics of the effort bargain and the details of work practices is thus the lifeblood of the organisation'. An important example of such a struggle is the quest for dignity in work:

> In the workplace, dignity is realized through countless small acts of resistance against abuse and an equally strong drive to take pride in one's daily work. Even where abuse is commonplace and chaos and mismanagement make pride in accomplishment difficult, workers still find ways to create meaning in work and to work with dignity... Working with dignity requires purposeful, considered, and creative efforts on the parts of workers as they confront workplaces that deny their dignity and infringe on their wellbeing (Hodson, 2001: 3).

Dignity is crucial for work to 'be meaningful and satisfying.... At the same time, the dignity of workers often conflicts with the economic demands of efficiency, productivity and profit'. (Karlsson, 2012: 3). Hodson's (2001) account of dignity in the workplace focuses predominantly around issues at the level of the effort bargaining process. He conceptualises the achievement of dignity at work as confronting four key challenges, namely mismanagement and abuse,

overwork, challenges to autonomy and contradictions of employee involvement. Dignity, it is argued, depends upon the realisation of agency, which includes job satisfaction, a liveable pace of work, and creativity and meaning in work (Hodson, 2001). Mismanagement is found to be the strongest predictor of all three aspects of worker agency, namely infighting, resistance and citizenship. Hodson (2001: 243) argues 'Mismanagement is extremely aggravating to employees and seriously undermines their enthusiasm for work and their vision of the workplace as a productive environment where they can meaningfully invest their time and energy'. Organisational demands are important constraints upon the creative attempts of workers in the pursuit of dignity. Workers, therefore, engage in 'conditionally autonomous performances in order to attain dignity, which includes resistance, citizenship, the creation of independent meaning systems and engagement in group relations at work' (Hodson, 2001: 20).

Hodson's framework is useful as it provides a good account of the way in which workers strive to create meaning and maintain their interests in work. It is evident that Hodson's (2001) framework has been important in giving recognition to the important ways in which workers exercise their agency in work and employment. However, Newsome et al (2009:148) outline two fundamental flaws. First the 'dynamics of workplace behaviour' are questionable. Hodson, they argue, reverses conventional notions of worker agency in that worker action to create meaning and dignity are at the forefront and management action is viewed as the reaction and challenge to them. Second, Newsome et al argue that Hodson's conceptualisation of dignity places

it as separate from the employment relationship by viewing work as another way in which people can gain and defend their dignity. Moreover,

> By partially abstracting dignity from the dynamics of the employment relationship, Hodson's framework overestimates the capacity for common interests within work... Repeatedly, by neglecting and inadequately explaining managerial agency, the analysis underestimates the structural, market constraints on "normal" companies providing good work and dignified employment. (Newsome et al, 2009: 149).

As analysing the employment relationship of NLM is the fundamental problematic of this thesis, it is essential that dignity is studied as an integral element of the employment relationship. Moreover, it is important to consider the diverse interests that different actors in the employment relationship have, whilst recognising the constraints faced by employers, which may impact upon their ability to provide dignified work.

Given the variety of interests that labour market actors bring to the employment relationship, how workers' capacity to work is transformed into actual work effort will always be problematic. The effort bargain is best described as a combination of management and workers' efforts employed to ensuring workers' effort during the working day is maximised within rules of fairness (Smith, 2006). An important issue when considering NLM is the way in which these 'rules of fairness' and effort standards are affected by CEE national status

as migrants. Workers and employers utilise different strategies for maximising wages, productivity, social benefits and dignity in work. The concept of the effort bargain helps us to understand this process by focusing on the experience of work, particularly on rival conceptions of the fairness and efficiency of efforts and rewards. It will be useful to analyse migrants' and employers' perceptions of the balance between efforts and rewards to ascertain the extent to which there is a match, as anecdotal evidence would suggest. Dignity is a useful concept when considering some of the diverse expectations and interests that new migrant workers may have of work. However, attention should also be paid to the diverse interests that employers have in the employment relationship.

4.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The literature review has sought to deliver an insight into CEE workers' experience of the UK labour market, whilst providing conceptual resources to analyse the employment relationship. Chapter 2 opened the discussion by offering the reader a contextual insight into the process of transition in the CEE region. It is anticipated that this chapter shall enable the reader to understand some of the key changes that occurred in CEE, and may also help explain why such a large number of new migrant workers came to the UK to work.

The aim of Chapter 3 was to examine the literature on new migrant workers in the UK. The discussion began by considering dual and segmented labour markets and Marxist accounts. The literature on new migrant workers in the UK highlighted that CEE nationals are predominately well educated and/or

experienced workers, however in the UK they are employed in relatively poorly paid and low skilled occupations (Dench et al, 2006; Wickham et al, 2009; Anderson, 2010; Cook et al, 2010). Within the literature on migration it became apparent that a great deal of attention has been placed upon migrant workers (Rodriguez, 2004; Eade et al, 2006; Bach, 2007; Morgan and Finniear, 2009; Cook et al 2010; Parutis, 2011) and also upon employers (Fellini et al, 2007; McGovern, 2007; Forde and MacKenzie, 2009; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Therefore, limited attention has been paid to the employment relationship and the exchange of expectations and obligations. Thompson et al (2012:2) also make this point, arguing that 'migrant labour can only be studied effectively when a workplace context is added, primarily because this allows an examination of orientations *at* as well as *to* work.' It is therefore essential that the employment relationship of NLM is studied by employing the correct theoretical resources. Career theory and mobility power, the psychological contract and effort bargain were identified as the most appropriate conceptual resources to study the employment relationship of NLM. The psychological contract was employed in order to examine the expectations and obligations that employers and CEE workers bring to the employment relationship. Yet, it is worth questioning the extent to which the psychological contract of NLM is distinctive. New migrant workers' experiences of employment in CEE may have a reasonable impact on the nature of their expectations of, and obligations to, employers in this country. Moreover, Wright and Pollert (2006) found discrimination in the labour market and employment is one of four features that differentiates ethnic minority and migrant workers' experience of employment.

It may, therefore, be reasonable to assume that CEE workers will have a distinct psychological contract.

A common theme to emerge both anecdotally and within academic literature, when considering CEE migrant workers, has been the rhetoric of the 'good worker' (Dench et al, 2006; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Thompson et al 2012). The perceived attitude of the worker has been an important consideration for employers. Yet, Thompson et al (2012) argued that migrant workers are 'good when they want to be': 'Their behaviour, like any wage labour is conditional on context and dynamics of power and legitimacy in the employment relationship' (14). Therefore, it is essential that the employment relationship is studied in depth in order to explore some of these interesting issues further.

Therefore, the research questions are:

- To analyse the interaction between employers' use of migrant labour and new migrant workers' experiences of employment, in terms of opportunities and constraints to their career trajectory
- To determine if new migrant workers and employers have distinctive obligations, expectations and experiences of the employment relationship by analysing their psychological contract
- To examine the extent to which new migrant workers can be viewed as willing workers by examining the effort bargaining process

It is worth noting that each concept may be related to one another, and there may be times when aspects of one concept can influence elements of another. For example, expectations that new migrant workers have in their psychological contract may influence the nature of their effort bargain and career aspirations.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The research objectives set at the beginning of the thesis, and the key issues to emerge from the literature review, have helped shape the research questions that shall be explored in the empirical fieldwork. Within this chapter it has been argued that focus must be placed upon the employment relationship when studying NLM. Four main areas were argued to conceptualise the employment relationship of NLM, namely career theory and mobility power, the psychological contract and effort bargain. The next chapter, the methodology, considers and justifies the research strategy that has been adopted in this thesis.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

The focus of this chapter is to outline the research methodology employed in the thesis. The chapter begins by explaining the benefits of critical realism for the research problematic and the resultant methodological implications of this research philosophy. Following on from this, the research focus will be reiterated and research questions shall be considered. This leads onto the rationale for the research design, which encompasses case studies, with focus groups and semi-structured interviews. The chapter concludes by examining the fieldwork undertaken and the data analysis techniques employed in the study.

5.1 PHILOSOPHICAL POSITION AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

This section explains why this thesis is placed within the critical realist tradition and the implications for the methodology. The development of critical realism can be attributed to Roy Bhaskar (1978, 2008), who argued for a general philosophy of science that was termed transcendental realism and a philosophy of the social science called critical naturalism. [1] The two terms are combined to

[1] Transcendental realism maintains and reconciles both the transitive and intransitive aspects of science. The objects of knowledge are regarded as structures and mechanisms that generate phenomena, whilst the knowledge produced is through the social activity of science. While critical naturalism is:

‘a qualified anti-positivist naturalism, based on an essentially realist view of science. Such a naturalism holds that it is possible to give an account of science under which the proper and more or less specific methods of both the natural sciences can fall. But it does not deny that there are significant differences in these methods, grounded in real

form critical realism, which is an approach to the philosophy of science that takes a stance against both positivism and relativist accounts like social constructivism and variants of postmodernism.

Philosophical Position

Bhaskar (2008: 30) critiques the empiricist ontology for being comprised only of the category of experience, arguing: ‘The possibility of our knowing is not an essential property and so it cannot be a defining characteristic of the world’. In differentiating between mechanisms, events and experiences, Bhaskar (2008) highlights three different and overlapping domains of reality: the real, the actual and the empirical. The empirical zone consists of what we experience directly or indirectly and is detached from the actual domain where events happen whether we experience them or not. This sphere is in turn separate from the real domain, which is comprised of the mechanisms that produce events in the world. This observation of the third domain of reality is what distinguishes critical realism from other forms of realism. As reality is argued to consist of different domains – the real, the actual and the empirical – it is essential to make ‘a leap... from manifest phenomena to generative mechanisms’ (Danermark et al 2002: 163).

The world, according to critical realism is comprised of entities, which possess causal powers and liabilities. Easton (2010: 120) contends ‘Objects, or more generally entities, provide the basic theoretical building blocks for critical realist explanation and can be things as organisations, people, relationships, attitudes,

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differences in their subject-matters and in the relationship in which their sciences stand to them’ (Bhaskar, 2008:4).

resources... They can be human, social or material, complex or simple, structured or unstructured'. The key entity that is of interest in this thesis is the employment relationship of New Labour Migration (NLM) and this section outlines the way in which the dynamic dimension of reality is explained by engaging in critical realist causal analysis. According to Sayer (1992: 104):

> A cause, from a critical realist perspective, is something different from a statistical co-variance. For positivists causation is about regularities amongst events, which are uncovered by assuming that social systems are closed. To question what causes something is 'to ask what "makes it happen", what "produces", "generates", "creates" or "determines" it, or, more weakly, what "enables" or "leads to" it'

Critical realists therefore assert that causation concerns the causal powers or liabilities of objects or relations, or their ways of acting or mechanisms (Danermark et al 2002; Sayer, 1992). An entity has the power it does due to its structures, and mechanisms exist and are what they are due to this structure; this is the nature of the object (Danermark et al, 2002). Some of the core components of the employment relationship include: career theory and mobility power, the psychological contract, 'the effort–reward bargain, asymmetrical power, the commodity status of labour and the worker's economic interdependence with the employer, producing a relationship of structured antagonism and calculative cooperation (D'Art and Turner, 2006: 523). It is imperative to note that powers and liabilities are always present whether or not

they are being exercised or suffered. As opposed to the internal and necessary relation between the nature of an entity and its causal powers and tendencies, the relationship between causal powers or mechanisms and their effects is external and contingent.[2]

In order to adequately describe the way in which a causal process functions it is essential to provide a qualitative description of the casual powers present, namely the key ones of interest, and those of the contextual phenomena (Sayer, 1992; 2004). It is vital to be aware that a mechanism can produce different results at different times and the same events can also have different causes. Therefore, we must go beyond the factual event by postulating and identifying the generative mechanisms that made the event possible (Danermark et al, 2002). Transfactual questioning like this works with structural and causal analysis involving both abstract and concrete studies.

Additionally, it is imperative to note that the universe, according to critical realism, is differentiated, structured and stratified. Mechanisms belong to different layers of reality, which are hierarchically organised. The employment relationship of NLM is comprised of employers on the one hand, and new migrant workers on the other. Both parties combine to form something that is qualitatively different from the constituent parts. An employee does not have the

[2] Danermark et al (2002: 55-6) assert: 'The reason for this external relation between causal mechanisms and their effects is that underlying the phenomena in the domain of the actual, there are many mechanisms concurrently active. The outcome of this – that is the events – is therefore a complex compound effect of influences drawn from different mechanisms, where some mechanisms reinforce one another, and others frustrate the manifestations of each other. Taken together this – that objects have powers whether exercised or not, mechanisms exist whether triggered or not and the effects of the mechanism are contingent – means we can say a certain object *tends* to act or behave in a certain way.'

same powers as the employment relationship, nor does an employer. The employment relationship, therefore, has '*emergent powers'*, in that they possess powers or weaknesses that cannot be reduced to their constituent parts: 'from certain conjunctions or interactions of objects, new emergent properties develop which are irreducible to those of the objects on which they depend' (Sayer, 2004: 9). It is, therefore, essential that analysis encompasses many different levels. This study focuses upon the employers and employees, the employment relationship, but also considers new migrant workers' experiences of the UK labour market and the wider European labour market. The different levels of reality that influence the employment relationship of NLM are therefore examined.

The critical realist conception of a stratified reality is also an open reality, and a consequence of the open system, inherent in social science, is that it is not possible to predict social events and processes. 'Concrete phenomena are complexly composed of powers and mechanism, which affect, reinforce, weaken and sometimes neutralise the effects of one another' (Danermark et al 2002: 62). When considering which mechanisms are most important to the entity that is studied, it is necessary to analyse and establish this case to case through empirical studies, and in relation to the research questions employed. Several different theoretical methods and perspectives could be utilised for any given problem. Scientific explanation is based on both abstract and concrete research, as opposed to manipulating events through experiments. Social scientists rely on conceptual abstractions, namely the isolation of aspects of reality in our minds. Or as Sayer (1992: 116) argues: 'Abstract theory analyses

objects in terms of their constitutive structures, as part of wider structures and in terms of their causal powers. Concrete research looks at what happens when these combine'. In order to help explain the employment relationship of NLM, this research drew upon theories during the literature review, then a concrete research study was undertaken in order to consider the different combinations of causal powers and mechanism. The next section considers some of these issues in more depth and outlines the methodological implications of critical realism.

Methodological Implications

Within the social sciences, decisions regarding research methodology are often shaped by the assumption that certain research methods are better than others, and therefore should always be utilised no matter what the research question. Instead of simply taking sides in the traditional qualitative versus quantitative argument, it is essential to think about the nature of the object that is being studied, which is at the heart of critical realist research. Further Sayer (1992) argues that we must imagine a triangle, whose corners are method, object and purpose; each of the corners must be considered in relation to the other.

Lawson's (1997) working model for the research process, contrastive explanation, was employed in this research. As mechanisms work in a complex open social world, they do not always appear in their pure form. Yet, it is important to be aware that they do not always appear in an ad hoc manner: 'Over restricted regions of time-space certain mechanisms may come to dominate others and/or shine through'. Such mechanisms are 'giving rise to rough and ready generalities or partial generalities, holding to such a degree that

prima facie an explanation is called for' (Lawson, 1997: 204). Lawson refers to these partial regularities as 'demi-regularities'. Issues like labour migration and the segregation of migrant workers in the labour market are reproduced over a long period of time and would constitute a demi-regularity. As mentioned in the literature review, employers have an inherent need for cheap and disposable labour, which impacts upon migrant workers' experience of employment. It is, therefore, imperative to explain these phenomena by identifying the mechanisms forming them. The contrastive dimension encourages contrasting systematic differences between different groups to identify clues to generative mechanisms. The extensive empirical method is important to detect interesting demi-regularities. From large-scale extant survey data it was clear that substantive numbers of CEE workers were coming to the UK to work in low to semi-skilled occupations despite being educated and/or experienced. Although this was an interesting finding in itself at the time, it was deemed important to provide an explanation for this trend and it was also essential to delve deeper and explain the nature of the employment relationship of NLM. Therefore, the next stage in Lawson's model, explanation of these demi-regularities, was undertaken. Numerous theories such as dual labour market theory, push and pull explanations, the psychological contract, career theory and mobility power and the effort bargain were employed to add to the explanation and it is also crucial to employ an empirical aspect, which shall be considered further in the discussion. First, however, it is essential to reconsider the research focus.

5.2 RESEARCH FOCUS: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section restates the research focus and key problematic by outlining the main themes and ontological gaps to emerge from the literature review, which formed the research questions. The fundamental focus of the thesis is to ascertain the nature of the employment relationship of NLM. The main objectives of the thesis as stated in Chapter 1, were:

- To propose a way of conceptualising the employment relationship of NLM
- To examine CEE nationals' expectations, experiences and aspirations in the Scottish labour market
- To determine the extent to which the employment relationship of NLM is distinctive

Chapter 2 began by providing contextual understanding of the economic and employment conditions in CEE. The process of transformation and transition from command to liberal market economy and the resultant effects on economic and employment opportunities were stressed. The discussion then turned to consider the dominant explanations for migration, including the push and pull approach and neoclassical explanations. The chapter concluded by recognising the profound changes that took place in CEE, which may account partly for the large wave of migration to the UK. However, the exact effect of poor employment and economic conditions is difficult to determine. Chapter 3 delves deeper into discussions and debates concerning migration, and focuses

specifically upon migrant workers' experiences of employment in receiving countries. Dual labour market theory and Marxist explanations were analysed to draw attention to the opportunities and constraints faced by migrant workers as they negotiate the labour market. Employers in advanced industrial economies, like the UK, often require certain types of disposable labour, which was the case following the EU accession. Cost minimisation and labour shortages in low skilled occupations were two of the main reasons employers required new migrant workers. The key themes to emerge in the literature when considering migrant workers' experience of employment, namely vulnerable and precarious work, the rhetoric of the good worker and migrant workers' motives and aspirations, were analysed. From the literature it was clear that focus is generally placed upon migrant workers' experiences or employers' experiences. This thesis marks a point of departure from existing debates, as the importance of analysing employers' and migrant workers' interactions in the employment relationship, is a central concern. Therefore, it is imperative to employ the correct conceptual resources to enable analysis of this nature. Chapter 4 outlines the conceptual framework proposed to study the employment relationship of NLM, which is comprised of career theory and mobility power, the psychological contract and the effort bargain. The career is defined by Arthur et al (1989) as 'the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time'. A career is not merely a job, rather it is something which embraces notions of development and logical progression. Mobility power consists of 'strategies by employers over labour movement and retention, selection, reward and career development. For workers, mobility power is manifest in the time involved with network building, the resources used at work for the planning of job moves, and

the use of mobility threats to create strategic rewards' (Smith, 2010: 271). The psychological contract is argued to be an exchange of expectations and obligations by each party, employer and employee, in the employment relationship. The conceptualisation of the psychological contract differs quite significantly from the literature, as consideration is given to the dynamics of the employment relationship under capitalism. The effort bargain is comprised of competing rationalities held by management and employers regarding employment, and the resultant bargaining process over the amount of effort expected in work. It is essential to contribute to our knowledge of the employment relationship of NLM. Therefore, the research questions are:

- To analyse the interaction between employers' use of migrant labour and new migrant workers' experiences of employment, in terms of opportunities and constraints to their career trajectory
- To determine if new migrant workers and employers have distinctive obligations, expectations and experiences of the employment relationship by analysing their psychological contract
- To examine the extent to which new migrant workers can be viewed as willing workers by examining the effort bargaining process

5.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

This section considers the rationale for employing a multiple case study design in the empirical fieldwork. Issues such as construct, internal and external validity, in addition to reliability are considered. Following this is a discussion of the particular research methods/techniques that were utilised within this design, namely focus groups, semi-structured interviews, observation and document analysis. First, however, the sampling strategy and rationale for selecting each case is outlined.

Sampling Strategy

It is extremely important to consider who or what should be sampled, what form the sampling should take and how many people or sites should be sampled. The strategy should also be consistent with the case study strategy. A purposeful sampling strategy was employed in this research, which means that the case is selected because it will purposefully inform an understanding of the research questions and objects (Creswell, 2007). This differs from the tactic of employing multiple respondents in a survey, namely following a sampling design. This procedure is employed when a researcher aims to discover the predominance or frequency of a phenomenon. Sampling can be done at the site level, at the event or process level and at the participant level. The discussion below will outline the reasons for selecting the organisational case studies.

Selecting the Case Study Organisation

From the literature review it was apparent that CEE migrants worked in relatively poorly paid and low skilled occupations, and due to their educational attainment and experience were often underused within the labour market (Anderson et al 2006; Baum, 2007). Furthermore, migrants often experienced poor terms and conditions in low to semi-skilled occupations in the UK and had a weak position in the labour market, which made them vulnerable and susceptible to exploitation (TUC, 2008). The selection of the case study organisations was informed by the need to represent the nature of work undertaken by CEE workers in Scotland. A description of each case, including the work undertaken, and the rationale for choosing each organisation, is outlined in the next section.

Laundry Co

Laundry Co was situated in an industrial estate, a couple of miles from a small picturesque Fife town. The outside of the factory looked like any other industrial unit with its large metal facade. However, the exterior does not prepare you for what is inside. As I walked through the entrance I was immediately struck by the heat, the steam and the distant smell of chemicals. Not forgetting the noise, it was extremely noisy. Employees had to shout in order to be heard over the drone of the huge machines, which dominated the factory. My interviews took place in the boardroom, which had a large glass window that looked down onto the shopfloor. It looked quite frightening, and reminded me of the inside of a steam engine, with large funnels, machines and

steam all throughout the shopfloor. Work also looked incredibly fast paced, and workers struggled to keep up with the machines.

The company is part of a large linen and laundry hire company, which supplies linen and workwear to clients mainly in the hotel and restaurant sector. It was founded in 1900 by a local licensed grocer, as a small steam laundry, and has now grown to one of the UK's largest independent laundry and textile rental suppliers. Seven hundred members of staff work in the four plants in Scotland, and a new site that opened in the north-east of England in 2009.

Laundry Co has around two thousand five hundred clients and a turnover of nearly thirty million pounds. In 2004, the family run business was subject to a management buy-out, which was led by the managing director at the time. Three years later management increased their share of the business further, from thirty to eighty percent, with a well known bank taking on the remaining share. The company has reinvested over three million pounds in the business from 2006 to 2009 to ensure its plants remain at the forefront in terms of the latest technology. Each of the plants have a fully automated, continuous-process washing unit, folding and finishing equipment, and a separate garment processing tunnel, as well as three high volume, multi-purpose ironing lines. Work within the factory is structured around this. The plant is divided into four main areas: checking in, the wash house, folding and finishing and packing. Within each of the areas operators can either work at the front of the machines, which involves manual labour, or at the back, which involves programming the machines. In the checking in area dirty laundry from clients is brought in by drivers and has to be segregated by the type of linen. The next stage is the wash

house, where the linen is cleaned. After this stage the linen is fed into large drying, folding and finishing equipment, called calendars, by process operators. Finally everything is packed into boxes or cages and ready to be distributed to clients. Employees are managed by hourly targets, which differ dependent on the area of the plant they are working in. Work undertaken in the plant is predominantly manual labour, and the majority of workers are process operators.

The motivation for selecting Laundry Co was to provide an insight into the employment relationship of NLM. The majority of workers in Laundry Co were process operators and packers, and these occupations were amongst the top three occupations undertaken by CEE migrant workers in the UK in 2008: Twenty-eight percent of all registered workers from CEE were process operatives, and six percent of registered workers from CEE were packers (McKay, 2009). Additionally, the company was mentioned in a report about CEE migrants working in the east of Scotland, as they employed a large number of new migrant workers. Thus, it is important that an organisation such as Laundry Co should be part of the research design. Access was gained by sending a letter, which outlined the research problematic and focus on CEE workers. The Personnel Manager from Laundry Co then emailed to express an interest in taking part in the research

Hotel Co

Hotel Co is situated in a beautiful Edinburgh street, which was lined with Georgian townhouses. The outside of the hotel was impressive, with its large arch shaped windows, and sandstone brick. A red carpet covered the stairs to the entrance where a doorman stood, opening doors and greeting guests. Inside the

hotel was equally as impressive, and the decoration was stylish and elegant. To the left of the front door was the bar, which had large sofas and arm chairs and an ornately patterned carpet. The decor matched the Georgian style of the building. Reception was always manned by two friendly staff who politely greeted guests as they walked by. Beyond the reception area was a conservatory area and staff busily rushed through. My interviews took place in the training room, which was in a cold, dark room in the basement of the hotel. This was a stark contrast to the warm and luxurious, Georgian environment of upstairs. Yet, it provided me with an insight into the obvious division between the lavish front-of-house and dreary, functional back-of-house.

Hotel Co is part of the UK's eighth largest hotel and leisure group, with over one hundred hotels and resorts throughout the UK and Spain. The company employs about six thousand people and has a turnover of around two hundred and fifty million pounds. There are over forty hotel and leisure resorts in the UK, and thirteen of those are located in Scotland. In 2003, the company underwent a five hundred and ninety million pound management buyout, which was facilitated by a well-known bank.

Work is divided into four areas including: housekeeping, food and beverage, leisure and front desk. Findings are reported from the housekeeping and food and beverage department because these are the departments where the majority of CEE workers are employed. It is therefore essential to provide more information on the nature of work undertaken in each department. In the housekeeping department management roles consist of the Executive

Housekeeping Manager, Assistant Housekeeping Manager, and three Housekeeping Floor Supervisors, two of which are Polish. Thirty employees work in this department, ninety per cent of whom are CEE nationals. Housekeeping is comprised of three different jobs, which includes: working in the linen room, where employees are responsible for collecting linen, counting linen and ensuring it is delivered to the different floors; cleaning public areas, which includes public toilets, meeting rooms, lounges, receptions; and cleaning rooms, which involves ensuring rooms are cleaned to a four star standard. In the Food and Beverage department there is also a manager, assistant manager and five supervisors. Twenty five people work in the restaurant and bar, and a further twenty people work in conferencing and banqueting. Thirty percent of employees in this department are CEE. Food and Beverage can be divided into four different areas: room service, where employees are responsible for delivering food and beverages to rooms; the restaurant, which has a breakfast and dinner service; two bars, which involve service of food and drinks; events facilities, which involves small meetings and larger conventions, dinners and weddings.

The rationale for selecting Hotel Co can, again, be attributed to the desire to provide an accurate representation of the employment relationship of NLM. Hotels are notorious for employing cheap and insecure migrant labour, and a Home Office Report (2007) highlighted that 24 percent of CEE workers work in hotels and restaurants. It is therefore extremely important to study an organisation such as Hotel Co. Gaining access to a hotel was rather difficult. Letters were sent to hotels in Glasgow with no luck. The search for a hotel was

then extended to Edinburgh and access to Hotel Co was finally secured through the Human Resource Manager.

Bus Co

Bus Group originated from the context of deregulation in 1980s and expanded through a series of acquisitions and mergers. Following the 1986 Transport Act, Scot Bus was transformed into the private company Bus Group. Initially the company was owned by the council, albeit with very little interference over operations. However, after a successful bid by employees to buy the company, the company was mainly owned by employees under the terms of an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP). Bus Group then went on to make a series of acquisitions, achieved stock market flotation and then merged with another large bus operator. After buying out parts of national rail and acquiring interests in trams and airport operations, Bus Group rebranded itself and now operates in the UK, Ireland, and North America. Within the UK bus operations there are twenty three subsidiary companies located from Aberdeen to Devon and Cornwall, highlighting the extent of the post deregulation acquisition programme. The company is branded at the group level and all bus subsidiaries, rail and tram operations bear the company logo and colours. However, each bus subsidiary has a substantial degree of autonomy, coupled with independent industrial relations agreements.

Bus Co is the Glasgow subsidiary of Bus Group. The company dominates the Glasgow bus industry and is one of the largest operators in Scotland. Bus Co has six different depots around the Glasgow area, and research was undertaken

in the largest depot and head office in Glasgow. Each time I wanted to enter Bus Co I had to weave through groups of men, standing at the walls of the depot, chatting to each other and smoking cigarettes before their shift began. The depot was a huge, cold and dirty garage, which reminded me of an aeroplane hangar, built in red bricks. Oil stained the ground, and there were buses parked in lines, with mechanics working on them. Walkways were mapped out in yellow paint, highlighting different routes pedestrians should take, as buses continually entered and left the depot. To the left was the office, where bus controllers and managers busily worked, and along from that was the union office. Bus Co is heavily unionised and between eighty and ninety percent of bus drivers are members of the union. It was also an extremely masculine environment with very few women employees.

In order to get to the learning centre, there was an old concrete staircase with metal rails, which reminded me of a rundown high rise flat. The grey concrete made the depot feel even colder than it was already. However, the learning centre was a welcome difference to the previous environment. It was warm and office like. In the centre of the room was a large wooden table, with books and stationary. The walls of the room were lined with computers. This was a relaxing, friendly environment. It was called the ‘Polish café’ because this is where the majority of CEE workers would spend their breaks. Perhaps they also felt intimidated by the other areas in the depot due to their dominance of Scottish drivers. Two days a week three women would come in from the Glasgow ESOL forum to conduct English language classes, so the gender ratio was fairly even in the Learning Centre at times.

The rationale for selecting Bus Co is to again present a representative picture of the employment relationship of NLM. Ten percent of CEE workers work in transport and communication (Home Office, 2007). However, Bus Co is a highly unionised company and the way in which the union influences the employment relationship is an interesting, albeit not fundamental, aspect of the research. Access was gained through a part-time Masters student who was also a manger in Bus Co. He referred me to the Union Learning Rep who was the main point of contact thereafter.

Multiple Case Study Design

A multiple case study design was deemed the best way to approach the fieldwork. Case studies have been argued to allow 'a researcher to attempt to tease out ever-deepening layers of reality in the search for generative mechanism and influential contingencies' (Harrison and Easton, 2004: 194). By studying three cases intensively, this provides the opportunity to examine the way in which causal processes operate in specific cases. Therefore, emphasis is on abstraction rather than the empirical generalization that is common to extensive research design (Massey and Megan, 1985: 133). As more than one case is studied, it also provides the basis for 'theoretical reflections about contrasting findings' (Bryman, 2004: 55). Case study research is particularly useful in this thesis, due to the nature of the research problematic, namely to provide explanation of the employment relationship of NLM. The very nature of the problem, analysing the employment relationship, highlights that members will be structurally and causally related to each other, therefore it is essential to

utilise an intensive methodology. Moreover, the employment relationship is 'regarded as contracted between a single employer and employee and shaped and formed within a single organisation with a clear organizational boundary.' (Grimshaw et al 2006: 147). As a critical realist case study approach is well suited to a complex phenomenon, which has relatively clear boundaries, it is highly appropriate to study the employment relationship of NLM.

The reliance on theoretical concepts to shape and guide the design and data collection for case studies is argued to be one of the key strategies that ensures successful case studies are undertaken (Yin, 2009a). It is essential to develop preliminary concepts at the beginning of the research, which assists case study research in two important ways. First, it places the case study within an appropriate research literature, which means the research is more likely to advance knowledge, and the contribution to knowledge will be evident. Second, the use of concepts helps define the unit of analysis, identifies the criteria for choosing and screening potential candidates and suggests relevant variables of interest. Case studies also allow the researcher to determine who and what is studied as the research progresses. This enables the researcher to actually learn about the object of study as they go along, and may also provide scope for them to refine interview questions, which shall enhance the quality of the research process. As NLM was a fairly under-developed area at the time the research was undertaken, it was essential to adopt a research design, which allows for learning and refinement of the research questions.

However, Yin (2009b) outlines two common concerns with the case study method: the lack of rigour and the time taken to complete cases studies means vast amounts of data is produced. In order to overcome the first concern, the lack of rigour, it is essential to follow systematic procedures and not allow biased views to influence the direction of the research. The second complaint can be contested by distinguishing between case study research and ethnographic research. Case studies do not solely depend on ethnographic data, thus do not necessarily produce the vast amounts of data. However, special attention should be paid to the quality of the research design. The following section considers different tests that can be utilised to assess the quality of research design employed.

Tests of Validity, Reliability and Generalisability

As research design is assumed to represent a logical set of statements, certain logical tests can be employed to judge the quality of the design. The four tests include: construct validity; internal validity; external validity; reliability. (Yin, 2009a: 41). Yin (2009a: 41) shows the different tactics that can be employed to overcome each of the abovementioned tests.

An important way to overcome problems concerning construct validity is by employing multiple sources of evidence during data collection (Yin, 2009a). This research utilised data triangulation, namely focus groups with new migrant workers, semi-structured interviews with new migrant workers, observation and document analysis where possible, in addition to semi-structured interviews with management and HR. In order to triangulate the data it is essential to

analyse all sources of evidence together and draw conclusions from the analysis, as opposed to analysing each source of evidence separately and comparing the conclusions from the separate analyses. Internal validity was addressed by employing analytic tactics such as explanation building and cross case synthesis. As a key goal of critical realist research is to expand and generalise theories, analytical generalisations were employed, as opposed to statistical generalisations. Therefore, ensuring external validity: 'case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes... the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a "sample" and in doing a case study, your goal will be to expand and generalise theories (analytic generalisation) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation)' (Yin, 2003:15). The goal of reliability is to reduce errors and biases in the study. In order to increase reliability of case studies, it is essential to document the procedures employed so that it can be repeated. Additionally, two of Gibb's (2007) reliability procedures were also employed. First, all interview and focus group transcripts were checked methodically to ensure no mistakes were made. Second, to prevent a drift in the definition of codes, or a shift in the meaning of the codes during the coding phase, the data was continually compared with the codes, and memos were noted about codes and their definitions.

Methods/Techniques within Multiple-Case Study Design

As a key aim of the research was to study individual agents in their causal contexts, research methods such as surveys were not deemed suitable. As the main focus is to comprehend substantial relations of connections, as opposed to

formal relations of similarity, it was essential to utilise qualitative methods. The research methods employed, namely focus groups, semi-structured interviews, observation and document analysis, shall be examined below.

Focus Groups

A focus group, as defined by Morgan (1997:6), is a research technique 'that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher'. The group interaction is a fundamental aspect of this research method, which distinguishes it from other techniques, as the interaction facilitates the generation of data and is an important source of data in itself. (Goldman and McDonald, 1987; Morgan, 1988). Furthermore, Carey (1994) contends the interactions between members leads to more synergistic exchanges than moderator – member interactions. The focus groups, thus, present a more natural environment than individual interviews, as participants are influenced by, and influence others, just as they would normally (Krueger and Casey, 2000). However, the interactional element of the group can have both positive and negative implications for the data produced. As a result of the group interaction there can be psychosocial factors that can limit the quality of the data. Another important drawback of focus groups is there is an inevitable trade-off between the group interaction on one hand, and the quality of data gained from individuals. Semi-structured interviews, may therefore be a more appropriate data collection technique if the goal is to attain in-depth data on an individual. Yet, an important reason for undertaking focus groups in this research was due to their usefulness at the preliminary and exploratory stages of the study (Krueger, 1988). Focus groups were utilised mainly to clarify issues,

raise new points and inform further research on NLM. Most notably the focus groups helped develop areas of further questioning to be covered at the interview stage. An important rationale for utilising focus groups was to elucidate aspects of new migrant workers' collective and individual experiences and gain access to group meanings. Focus groups allow all of the abovementioned issues to be illuminated in a way that is not possible in a one on one semi-structured interview.

During the focus group the moderator must create a permissive and supportive environment that encourages people to share their perceptions and opinions, without influencing the group to reach a consensus on topics (Kruegar and Casey, 2000). Participants are more likely to relate to one another and feel relaxed when they are recruited from pre-existing groups, such as work colleagues (Bloor et al, 2001). Pre-existing groups are valuable for research as they are networks where people may normally discuss the issues covered in the research (Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999). This is a favourable aspect of this research as all respondents were work colleagues and had some degree of contact with one another.

Ensuring that the correct participants are selected and recruited can have a considerable impact on the quality of data collected. Due to the nature of focus group research, attempting to balance the heterogeneity and homogeneity of the group is a fundamental task. Finch and Lewis (2003) recommend some diversity in the composition of the group in order to facilitate discussion, however if there is too much diversity this can have the opposite effect. In Hotel Co and Laundry

Co focus groups were comprised of migrant workers from similar and different departments, which was anticipated to strike the correct balance between heterogeneity and homogeneity. In Bus Co, new migrant workers were selected for focus group participation based on their varying degrees of experience. All focus groups in this research project had between five and eight participants and a skilled moderator, which follows Krueger and Casey's (2000) recommendation.

Semi-Structured Interview

The semi-structured interview, where questions are specified, but the interviewer is free to probe beyond the answer, was a key source of evidence utilised in this case study. Interviews were, therefore, undertaken as guided conversations as opposed to being highly structured, which allows the researcher to follow a consistent line of inquiry with a fluid stream of questions (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). Throughout the interview process it is essential to be aware of two fundamental tasks: '(a) to follow your own line of inquiry, as reflected by your case study protocol, and (b) to ask your actual (conversational) questions in an unbiased manner that also serves the needs of your line of inquiry' (Yin, 2009a, 106). Semi-structured interviews were utilised to discuss some of the issues highlighted in the focus groups, one-on-one, in more depth. Interview questions were shaped by the conceptual framework outlined in the literature review and by the data generated in the focus groups. One of the key benefits of employing interviews in this research is that they 'yield rich insight into people's biographies, experiences, opinions, values, aspirations, attitudes and feelings' (May, 2001: 120). Interviews, thus, allow the researcher to attain

rich, personalized information (Mason, 2002). This is particularly advantageous when analysing both employers' and CEE workers' experiences of the employment relationship.

Observation

Observations were extremely useful in all three organisations, mainly to study the different tasks that employees performed and the interactions between management, new migrant workers and the indigenous labour force. In Bus Co a great deal of time was spent in the learning centre and depot, which provided an insight into new migrant workers' interactions with their colleagues and managers. It was also helpful to observe English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes. In Hotel Co observations were utilised to provide more detailed knowledge of the work performed in each department. This was a good way of corroborating what people spoke about in interviews and focus groups. Observations were employed in Laundry Co to help understand the way in which the factory operated and the different tasks that employees were carrying out, and was useful to observe the relationship between management and employees.

Document Analysis

Document analysis was utilised in all three organisations to find out more about recruitment and selection, training and levels of pay. Document analysis played a crucial role in corroborating evidence gained in the interviews, focus groups and from direct observation. However, it is important not to over-rely on document analysis, as documents are often written for specific audience and

purpose rather than for the case study. Therefore, the purpose of documentation should be continually questioned. The following section considers the personal reflections made by the researcher during data collection.

Personal Reflections

Prior to beginning my fieldwork I read a great deal about conducting research, which was a good starting point, however the majority of my learning came from engaging in data collection. This was a challenging but rewarding endeavour, which taught me about the process of conducting research and the way in which my position as a researcher influenced the data that I collected. This section shall be a reflexive discussion on the abovementioned issues.

My initial interviews did not run as smoothly as I had anticipated, and I quickly realised this was due to the ordering of the questions. It was only by conducting the interviews that I became aware of this problem. By reordering the questions, I was able ensure the conversation flowed more naturally, which allowed me to gain better data. As I began transcribing interviews immediately after data collection, I was also able to listen to and improve my interviewing style. This highlighted areas where I should have questioned respondents further, but did not, and also stressed the importance of listening carefully and questioning everything. This was a skill that I improved upon throughout the course of my data collection. As I was conducting interviews with respondents whose first language was not English, I realised the importance of learning different ways of saying words and phrases. People often asked for clarification of certain questions, therefore it was essential to be able to ask questions in multiple ways

to be certain they understood. Additionally, it was extremely important to confirm what respondents said to ensure that I fully comprehended their answers. One respondent told me she had to leave her job because she 'got shot!' Immediately, I noticed that she was extremely calm and unemotional when discussing this incident so I decided to ask more questions. After questioning her I quickly realised she meant to say she was fired from her job, which stresses the importance of questioning respondents' answers. Additionally, I carried a pen and paper at all times, which allowed me to write down words that people were having problems with. Sometimes seeing the written word was easier for respondents to understand, and it was also useful for respondents to write down words they struggled to say. Each of the aforementioned issues only became clear by actually beginning the data collection process, however they were important lessons for future research.

During my fieldwork it was also important to consider the way in which my position as a researcher impacted upon the data collection. Two key issues that shall be considered in this section are gender and nationality. Bus Co was an extremely masculine environment and during my time there (interviews took place over three months) I rarely came into contact with any female bus drivers. On my first day, I was taken around the depot to familiarise myself with the environment and as I walked around groups of men would turn and stare at me. It must have been a rare occurrence for them to see a woman in the depot. This was intimidating and I immediately became aware that my gender may influence my research process. Yet, I feel that the majority of bus drivers I interviewed were comfortable with me and happy to share their experiences of

life and work. This is partly attributed to the time that I was able to spend with them in the learning centre. The learning centre was a friendly environment where drivers were able to address their literacy and numeracy learning needs. ESOL classes were also provided in the centre, and therefore CEE drivers spent a great deal of time there before, between and after their shift. The gender ratio was also more even in the learning centre, as two women came to the depot to teach adult numeracy and literacy classes. I was based in the learning centre as my main contact was the Union Learning Representative (ULR) and this was his office. Having spent a great deal of time there waiting for drivers to finish their shifts, people were familiar with me. This helped me to build a good relationship with them, and they were more willing to open up during interviews. Additionally, all respondents in Bus Co took part in the research during their own time, which highlights their interest in the research. I am not sure if this would have been the case had I not spent three months with them. There were, however, some drivers who were unwilling to communicate and unforthcoming in sharing their experiences but such drivers were in the minority.

As I did not spend as much time in Laundry Co and Hotel Co I felt that my gender may have influenced my data collection somewhat. Many of the men in Laundry Co made it clear that they were the main breadwinner in the family and had quite traditional ideals about female and male roles in society. Moreover, one of the female managers hinted that many of the older CEE men did not like to take orders from her. Yet, surprisingly no CEE female participants in either case study mentioned anything about sexism. During some of my interviews I

did feel it was easier to build a rapport with female participants. Some of the men were quite reserved in what they said and did not share a great deal. Yet having said this, many of the male participants were happy to share their experiences and were interested in my research. Therefore, although my gender was an issue with some participants, many people were also happy to talk to me.

Nationality was another crucial issue that could have impacted upon the nature of data that I collected. My main concern about conducting cross-national research was potential cultural clashes between myself and migrant workers. A related point made by respondents was that myself, and Scottish people in general, smiled a great deal. Personally, I thought that smiling was a way of reassuring respondents and making them feel comfortable during the interview. However, a team leader in Laundry Co said ‘Polish people do not walk around the street smiling all the time. You smile a lot and this could make people feel uncomfortable because they know you are not happy all the time. So why do you smile? Are you hiding something from them?’ Therefore, in my subsequent interviews I was aware of this and tried not to over-smile, however it was difficult. An additional issue related to nationality that I was concerned about was that my respondents might be uncooperative and concerned at my motives for conducting the research due to their status as migrant workers. At the beginning of many interviews and focus groups, the majority of participants appeared to be nervous, suspicious and uncooperative. However, when I explained that the research was for my PhD, that it would allow them to express their opinions about their jobs, and about the ethics of the study, the majority of people were relaxed and happy. I felt that CEE workers were just happy to be

given a voice and means of expressing their opinions about work in Scotland. Explaining this was one of the key reasons that I was able to gather excellent data.

An important way that I established rapport with respondents was by studying a map of Poland so that I was familiar with the main cities and had a basic geographical knowledge of the country. When I asked people where they lived I was able to say if it was in the north, south, east or west of the country, and which city was nearby. Respondents generally appreciated this effort and it immediately allowed me to create a relaxed environment and build a rapport, which was crucial in gaining good data.

However, there were a few problematic interviews and focus groups. One of the most difficult situations I faced during the data collection was conducting focus group in Hotel Co with CEE workers, the majority of whom were room attendants. As I waited for all the respondents to arrive everybody spoke in Polish and appeared unfriendly and unforthcoming. One room attendant expressed her unhappiness at taking part in the interview and said they still had targets to reach. This was extremely intimidating and I felt upset that I may prevent them from meeting their targets. I quickly explained that the research was voluntary and they did not have to take part if they did not want to. However, I also explained this would allow them to share their experiences of working in Hotel Co and that the focus group was confidential. I explained I wanted to give them a voice and learn about their work. Everybody decided to stay and I feel that they enjoyed sharing their experiences of employment and

were very forthcoming with their opinions of their managers and how they were treated.

I also experienced some difficult interviews in Laundry Co when interviewing Scottish managers who were extremely unresponsive and unwilling to answer questions. I think this is because they felt that I was looking for racism in the factory. A few people were defensive when I asked questions about migrant workers, and were quick to say that nobody in the factory was racist. Some people just did not want to be interviewed and provided very short answers to the questions I asked. In situations like this I learnt that it is essential to make respondents feel comfortable and question them on what they say, however sometimes it is best to accept that they are unwilling to open up.

All in all, much of my learning happened during the process of conducting data, and I was able to refine my data collection techniques. Additionally, it was essential to continually question the way in which I, as a Scottish female, influenced the research and data that I collected. Important issues that became evident were the way in which my gender and nationality affected participants. In questioning this it was imperative to develop techniques to help alleviate any negative consequences, which enabled me to build a good rapport and relationship with respondents.

Working with an Interpreter

Due to the nature of the employment relationship studied, an important influence on the quality of data gathered was that English is not the first language of the majority of participants. Therefore, an interpreter was required

for twelve semi-structured interviews and four focus groups across the case studies. The interpreter was utilised for: two interviews and one focus group in Bus Co, six interviews and two focus groups in Laundry Co and four interviews and one focus group in Hotel Co.

A key problem with using an interpreter is they are often paid for short periods of time and rarely become involved with the research. Although the interpreter was not substantially involved in the research, measures were taken to overcome this problem. Firstly, a forty minute meeting was scheduled before the initial interviews and focus groups, and then a further ten minute meeting for the remainder of interviews and focus groups. The concepts and theories employed in the study were explained as were the interview and focus group schedules and important information about the case study. Secondly, the same interpreter was used in all the semi-structured interviews and focus groups, and therefore had a fair degree of knowledge of the topic and questions. This also contributes to the reliability of the research. Additionally, it was crucial to be clear at the beginning of the research what was expected of her, namely to repeat *everything* I said to the respondents and *everything* the respondents said to me. It was imperative that she did not summaries the dialogue to either party. Therefore, an important tactic utilised by the interpreter was to take a note of what each respondent had said in Polish and then interpret it and relay it to me in English. Taking notes like this contributed to the validity of the process as she was able to tell me everything that the respondent said, as opposed to trying to remember when they had finished speaking. Another way of improving the validity of the research was by employing a professional interpreter from an agency (Ric

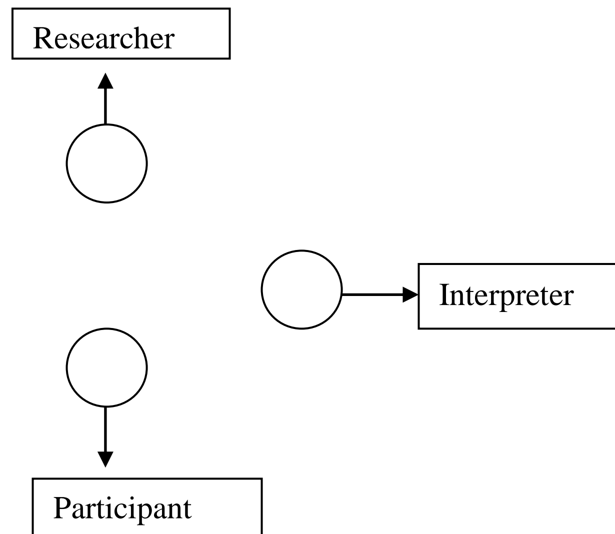
Liamputtong and Ezzy, 1999). This ensured that she adhered to professional standards and had substantial experience.

It is essential to question the impact that the interpreter has on the research process. Temple (2002: 845) posits two models of cross-language research. The first model assumes that researchers are gatherers of facts: 'researchers are neutral transmitters of messages and, by extending this stance, translators pass on such messages in an unproblematic way...The assumption that there is one true version of an account is strongly contested in research generally but left unchallenged and unexamined when translators are involved'. The alternative position, therefore, posited by Temple (2002) is that translators are active producers of research.

This research adopts a position that is situated in the middle of these two models, namely that it is essential to try to make the research process as robust as possible in order to gain data. However, it is incorrect to assume an unquestioning and unproblematic use of interpreters. For example, some words cannot be translated into English, which requires the interpreter to create their own meaning. Thus, it was essential that the interpreter was aware of the nature of the research and the meaning of each question. Temple (2002: 847) asserts that 'the "intellectual auto/biographies" of researchers and translators should be part of the methodological discussions in any research involving more than one language'. The interpreter utilised in this research study was deemed suitable, as she was also a Polish migrant worker and could therefore relate to the issues

studied. Moreover, she was studying for a Masters degree in business and was familiar, to a certain extent, with the concepts employed in the study.

Due to her knowledge and experience of the process, the interpreter suggested, during our briefing, the importance of where we should be positioned in the room during the semi-structured interviews:



Sitting, as detailed in the model above, ensured that the researcher's participation in the interview was clear to participants, and it also enables the researcher to engage in crucial non-verbal communication. Additionally, it was less threatening for the participant as they are facing one person as opposed to two. During the interviews it was essential to look at the interpreter to understand what was said, and at the same time it was important to engage in non-verbal communication with participants. The importance of paying attention to body language and expressions other than the spoken word was imperative (Brink, 1991). An important example of this occurred when a respondent was asked why he moved to the UK. He immediately looked upset

and it became apparent from his response that he did not want to answer the question. Therefore as opposed to smiling, it was essential to convey empathy whilst he was conversing in Polish. The interpreter explained that he did not want to answer for personal reasons and it was made clear that this was fine as the interview and all questions were voluntary. He then said he wished to answer and said that his son was killed in Poland and that his family moved here for a better life. Thinking of the decision to leave Poland was painful for him. This highlights the importance of observing non-verbal communication and also of ensuring the non-verbal response matched what the participant was communicating.

All of this is very well in an interview, however as the research design also encompassed focus groups it is essential to outline the way in which the interpreter was utilised here. Focus groups were purposely comprised of only a small number of people (no more than three) who could not speak English. The interpreter was positioned next to them, participants were notified that the interpreter was present and their contribution was welcomed. If people did not contribute a great deal they were specifically asked questions to ensure their opinions were noted. However, this rarely happened and people were more than happy to share their experiences and expectations using the interpreter.

Although there are issues with using an interpreter in research it is felt that by employing the abovementioned techniques the process was as robust as possible. Moreover, it was important to include new migrant workers who could not speak English in the research, and utilising an interpreter made this possible.

5.4 FIELDWORK AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

This section provides the details of the fieldwork undertaken in the research including the fieldwork plan, data recording/data sources and analysis of data. The organisational case studies of Laundry Co, Hotel Co and Bus Co were undertaken between April 2009 and April 2010**.** Each organisation was chosen due to the large number of CEE workers employed there and also because the sectors and occupations are representative of those that CEE migrants work in.

In order to ensure that there could be a credible comparison between the case studies, the fieldwork aimed to accomplish a reasonable degree of symmetry across the cases, which will add to the reliability of the study. It was intended that the same numbers of respondents would be interviewed in each case study, namely twenty new migrant workers, five managers and at least one HR representative. Additionally, five focus groups with new migrant workers were intended to be undertaken in each organisation. Overall the plan was that the data would be drawn from 78 respondents and 15 focus groups.

Fieldwork undertaken

As demonstrated in Figure 1 the total number of interviews conducted were 70, which was complemented with a further three focus groups with migrant workers in each organisation.

Figure 1 Details of Respondents and Interviews in Each Case Study

	New migrant workers	Managers and supervisors	HR	TOTAL
Laundry Co	17	7	1	25
Hotel Co	15	7	2	24
Bus Co	16	4	1	21
TOTAL	48	18	4	70

Figure 2 Details of Respondents and Focus groups in Each Case Study

Case study	New migrant workers
Laundry Co	**3**
Hotel Co	**3**
Bus Co	**3**
TOTAL	**9**

New migrant workers

New migrant workers are a fundamental aspect of the research and it is essential to gain an insight into their experience of the employment relationship. The empirical data for new migrant workers was drawn from semi-structured

interviews and focus groups with employees. Unfortunately the plan to undertake 20 interviews with new migrant workers in each case study was revised for pragmatic reasons. In Laundry Co and Hotel Co interviews were conducted during the working day and each organisation was too busy to enable as many workers to participate in the research, despite their protestations of wanting to take part! It was, therefore unfeasible to meet the targets, however the actual number of respondents interviewed was respectable. Due to the nature of work undertaken in Bus Co, employees took part in interviews during their breaks and at the end of their shift. At one focus group some participants had to leave after half an hour as their wives were calling them because they were expecting them home after their shift! Scheduling and planning the interviews was somewhat difficult, and some employees were interviewed on two occasions in order to cover the full range of topics required.

As some new migrant workers in Laundry Co and Hotel Co were supervisors, the questions asked of them varied from those of employees. However, such workers were still questioned on their career and psychological contract. Questions concerning the effort bargain differed slightly and included questions on their bargaining process with employees and management from a supervisor's perspective. Topics covered in the focus groups and interviews include the effort bargain, psychological contract, career theory and mobility power. It must be noted that numerous employees in each case study took part in a focus group and semi-structured interview.

Managers and supervisors

Management and supervisors constitute the other vitally important aspect of the employment relationship. It is therefore essential to examine their perceptions and experiences of the effort bargain and psychological contract. Semi-structured interviews were deemed the most suitable method of data collection for two important reasons. First, pragmatically, due to the number of managers in each case it is not possible to conduct a focus group or a survey. Moreover, it was judged that there would be practical problems in arranging focus groups with managers. Second, it was essential to discuss specific issues relating to individual departments in-depth. Therefore, interviewing managers and supervisors on a one-on-one basis was the most suitable option.

Interviews were conducted with seven managers and supervisors in Laundry Co (the Plant Manager, two production managers and four team leaders), five managers and supervisors in Hotel Co (the food and beverage manager and two food and beverage supervisors, the executive housekeeping manager, assistant housekeeping manager and two supervisors) and four managers and supervisors in Bus Co (the depot operations manager, the training manager and two bus controllers).

HR

HR representatives were also crucial to the research as it was essential to analyse issues like recruitment and selection, training and development and opportunities for advancement. The information gained from HR representatives is thus vital in elucidating the employment relationship of NLM. Again,

pragmatically for the reasons outlined for management, semi-structured interviews were deemed the best research method. Across the case studies at least one semi-structured interview was conducted with an HR representative.

Trade union

As Bus Co was highly unionised it was also essential to spend time with the trade union representatives in the depot, namely the shop steward, branch secretary and the union learning rep. These individuals were interviewed in order to ascertain the impact the union has on the employment relationship of NLM. However, both the shop steward and branch secretary did not allow the interview to be taped and were unhappy about the evidence being used in the study. Therefore, these interviews served merely as a way of understanding the unionised environment and the impact on the employment relationship.

Interviews and focus groups were digitally recorded and transcribed in a standard format and were then analysed using NVivo8.

Data Analysis

In keeping with the critical realist research philosophy this research draws heavily upon Miles and Huberman's (1994) approach to data analysis, which is comprised of three concurrent flows of activity, namely data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification. Data reduction is the process of focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the data from field notes and/or transcriptions. It is essential to perform data reduction consistently throughout the research process. Data display is the way in which organised

information is assembled in order to facilitate conclusion drawing. Conclusion drawing is an important aspect of the research process that will be present from the onset, albeit in a way that is initially looser and more receptive to change than at the latter stages of the process. Date analysis is, therefore, an ongoing process, which involves constant reflection regarding the data.

Initially, the organisational case studies were analysed individually using NVivo 8 in order to understand the dynamics of each case, as recommended by Miles and Huberman (1994: 207). An important aspect of the process was inquiring into deviant cases, as cases that do not fit the emerging explanation are extremely useful as they 'surprise you, confront you and require you to rethink, expand, and revisit your theories' (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 208). This was particularly the case with some of the issues that became apparent in Bus Co and it was felt that this case added significantly to the explanation of the employment relationship of NLM. At this stage it was decided that the findings would be best analysed and presented thematically by making cross case comparisons. Yin (2009) advises relying upon the theoretical propositions, which shaped the data collection plan, thus the organisational case studies were guided by the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 4. The employment relationship of NLM is argued to be based upon four interrelated theoretical constructs, namely career theory and mobility power, the psychological contract and the effort bargain and career. Additionally, important related issues outlined in chapter three regarding employers' rationale for migrant workers and CEE workers' labour market experiences were deemed highly pertinent to the employment relationship of NLM. The aforementioned issues, therefore, guided

the cross case analysis and six main categories were employed in order to code, analyse and report the findings from the case studies, namely recruitment and selection, employers' rationale for employing new migrant workers, skill development, the effort bargain, the psychological contract, mobility power and the career. It is worth noting that there are some interrelated aspects of the framework and some of the coding decisions were 'judgement calls' by the researcher. Each category was comprised of various different sub-themes, which were either considered in the literature review or which became apparent during data collection.

A key aspect of critical realist research is to provide a causal explanation. Kaplan (1964) cited in Miles and Huberman (1994: 144) contends explanation is a 'concatenated description... putting one factor law into relation with others', which makes description intelligible. Multiple cases are particularly useful in generating explanations and then testing them systematically, and are to be our best resource for advancing theories about the way the world works, which is an important aim of this thesis (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This stage was informed mainly by Miles and Huberman's (1994: 222-238) discussion on how to build causal models from multiple case studies.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the key components of the research strategy and rationale for selecting such a strategy. The thesis is clearly placed within the critical realist tradition and the main methodological implications of the research philosophy were discussed in detail. Critical realism was utilised mainly due to the appreciation of the differentiation and stratification of reality. This was particularly useful for the research problematic in this thesis: the fundamental aim was to study the employment relationship of NLM, which encompasses different levels including: the employee and employer, the employment relationship, the UK labour market and wider European labour market. Critical realism views the social world as an open system and reliance is placed upon abstract theories and concrete studies. Following on from this discussion, the chapter then provided the rationale for conducting multiple case studies. An important reason for employing a case study strategy was this approach is well suited to a complex phenomenon, which has relatively clear boundaries and is, therefore, highly appropriate to study the employment relationship of NLM. Interviews and focus groups were the main research methods utilised, in addition to observations and document analysis. The benefits of each method, in relation to the research problematic, were outlined. As the study concerns CEE workers, an important concern was the impact that the interpreter would have on the research process. Various problems, and the techniques to reduce and help overcome them and improve the reliability and validity, were highlighted.

When utilising qualitative research methods it is important to recognise the researcher's role in the process and the way in which they may impact upon the behaviour of those around them. Therefore, recognition of the reflexive nature of qualitative research is essential: 'We are part of the social world we study... This is not a matter of methodological commitment, it is an existential fact. There is no way in which we can escape the social world in order to study it; nor fortunately, is that necessary. We cannot avoid relying on 'common sense' knowledge nor, often, can we avoid having an effect on the social phenomena we study' (Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 15). Qualitative social researchers are often in close proximity to the participants and entities they study. Yet, despite this proximity it is not possible to understand the world as participants do: 'The fieldworkers understanding of the social world under investigation must always be distinguished from the informants understanding of the same world... To argue that we become part of the worlds we studied, or that we understand them in precisely the same way as those who live within them do, would be a grave error.' (Van Maanen and Kolb, 1985: 27). Therefore, many of the choices and interpretations made are 'judgement calls'. In order to guide these 'judgement calls' a strong theoretical framework is imperative. The following section presents the findings from the empirical work, which are organised thematically according to the conceptual framework.

CHAPTER 6: CAREER AND MOBILITY POWER: LABOUR MARKET OPPORTUNITIES AND CONSTRAINTS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the empirical data collected from the three case study organisations Bus Co, Laundry Co and Hotel Co. It was indicated in Chapter 5 that the data is organised thematically. This can be attributed to the way in which the four conceptual resources examined in the literature review namely, career and mobility power, the psychological contract and the effort bargain, helped structure the research questions. Therefore, it was decided that the best way to answer these questions would be by organising the findings thematically. In this particular chapter the key themes analysed include: mobility power possessed by Central and Eastern European (CEE) workers and their career decisions, push and pull forces, employers' rationale for employing new migrant workers and future career aspirations. An essential aim of this research is to determine why CEE nationals moved to the UK to work: was it part of their career development or simply a job and means of earning an income? (Wickham et al, 2008a). This is a fundamental question, which shapes the research.

From the literature it is evident that there are many competing explanations as to why migration occurs. Most popular are push and pull and neoclassical economic explanations. Both approaches consider economic and employment differentials between sending and receiving countries and the individual's desire for income maximisation that takes place within this context. It was clear, from

Chapter 2, that *at the time of the accession,* the UK demonstrated extremely attractive economic and employment conditions in addition to disagreeable conditions in CEE (Eurostat, 2005; Eurostat, 2007; ONS 2008). Evidently some of the issues mentioned above are somewhat broader than the work and employment context of migration, which is the central focus of the thesis. Yet, it is vital to consider these structural forces, which promote migration, as they may have a significant impact upon the employment relationship of New Labour Migration (NLM). Additionally, it is important to examine the employers' perspective, which has largely been ignored by push and pull explanations and neoclassical theories. The reserve army of labour and dual labour market theory base their key arguments upon 'significance and dynamics of migration in the material and structural processes of capital accumulation and uneven development' (Miles and Satzewich, 1990: 336). Moreover, the view that migration is an outcome of individual decision making within the context of push and pull factors, is rejected. Rather, employers are argued to have a demand for certain types of disposable labour, which is an inherent feature of advanced industrial economies (Piore, 1979). Within such economies the labour force is argued to be divided, which results in migrant workers undertaking the unpleasant work, with the poorest pay and worst working conditions (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Piore, 1979; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). Some of these issues shall be touched upon in this chapter, however at the same time it is vital to consider new migrant workers' decisions and experiences. Career theory and mobility power are utilised to thread together individual decision making within the broader economic and employment context.

Key themes in this chapter

As it is vital to map out new migrant workers' career journey, and common themes in their decisions, this chapter begins with an analysis of work, employment and education experiences and choices in CEE. Following on from this, important reasons as to why CEE nationals engaged in migration shall be considered. These are largely conceptualised as push and pull forces, however personal and career development issues are also analysed. The discussion then goes on to focus upon the other side of the employment relationship, and considers employers' rational for employing new migrant workers. Evidence highlights that some of the key arguments made by Piore (1979) are supported. Complementing this is an analysis of the, often limited, career decisions made by CEE nationals whilst working in the UK.

6.1 NEW MIGRANT WORKERS' WORK AND CAREER DECISIONS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

A fundamental aim of this research is to consider the career trajectories of CEE nationals working in the UK, thus it is essential to examine their education and work experience. This includes analysing work experiences and career decisions made prior to coming to the UK. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the career 'journey' does not have meaning without some ordering of work experience over time, or some logic to the linkages between successive positions occupied. Consequently, at this stage it is useful to distinguish between people who viewed their work experience as part of a career, and those who simply perceived work to be a job and means of earning an income. This section shall

interrogate these issues and shall also outline some of the key influences upon new migrant workers' work and career decisions in CEE.

When examining new migrant workers' career decisions in CEE, it was apparent there were broad similarities and important differences between employees in all three organisations. Across the case studies new migrant workers can be divided into the following categories: people with a well established career; people with fragmented work experience in mainly low skilled occupations; people who have high levels of education, limited work experience and strong career aspirations.

The first group of new migrant workers is comprised of people who had an established career in CEE, which is defined as experience that embraces notions of development and logical progression. Out of the three case studies, Bus Co had the highest proportion of people in this category. Many people stated that they had chosen the profession because it was their father or grandfather's occupation or they had an interest in driving and vehicles: 'I liked driving, and that is it. I don't know if it is a good direction to work as a bus driver because it is a really difficult job, really hard job. But I like it' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Conversely, several bus drivers were compelled to work in the industry due to problems with their previous occupation: 'But like everything else in Poland the job is finished and factory goes down and nobody wants to buy the products. So I started to search for something else and I found job in bus company in my city and I start the education about how to drive the buses' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). The transport industry was deemed an attractive sector of employment in

Poland, therefore people were drawn to work there because of this. As Bus Co clearly stipulated that CEE drivers should have a Passenger Carrying Vehicles (PCV) licence and bus driving experience, a number of people had simply obtained a PCV licence and gained experience so that they could eventually move to the UK to work: 'In Poland I got some experience, like nine months driving the bus because I heard that it is what I needed to come here. I needed that. At that time it was a condition to get driving licence in Poland and get something like half a year experience. So I had to do something. So I did that and then came straight away here' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Only a small number of people in Laundry Co and Hotel Co had established careers, which can be attributed to their age (many people were in their early twenties) and lack of long term employment opportunities in CEE.

Migrant workers with fragmented work experience in low skilled occupations are the second group of workers. In all three organisations people in this category were mostly educated to high school or college level (though a few people had degrees) and worked in a variety of different low to semi-skilled jobs in CEE. Some people began university degrees, however due to financial problems they had to terminate their education and enter employment. Newly qualified graduates also struggled to secure employment: 'I was looking for jobs only in like building sites. I was looking for jobs after my studies, I was looking for jobs in my profession. But it is hard to find it because they want people who have got more experience. That is simple. But if they don't give you a chance, you never get experience' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). Occupation and employment decisions, for this group, were based mainly upon the

availability of jobs in the labour market. The economic and employment problems facing CEE prevented some people from establishing long-term or meaningful careers. A Polish bus driver recalled the variety of occupations he worked in whilst in Poland: ‘Oh, I was a butcher, I was a shop assistant, electrician, I make soap for English company and then I drive the bus’. Many people across the case studies shared this variety of work experience. Other people had no career aspirations or expectations and simply wanted to earn money to support themselves and their family, and moved from occupation to occupation in order to do this.

The third group of new migrant workers were relatively young, university educated, with limited work experience and clear career aspirations. New migrant workers in Hotel Co were the most highly educated with just over half of respondents possessing university degrees. Everybody within this group had a Bachelors degree and about a third were educated to Masters level. Courses were chosen due to an interest in the subject and a desire to work in that career. The majority of new migrant workers in the food and beverage department had undertaken hospitality degrees or had attended hotel schools. Therefore, there were clear linkages with their education in CEE and the work they were undertaking in the UK. Just under a half of new migrant workers in Laundry Co were educated to degree level, and only a small proportion of migrant workers were educated to university level in Bus Co. Some people started university but had to leave due to economic problems or personal reasons: ‘First of all I studied at the uni. Philosophy that was the first one, then I changed it to business and finance. But I stopped because it is a long story. My girlfriend told

me that she was pregnant so I had to find a job' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). It was rather difficult to consider the career decisions of this group of workers, mainly because participants had just left university: the majority of people were in their early twenties and were just embarking upon their careers. However, some people did have clear career maps in terms of obtaining a university degree and then working in a profession related to their degree, others had university degree but had no work experience prior to moving to the UK. Some people had worked in low to semi-skilled jobs because these were the only jobs available. The opportunity to move to the UK presented itself at an important stage in the majority of new migrants' careers. The following section considers, in more depth, some of the key reasons compelling CEE nationals to move to the UK. Some of the issues touched upon in this section, such as lack of employment opportunities, shall be examined more exhaustively.

6.2 PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

As the EU enlargement in 2004 presented the opportunity for the nationals of accession countries to enter the labour market of more prosperous, existing member states, it is essential to consider some of the key reasons for the extensive movement of people. Around 1.5 million CEE migrants entered Britain between May 2004 and September 2009 (Sumption and Somerville, 2009). Explanations of migration typically involve an analysis of push and pull factors, and at the time of the EU enlargement there were apparent discrepancies in the employment and economic conditions in CEE and the UK (Eurostat, 2007). Attention was, therefore drawn to the uneven development between new

and existing states. This section outlines some of the key reasons that CEE nationals provided for their migratory decisions.

The findings highlight that push and pull forces did play a fairly important role in new migrant workers' decisions to move to the UK. Many of the interviewees drew attention to the large discrepancies between the cost of living and their wages in CEE. People generally felt it was incredibly difficult to maintain a decent lifestyle: 'To survive in Poland you have to work a lot more than even here. Even I would say in Poland just now. I went there three months ago and I saw my parents and how they live. The standard of life is still very, very low' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Other problems, such as the lack of employment opportunities, personal economic problems and very low income were the most important reasons cited:

> I went back to Poland for a job in my profession. I have nine years experience. They said come here but to be honest we don't need the staff but we take you because your experience. So we can pay you £300. I say per week that's fine. No per month. I started to laugh. So I went to the restaurant because I also worked as a waitress. I asked them for a job and they offered me 80p per hour. I couldn't believe that (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co).

An awareness of the difference in lifestyle between CEE countries and the UK clearly became apparent for the majority of people following migration or through their friends' and families' experiences. However, it was apparent that

people had generally been affected by lifestyle, employment or economic problems in CEE for a number of years prior to the EU accession: the desire to change one's life was an important reason for migration. Disenchantment with life in CEE was apparent, and the EU expansion provided an opportunity to enter the UK labour market where economic and employment conditions were favourable: 'Because everybody look for an easy life. In Poland if I buy this then I don't have money for the rest of the month. In Poland there are many, many, many problems with jobs, with insurance, with health, with everything. Everything is easier here. Here it is very easy life if you have work. That is it!' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). It seems that for every factor pushing people away from CEE there was an equal force pulling them to the UK to work.

However, some people asserted that meeting friends and family, gaining life experience, improving language skills and enhancing careers were equally important considerations: 'Actually I didn't see a future in Poland doing the hospitality so I thought that maybe here my career can go forward. It has happened actually' (Polish Food and Beverage Supervisor, Hotel Co). Decisions to migrate were often impulsive and were stimulated by a desire to join friends and family who were working in the UK. At first glance motivations like meeting friends and family, gaining experience, improving language or enhancing careers do not appear to fall under either the push or pull categories. However, it is vital to note that the poor economic and employment conditions in CEE, coupled with favourable conditions in the UK at the time of the accession, did play an important role in migrants' decisions. If the EU had not

enlarged, and there had not been such apparent inequalities, then people would not have felt the need to move. Moreover, many people who stated that they were moving to meet friends and family, gain skills or experience also explicitly acknowledged the vast economic and employment discrepancies between the UK and CEE: 'I went first to England, I went to Blackpool. But first why I went there was just for holiday really, to visit my friends. I wasn't really thinking of getting a job but I got holiday job and the money was bigger than what I earned when I was a teacher in Poland. So that probably made me stay a bit longer' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co).

In all three case studies new migrant workers highlighted that push and pull forces were important influences upon their migratory decisions, and people also placed a great deal of importance upon personal issues. Although it is important to recognise that migrants did not make decisions based solely upon rational economic concerns, new migrant workers' migratory decisions were framed within the context of uneven development across the newly enlarged European Union and the push and pull forces that this created. While this is central to our understanding of NLM, it is also vital to remember that the majority of people moved to the UK to enter employment, thus it is important that analysis focuses upon the employment relationship. Additionally, it is imperative to note CEE nationals could not have engaged in labour migration had there not been a need for their labour in certain sectors of employment in the UK. Consequently, the next section examines employers' rationale for employing new migrant workers.

6.3 EMPLOYERS' RATIONALE FOR EMPLOYING NEW MIGRANT WORKERS

As mentioned in Chapter 3, migration has been viewed as a response to labour shortages, which occur during times of prosperity. As the economy expands, local workers gradually move to better paying, higher status jobs, which creates labour shortages in unattractive, low status sectors of employment (Piore, 1979). Employers are then faced with the choice of raising wages, replacing labour with capital, or recruiting foreign workers, and the latter is the easiest and cheapest alternative. From this perspective, the view that migration is an outcome of individual decision making within the context of push and pull factors, is rejected. This section examines the extent to which the findings support the abovementioned contention.

It was clear that broad similarities existed in all three case studies when examining employers' rationale for employing migrant labour. Prior to the EU expansion in 2004, each organisation was facing significant problems recruiting and retaining staff, which was attributed to the local labour forces' perceptions of poor job quality. At this time the UK economy was experiencing extremely favourable conditions: unemployment rates in 2004 were below 5%, coupled with high levels of job vacancies (ONS, 2008). The day shift Production Manager in Laundry Co discussed the problems she had with the local labour force: 'The people that have come in, and it has never been overseas, always Scottish or English, and they came in and maybe worked until their first tea break. You come back after tea break, and they have gone. They just walked

out. They have just thought oh, it is not for me... I find that Scottish don't want the jobs the same. The money is not fantastic here'. Management in Hotel Co described similar experiences and drew attention to the difficultly retaining local workers for weeks or even days. In Bus Co, the Depot Operations Manager explained that the job of a bus driver is unsuitable for many people due to the long, unsociable hours. The job is often viewed unfavourably during times of low unemployment and economic propensity as there are better employment opportunities available: 'You know where there are probably plenty of people out there with the licence but it is not their first choice of work to do and what we tended to find were people would float in and out of the industry' (Training Manager, Bus Co). Numerous local bus drivers in Bus Co were also skilled tradesmen who would work in these occupations when the economy was favourable, moving back to bus driving during an economic downturn.

Additionally, problems recruiting and retaining bus drivers were endemic within the bus industry, and Bus Co had experienced severe driver shortages for a number of years, which were linked to a wider national shortage. The shortage was extremely problematic and was beginning to influence service operations. In Hotel Co, and in the hotel industry generally, there has been a dependence upon marginalised groups of workers, like women, students and migrant labour, to fill low skill, low status jobs. Yet, Hotel Co experienced problems filling vacancies and was consequently forced to depend upon an agency, which supplied them with relatively expensive, poor quality Spanish workers: 'For areas like mine, areas like housekeeping, areas like food and beverage for breakfast waiters we were relying on Spanish who were coming across and

hated those jobs. But only did them until they got a grasp of English and then moved on' (Executive Housekeeping Manager, Hotel Co). Laundry Co was in a similar position and was also forced to depend upon agency workers who had no interest in working in the organisation: 'And I know when we didn't have a pool of local people that you could dip into and take out, so we used to have to get agency workers from Dundee and they were all ex-cons and they were a nightmare' (Manager of Plant, Laundry Co). Each company was clearly spending unnecessary money in order to fill important job gaps.

In addition to serious problems recruiting staff, both Laundry Co and Bus Co were expanding their operations. Laundry Co was well-established in Scotland and was beginning to expand their business into the North East of England and possibly further south. In Bus Co a new Managing Director had been appointed whose main goal was expansion: 'We went through a period where we had a new Managing Director came on board three years ago and his agenda was expansion and he wanted to expand the services and he wanted to increase the numbers of buses on the road and increase the number of routes' (HR Business Partner, Bus Co). Each organisation was clearly in need of a new source of labour that they could utilise to fill important shortages and, for Laundry Co and Bus Co, expand their business. It was at this time that the EU expansion took place and new member states were granted free access into the British labour market.

The findings appear to coincide with Piore's (1979) argument that migration is a cost effective response to labour shortages that occur during times of economic

prosperity. Each organisation was evidently facing important labour shortages and mobility power issues, which were beginning to impact upon the service they provided. The expansion of the EU provided an opportunity to draw upon a new cheap source of labour and increase the flow of labour coming into the organisation. It was evident that labour shortages were not limited to the case study companies, and throughout the UK employers reported important job gaps (CIPD, 2005; Taylor and Rogaly, 2004: 37). Perhaps this is why the UK was only one of three countries to allow free access to their labour markets. However, an important point where this research disagrees with Piore's contention is that new migrant workers are argued to have an input into their migratory decisions. Thus, migration is viewed as a combination of individual decision making within the context of push and pull factors, and employers' inherent rationale for cheap labour. Moreover, labour power is viewed as moving and dynamic 'with mobility-capability that means it is not actually a resource of the individual firm, but the worker' (Smith, 2010: 290). These issues shall be explored in greater depth further in the discussion. The subsequent sections develop this line of reasoning by examining new migrant workers' career decisions and mobility power in Scotland, and then the active recruitment of new migrant workers by the case study organisations.

6.4 MIGRANT WORKERS' CAREER DECISIONS IN SCOTLAND

This section begins with a discussion of new migrant workers' initial career decisions in Scotland, and then analyses the various factors influencing these decisions. These issues shall be evaluated thoroughly, along with a consideration as to why new migrant workers' initial career decisions were limited. It was clear that the majority of CEE workers in Hotel Co and Laundry Co had exceptionally low initial expectations of employment in Scotland. The main concern was typically to find a way of earning money: the nature of work undertaken was not an issue. One Polish food and beverage assistant discussed the main objective of her initial search for employment: 'I wasn't really thinking about what job I wanted to have at that point because it is more about survival. You know when you come to a big city, especially abroad. The first thing that you think about is how to survive. How to earn your living. How to pay your bills. So basically I needed any job' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). This encapsulates many new migrant workers' initial experiences in Scotland. People also recognised that employment choices were completely unrelated to education or experience in CEE: 'Nothing really connects with my education, just you know find any job' (Polish Production Manager, Laundry Co). Evidence emphasised CEE workers' limited choice over their initial employment in Scotland: jobs were often selected based upon availability as opposed to suitability. Moreover, many migrants had poor language skills, and employers often failed to recognise the education they gained in CEE. Due to these constraints, new migrant workers' employment and career decisions and inability to exercise their labour power in the UK, often segmented them into

poorly paid, low skilled occupations. It is fair to argue that new migrant workers in the UK initially had limited mobility power.

CEE workers asserted that in order to work in their profession or occupation in Scotland, or the UK, it was essential that they could speak *fluent* English. However, as the majority of people in each case study were not fluent in English they were forced to work in occupations that were considerably lower skilled. The level of English language skills were fundamental in determining the nature of work people could undertake: people with poor English were forced to work in low skilled jobs with poor working conditions, whereas people who could at least converse in English were able to work in marginally better jobs. Every CEE room attendant asserted they had to work in the housekeeping department because of their poor English language skills, and this was the only job that they could do: ‘We are from Poland, and none of us speaks fluent English I don’t think we are able to get another job. I mean this is all we can do right now if we want to stay here to work. This is a morning job and we don’t need to be fluent in English so this is the best we can do. This is the main reason we do this I think’ (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). This was also the case for the majority of migrant workers in Laundry Co and a fundamental concern was to find a job that required little or no English language skills: ‘Because this is probably one factory where Polish people don’t speak English. Other factories it is a problem they don’t want people without language’ (Polish process operator, Laundry Co).

In addition to poor English language skills segmenting people into low skill, low status occupations, some people also pointed to the fact that their educational attainment was not recognised in Scotland: 'I want to do the job that I am qualified for. I know I could teach English still but if I want to stay here I would have to do another upgrade for my qualifications because my degree from Poland wouldn't be enough' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). Many people highlighted that employers in Scotland looked for people who were educated in this country: 'And I think education is the most important thing but also experience. I have got no experience, so it is going to be difficult. But yeah for employer here education from Poland is not important, in my opinion because they always ask about university or college finished here' (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co). Numerous new migrants, therefore, were undertaking education whilst working in Scotland, which they hoped would allow them to work in their profession. This issue shall be considered further in subsequent chapters.

CEE nationals clearly faced important barriers when trying to obtain employment in the UK. A lack of fluency in English and employers' lack of recognition of the educational attainment gained in CEE, segmented migrants into poor paid, low skilled occupations. These findings are in accordance with Piore (1979), Castels and Kosack, (1973) and Waldinger and Lichter, (2003) who argue that the labour force is divided between migrant workers and the indigenous population, which results in migrant workers undertaking the unpleasant work, with the poorest pay and worst working conditions. However, it is vital to recognise migrant workers' willingness to accept low skilled poorly

paid work often lessens the longer they settle in a receiving country and their aspirations become similar to those of non-migrant workers (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). The way in which new migrant workers' aspirations develop is a fundamental concern of this thesis, which shall be addressed in the subsequent section.

6.5 FUTURE CAREER EXPECTATIONS AND ASPIRATIONS

This section builds upon the previous discussion regarding CEE workers' career decisions in Scotland and examines future expectations and aspirations. Across the case studies three different groups of CEE workers are examined. They include people with: a desire to remain working in the case study or industry: a clear career map and aspirations to improve their future career; no career aspirations or who are on a career break. Key similarities and areas of discrepancies shall be the focus of the following discussion and important themes that emerged in each organisation will also be considered.

Desire to Remain Working in the Case Study or Industry

New migrant workers who aspired to have a career with an organisation or within an industry had one important likeness: there were apparent connections and similarities with their career in CEE and the work they were undertaking in Scotland. As Bus Co had focused their recruitment strategy upon people who were PCV licence holders, the majority of new migrant workers had been bus drivers in CEE. Therefore, many people were dedicated to the profession. Numerous employees in the food and beverage department had undertaken

hospitality degrees, attended hotel schools, or were extremely experienced in the industry. Similarly to Bus Co, many new migrant workers in the food and beverage department intended to remain working in the hospitality industry or within the case study organisation. In Laundry Co, one team leader was a seamstress in Lithuania who worked with linen and laundry. She felt that working in Laundry Co was very much related to her career in Lithuania and this was an important reason for her enjoying the job and wanting to remain in the organisation:

> High school, and of course I finished that and then later on I go to employers. So I am sewing, I am sewing clothes and things like that in Lithuania. And I worked there for 6 years. So sewing duvets, pillows and things like that. So I am not going too far away from what I used to do working in Laundry Co. It is the same... I like it here. At this moment I don't want to change to other job. I change only if something bad happens or if they say we close.

New migrant workers who are classified in this category could be viewed as advancing their careers in Scotland. However, this was not the case for several drivers who had a great deal of bus driving experience in CEE. A number of new migrant workers had worked as bus drivers in CEE and had achieved seniority in their depots. Therefore, moving to the UK was perceived as a step back in their careers, as opposed to career progression: they had to learn a new language, understand how the depot was organised and gain recognition for their work: 'And to start again from the beginning because in Poland, in my

depot, I was working ten years and I was like a grown up in the depot. I started like a young man at twenty one and I worked ten years and I was an old driver. But when I came here I had to start again from the bottom. I have to grow up my career here again' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Food and beverage assistants, on the other hand, generally viewed their time working in the UK as an important way of gaining valuable hospitality experience, which would develop and expand their careers. The Food and Beverage Manager discussed the importance of working in Hotel Co for many CEE workers:

> And some of them who do see a career in this industry they need to work in America or France, Germany or Britain to say I have got quality hotel experience. And the ones that we tend to get who are successful and who are interested in it are the ones who have actually been to a hotel school in Poland. Or maybe they are from the Czech Republic and they have worked in Germany in a five star hotel there and it is very much a career for them. Because to say they had worked in a hotel back home is not enough to propel their career. So the ones who can see a career in this are generally looking for a quality environment in which to work. Just like here, you know if you want to be a general manager in a five star hotel you have to have experience of working in five star hotels. So the ones who can see a career in this are generally looking for a quality environment in which to work.

Many bus drivers had an established career in CEE, whereas the majority of

food and beverage assistants lacked experience but wanted a career in the industry. Moving to Scotland, therefore, was viewed differently by these two groups of new migrant workers. An important point worth considering at this stage is the difficulty in distinguishing between migrant workers who wanted a long-term career with a *particular organisation* and those who wanted a career within a *specific industry.* The line between both is extremely blurry and dependent upon several key factors that may be interconnected. Each of the aspects are now examined.

Family commitments were extremely important concerns for many CEE workers in all three case studies, particularly Bus Co and Laundry Co where a high proportion of people had children. These obligations had a substantial impact upon the desire to remain working in one of the case studies or move to another organisation. Many people recalled the effect that moving to Scotland had upon their family life: ‘I work from seven to seven (in Poland). I don’t have time for my children. That is when I come here. I have time for children... We have money, we live normally’ (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Working in Scotland allowed CEE workers to fulfil the obligations of earning enough money to meet their living standards and spend valuable time with their families. This meant they wanted to remain working within a particular organisation for a substantial period of time: ‘We agreed with my family that we are going to stay in Scotland and we are not going to go back to Poland. It is possible that I will stay in Laundry Co, as I have said, until retirement. However we are focused on educating our son. Next year he wants to go to marine academy’ (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). This was also the case for a

Polish bus driver: 'Yes. Yes forever. Well I think. I am sure to my pension. I am sure of that. Maybe when I am a pensioner I go back to Poland, but *maybe*. I don't know. Just now I don't want to go back to Poland. This is no good for my daughter. She is fourteen and she goes to secondary school. This is no good back to Poland again for her schools. She must stay here and learn'. These two quotes encapsulate many new migrant workers' commitment to their family and the way in which this influenced their career decisions.

The size and stability of Bus Co was an important influence upon various CEE workers' decision to remain working in the organisation. Out of the three case studies, Bus Co was the only organisation that was perceived as providing a safe and secure job, which persuaded people to remain working for the company, as opposed to moving to another organisation: 'It is the biggest company in Glasgow and there is full stabilisation yeah. In the small company there is the problem in this time with the crisis. Small company it is more problem. Not in this company' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). The Human Resource Management Business Partner confirmed this: 'As long as you are prepared to you know keep your nose clean and work away then you know you have got as close to a job for life as you will ever get. So I think probably the CEE drivers are beginning to feel a little like the Scottish drivers that they don't want to give up this job and try something else because they may not have a chance to get back.'

This is related to the next point, the impact of the recession and lack of available employment opportunities. The decision to stay within a particular organisation as opposed to moving to another company in the industry was also influenced

by economic problems facing the UK and in CEE. A Polish food and beverage assistant discussed his reasons for remaining in the organisation:

> As long as possible. At the moment I realise that it is much better to stay in one place, especially when we are facing a crisis. To become a hard core of the hotel in case of reducing the staff or something like that. If I was looking for a job at the moment, even if I had the opportunity to find a better job, a better paying job, even if I had the opportunity to get more hours, more responsibility I would put myself at the risk of paying off in case something wrong happened' (Polish Team Leader, Hotel Co).

Many people shared this opinion and refused to look for better jobs within the industry due to the lack of employment opportunities.

Finally, perhaps the most important influence upon new migrant workers' choice to stay with the case study or move to another company was the availability of progression opportunities. Numerous new migrant workers who wanted to remain working with a particular organisation had been given the chance to progress their career in the company. An Assistant Manager of Housekeeping who had recently been promoted, discussed her aspiration of career progression and how important it was for her:

> Actually like for me just now I am quite new on this level. Now I need to concentrate about this job... Later I can think about you

> know maybe go up... Actually I am not looking so far away. Who knows, who knows. Maybe I will be the head of the housekeeping or I will maybe decide to change to another company. But for now, for the next five years then I am still. I need to catch everything for over here. So later I will probably, I think I will try again to go up.

Similarly in Laundry Co, the Production Manager asserted that she was perfectly happy to remain working within the organisation, as she had just obtained a promotion. However, she did admit she would reconsider this decision depending upon the opportunities available in the future. In the food and beverage department, however, many people stated that in order to progress your career it was essential to move to different organisations: ‘Of course I want promotion. But to go higher I must move to different hotel. That is just the way it is’ (Polish, food and beverage supervisor, Hotel Co). Promotion was clearly an important influence upon many new migrant workers’ decision to move to another organisation or remain within the case study. However, it is important to be aware that this shall be related to some of the aforementioned influences, such as family considerations and availability of employment opportunities in the industry.

The findings highlight that people who wanted to remain working in the case study organisation for a substantial period of time, and those who want to remain working in the industry, shared similar experiences and expectations. Some of the key factors shaping new migrant workers’ decisions included: family commitments, the size and stability of the organisation, recession and

lack of available employment opportunities and progression prospects. Clearly, the case study organisation has an influence upon some of these aspects. However, other elements were very much outwith employers' control and were dependent upon the economy, industry sector and new migrant workers' personal circumstances. It was also apparent that many of the influences were interrelated. The following section examines new migrant workers who used their time to develop beneficial skills and experience for their future career.

Career Map and Desire to Improve Future Career Prospects

Across the case studies, CEE workers had a wealth of different career aspirations and expectations, which varied from accountant to Russian teacher, to restaurateur, and historian, among many. One aspect that people had in common was the desire to expand and develop career related skills and experience. As opposed to regarding employment in low skilled occupations in Scotland as a career break, many people were utilising their time to realise these goals. This is related to what Smith (2010) terms *the conversion question,* and the variability and plasticity of labour power. When an employer hires an employee it is possible to train and retain them and workers can learn new skills and qualifications and 'transform themselves and their "utility" repeatedly over a working life cycle' (Smith, 2010: 280). This section outlines some of the key skills that new migrant workers valued for their career. Areas of commonality and divergence across the case studies shall be considered. It is worth noting that this section considers the development of skills for a future career. Therefore, new migrant workers who wished a career within the organisation or

industry, and people whose future career aspirations were completely unrelated to the work they were undertaking in the case study, shall both be examined.

Education

As new migrant workers' educational attainment was generally not recognised in the UK, numerous people across the case studies were engaged in, or wanted to undertake, education whilst working in Scotland:

> As soon as I found this job and I was thinking even then about education. I have done training in Sage accounts. Yeah so that was three months training so I did it last year. But I still couldn't find a job because the recession thing. So I have to stay here and… I like this place actually but this is not job for me. I expect more because I have studied five years in Poland and what for? And anyway I was thinking about university here from next year, yeah to do something for me, for my career (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co).

Education was deemed an important method of improving and realising career expectations and aspirations: 'I always wanted to work with children doing the hospitality management. Starting in January I am going to do the Masters degree as well. So why I want to do it? Because hospitality will take me to childcare as a children party coordinator. Something like that' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). One Czech bus driver was studying full-time at university for a business degree whilst also working in Bus Co full-time. This

placed incredible pressure on him but he was dedicated to his degree and argued completing this would allow him to have a worthwhile career in the future.

Several people asserted that they would like to be educated in Scotland but due to their work and/or family commitments this was impossible: 'Yeah I want (education in Scotland) but it is difficult because I have a three year old daughter that I must take care of her so I don't have time for this' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). It was mostly people who planned to settle in Scotland for a significant period of time who placed importance upon investing in their education. Many new migrant workers had achieved a Bachelors or Masters degree in CEE and had simply wanted to come to the UK to develop skills, gain experience and/or make money. Although education was an important concern for some people, the most important skill that people wanted to learn, across the case studies, was English.

English skills

New migrant workers in all three case studies placed a great deal of importance upon learning English language skills in order to improve their future career choices. This was not an expectation that people had of their employer, rather it was something people anticipated to learn whilst working in the UK. As mentioned previously, Bus Co and their union provided in-work English classes for their employees. This section focuses only upon employees who developed their language skills in order to benefit their career. Therefore, employees who improved their language skills in Bus Co's Learning Centre shall be considered, providing their motive was to benefit their future career. Due to the basic and

limited skill development opportunities in Hotel Co and Laundry Co, it is also essential to consider the way in which new migrant workers sought to develop their English language skills informally in order to help their career.

In recognising their poor language skills, the majority of new migrant workers across the case studies agreed improving their English was an important expectation of their time working in the UK, as this would allow them to find a better job: 'All the time I look for another job. My language is very bad. I going to college to learn English. I think maybe after three years I change job for better job, not working here' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). For some people learning English was a fundamental part of the experience of working in the UK: 'Because I like to improve my English as well, so that it a good opportunity for me to come to another country and try my language is good enough or I have to study more or something like that. So it's just something that I wanted to do for myself as well. It is not just about money' (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co). Improving English language skills was widely recognised as way of improving future career prospects in the UK and in CEE: 'Actually for us, everybody, it is language. It is important. If I stay here it is important. If I go back I will be talking English and will find a better job in Poland' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). English language skills are viewed as an important way that people can exercise their agency and be more successful in the labour market (Cook et al, 2010).

However, it was apparent that certain groups of workers had more opportunities to develop and improve their language than others. Food and beverage

assistants, supervisors in Hotel Co, team leaders in Laundry Co and bus drivers all reported that their English language skills had improved significantly whilst working in the UK: 'Of course and my English is much better, much, much better now than it used to be, which might be good to find a job in Poland. To find a good job in Poland' (Laundry Co). Conversing in English was evidently an important requirement in order to perform each of the aforementioned occupations: every new migrant worker who worked in such a role invested a great deal of time learning the language. Some people learned English in CEE and had a fair understanding of the language, whilst others spent time perfecting their skills in the UK:

> I wanted to improve my English. I could go to college in the morning but there were no places for me. It clashed with my work so I couldn't do this. But I learned the grammar here in the depot with the ESOL teacher and Union Learning Rep. So they explained the grammar very, very, good... and Glaswegian is a big, big problem. Kind of different language. But I am quite familiar with it now. So after three years it is good (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

Whilst working in their job many people were then able to further develop their language skills due to their interactions with customers and management: '... all the time I am improving my language so I also like it because I can speak with guests and I can speak with other people in this building because we need to talk with each other and all the time I can improve that' (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co). However, not all employees were given the opportunity

to expand their knowledge of English. This shall be considered in greater depth later in the discussion.

English language skills were immensely important for the majority of people in each case study: learning English would not only help people obtain a good job in the future but it was also a way in which people could escape from low skilled work they were presently undertaking. People generally expressed an interest in improving this skill, however for a great deal of people this was not an option.

Interpersonal skills and experience

In addition to developing language skills, a fair proportion of new migrant workers stated they had improved their interpersonal skills and gained valuable experience for their career whilst working in Scotland. Again, the majority of people who were able to do this worked in supervisory roles or in the food and beverage department.

Despite work being physically demanding and monotonous at times, food and beverage assistants had many opportunities to interact with guests, which allowed them to develop important interpersonal skills. Numerous new migrant workers also emphasised the importance of the experience they gained from the job: 'Experience and well I found myself. You know what I mean, because that is what I came here for. You discover your skills. You discover your personality sometimes as well' (Polish, food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). A Polish food and beverage supervisor discussed some of the main skills that he acquired

whilst working in Hotel Co and the way in which this would benefit his future career: ‘For sure the language. First of all. And some basic customer skills because now I know how to look after guests, not only serve them but actually how to look after them. I was thinking that in a couple of years I don’t know when exactly but I want to go home and open something like a small bar.’ It was clear that the majority of people working in the food and beverage department wanted to remain working in the hospitality industry. Therefore the experience they gained working in Hotel Co was extremely important for their overall career trajectory.

The two housekeeping floor supervisors highlighted the skills they acquired whilst working for Hotel Co. Each woman wanted a career outside the industry, but rather than simply viewing their time in Scotland as a career break, they utilised their time to develop important interpersonal and managerial skills: ‘Well, I think I work in a team with people. Because I am a supervisor so I have got people under me. It is about six maids. So I have to work with them I have to learn to work with people. So I think it is management skills. Communication’ (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co). Some people also stated that they wanted to start their own businesses and were therefore utilising their time in Scotland to learn how to manage a business by observing the way their organisation was managed: ‘Things like, for example I am working here and I am seeing what management are doing right. What the good things they are doing, what the bad things. What they should do, and don’t do. So that teach you what to do in your own business.’ (Polish process operator, Laundry Co).

For various CEE workers the experience of working abroad and the significance of this for potential employers was considered:

> Oh definitely the whole experience of being here, you know abroad in foreign country. If I go back to Poland and want to teach English in language centres I'm sure Polish people will value somebody who has spent three years abroad. Who has spent three years in Scotland because it is a different perspective. You can have academic knowledge from schools but real knowledge, real life knowledge, communicating with real people, even on the street in a foreign country that gives you that deep experience (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co).

The majority of new migrant workers were in their twenties, therefore many people discussed the valuable life experience they gained:

> I have told this to many people in the past. There is a really strong feeling that I learned more in Scotland starting my whole life together with my wife. I learned more than in university, much more. It is just living! When you need to, you approach the problems, and you solve them and it is far, far better way to develop. So solving the problems that appear every day is the best way to develop in general terms (Polish team leader, Laundry Co).

In Laundry Co, a Lithuanian Team Leader highlighted what she learned whilst working in Scotland: ‘I have learned a lot of things, like relationships with people’.

Many new migrant workers had developed their interpersonal skills and gained valuable ‘life experience’ whilst working in Scotland. This was regardless of whether they wanted a career in a particular organisation or industry, or if they were working in an occupation that was unrelated to their career aspirations. However, for the majority of room attendants and process operators, as work was performed individually, interaction was not possible and the only skills learned were specific to cleaning in a hotel or working in a large industrial laundry: very few transferrable skills were developed. This shall be considered in greater depth in the subsequent section.

Career Break and No Aspirations

The final category of new migrant workers encompassed people who viewed their time in Scotland as a ‘career break’ or people with no career aspirations. Working in Scotland for this set of CEE workers was simply a way of making money: there was no evidence of logical progression or linkages in their career. CEE workers who were on a career break and those with no aspirations shared important areas of commonality and divergence, which shall be the focus of the following discussion.

The majority of new migrant workers who were on a ‘career break’ worked in Laundry Co and the housekeeping department of Hotel Co. This group of

workers had intentions of developing and expanding skills such as English language and/or interpersonal skills, however the nature of work they performed made this unfeasible. In both organisations the work was performed individually and was routine and repetitive with limited interactions with colleagues, management or customers. Therefore, the skills acquired were specific to cleaning in a hotel or working in a large industrial laundry, rather than transferrable skills. It was also apparent that learning English in each organisation was very difficult due to the large numbers of Polish people who worked there and naturally conversed in their native language: 'You know, most of the staff here is Polish so we speak in Polish. Like so I don't have to use English very well, which is not so good on the other hand because I can't improve my English' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). A Polish team leader in Laundry Co discussed the impact working long hours had on CEE workers propensity to learn English: 'They are here sometimes for two or three years and their English remains very, very poor because they work far too much. And they have no time, no social life, and no reasons to choose to learn English. So it is possible, in theory, to work here in Laundry Co for a couple of years and not need to say anything in English'. This was also the case for many room attendants who worked two, or sometimes three jobs, and therefore had no time to invest in improving their language skills. Numerous people in the housekeeping department and Laundry Co also recognised that their lack of language skills was a barrier to moving to a better job: 'Now I stay, I stay in Laundry Co because I don't speak English well and this is a big problem for me and I can't change job' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). As the majority of new migrant workers performed low skilled work and had no opportunity to

develop skills that would benefit their career, they had no choice but to view their time in Scotland as a ‘career break’.

The other group of new migrant workers had no real career aspirations and had undertaken a series of low skilled occupations in CEE prior to moving to the UK: for them a job was simply a source of income. They had no interest in a career progression or development: work was a way of earning money: ‘I didn’t have any ambitions or aspirations, it didn’t matter to me. I just took the job that was available’ (Polish process operator, Laundry Co).

An important point is that although these two groups of workers share similar experiences of employment, there are significant differences in their education and experience. The majority of people who were forced to view their time as a career break were highly educated and/or experienced: ‘In Poland I study history and culture, and I work for a big company. Here I only clean!’ (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). Due to a lack of employment opportunities in CEE people had moved to the UK where they were unable to work in their profession due to poor English language skills and/or lack of recognition of their educational attainment. Moreover, as people worked extremely long hours and had no skill development opportunities, there were little or no opportunities for mobility and progression. The problem for these workers was the danger of being segmented and stuck in low skilled and low status occupations. Many people recognised that their plans of staying in the case study organisation for a short period of time had not always materialised: ‘The reason I think it, the only one reason is that I quit the last job that I was in and I didn’t have any money to

pay my bills so I just jump here for a very short time but I just stay here for five months We'll see, actually I have got another plan. But one month more and we'll see' (Polish room attendant Hotel Co).

The findings highlight that while people may have important career aspirations, they are not always able to realise these objectives. Moreover, the nature of work new migrant workers performed had important implications for their career prospects. It is clear that as a result of working in low skilled, routine, repetitive jobs people were in danger of being trapped working there with little or no opportunities for progression.

This section has examined new migrant workers' future career aspirations and expectations. Three related motivations were identified from the case study findings: people with a career map and desire to work in the case study or industry; people with a career map who were utilising their time to acquire career relevant skills and; people who were forced to be on a 'career break' and those with no career aspirations who viewed their time in Scotland as a way to earn money. It is evident that some migrant workers fit into more than one of the categories, for example people may want a career in the industry they are working in and may also gain valuable skills for their career. Additionally, many people had the intention of acquiring English language skills but due to the work they performed this was not possible. This highlights that aspirations, and the realisation of these goals are dependent not only upon the migrant worker but upon the organisation in which they work. Therefore, attention must be placed upon the employment relationship and the way in which each party's

expectations, aspirations and obligations are realised. This shall be the focus of the subsequent two chapters.

6.6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to consider some of the main reasons why CEE workers came to the UK to work, in addition to an analysis of employers' rationale for employing new migrant workers. Furthermore, the initial work and employment experiences of CEE workers and employers were also considered. Important areas of similarity and divergence across the case studies were revealed.

Evidence indicates that in terms of career decisions in CEE, people can be divided into those who had an established career; those with experience in unrelated low skilled occupations; and those with high levels of education but limited employment experience. Although each category of worker has differing aspirations and motivations, it is worth noting that career decisions were often limited due to a lack of employment opportunities in CEE. Related to this point is the importance of push and pull forces in the majority of peoples' decisions to move to the UK to work. The findings also indicate that for employers, migration was viewed as a response to labour shortages, which occurred during times of prosperity. As the economy expanded, local workers moved to better paying, higher status jobs, which created labour shortages in unattractive, low status sectors of employment (Piore, 1979). Recruiting foreign workers was the easiest and cheapest alternative for employers in each case study. However, this resulted in new migrant workers being segmented in low status, low skilled

occupations in the UK. Evidence highlights that the majority of CEE workers had incredibly limited employment options in the UK and limited initial mobility power. Moreover, a lack of fluency in English and lack of recognition of educational attainment further segmented people into unattractive sectors of employment. On recognising the perceived benefits of CEE employees, all three case studies targeted this group of workers, which again segments people into poor quality occupations. This was a common theme throughout the chapter: the lack of choices that people had and subsequent segmentation into the lower skilled sector of employment. The next chapter follows on from CEE workers' labour market experiences to consider the expectations and obligations that new migrant workers and employers have in the employment relationship.

CHAPTER 7: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT

The findings presented in Chapter 6 provided an insight into the new migrant workers' experiences of employment in the Central and Eastern European (CEE) region, and the push and pull factors behind the large wave of migration were also considered. Following this, CEE workers' experiences of the UK labour market were analysed and it was highlighted that many people experienced constraints that limited their career choices and mobility power. This chapter progresses the discussion by focusing specifically upon the employment relationship and the expectations, obligations and experiences of new migrant workers and employers in Scotland.

The psychological contract is generally viewed as an exploratory framework for analysing the employment relationship (Shore and Tetrick, 1994), and is often utilised to understand employees' and employers' attitudes and behaviours. In this thesis the psychological contract is described as the expectations, obligations and experiences, which employers and workers have in the employment relationship. The chapter is structured by firstly analysing important similarities and areas of distinction in the recruitment and selection process in each case study. Following this, new migrant workers' and employers' initial expectations shall be considered. The next section examines the exchange of expectations and obligations between CEE workers and employers and determines the extent to which each party met their obligations.

7.1 ENTERING THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP: RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

This section examines the recruitment and selection process in each organisation. When analysing the way in which management recruited and selected their new migrant workers it was apparent there were broad similarities between the overall approach in Hotel Co and Laundry Co, which highlighted some distinct differences with the strategy undertaken by Bus Co. However, the initial response to the large numbers of new migrants applying for jobs were comparable in all three case studies, as each company could only act responsively to the unexpected inflows of CEE nationals to the UK. The HR Business Partner in Bus Co discussed his experience of CEE migrants arriving unannounced at the Glasgow depot:

> The first people we got in, as I said these people doorsteppers, seven drivers turned up on 5th November 2004. It stands out quite clearly, Guy Fawkes day 2004. Seven guys appeared at the doorstep here and that was really the start of it. After that, you know every week then. As soon as it got known in the Polish community that we would take drivers, all of a sudden there was a flood of drivers coming to work with us.

This phenomenon was not limited to the Glasgow depot, but happened at subsidiary companies throughout the UK. Hotel Co, and to a lesser extent Laundry Co, also witnessed increasingly large numbers of CEE nationals

appearing unexpectedly in search of employment. Managers in all three case studies quickly began to recognise the value of employing new migrant workers, in that they could be a solution to problems filling jobs: 'It was just good to get good people that we could fill our workforce with' (HR Manager, Laundry Co). The importance of EU expansion clearly provided each case study with a new supply of labour from which they could draw upon: **'**I think the biggest advantage, and it is a terrible thing to say but eh there is a ready supply of them. Trying to get British people to work the sort of hours that they do for the money that they do is very difficult' (Food and Beverage Manager, Hotel Co).

In response to the new supply of labour, recruitment practices were then adopted in all case studies to specifically target this group of workers. In Hotel Co, job vacancies were advertised on a Polish website, which was free of charge and ensured the company reached their target audience in a cheap and effective manner. Additionally, managers relied upon migrant networks to employ existing workers' family and friends:

> In the beginning we maybe employed one or two people and it became a sort of extended family situation. I would employ one person and then their daughter would come from Poland, their daughter's friend, their sister, their auntie, their brother in law, and you know at one stage I sort of had a mother and her sister and daughter and cousin, you know it just took arms and legs. It is always word of mouth, they always have friends who are arriving (Executive Housekeeping Manager).

Migration networks were also an important recruitment method used in Laundry Co: 'I just say to the HR Manager I need six people and she has got piles of applications. And it is all word of mouth with these guys. They are all in here, brothers and sisters, cousins and aunts and you know' (Plant Manager, Laundry Co). Moreover, many migrant workers in Hotel Co and Laundry Co stated that they had obtained their job because relatives or friends worked in the organisation: 'When I am coming here my friend tell me that it is time for finding people here, that's why' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). Although relying upon networks may initially act as an adequate method of securing employment, there can be significant problems associated with this strategy for employers and migrant workers. Firstly, the people selected for the job may not be the most suitable and may lack relevant skills and experience due to the informality of the methods of selection utilised. Secondly, migrant networks may contribute to the segmentation of CEE workers into low skilled employment (Waldinger and Licher, 2003). If migrant workers rely upon their friends and family to gain employment, and their friends and family predominantly work in low skilled work, this leads to the segmentation of groups of migrant workers in certain areas of employment. This would appear to be the case in the housekeeping department of Hotel Co and in Laundry Co, where ninety percent and sixty percent of workers were CEE nationals respectively.

In Bus Co the recruitment strategy differed quite significantly from the approaches undertaken by Hotel Co and Laundry Co. As numbers of migrant

workers arriving at depots unannounced began to dwindle, and the benefits of CEE migrants were evident, the organisation implemented a recruitment programme specifically targeting CEE workers. Early in 2007, the parent company Bus Group implemented the CEE Programme, which was a calculated and rational approach to manage the process of recruiting and selecting CEE drivers. This strategy allowed the organisation to ensure that adequate numbers of new migrant workers were employed in depots throughout the country. The company established a base in Warsaw, and advertised throughout Poland for drivers to move to the UK to work at Bus Group. Recruiting and selecting in this way made it possible to match migrant workers with specific subsidiaries that were facing driver shortages at any given time.

Several drivers were informed by friends and family about the opportunity to come to the UK to work and make money, and the CEE Programme provided an explicit means in which to make this happen. The programme was often an important influence on peoples' decision to move to the UK and everybody recalled the variety of recruitment methods utilised by the company. Some people had heard through word of mouth, whereas others had seen advertisements on the internet and in newspapers. Bus Group was clearly in need of drivers, and decided to recruit extensively: '...the main reason which pushed me here three years ago. Here was very short of drivers and in Poland a company they strongly catch you...' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Only two out of the sixteen drivers interviewed had not been recruited through the programme, which emphasises its persuasiveness and magnitude.

What was evident about the CEE programme was the lack of control that new migrants had over basic issues such as where they would be working in the UK. The recruitment and selection process was often referred to by managers in an extremely rational manner and was likened to placing an order: 'So basically what happened was each company, each bus company within the group would put in an order, if you want to call it that for a number of drivers per month. We would ask for ten drivers every month for the next six months and they would go to you know the company in Poland that were recruiting drivers and they would come through that.' (HR Business Partner, Bus Co). Recruiting in this way ensured that Bus Group had complete control over the whole process and could also allocate drivers to anywhere that they were required in the UK. A programme of this nature was only possible due to the size of the company, and the extent of driver shortages. In the other case studies such an extensive programme was not possible. Bus Group realised the potential of CEE drivers, and when the numbers dwindled they decided the best option was to recruit in the CEE region. The programme had very obvious advantages for Bus Group and it is evident that the company capitalised on the push and pull forces outlined earlier in the discussion: many CEE nationals were desperate to move to the UK to work and Bus Group used this to their advantage. In Hotel Co and Laundry Co people continually arrived at the organisations, and the work performed in these organisations was low skilled, therefore anybody who was willing to perform the job could. In Bus Co it was essential that people had the necessary skills, which made it essential for the organisation to go to CEE to recruit the correct people for the job.

Skills and Attributes

This section considers the individual skills and attributes sought by managers during the recruitment and selection process. The findings highlight that Bus Co and the food and beverage department of Hotel Co placed more importance upon the skills and attributes sought from potential employees. This could be attributed to the nature of work performed in each organisation, particularly Bus Co, which operates in a highly regulated industry where drivers are responsible for safely transporting their passengers.

It was apparent there were significant similarities and differences in the importance attached to English language skills in all three case studies. Due to the nature of work performed in Bus Co and in the food and beverage department of Hotel Co, English language skills were an essential aspect of the job. In each occupation it was crucial that employees could interact with passengers and guests: ‘I look for a certain degree of personality from them. They need to be quite friendly and chatty and capable of a conversation. And for that reason, looking for a certain degree of English. Because unfortunately communicating is a part of the job. You couldn’t do it without being able to converse fairly fluently in English’ (Food and Beverage Manager, Hotel Co). The HR Business Partner in Bus Co explained the way in which the skills and attributes they looked for in potential employees changed, and the company recognised the importance of selecting people with English language skills:

> Initially the criteria was to get someone with a bus licence and then send them to the UK. But what was happening was they were

> sending people who couldn’t speak English and we were finding more difficulty training. You know, getting somebody with a bus licence and then training them to speak English, rather than getting somebody with good English language skills and training them for a bus driver’s licence. It is much easier to train them to be a bus driver than it is to train, to teach them English

In each of the aforementioned cases, interacting with customers was a fundamental aspect of the job, therefore the ability to converse in English was essential. However for room attendants, and process operatives in Laundry Co, English language skills were not an essential feature of the job and managers in each organisation had distinct views on the extent to which these skills were necessary. The Executive Housekeeping Manager in Hotel Co stated she expected new migrants to understand the language and have basic communication skills: ‘First of all a good grasp of English, they have to be able to communicate, not only from my point of view but from the fact that they are going to be on induction so they need to be able to understand it’. The ability to speak basic English was also important due to possible interactions with guests. Despite this, it was apparent that the majority of people in the housekeeping department had very poor language skills. In Laundry Co, however, English language skills were not deemed important, as new migrant workers could easily perform the job without this skill.

Expanding upon the need for English language skills, one of the most crucial attributes sought by managers in the housekeeping and food and beverage

department of Hotel Co was to look good and have a friendly, approachable personality: ‘What I look for in potential employees is certainly a certain amount of presentation, looking smart, smart clothes. Not necessarily expensive clothes, well groomed, well presented’ (Food and Beverage Manager, Hotel Co). The Executive Housekeeping Manager also agreed with this and added that it was essential that people had an interest in the job: ‘And also they need to be able to interact with the guest. So you have to be able to be what I would say pleasing on the eye. When I say that I mean friendly and approachable, smiley, and really have a love of people because you are going to be dealing with people every day’ (Executive Housekeeping Manager, Hotel Co). This attribute is clearly valued due to the nature of the service provided by Hotel Co: aesthetic labour was a fundamental aspect of the work, albeit to varying degrees, in the food and beverage and housekeeping department.

An essential requirement that managers in the food and beverage department and in Bus Co had of their workers was experience. For the Food and Beverage Manager, it was essential that potential employees had an understanding of how difficult and physically demanding work could be:

> ... more importantly an understanding of what the role entails because you get a lot of people who have never worked in food and beverage before and don’t realise that sometimes it is quite a lot of manual work. It is quite fast paced and it requires unsociable hours, whether you are working at the weekend or coming in to work at five am or leaving at three am. So we require, from them, a certain

> understanding that that is going to be in the job (Food and Beverage Manager, Hotel Co).

Similarly, this was an important consideration in Bus Co: ‘A lot of people can take to it (the job of a Bus driver) and a lot of people say no this sounded good at the time but I just can’t get used to these shift patterns and this and that. But the good thing about these guys (CEE workers) were they were all PCV drivers back home. So they had a wee insight’ (Depot Operations Manager, Bus Co). As the work performed by bus drivers is semi-skilled, as opposed to low skilled in the other two organisations, more emphasis was initially placed upon the technical skills that applicants’ possessed. In order to apply for the position as a bus driver, Bus Group clearly stipulated that applicants must possess certain standards. It was essential that they had a PCV licence, experience working as a bus driver and adequate English language skills. This would save the company a significant amount of money as new employees would possess the necessary skills and experience. The HR Business Partner explained that it costs £3000 to train a driver to gain their PCV licence. Additionally, Bus Group may produce a higher standard of candidate who wants to work in the bus industry, which could positively impact upon the company’s poor retention rate. In order to be selected for the job in Bus Co new migrant workers went through a six week period of training, which included guidance about driving in the UK and English language classes. If the candidate did not meet the standards expected Bus Co would pay new migrant workers the cost of their travel home, and they would not be selected for the job. Evidently, the company was extremely

meticulous in selecting candidates who had the correct skills and attributes for the job.

This section has outlined the recruitment and selection process in each of the three case studies and has drawn attention to areas of commonality and divergence across the organisations. Additionally some of the key skills and attributes expected of new migrant workers during recruitment and selection have been considered. Later in the chapter there is a discussion about the skill development of new migrant workers, and the extent to which each case study valued this important obligation.

7.2 INITIAL EXPECTATIONS OF THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP

Beyond the recruitment and selection stage this section considers the initial expectation that both employers and new migrant workers had of the employment relationship.

In Bus Co and Hotel Co, there was an initial degree of trepidation regarding the effect migrant workers would have on the workplace and wider industry respectively. The main concern in Bus Co was the way in which new migrant workers would integrate into the workplace; ‘I think when it first happened, when they first came into the depot other drivers were a wee bit apprehensive saying these guys are over here, what are they going to do, are they going to take our overtime away. Am I going to get to do this, am I going to get to do

that?' (Depot Operations Manager, Bus Co). An important concern for management in Bus Co was clearly the extent to which conflict between local and migrant workers would arise. In Hotel Co management were uneasy about the implications that employing CEE migrants would have on the hospitality sector and the management career track:

> There was a worry I know two or three years ago it came up in a sort of conversation which I was involved with some senior people in some senior hotels. And they felt that because of the people who were staying and were up and coming they would actually work for less money than a British manager. And so your career track if you were British and you were on a manager career track you were probably going to have to accept less money than you would have normally because they are biting at your heels. If it was a Polish guy, or a Czech guy who is willing to do the same job as you but for slightly less money because here less money compared to me is still a hell of a lot more money than they get over there (Food and Beverage Manager, Hotel Co).

The concerns held by management in Hotel Co were clearly about the extent to which employing migrant workers could negatively impact upon managerial salaries and careers. CEE workers were essentially perceived as cheap labour that could put pressure on managerial wages. While in Bus Co, management were initially concerned about the extent to which new migrant workers would

integrate into the workplace and the possible problems between local and migrant workers.

However, CEE workers were soon valued in each of the case studies for their positive orientations to work and excellent work ethic. ‘So they are very hard working, they are very reliable. They are very rarely sick. So it will change the whole face of hospitality’ (Executive Housekeeping Manager, Hotel Co). In Laundry Co expectations were mainly shaped by managerial perceptions of why new migrant workers were coming to the country. The Plant Manager stated that he expected them to work hard because they wanted to make money:

> I expected them to come over here and work hard and work long hours and work well to help meet the requirements of the company... they come over here and they want to make money. A lot of them come here to make a new life. They want to stay here and they bring their kids over and integrate into our society. A lot of them are just over here for two to three years to make as much money as they can and then head back home. But either way when they come over here they want to work

Managerial views across the case studies are in line with Waldinger and Licher’s (2003) argument that entire ethnic groups can be ranked according to socially meaningful but subjective stereotypes. In all three organisations management had well-defined initial expectations of CEE employees, which were shaped by concerns about relations between local and migrant workers,

managerial careers and new migrant workers' motives for coming to the UK. Additionally managers in all three case studies soon developed socially meaningful stereotypes about migrant workers' superior work ethic. An important point, however, is that the good work ethic of migrant workers has an 'inbuilt obsolescence' (Mackenzie and Forde, 2009: 150). Employers will therefore move between successive groups of migrant workers to gain any benefits. It is therefore essential to consider the development of employers' perceptions of new migrant workers in addition to new migrant workers' attitude to work and employment. Each of the aforementioned issues shall be examined more fully in subsequent chapters.

Analysing the data drew attention to similarities in new migrant workers' initial expectations of the employment relationship in Hotel Co and Laundry Co, which highlighted important differences with Bus Co. CEE migrants working in Hotel Co and Laundry Co generally had no strong preconceived expectations of the employment relationship. The majority of people had undertaken the job simply because it was available and they needed to earn money. Yet, it is important to note that some people had expectations of the experience they would gain and the skills they may learn, like English language: 'First of all, I was thinking about my language, my English so I expect that I would learn it more'. New migrant workers' lack of strong initial expectations of the employment relationship could be attributed to the informal recruitment and selection strategies adopted by each organisation. Both Hotel Co and Laundry Co recruited predominantly through informal migrant networks, and Hotel Co also utilised a Polish website, therefore there was no investment in attracting

potential employees or in promoting the values of the organisation. The initial expectations held by CEE workers were predominantly of working in sector and type of organisation, and not of working specifically in Hotel Co or Laundry Co. An additional point is that many people in Hotel Co and Laundry Co had previous experience working in the industry or in similar types of organisations in the UK, which also impacted upon expectations of employment.

The initial expectations held by new migrant workers in Bus Co differed significantly from those in Laundry Co and Hotel Co. Many migrant workers had extremely positive perceptions of the organisation, which can be attributed to the extensive and considered recruitment programme undertaken by Bus Group: 'Before I came I was like this is the biggest transport company in the UK so I thought that is quite great. The biggest company, safe job there. They are looking for drivers, polish drivers. They are going to give training, some English classes. I thought that was quite good.' However, upon arriving in Glasgow, these perceptions soon altered. The Glasgow depot was an extremely old, unkempt building, which was desperately in need of repair. Some of the CEE drivers were shocked by the state of the depot, which made a lasting impression: 'The company put it to us, they said the money, they said it was big stuff like that. And when we see this garage, because this was the main one, I was like oh my god, oh my god. This is worse than Russia' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). As employees engage in an employment relationship with an organisation, these initial expectations and obligations develop and a more accurate picture of the relationship can be gained. The development of the employment relationship is analysed in much greater depth in the next section.

7.3 THE EXCHANGE OF EXPECTATIONS AND OBLIGATIONS

Managerial Expectations

Due to the problems previously experienced with the local labour force, compliance was a key expectation that management across the case studies had of new migrant workers. People were expected to perform their job whilst adhering to the rules and regulations: 'I want people who will do the job and do it well. Come to work, meet requirements and that is it. Simple as that.' (Production Manager, Laundry Co). In Hotel Co the Executive Housekeeping Manager's expectations went beyond compliance, she expected people to have an interest in the job: 'I expect people to want to do the job in the first place. It's not just taking any old job to pay the rent. You know you have to have some sort of interest in what you are doing'. In Bus Co, the expectation of compliance was important for all managers: 'All I expect from them is that they turn up for their work. They do their work to the best of their ability. They should come in wearing their bus driver's uniforms and all that carry on. That is mainly it. If people come to their work and do what they are supposed to do, don't give me any cause for concern. Fine that is what I am looking for' (Depot Operations Manager, Bus Co). Although this may seem like an undemanding expectation it was actually an extremely important requirement in Bus Co. The company, like all other bus companies, had to adhere to strict rules and regulations over the operation of bus services. Therefore, it was essential that drivers complied with Bus Co's expectations, which were often shaped by industry regulations. Due to the extensive rules and regulations, the way in which drivers interacted with passengers was also an important concern of management. However, as the

majority of work was undertaken away from management's supervision, the difficulty of managing bus drivers' interaction with passengers was stressed by managers.

In addition to expectations concerning compliance with rules and regulations, managers across the case studies also had important expectations regarding the number of hours and shift patterns that employees worked. In order to cope with seasonal fluctuations in demand, all employees in Hotel Co were employed on zero hour contracts, which meant that working hours fluctuated in line with the demand for the service: 'All my staff are on variable contracts because of the nature of the job. For example because of the credit crunch we have lost a lot of business during the week. I don't have enough work to keep people in work five days a week. So like in a quieter period it can drop down to four days and then back up to five. When we hit May and it starts going through June, July, August. It is a lot busier' (Executive Housekeeping Manager, Hotel Co). By utilising zero hour contracts Hotel Co could cope with variable demand for the service whilst being cost efficient and ensuring that staff levels consistently corresponded with service demand. As Laundry Co supplied hotels with clean linen and laundry, the company was also subject to the same seasonal fluctuations in demand as Hotel Co, however Laundry Co utilised a different strategy. During peak times, such as the summer, the company relied upon overtime and also employed student workers from CEE who worked only during peak times. When demand for the service declined, the company would embark upon a programme of redundancies. In comparison to the other case studies Bus Co's services were relatively fixed: the same services ran regardless

of demand. As Bus Co had experienced severe driver shortages prior to the EU enlargement, the company utilised overtime as a means of ensuring all bus services were running at full capacity. However, as more workers were employed this was no longer necessary, and towards the end of the research the company had a driver overage and overtime was no longer available. This highlights the way in which an increase in labour supply and numbers of employees working in the organisation impacted upon managers' expectations of employees.

It is evident that across the case studies, managers' expectations of their new migrant workers ranged from mere compliance with rules and regulations to the expectation of an interest in the job. Managers in each case study also had expectations relating to the patterns of work and type of employment their employees would be engaged in. Managerial expectations of employees were influenced by numerous factors, such as pressure from clients, increases in labour supply and industry rules and regulations.

New migrant workers in each organisation generally agreed with managements' expectations of them. Obligations towards the organisation were often extremely simplistic and corresponded with managerial expectations of compliance: 'To be a very good worker and to fulfil the duties of work' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). Employees expressed similar views in Hotel Co: 'Just to clean your rooms in the right time. I think this is not hard work, like you know to think about it. Clean the room in the right way. This is not difficult mentally. So I expect from us just to do the right work and eh I think that is it.'

As management placed a great deal of importance upon following rules and regulations in Bus Co, many drivers considered the importance of this obligation: 'You have rules you must stick to them, it doesn't matter if you are Polish, Scottish whatever it is all the same. I think that I do everything that they expect. I have never had complaints or I have never had days off work. I know the rules and I always try to do everything that I have to do' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). When discussing their obligations to Bus Co the majority of CEE drivers explicitly referred to the money that they could earn in return: 'Do everything that I am supposed to do, know my job in this case, driving well. Don't have any accidents, don't have any problems with passengers. For me working for someone, it is some kind of deal. It is just a business. I do everything that I am asked to do and they pay me what they owe to pay me' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Perhaps the correspondence of employers' expectations and new migrant workers' obligations could be attributed to the uneven power relationship between the employer and employee. It is the employer who purchases labour power and who, therefore, has the authority to make demands of their workers. Additionally, Chapter 6 outlined new migrant workers' limited career choices in Scotland. It was clear that people were desperate for work and were willing to work anywhere in order to earn money. This could be why compliance with rules and regulations was an important obligation of new migrant workers. The following section develops the discussion on the psychological contract by considering important employee expectations. Common themes from each of the case studies are identified, and the extent to which employee expectations are met shall be considered.

Employees' Expectations

Recognition

Recognition was the most widely reported expectation that CEE workers had in Hotel Co and Laundry Co and the third most commonly cited expectation in Bus Co. The majority of people concurred that managers were obliged to recognise employees' effort and work, however it was generally agreed, across the case studies, that this expectation was largely unmet. Even employees who had a fairly good relationship with their managers, the two housekeeping floor supervisors and the majority of food and beverage assistants, complained of a lack of recognition from management: 'Yeah, it is more motivation you know. It is motivation so it is very important even to say "good job, you have done well." Or something. But they don't' (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co). Many employees in the food and beverage department undertook tasks that went outwith their job description to accommodate the business needs, such as running multiple areas at once. Yet, they felt that they did not receive the appreciation and recognition they deserved: 'You know you put one hundred percent into the job that nobody appreciate you...So that many people experience that' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). New migrant workers in Laundry Co expected recognition for overtime and effort. When discussing this one worker highlighted that it is always migrant workers who worked extra hours and this deserves to be recognised. Attention was also drawn to the need for recognition of employees who worked very long hours but were not always able to meet hourly targets: 'They should recognise our work and that we work overtime. Scottish people don't do overtime at all. Sometimes in a series of days we do overtime, we start at four o'clock and then after eight

or nine hours they should recognise that we might be tired so we are not able to reach the target' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co).

Across the case studies, however, the lack of recognition was most severe for room attendants and bus drivers due to the nature of work they performed: in both organisations work was predominantly undertaken away from direct managerial supervision making recognition difficult. Yet, many room attendants agreed that simple acknowledgement was all they wanted: 'Just for the beginning that they would say hello' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). As mentioned previously, room attendants had limited interaction with their managers and the majority of people faced significant language barriers. Moreover, their fundamental role was to discreetly clean rooms when guests were absent, therefore a significant amount of work was providing an invisible and silent service. In Bus Co, bus drivers often had very little interaction with management, and when people did come into contact with the Depot Operations Manager it was because they were involved in collisions, accidents, incidents, or if they had been absent from work. Some drivers said that they would like to be recognised when they did their job well, as opposed to when they made a mistake. Managers in Bus Co did identify that drivers often did not receive the recognition they deserved: 'I think to be honest and that is maybe where we fail as a company in that we don't always give them the simple things like the recognition...I think it is something that Bus Group recognised themselves you know and it is the old cliché, people are our best asset and all this. We are a manpower organisation because that is our biggest resource so we need to look after them' (Training Manager, Bus Co). Bus Co and their union Unite had

taken this into account and had introduced a rewards and recognition scheme for employees. The company also ran various initiatives like short story competitions, recognition for improving core skills and appraisal for driving performance. One Polish employee had won numerous awards for his skills acquisition and driving performance. Moreover, he was keen to help other employees in the depot and often helped managers with tasks such as translating posters into Polish. He had, therefore, developed a strong connection with the organisation and many managers:

> I am just good, better than others. I won the short story competition this year. So I won a prize, an IPOD and vouchers. And I am going to London in October and December. I am nominated for employee of the year. So just three persons (from the UK) and I am nominated for that... the core skills, another competition was about the person who helps people and eh and who does many things to other driver friends. So eh they nominated me from the garage....They keep me motivated or eh I am popular or famous maybe now because they (managers) know my name eh how to spell my name even. They (managers) know who I am (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

By providing him with extra responsibilities and recognition for his work, managers had instilled in him what appeared to be a strong psychological contract and commitment to the organisation. He was loyal to Bus Co to a certain extent and he did want to progress within the organisation. However, he

admitted that this was simply a way to gain experience and improve his English, which would allow him to obtain a better job. It is also important to note that the majority of new migrant workers were unhappy with this form of recognition, and generally people would have preferred monetary recognition for the work they performed.

New migrant workers obviously felt that recognition was a fundamental aspect of the psychological contract, however managers did not feel that this was an important obligation towards their CEE workers. This is an important unmet expectation in the psychological contract between new migrant workers and managers.

Understanding, respect and fairness

Expectations concerning the treatment of workers by management were an integral element of CEE migrants' psychological contract. The majority of new migrant workers in each case study agreed managers should be fair and supportive, whilst treating them with respect. However, there were significant differences in the treatment of room attendants, bus drivers and process operators on the one hand, and food and beverage assistants and supervisors in Hotel Co on the other. This discussion shall consider the extent to which this important expectation of understanding, respect and fair treatment were met in each of the case study organisations.

Food and beverage assistants and housekeeping floor supervisors had a relatively good relationship with their managers, and both felt their expectations

regarding their treatment were largely met: ‘All managers are really good and I think they are professionals and they can speak with us. They can help us and I think it is the most important thing when we work in a place like this because it is all about communication and understanding’ (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co). In the Food and Beverage department, employees felt that they could rely on management: ‘When you speak to a manager about your personal things he is always good. You know for you to know that he will keep this for himself you know, for not everybody to know it. You feel that you can rely on him you know what I mean’.

However, for room attendants, bus drivers and process operators their experience of employment and their relationship with management differed quite considerably. Both room attendants and bus drivers reported they were treated well initially, however this treatment had gradually worsened due to the recession and the increase of labour supply available to the organisation. For example, a Polish bus driver noted that:

> Three years ago if we want overtime then they give us that. And they respect us and we were very surprised about that. If you were late or you couldn’t get to work you call and they say no problem, I will see you tomorrow. And you can go in the next day to the office and they ask you what has happened. I was sick. Oh alright. No probs. And just now, credit crunch, they say oh you have a warning for one day and something like that. And they think how to cut our wages you know. How to get money from us you know.

Room attendants in Hotel Co also discussed the way in which their relationship with management changed: 'There was a period here when they didn't have a lot of staff and they treat us very well then. Very well. But that has changed' (Polish room attendant). Perhaps, as management became aware of increased labour supply available, the need to treat workers well in order to retain them decreased substantially. The findings in both Hotel Co and Laundry Co certainly would suggest this. Furthermore, many room attendants reported that their manager mentioned unemployment if they complained about work: 'I was complaining on Monday to my supervisor. I said look you gave me rooms in four sections. You are supposed to have rooms in one section. For me it was quite hard to do that. And my manager she said to me "Why you complaining?" She said to me "You are lucky you have a job! You have to be happy with that, that you have a job"' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). Due to the recession and lack of employment opportunities, the mention of unemployment was an important threat and was also a method of ensuring employees did not complain and worked to the standard expected of them. Managers in Laundry Co utilised a similar strategy to ensure workers continually reached their targets: process operators who recurrently failed to meet targets were the first people to be made redundant according to management. This placed immense pressure upon people to try to meet targets. Moreover, when management mentioned redundancies many process operators became distressed and upset. The Nightshift Production Manager discussed her experiences and just how upset people became when redundancies were imminent: 'I have poor people crying because we are making people redundant again. I tried to console them and they

are like “Please, please, no, not again?” because they were made redundant the last time. You know they worry’. The continual threat of job loss resulted in people being too afraid to complain about their work: ‘Yeah it is better to be silent than to say something because it brings you into trouble if you say something’ (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). Clearly for bus drivers, room attendants and process operators the recession had an important impact upon the way in which management treated them: increased unemployment due to the recession meant that management did not have to treat workers well as they had an abundant supply of labour from which to draw upon. Additionally, in Laundry Co and for room attendants in Hotel Co, work became increasingly insecure, which placed pressure upon new migrant workers to work hard and not complain about their work.

A fundamental aspect of CEE workers’ psychological contract was the expectation of fair and equal treatment. Across the case studies new migrant workers generally indicated that they expected to be treated fairly, equally and the majority of people explicitly highlighted that they should receive similar treatment to Scottish workers: ‘They should treat us fairly and equally. The same as Scottish people’ (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). Each organisation was formally committed to ensuring migrant workers were treated fairly and equally in terms of their contracts and pay. In all case study organisations CEE employees were employed on the same contracts and received the same level of pay as local workers: ‘As I said earlier there were no difference regarding rates of pay, holidays. They came in exactly the same as anyone else would. We made no exception’ (Personnel Manager, Laundry Co).

Additionally the majority of senior management and HR Managers expressed a commitment to the fair and equal treatment of migrant workers: ‘I think on the whole we tried to treat them as much as we could the same as we would treat any driver if they came from Glasgow, London or Manchester or Warsaw or wherever. We wanted to try to treat them all equally. Equally well.’ (HR Business Partner, First Bus). This was also the case in Hotel Co: ‘Everybody has the same contracts and are treated the same’ (Human Resource Manager, Hotel Co).

However, what actually happened in practice did not always mirror the formal commitment made by management and HR. The majority of room attendants, process operators and bus drivers had experienced unfair treatment and racism from managers and Scottish colleagues due to their status as migrant workers. In Hotel Co one of the main issues raised by room attendants was their manager’s lack of respect for the difficult work they undertook: ‘It is tiring and it is hard work sometimes and we only want respect. She is supposed to understand us. So I think there is not respect enough for us. It is not even that we are Polish or not, just like a human being or something. Respect is just a word, it comes from the way they can treat us, for example with hours, with holiday, with you know accepting requests. All this kind of stuff’ (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). It was evident that there was a great deal of animosity between room attendants and the Executive Housekeeping Manager. One of the main areas of conflict concerned the extent to which migrant workers spoke their native language or English: ‘I say you are in Scotland, speak Scottish! You know, they go for lunch in the canteen. For example my assistant is Scottish and she will go for lunch

with them at lunch time. They all sit and speak Polish and alienate her for half an hour. And they do that every day… they are quite a strong force to be reckoned with. You feel like an outsider in your own area'. Many room attendants drew attention to this and it was obvious they were insulted by the way in which their Manager handled the issue: 'Especially we not allowed to speak Polish. Don't speak *bloody* Polish' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). The relationship between CEE workers and their Manager was noticeably problematic and the arguments regarding speaking Polish or English was a clear manifestation of this.

The Executive Housekeeping Manager's treatment of CEE workers was clearly shaped by her personal objections to them working in the country:

> The strain on the NHS, the benefits that they (CEE workers) can claim and they do claim. We are now looking at housing for them. You know before when they first came they weren't entitled to council housing, which I think was right. But now that is changing and that for me as a tax paying single person are the disadvantages. Because I find, I get annoyed at even things like schools, the strain put on schools. The classes are getting bigger, speaking English, the NHS. It is the strain put on those service industries that we are all relying on I find quite annoying.... Not many of them actually want to stay here and actually add value to the country. It is all about as much money as you can send back. They are not giving it back, it is all going out the country you know... What about the fact

> that they can live in Edinburgh but your children can live in Poland and you can get family money? You can say you have got five children in Poland, as long as you can provide some written document to immigration, you will be entitled to that money for them because we are part of the EU. It is ridiculous!

Having opinions like this almost certainly impacted on the way in which she treated and managed her CEE workers. Unfortunately, unfair treatment was not limited to the housekeeping department of Hotel Co. The majority of CEE drivers in Bus Co had experienced racist treatment from their supervisors, bus controllers. Bus drivers had frequent contact with controllers, who were generally responsible for allocating drivers to buses and ensuring that all buses left the depot on time. However all drivers had, at some point, experienced unfavourable treatment because they were from CEE:

> There were a lot of things, lack of overtime and stuff like that. It is not nice if Polish drivers going to office and ask for overtime, and two guys are sitting behind the desk and one is telling to another one, whisper “there is no overtime for Polish drivers”. So it is not a good thing... And, and he (controller) just bullied us (CEE drivers), that’s it. He grabbed my files and he said “Look the size of this file it is shocking and some people have been working here twenty years and they don’t have half of this” (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

Numerous new migrant workers discussed the way in which some supervisors would withhold overtime from them and this was attributed to their dislike for Polish workers. One Polish bus driver noted: ‘Here I have noticed that some guys are keener to give me overtime and some are not. Someone knows I am Polish and they have to tolerate us because they have to. But I can surely say that there are people who don’t like Polish. They just don’t. It is okay, we are here, let them be and that is it. But if I ask something, sorry no, it is always sorry no and excuses.’ Moreover, some people highlighted the way in which office staff and controllers would use new migrant workers’ accent to pretend they could not understand them: ‘This is very interesting when we need anything from Controller they sometimes don’t hear us. But when they need help from us they speak very good very, very good English, very slow. We understand everything.’ Evidently, some workers were being bullied by their supervisors because they were CEE, which is not only an unmet expectation but it is also illegal discrimination and harassment.

New migrant workers in Laundry Co had similar experiences to room attendants and bus drivers. Every manager in Laundry Co was extremely defensive when asked about their relationship with migrant workers and their immediate reaction was to deny racism. ‘‘Everybody is equal. Everybody will have different opinions from me. Some will come up with different opinions. But what I am telling you is true. I wasn’t brought up to be racist or anything’ (Scottish checking in team leader, Laundry Co). However, one team leader eventually explained some of the issues between Polish and Scottish workers: ‘Everybody is treated equally as far I can see, but it is just the older guys that

are here, they are not very nice. They are the ones that are 50s and 60s, and they are like “oh more Poles”. I have heard arguments on the floor a lot of times. Between Scottish and Polish... they are like “aye you are taking all our money and you are sending it back home. You are taking money out of our country”’. The Personnel Manager confirmed this when she discussed some of the issues she faced trying to ensure new migrant workers were integrating into the workplace: ‘You got the normal from people who had been with us for a long time “Oh they are taking our jobs” but we weren’t getting the applications for people to take the jobs; so they weren’t in actual fact taking anyone’s jobs. It was “Oh do you get money for taking them”. That was one of the main things. And I was like “No they are coming in to work the same as you”’. It was clear that the majority of management indicated that racist views towards CEE workers came from a small minority of older workers. However, during the course of the focus group discussions new migrant workers stated that they experienced discrimination from their colleagues and also from management:

M: I think this is like a hidden discrimination against Polish people. This is my opinion.

S: In my opinion Scottish people are treated better because we need to work to the targets and some Scottish people don’t need to do that. And if they (Scottish workers) don’t meet targets everything is turned into silence, nobody speaks about it. However we are threatened with redundancy.

C: We have to reach the targets and Scottish people don’t and this is strange for me. I just came across such an example.

Do you have anything else to say about this?

R: I think that we will do the hardest job for manager and they (Scottish) don't have to do anything because we will do it.

E: There is also a problem. Even if I go to the toilet and I say "hello how are you?" to my friend and I wait for a reply I am reprimanded on the spot. However, when Scottish people speak, they can speak and talk for five minutes and nothing eh happens.

So why do you think that is happening then?

C: I think this is a kind of discrimination because we cannot work on one machine together eh and eh if we speak we are reprimanded on the spot. However, when we receive the reprimand from the manager and we see that the manager is speaking for five minutes to another Scottish employee.

So that is from your team leaders, production manager?

Production manager.

So what do you think your manager should do for you then as employees?

They should treat us fairly and equally.. They should recognise our work and that we work overtime. Scottish people don't do overtime at all.

All: Yes

Many CEE workers agreed that they were treated differently from local workers: people generally felt that they were expected to work harder and were threatened with redundancy if they did not work to the standard expected of them. A different group of employees had a similar discussion in focus group two:

P: We work very hard and we have to work very hard but some Scottish don't do a score and it is okay but we have to.

Why? What do you think?

R: I don't know. I think that we are Polish and not Scottish and I think that's only.

It is expected of you because you are from a different country?

R: Yeah something like that.

What does everyone think?

A: They, they know that we need this job…We need the money so

All: Yeah.

New migrant workers in Laundry Co clearly felt they were experiencing unfair treatment because of their nationality. Senior Management and HR in Laundry Co underestimated the extent of the racist views within the company and also had little knowledge of the unfair treatment that CEE workers received from supervisors and middle management.

The findings across the case studies demonstrate that understanding, respect and fairness were clearly crucial aspects of new migrant workers' psychological contract. Due to CEE workers' status as migrant workers in the UK, considerable attention was placed upon fair and equal treatment, and many migrant workers explicitly compared the treatment they received with that of local workers. It was apparent that there were considerable discrepancies in the treatment of different groups of CEE employees in the case study organisations: food and beverage assistants and housekeeping floor supervisors on one hand felt they had a good relationship with management, while room attendants, bus drivers and process operators on the other had a poor relationship and were

subjected to racism and unfair treatment. An interesting point about the findings is the considerable differences in the treatment of employees within the housekeeping department of Hotel Co. This difference could be attributed to the value management attached to the two housekeeping floor supervisors. Both women were extremely experienced in their job as they had worked for the company for a number of years. Additionally they had excellent English language skills and undertook the critical role of translation between the room attendants and Executive Housekeeping Manager. Perhaps it would have been difficult for the management to replace them, and this is why there was a significant difference in her treatment of them. Another key finding across the three case studies was that while each organisation was formally committed to fair and equal treatment, what happened in practice did not always represent this obligation. Bus drivers, room attendants and process operators all experienced unmet expectations and there were serious cases of bullying and illegal discrimination. This highlights that managerial policies and discourse of fairness and equality does not always happen in practice.

Protection and Safety

The most important and widely reported expectation that migrant workers had of Bus Co was protection and safety when working with passengers. The quality of work undertaken by bus drivers in Glasgow was dependent upon the bus routes, and consequently the passengers who travelled on the buses. Therefore, many drivers felt that Bus Co should protect them to the best of their ability, and should also provide in-depth training to help them to deal with problem passengers and dangerous situations. The company did place emphasis on

safety, however this often encompassed health and safety in the depot and safe driving on the road. Many new migrant workers felt that they were powerless when faced with a difficult passenger due to the rules and regulations surrounding their interaction with them. People often compared working in the UK with the authority they had in their jobs in Poland. Working as a bus driver deemed to be a safer job in Poland and many drivers discussed how they were able to physically interact with passengers, and if needed protect and defend themselves:

> In Poland I don't have a protection glass. I have only small doors like that. I could speak with people normal. But I have small, small (baseball bat) very strong. Only to protect myself for example. And one time, only one time it was handy because there was a very, very drunk man and he attack me because I had money because people were paying for their tickets... And I show him what he could get from me and then the police came to my bus and they found him on the floor and they check the pulse. And they like, okay he is alive so... not a problem (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

If a bus driver acted in this way in the UK it is very likely they would be arrested and would also lose their job. Having gained experience working in Poland, the degree of regulation over issues like this was often a surprise to new migrant workers. The general feeling from CEE drivers was that the company did very little to help, or to prepare drivers:

In case of assault or something like this I don’t see any help from the company. You can mention about the CPC (Certificate of Professional Competence), which tells you how to deal with difficult passengers. But that is rubbish because once someone comes to you and starts swearing at you and spitting on you. You just, you have to sit and wait. Maybe he will go away or whatever. You can just call the police. If you are lucky they will come quite fast’ (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

People were often sceptical about the organisation’s motives for doing things:

Yeah, they (Bus Co) told me to write a small report (after an incident), that’s it. I know that is a cheeky answer but that is cheeky what they do to us. They do nothing. It is like we have the cab, which is closed... Anyone can open it from inside, from outside. It is just the cab. Probably I think it is not because they care about us but they care about money, they have to pay compensation to the driver (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

One driver faced an extremely difficult situation trying to control school children who were setting fire to seats in his bus. However he received very little help from Bus Co: ‘I put out the fire and I call for the inspector. The inspector come and I show him book, a school book with name, the pupil name and the teacher name. This is very easy to find these boys. You know this

inspector, he get the book and put it in the bin. No problem. Only change my bus because the smell of the fire. This is help? (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

Drivers felt helpless and angry when they considered how little the company helped them, and the way in which passengers were deemed to be always right. Moreover, people could not protect themselves from dangerous passengers, and if they touched a passenger they would be immediately dismissed. This is a crucial unmet expectation which is intensified by previous bus driving experience in Poland where there are not as many rules and regulations regarding interaction with passengers.

Expectation of Internal Progression

Progression was a fundamental expectation for a number of new migrant workers in each case study, which significantly shaped their obligations towards their employer. Although the majority of CEE workers did not consider progression to be important, it is essential to consider the expectations and obligations of those who did. This shall provide an insight into why progression was imperative for some and not for others.

For the two housekeeping floor supervisors, who had previously worked as room attendants in Hotel Co, progression was a key expectation and essential aspect of their psychological contract. A housekeeping floor supervisor admitted gaining promotion was something she considered throughout her time working as a room attendant: ‘Maybe not from the first day but after a few months I was thinking, no I cannot be used anymore. So like the room attendant I need to go

higher, up, up. And I was looking for different opportunities for me. I decide you know, go up, up, up'. This was also the case in Laundry Co, and two team leaders and a production manager who had all previously worked as process operators, concurred that progression was an important consideration from the beginning of their employment with the organisation: 'From the beginning I say, I don't want to stay on the machines all these years. I always try to get something more and more and more. So now I am the production manager. I would like to be something more. I still got opportunities here but maybe different when they open another plant' (Polish Production Manager, Laundry Co). In Bus Co very few drivers stated that promotion was an important consideration, however a Polish bus driver, highlights that progressing his career was imperative: 'All I can ask is for maybe some chance to change, to progress my career. I do not want to drive a bus forever.'

After further discussion one CEE worker explained that he worked for a bus company in Poland and had achieved a certain degree of authority and status in his company. Moving to the UK to work in Bus Co was deemed a step back in his career: 'I had my own route, the best in the garage. So I had everything sorted and I came here so I start from the beginning, you know. And again like a new driver. But I had some experience already after ten years, you know. And it is not really, not really nice to go back' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). He was, therefore, continually looking for ways to improve his skills and progress within Bus Co. The Union Learning Representative (ULR) explained that this particular person was a model employee who had a willingness to learn and help others. By being a good employee he hoped for the chance to progress within

the organisation. This is a clear example of the way in which an employee's expectations can influence their obligations towards the organisation. This also highlights that the abovementioned driver's previous experience influenced his expectations in Bus Co: due to his extensive experience in Poland he felt that he should be able to progress his career in Scotland.

As well as previous experience influencing employees' expectations, the mismatch between the level of education gained in CEE and the job performed in Scotland also had an important impact on new migrant workers' expectations. Each of the housekeeping floor supervisors and the Assistant Manager of Housekeeping in Hotel Co, and the Production Manager in Laundry Co were educated to Masters Level, while a team leader in Laundry Co had a Masters degree and had also begun a PhD but had to abandon it due to economic problems. Clearly the majority of people who progressed their careers were highly educated, and working as a room attendant or process operator was perceived as inadequately utilising this education. Therefore, people sought something more from their jobs: 'I just wanted to be good employee because I thought that maybe I will go somewhere higher and I did so it works. So it was my point of view that if I be good maybe I'll receive something more so I can be in a better position somewhere. I want to do something more and more and be higher and higher because I studied' (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor). This was also the case for a Polish team leader in Laundry Co. He explained that in his current position as a team leader he continually expected more from the job: 'Well I probably expect much more from the job than I have here at the moment. Of course it was a challenge especially when we have some problems.

A great opportunity to learn how to manage problems and breakdowns. But after six months it becomes a routine' (Polish team leader, Laundry Co). Understandably having progressed to supervisor or team leader roles, numerous new migrant workers who were educated wanted to further develop their career and move into occupations that matched their education level. This shall be considered in more depth in the following section which looks at skill development.

In order to gain promotion, across the case studies, it was imperative that new migrant workers had excellent English language skills: 'I don't want to be a bus driver till the end of my life. If my English be really good then I can apply for something different, maybe in the depot' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). This was one of the key elements that differentiated those who gained promotion from those who had not progressed. The majority of CEE team leaders, supervisors and managers attended formal English language classes and placed a great deal of emphasis upon learning English in order to progress within the organisation. The Assistant Manager of Housekeeping, who taught herself English in her spare time, explained the importance of learning English for her career: 'I have been in a college and that was not working for me. I decide it is better if I learn myself and I will. I have friends who are helping me and if I have any questions or problems then I can go to them, they are fine. It is personal. If you have the proper language then you can go up, up, up.' Clearly, English language skills were also beneficial for new migrant workers' future career outwith the organisation and the majority of people who progressed within the case studies admitted this was an important consideration. However, the point made here is

that in order to have made this initial progression *within the case study organisation,* the majority of people invested a great deal of time learning and improving their English skills.

In addition to studying English, the majority of new migrant workers who valued progression had other significant obligations to the organisation. Each housekeeping floor supervisor concurred that they felt obliged to work hard and put the company's needs before their own, with one recognising:

> I am always for the company. When they ask me to work an extra day, I am always here. When they phone, "Eva can you stay longer or can you come early?" I am always here. There was never a problem. I never say no I can't come, I never phone sick or something. I don't feel well. No I am always here because I know it's affecting to other people if I don't come to work somebody has to do my job and it is unfair

In Laundry Co, a Lithuanian team leader, asserted that she continually suggested improvements to different aspects of work in the laundry. By making a valuable contribution and expressing her interest in her work she felt this would enable her to progress within the organisation: 'Because sometimes I see something I do not like. It should be or could be better. I try to tell the manager maybe we should do that because maybe it would be better. I feel like this will help show I am a good employee' (Lithuanian team leader, Laundry Co).

The findings reveal there was a small group of workers in each organisation who placed significant worth upon progression *within the company*. Progression was valued mainly due to the high level of education and/or experience gained in Poland. The majority of people wanted a job that matched their education and experience, and for many people, working in the case study organisations did not meet their expectations. The situation differed slightly for bus drivers, as the majority of new migrant workers were in this profession in Poland, therefore there was a distinct match of skills and experience. However, for one CEE bus driver what was missing was the authority acquired whilst working in Poland. It is also worth noting that English language skills were immensely important for the realisation of the expectation of progression. Additionally, many people developed obligations towards the case study organisation in order to realise their expectations of progression.

However, it is important to note that this group of new migrant workers were fairly unique, and the majority of employees across the case studies recognised that there were extremely limited opportunities for advancement with their employer: ‘I think that this is not possible to be a manager in this hotel. I think this is not possible...Because we don’t have the education to be the manager. If you want to be a manager you must have the many courses and experience for a manager job’ (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). Within Bus Co numerous drivers recognised that it was virtually impossible to progress beyond being a driver: ‘I don’t see that I will go forward here, you know. It is the same you know if somebody works in the office they stay in the office and they have their own people. If somebody is a driver they stay driving’ (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Employees in Laundry Co generally agreed that gaining promotion was

unlikely, and many people felt this was because they were migrant workers. A discussion in one of the focus groups at Laundry Co highlights new migrant workers thoughts on the reasons for the difficulty of gaining promotion:

What are your main expectations of the company? So what do you expect the company to do for you?

Well I think that I don't have any chance for any promotion here. That is true.

Is it difficult to get a promotion?

Yeah, it is very difficult.

Yeah people who are born and live here it is more easy (to get a promotion), but for people from different country it is not easy.

Why? Could it be the language?

No, it is not the language.

Yeah it is. I think it is the language.

Well it might be language but I think that there are too many people here who speak really good English and work here because I don't know why. They could work somewhere better.

Due to the flat organisation structure in each organisation, the number of supervisory or managerial positions was extremely low. Moreover, within Hotel Co the recession had reduced opportunity for people to progress within Hotel Co:

> The thing in hotels at the moment is there often aren't any opportunities for them to progress. So if housekeeping has two

> supervisor positions and those girls don't go anywhere for years, there are never going to be able to progress their career in that way. A lot of companies are cutting out those middle management steps as well at the moment. If there is no need to replace an assistant management position that's an opportunity lost for somebody and therefore they remain in their same roles and that the scope for progression is lost (Human Resource Manager, Hotel Co).

For a small number of new migrant workers progression was an extremely important expectation of their employer, which was realised. Nevertheless, for the majority of people progression was simply not an option due to the dearth of positions available or because of poor English language skills. The findings do indicate why progression was important for a few people and not for others. An important point, however, is that the majority of people who had progressed within the case studies did not actually want a long-term career with their employer. They simply utilised their time working in the organisation astutely to develop skills, which would be beneficial in their future and desired career as discussed earlier.

In the section, which follows an important employer obligation, skill development of new migrant workers, is evaluated. This is deemed to be significant due to the distinctive skill requirements of new migrant workers and because evidence highlights that some CEE workers value the opportunity to develop skills for their career (Wickham et al, 2009). Evidence from the case studies highlight there were broad similarities in Hotel Co and Laundry Co,

which drew attention to areas of distinction with Bus Co. One of the key reasons for the differences can be attributed to semi-skilled work undertaken in Bus Co in relation to the low skilled work performed in Laundry Co and Hotel Co. Additionally, the bus industry was heavily regulated in terms of employees' skills and experience. The discussion opens with a consideration of the skill development opportunities available in Hotel Co and Laundry Co and then focuses upon Bus Co.

Employers' Obligations - Skill development

Employers' obligation of skill development for room attendants, food and beverage assistants and process operators were extremely limited and effectively non-existent. Both organisations provided an induction for new employees, which covered important information that the company was legally obliged to explain to their employees. New migrant workers in each case study were expected to learn this either, online in Hotel Co, or by reading handouts in Laundry Co. In each company information was translated into languages like Polish and Lithuanian, and the Human Resource Manager explained that Hotel Co provides the online version in English and Polish in order to accommodate their migrant workers: 'Some of our basic training like disability discrimination, food safety and health and safety are all done online now as a hotel and there are versions in Polish. So that, you know to accommodate for the Polish staff as well.... but you know you have to adapt things a little bit because it is quite difficult for them you know for someone to do food safety in English it is difficult enough' (Human Resource Manager, Hotel Co). Following induction training new migrant workers in Hotel Co and Laundry Co were simply shown

how to complete the various tasks that comprised their job by a supervisor. Employees also shadowed an experienced member of staff for a given period of time and were then expected to work alone.

Training in each company seemed extremely basic, however the Human Resource Manager in Hotel Co asserted that there were a variety of further development opportunities available for all workers if they wished to improve their skills. Nevertheless, it was apparent that training opportunities were primarily for skilled employees: 'I could have a chef who is Polish and actually they will stay in that role and develop their career. Whereas somebody who is in a lesser paid job or lesser skilled job is going to move on go to a different place' (Human Resource Manager, Hotel Co). People working in lesser skilled jobs, therefore did not have access to the same development opportunities and would generally have to leave Hotel Co in order to improve their skills. The Personnel Manager in Laundry Co also stated there were additional opportunities for employees to develop skills by learning how to programme machines, as opposed to merely feeding linen and laundry into the machines. Yet, it was apparent that there were only a small number of programming jobs available, and very few people were given the opportunity to undertake a role, or training, of this nature.

Management in each organisation also asserted that supervisors and team leaders were provided with supplementary skill development prospects. Team leaders in Laundry Co were enrolled on an Institute of Leadership and Management Level Two course at the local college where they were taught

about leading teams and meeting targets. However, in Hotel Co the two Polish housekeeping floor supervisors and one food and beverage supervisor who had worked in their roles for over a year, had not yet received their supervisor training. It was clear that skill development opportunities, in both organisations, were basic. Management argued that there were opportunities for employees, however there is very limited evidence of this actually happening in practice. Only team leaders in Laundry Co were offered formal skill opportunities.

In addition to learning about the job, it was evident that new migrant workers had distinct skill requirements from the local labour force, namely the need to learn English. The ability to converse in English was extremely important for migrant workers' social and economic well-being and for their integration into the organisation and wider community. However, this was not a fundamental concern for management in both Hotel Co and Laundry Co. As opposed to investing in developing new migrant workers' English language skills, the Food and Beverage Manager employed only people who could speak the language fluently. This meant that there were no costs involved in organising language classes or skill development, as employees met the requirements at the recruitment and selection stage. In Laundry Co and the housekeeping department of Hotel Co there was no provision for English language skill development, as it was not a key requirement of the job. The HR Manager in Hotel Co asserted that the company had provided in-work English classes in the past, yet they were no longer offered to staff. Instead migrant workers could pay to go to college if they desired: 'You know things like English classes are not something we do. That is something that has previously been done in the hotel.

We don't run anything like that at the moment. But we have been affiliated with colleges and things, so somebody can come in and take an English course after work for an hour just once or twice a week and pay a really small amount towards it' (HR Manager, Hotel Co). Despite there being significant language barriers between migrant workers and the local labour force, English classes were not an option in Laundry Co. Instead the company translated documentation and signs in order to 'integrate' new migrant workers into the organisation:

> The downside might be the language. A lot of them do expect to get jobs with no English skills at all, and some who don't try to improve that and that can be a bit of a problem for health and safety as well... If you have people coming who really don't speak very much English at all, and we have had to try and raise the level, because as I said people don't come forward and don't try to improve. We have everything translated that you can think of. The downstairs signs and everything are translated. So we have just tried to do everything that we can to try to integrate everybody into the workplace (Personnel Manager, Laundry Co).

As room attendants' and process operators' jobs required very little, or no, English language skills both organisations did not provide the opportunity for new migrant workers to develop these skills.

In the food and beverage department of Hotel Co English language skills were

evidently an essential aspect of the job: a great deal of the work was dependent upon employees' interactions with customers and other members of staff. However, there were no opportunities to develop these skills, rather employees were expected to be fluent in English in order to be employed. Clearly, in each case study, the burden of English language skill development was placed firmly with new migrant workers as opposed to the employer. However, many people complained it was incredibly difficult to devote time out with work to learning English due to the long hours they worked. Therefore, very few people actually spent time learning English. This resulted in large proportions of the workforce in Laundry Co and the housekeeping department with little or no English language skills, which had implications for future career development opportunities.

In contrast to Hotel Co and Laundry Co, Bus Co invested a great deal in the skill development of their new migrant workers. However this can be attributed to the differences in skill level in Bus Co, and Hotel Co and Laundry Co: a bus driver's job is semi-skilled compared to the low skilled work performed by room attendants, food and beverage assistants and process operators. The company also had to adhere to strict legislation concerning bus drivers' driving standards and skill levels. For CEE workers this meant ensuring employees could drive on the left side of the road, and converse with passengers. As the majority of CEE drivers were recruited through the Eastern European programme, they did not have to go through the six weeks training programme to obtain their PCV licence. They were, however taught about issues specific to driving in the UK and within the company:

> They will go through things like obviously there is health and safety again and there is ticketing, passes, there is customer care, there is disability awareness, insurance, the radio procedures, destination screens, the ticket machines... These are our company policies and procedure and the operation of these things, the actual tools themselves you will find that in a lot of buses. The vaults, the ticket machines, but each company has its own set rules on operations and that is the information that we are passing over....depot familiarisation and their vehicle familiarisation too. And it is just to show them the different types of vehicles and give them the opportunity to drive them and then they will start their route training (Training Manager, Bus Co).

Before a new driver could drive unaccompanied they were placed on a buddy scheme, where an experienced driver would help them with all aspects of the job. This allowed the company to assess the driver and also added to their confidence. Four or five weeks later there would be two further days route training. The drivers would then drive those routes for a further four or five weeks, before undergoing two more days of route training: 'And all we are doing is giving them the routes in sort of bite sized chunks because they will not take it in otherwise. In a depot like this the driver could potentially have up to thirty routes to learn. Some drivers have been here years but they don't know every route' (Training Manager, Bus Co).

Additionally, Bus Co had to adhere to quite strict rules and regulations concerning the operation of its services and a great deal of these regulations concerned the skill level of drivers. An EU Directive 2003/59 introduced on 10th September 2006 and enacted on 10th September 2008 for LGV and PCV drivers who drive professionally throughout the UK, placed further regulations upon Bus Co. The Directive makes it compulsory for drivers to not only hold a driving licence but also a Certificate of Professional Competence (CPC). This is designed to improve the knowledge and skills of professional LGV and PCV drivers throughout their career. The CPC can be obtained either by completing an initial qualification or through periodic training. From September 2008 existing drivers will have five years to complete the periodic training that is necessary to qualify for the drivers CPC. The Training Manager explained the CPC:

> For new drivers it is during the licence acquisition when they are training to be a bus driver and also for existing bus drivers they have got to undertake annual periodic refresher training. Seven hours every year or thirty five hours every five years...it ties in with the legislation requirements set down by the EU member states and it's to do with safe and efficient driving, health and safety, legal requirements, customer care, there are four or five main elements and that is what they mainly consist of.

Like Hotel Co and Laundry Co, a great deal of the skill development offered by Bus Co seems to be governed by EU and UK legislation. The reason Bus Co's

training is so in-depth can be attributed to the higher skills level required than the other two case studies, and also because a bus driver is performing a public service. Bus drivers, and Bus Co, are responsible for passenger safety, therefore it is necessary that they have adequate levels of skills in order to provide a safe and efficient service. Although Bus Co could be comparable to Hotel Co and Laundry Co, in that the company provided only training specified by the law, this would be unfair as the company invested a great deal in the Union Learning Centre, which shall be the focus of the following discussion.

Bus Co and Unite placed a great deal of emphasis upon developing employee skills, which had important benefits for CEE workers. Coinciding with the Eastern European Recruitment Programme was the introduction of the Learning Centre and Union Learning Representative (ULR) role in Bus Co. Bus Co worked in partnership with their Union to fund the Learning Centre and the ULR position. The company provided the room in the depot, the computers, internet access and also paid the ULR's wages, whereas Unite helped with funding for different courses. Bus drivers were identified as non traditional learners who may have few qualifications and basic learning needs, however they often had no opportunity to address these issues. It was the ULR's role to engage people in learning, and identify any needs that they had:

> The ULR to me is somebody who has got to be available at all times for their learners. Get them involved, bring them into the Learning Centre. If a driver gets off on his break, I will encourage him, instead of going to the canteen or the office I will encourage

> him to come here and sit here, have a cup of tea, a cup of coffee and discuss anything that he would like to learn. Any courses he would like to learn (ULR, Bus Co).

The Learning Centre in Bus Co was a purposely relaxed and friendly environment, which encouraged people to discuss any learning issues that they may have. In addition to being able to consult with the ULR about learning needs, there were also courses available including: adult literacy and numeracy classes and English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes. However, one of the only problems with the Learning Centre was the strong association with CEE drivers. As the Eastern Europe Programme was introduced, coincidentally, at the same time as the centre, there was a feeling within the company that the centre was for migrant workers. It was even referred to as the 'Polish cafe', which lead to a lack of integration between CEE drivers and the local workforce. Driving a bus can be a solitary occupation, and breaks are the only time for socialising with colleagues. The majority of migrant workers in Bus Co choose to go to the Learning Centre for their break, while local workers went to the cafeteria or office. This caused a divide between the two groups, which posed problems for the integration of migrant workers in the workplace. However, despite such problems the ULR played an instrumental role in the learning and development of many of the drivers in the depot, and in particular, the CEE drivers:

> A lot of them call me like a social worker. Right but the point is these drivers are coming from all over Europe...So I always try to

make myself available for help for these people who are trying to settle in Glasgow. So basically these are the things that I feel as a ULR you can't just say oh wait a minute it is six o'clock I am finished. No you can't just switch off and say oh no no I am finished come back and see me tomorrow... You have got to encourage these people.' (ULR, Bus Co).

The ULR's work was widely recognised within the depot and he always performed additional duties in order to help people. The Depot Operations Manager discussed how important he was to the majority of new migrant workers, not only as a learning rep but as a friend and father figure:

> The ULR takes a lot of flack up the stairs because that seems to be their (CEE drivers) wee hidey hole. They go up there and see him. And he can sort it out. If he can sort it he will sort it. ...(he is) like a father figure, and even the older one as well. They may get bills in and they don't understand them and they will go to him... It may be beyond the call of duty I would say. A way beyond the call of duty....He would help anybody (Depot Operations Manager, Bus Co).

The ULR clearly played an important role in helping CEE drivers, not only within the job but in all aspect of settling into the organisation and wider community. Testament to all his hard work and contribution to life-long learning the ULR won a prestigious award in 2009. Additionally, the Learning

Centre has been named a centre of excellence for the past two years, which again highlights his excellent contribution.

One of the fundamental benefits of the ULR and Learning Centre for new migrant workers was the provision of English language classes. The general feeling from all managers in Bus Co was that it was easier to train somebody to be a bus driver than to teach them English. As working as a bus driver is a customer facing role, all managers highlighted the importance of English language skills above all other aspects of training for CEE workers. In recognising this, the company invested heavily in teaching their drivers English. Initially, Bus Co developed an English language programme in conjunction with a Glasgow college, where new migrant workers would attend classes twice a week in order to improve their English language skills. However, during this time the company came into contact with one of the coordinators of the Glasgow ESOL forum, who consulted with the ULR to develop in-work courses. This ensured that drivers were taught basic skills like grammar and punctuation, and could also consider issues specific to their job. Providing in-work courses had the advantage of being organised around drivers' shifts, meaning people were more likely to utilise the service. Moreover, new migrant workers' families and partners were also welcome to attend the classes, which also helped them integrate into the community. English lessons were clearly important for Bus Co due to the nature of the job, in that it is a customer facing role and it is essential to fully comprehend the customers. This explains why the company invested so greatly in educating CEE drivers in the English language skills.

However, it quickly became apparent to management and the CEE drivers that English language skills were insufficient for the demands of the job, as many people struggled to understand the local Glaswegian dialect. All drivers highlighted that learning Glaswegian was completely different to learning English:

> And I was quite shocked at the language they spoke. That was quite shocking. You know even if you understand something in English you know it is different. And I actually had to start learn Scottish from the beginning. So that was quite, quite shocking.... if I don't understand someone who is speaking, you know quite Glaswegian and eh he's angry because he thinks that I don't speak any English or I don't understand English. I can speak English. But I am sorry that is your problem with pronunciation, it is not my problem with English (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

This problem was also picked up by every manager and especially the ULR: 'We would have people coming up to the learning centre asking about things passengers said they didn't understand. They would write it down on paper. Geez an awwdaytiket taethetoon. It was only when we said it out that we realised they were having trouble with the regional accent. Glaswegian' (ULR, Bus Co). The ULR spent a great deal of time teaching CEE drivers how to understand the accent and even learned Polish in order to help them. Some drivers commented that he always spoke slowly and clearly, which helped them

to understand. The majority of CEE drivers in the depot learned how to speak English well and became confident understanding the regional accent, which was not the case before the ULRs work:

> Of course after months we start to speak to other drivers, Scottish drivers, to learn more of this dialect Glaswegian and it is nice when you hear somebody who speak slowly. Somebody who speak slang. Naw man naw. Now when I am, for example when I am in a shop or in pub in my area and I understand these people talking to me. Of course sometimes it is very fast, talking like that, but it is okay (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

CEE drivers clearly had different learning needs to the local workforce, and Bus Co quickly realised the significance of teaching them not only English but about the regional accent. The ULR played an instrumental role in helping with this, and many people in the depot, particularly CEE drivers, thought highly of him. Improved English language skills had important benefits for new migrant workers in terms of their integration into the organisation and wider community and had a fundamental impact upon new migrant workers' career mobility and future career expectations. In Hotel Co and Laundry Co there were no opportunities for English language skill development. This meant that the majority of room attendants and process operators had extremely limited language skills and were consequently trapped in low skilled occupations. Employees therefore had to rely on developing their skills in their own time, which was not always possible.

7.4 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

An important aim of this chapter was to explore new migrant workers' and employers' experiences of employment by examining common themes to emerge in the psychological contract across the case studies. It was also essential to determine the extent to which there was a match between, on the one hand employers' expectations and new migrant workers' obligations, and on the other, CEE employees' expectations and managements' obligations. Findings indicate that managements' expectations were fairly basic encompassing compliance with rules and regulations as well as expectations concerning number of hours and pattern of shifts people worked. These expectations were largely met by CEE workers. However, new migrant workers' expectations of their employers were unmet in all three organisations. Perhaps this could be attributed to the uneven relationship between employers and employees: it is the employer who has the right to hire and fire employees, and direct the conditions of employment. An employer's main concern is to secure capital accumulation not to ensure workers are happy. Another crucial finding is many new migrant workers' experiences of bullying and illegal discrimination by middle management and Scottish workers. In each organisation CEE workers asserted they were treated unfairly because they were from CEE. New migrant workers, therefore, have a unique experience of employment in Scotland.

CHAPTER 8: THE EFFORT BARGAIN

The previous chapter analysed the psychological contract, which is an important aspect of the employment relationship that examines new migrant workers' and employers' experiences, expectations and obligations of employment. The findings highlighted that management generally had fewer expectations of new migrant workers, which were largely met, whereas, new migrant workers had more expectations of management that were largely unmet. There were some exceptions, for example many of the supervisors across the case studies felt their expectation of progression had been met and food and beverage assistants and supervisors noted that they had a good relationship with their managers. This section continues this discussion and focuses specifically upon the sphere of work and considers the bargaining process that takes place over the effort that is expended in work.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the formal wage is never precise in stipulating how much effort can be expected for a given wage (Baldamus, 1961). People are generally aware of their wage level prior to commencing work, however the effort necessary for this wage is indistinct. Labour power, therefore, is best regarded as indeterminate as the exact amount of effort expected cannot be stipulated prior to commencing employment. On account of this ambiguity, management and workers are involved in a bargaining process over the amount of effort expected in work: the effort bargain. The bargaining process between new migrant workers and management shall be the focus of the following discussion. It is anticipated that this concept shall provide a detailed insight into managements' and new migrant workers' experiences of work in Scotland. The effort bargain is analysed by considering the various methods utilised by

management to control and standardise workers' effort. Additionally, employee perceptions and experiences of work shall be explored. Common themes from across the case studies are identified and analysed thoroughly. But first the nature of work performed in each organisation shall be outlined briefly in order to introduce some of the issues that shall be explored within this chapter.

In the housekeeping department of Hotel Co and in Laundry Co work was comparable in that it was physically demanding, routine and repetitive with limited interactions with customers or colleagues, However, it was evident that room attendants had somewhat more task discretion than process operators. Process operators continually fed linen into a machine under the watchful eye of management, whereas room attendants generally adopted their own cleaning routines in work. Additionally, the variation in the tidiness of rooms influenced room attendants' experiences of work negatively or positively, however there was very limited variation in the tasks performed by process operators. In the food and beverage department work was also routine and repetitive, however the interaction with customers and colleagues added to the variety of the job. Similarly, work was semi-skilled but routine and repetitive in Bus Co and the labour process was governed by detailed specifications over routes, timing and the pace of the work. However, at the same time, various factors contributed to the variability of each shift such as passengers, other vehicles on the road and pedestrians. The following section, considers the way in which management aimed to standardise and manage employees' effort in each organisation. Similarities and distinctions shall be examined in-depth.

8.1 DETAILED SPECIFICATIONS, TARGETS AND SUPERVISION

This section examines the way in which employers endeavoured to increase employees' effort in Laundry Co, the housekeeping department of Hotel Co and Bus Co, namely through the use of detailed specifications, targets and intense supervision. In the housekeeping department, room attendants were subject to tight specifications over their work: employees had to adhere to the strict cleanliness standards specified by Hotel Co, which were extensively monitored by supervisors and management. Although there was a certain degree of freedom over the way in which rooms were cleaned, the main tasks performed were low skilled, routine and repetitive. In order to ensure the desired amount of work was performed in each shift, Hotel Co utilised stringent targets over the number of rooms to be cleaned per shift. The combination of cleanliness standards and difficult targets meant that room attendants had very little control over the timing and pacing of work. The Executive Housekeeping Manager placed considerable emphasis upon ensuring the allocated rooms were cleaned within the shift: 'All rooms should be tidied to the standard within the shift. No arguments'. Everybody in the housekeeping department highlighted the difficulty of meeting the targets set by management: 'You know we have to clean with the standard of Hotel Co. We had full training. You know the period we have to clean all the room is something about thirty, forty minutes. So sometimes it is really hard to you know keep on time' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). Furthermore, due to the slowdown in business caused by the recession, Hotel Co had increased housekeeping targets, and room attendants

were expected to clean two more bedrooms per shift. This meant that the company made significant savings, as fewer people were required to work each day, however management had not consulted with staff over the extent to which this would be manageable. For everybody, the increase in rooms to be cleaned was problematic as the standard of cleaning was expected to remain the same: 'Yeah, because in this year we have the new standard. We have this year to clean fifteen rooms. It is two rooms higher and we have the twenty five minutes for the one room to clean. This is very hard. She can train to be faster for like twenty five minutes per room. But because it is one style and the style should be the same in every room and it is impossible to be faster' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). More pressure was therefore placed upon room attendants to clean rooms faster, whilst adhering to strict cleanliness specifications.

In Laundry Co, managers also utilised work based targets and extensive supervision in order to control the effort of workers. Ensuring that employees reached their targets was a crucial concern for many team leaders and managers: 'If they just come to work get the requirements then that's all we want' (Polish packing team leader, Laundry Co). As meeting clients' requirements was a fundamental concern for management, new migrant workers were often placed under a great deal of pressure to reach their hourly targets. All CEE workers agreed that their most important obligation to management was to meet targets: 'Targets. Don't deceive ourselves. This is the only thing. Targets' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). The team leader responsible for calendar one, two and three (a calendar is a large machine that laundry is fed into before it is washed to ensure that the different types of laundry are separated) explained the

importance of meeting targets and the consequences of not reaching the expected level of output:

> If they are not getting their requirements then they will kick our arse and we have got to kick their arse. So it is not the matter of being last in and first out. If you are a good worker then they will keep you on. They just paid a couple of people off there and it's a shame. It is a good place to work but you can hear a lot of people down there moaning about it because they are on their backs. We have to get on their back. We are not down there shouting at them, but we have targets to meet and if they don't meet the targets we could be shutting down or paying people off.

Moreover, employees were subjected to intense supervision throughout their working day: 'There are times when management stay behind you and look at what you do, so you feel the real pressure. So you try to not think about it. They stand over you and just do your job normally but usually it is impossible' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). Due to the recession and subsequent reduction of customers frequenting hotels and restaurants, Laundry Co had lost a great deal of business and was consequently forced to embark upon a programme of redundancies. Managers generally agreed that it was the employees who continually failed to meet their targets who would lose their jobs, which placed tremendous pressure upon employees to work to the standards expected of them by management: 'Unfortunately yes because eh there are targets and if we are not going to reach the targets we are the first to eh

be made redundant' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). However, many people agreed that it was exceptionally difficult to continually meet the targets: 'Yeah we sometimes can do as high as that, it is very hard doing this every hour' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). In order to cope with the reduction in business and loss of employees, similar to Hotel Co, Laundry Co had increased the hourly targets expected of employees without consultation. This was an important concern for many process operators, which was highlighted in one of the focus group discussions:

I: So you said managers expect you to work fast and hard. Could you talk about that?

Very fast, very hard (laughs)

Yes. It is not easy and they expect too much.

Yeah.

I: How so?

The targets.

I: Are the targets difficult or easy to meet?

Too much.

Sometimes it is hard.

Yeah.

We have to do more, more and more and more. Every time the score have to be higher.

When I start work here we was doing 200, now we have to do 225. Very hard.

Yeah we sometimes can do as high as that. It is very hard doing this every hour.

This highlights the way in which the loss of business, thus revenue, due to the recession impacted upon the bargaining process, which took place between management and employees: both organisations had reduced staff levels whilst insisting that existing employees exerted more effort to subsidize lost revenue.

Whilst targets and supervision were employed in order to ensure employees' effort was to the level desired by management in the housekeeping department and in Laundry Co, managing and controlling employee effort in Bus Co was somewhat more difficult. This is because the majority of work performed by bus drivers was outwith immediate and visible managerial supervision and control. However, there were certain elements of the labour process that were subject to tight specifications like in the housekeeping department, which ensured that the effort exerted by bus drivers could be managed to a certain extent. The allocation of bus routes were on a six weekly cycle, which meant drivers drove the same routes repeatedly. Moreover, as bus drivers had to adhere to the bus timetable they had little control over the timing and pacing of their work. In addition there were extensive rules and regulations concerning driving standards. Bus Co provided intensive training where drivers were taught the correct way to drive as specified by the law and the importance of safety on the road. As a result the general consensus amongst CEE workers was a strong obligation to perform the job well and to provide a safe service: 'I must think what I must do to drive safely and take care of the people. Because they trust me. When they come to my bus, they buy the ticket and they trust me. They think I am a professional' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). For many, this obligation was reinforced by the knowledge that drivers would automatically be dismissed

if they drove unsafely. The emphasis upon safety, for the majority of new migrant workers, was a novel concept, as CEE countries were not as tightly regulated in terms of health and safety as the UK: ‘About safety. It was something new for me. Every step I hear safety, safety, safety. It you can’t do it safely, don’t do it. Safety on the depot, wear the hi vis, safety on the bus, safety, safety, safety! It was very, it something new for me’ (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). However, interviewees’ highlighted the problems they faced driving through Glasgow city centre, and the way in which pedestrians and other vehicles affected their ability to drive well. Many factors outwith a bus drivers’ control influenced their ability to undertake their job, and Bus Co often failed to realise this. This also meant that the labour process and experience of work varied for bus drivers as it was dependent upon a multitude of different interacting factors that were exceptionally difficult for bus drivers or management to control.

Monitoring and controlling effort was problematic in Bus Co as a fundamental aspect of the job, the general standard of driving, could not be monitored easily. Management within Bus Co generally agreed that it was extremely difficult to measure and manage bus drivers due to the nature of work they perform, which is why the company implemented the Green Road system. The implementation of Green Road, a calibrated machine installed in buses that monitors the way in which people drive, was one of the main methods utilised by Bus Co to assess drivers’ effort. Green Road claimed to measure driving behaviour, improve fuel consumption and reduce vehicle operating costs, whilst providing instant feedback to the driver: green, amber and red lights were used to indicate how

well people were driving. Not only was it anticipated that the devices would monitor and assess performance, but they were also utilised to save the company money on accidents and fuel.

However, there were many problems with the system and the majority of drivers spoke negatively about the machines: ‘Three words, rubbish, rubbish, rubbish’ (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Furthermore, many machines were deliberately sabotaged due to frustration with the system. Yet, some people recognised that if Green Road worked as it should, it would be a good method of monitoring driving behaviour:

> Oh Green Road is an excellent thing. It really can measure, if it is set. If everything on the green road is set correctly, it is a fantastic thing. You know it can measure your accelerating, braking, cornering, line changing, everything, every aspect of your driving. So, it is alright. But many, many times it is not working and this is very sad, disappointing, you know sometimes it, you can drive three, four buses and Green Road is not working and that make me wonder what was the point installing if it is not working (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

Green Road frequently measured driving performance incorrectly, and many respondents reported huge discrepancies between what actually happened on the road and what the system recorded. Furthermore, drivers knew how to do their job, and Green Road was deemed a distraction: ‘Drivers should be concentrating

on the road and on the passengers, not on the Green Road' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Additionally, it was impossible to log out of the system, therefore drivers forgot to, or purposely did not log in, which resulted in some drivers appearing on the system for days on end. Clearly, there were problems with Green Road, which lead to a general lack of respect for the system by all drivers. Everybody agreed that management could not monitor and assess their performance based on Green Road and if they did people would complain to the union. As a monitoring device Green Road was still in its infancy and had many problems, however if these issues were amended it would be an excellent method of assessing and managing people whilst they were driving. The following section considers a crucial element of work in the Bus Co, in the food and beverage department and to a certain extent the housekeeping department: the customer and the effort required from employees to serve and please customers.

8.2 CUSTOMERS AND EMOTIONAL EFFORT

As interacting with customers was a key aspect of work in Bus Co and the food and beverage department of Hotel Co, customers exerted an important influence upon the labour process in each organisation. However, the nature of interaction with customers differed significantly between the two cases, which had implications for the managerial expectations of effort and the actual effort expended by workers in each organisation. This section considers an important aspect of both the food and beverage department and Bus Co and highlights some crucial areas of comparability between the two cases. There shall also be a

focus upon the way in which guests impacted upon the work undertaken by room attendants in the housekeeping department of Hotel Co.

Work in the food and beverage department of Hotel Co and Bus Co was largely shaped by customers and the nature of interaction with them, and this influenced new migrant workers' effort and the quality of work. Although there were tight specifications over certain areas of work in the food and beverage department, such as serving food and drinks and using equipment like coffee machines, employees were given a certain degree of freedom over their exchanges with customers. Nevertheless, the timing and pacing of work was largely controlled by the flows of customers into the bar or restaurant. In Bus Co a great deal of work was subject to tight specification, however it was evident that interactions with passengers often impacted negatively upon the quality of work. This shall be considered in more detail further in the discussion.

New migrant workers' relationship with customers was an important managerial expectation in the food and beverage department: employees were expected to please guests by providing a high standard of customer service. Whilst expectations concerning the customer service were also important concerns in Bus Co, it was clear that expectations differed from the food and beverage department due to the nature of the service provided in each organisation. The Food and Beverage Manager placed significantly more emphasis upon providing an excellent customer service than managers in Bus Co: pleasing guests was a fundamental expectation of food and beverage assistants. It is reasonable to suggest that this is because the service offered in the food and

beverage department was more a relational service, in that employees were required to spend time with guests and attend to their needs, whereas in Bus Co the service was short-term and transactional: passengers simply purchased a ticket from the driver as they entered the bus. Additionally, Hotel Co faced more intense competition than Bus Co: Edinburgh had a wealth of hotels, bars and restaurants, whereas Bus Co dominated the bus industry in Glasgow. For Hotel Co, excellent customer service may have encouraged guests to use the service again, yet passengers in Bus Co did not have substantial choice over the bus service they used in Glasgow. Therefore, more effort was required from Hotel Co and its employees to retain customers and encourage them to use the service again.

Supervision was a fairly important method utilised by management to ensure employees' interactions with customers, and emotional effort, was to the desired standard in Hotel Co. However, the Food and Beverage Manager stated he relied more upon carefully selecting employees during recruitment and selection, which allowed him to employ people with a strong customer service focus. He looked for people who were 'friendly and chatty and capable of a conversation' with experience in the hospitality sector. By selecting people based on their personality and past experience, the Food and Beverage Manager argued that this ensured he employed people who were capable of delivering excellent customer service. In Bus Co, the methods utilised to ensure a sufficient service was provided differed quite significantly from those employed in Hotel Co. During recruitment and selection, focus was placed firmly upon ensuring potential employees had a Passenger Carrying Vehicle (PCV) licence

and very little attention was given to customer service. To monitor and evaluate drivers' customer service, and also their driving standard, Bus Co utilised a system of mystery inspections. The premise behind this was that drivers were unaware of when they were being assessed, therefore they would always have to maintain an appropriate standard of driving and interaction with passengers. One Polish bus driver discussed his thoughts on mystery inspections: 'They control us you know because we don't know all the managers. They sometimes get into the bus sitting and hiding you know and watching you. They give you points or something like that. The next day they say if you are a good driver, bad driver, accelerating good and accelerating bad. They watching that and you have points. This is annoying you know.'

CEE workers in the food and beverage department generally agreed with managers that it was important to treat guests well: 'I think you know hospitality is all about the customer and guests. We are all service people. Eh so it is a big part yeah' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). The majority of people in the department expressed the same thoughts as the above quote, they had a commitment to the customer and wanted to provide a good service. Therefore, little bargaining with employees over their interactions with customers was required, as many new migrant workers had an internalised effort standard that they adhered to. In addition the Food and Beverage Manager's selection policy sought a strong fit with employees who had a strong customer service focus and would exert the necessary effort to please guests. Conversely, in Bus Co drivers generally disagreed with the importance that Bus Co placed upon passengers: 'All the time it is like that if the customer calls in to the depot

with the complaint all the times it is our fault not the customer because he is it is late or we not stop... And sometimes they should listen to the driver not only the customer. For the company the customer is the most important. They don't care about the drivers because they have a lot of drivers, they may fire them and get another one' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Passengers were deemed to be more important than drivers to Bus Co and many people highlighted the emotional management they had to engage in whilst working: 'This job I am a nothing. I am a number. I can't shout. I can't even say that I do not agree with someone because that person is a customer and they will complain for something' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

In Bus Co passengers exerted an important influence upon the effort bargain and bus drivers' quality of work. Interactions with problematic passengers required a great deal of emotional management and effort from bus drivers who were required to remain calm, in control of their emotions and professional at all times. The job could be extremely dangerous due to the verbal and physical abuse that people were subjected to, particularly in deprived areas. As CEE employees' worked for the company for less than six years, they often had to drive in some of the worst areas of Glasgow because routes were chosen based upon seniority:

> There are like old timers and they just got used to this. They choose the best routes. And the other drivers work here five, three years. Okay give them something, let them work nightshifts on the 75 service. No one wants to do this. So probably that won't change

> cause there are too many people who tries to get the good services. It is nice to work, for example, Monday to Friday. That's good. But that's only for good, old drivers. New ones have to do Friday, Saturday, Sundays, 75, 5 service. Start 5 in the morning, or finish 1 during the night. That's rubbish! But that's how it works (Polish bus driver, Bus Co).

Everybody highlighted problems with drunken passengers and unruly teenagers: 'I said sorry, sorry I can stop only at bus stop. Why? This is public service. Fucking driver bastard. This is my experience. First words I know in the Scotland is fucking driver bastard' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Another Polish bus driver commented on the impact that passengers have and the problems that drivers face on a daily basis: 'They make the job much difficult, much more difficult because they are usually, not only young people but people who cause trouble. So not nice. Stress us. Cause stress to the driver and to other people. I really don't like when someone is smoking on the bus, drinking, shouting, jumping or making party. And all the people have fun but there are places like pubs not bus'. One driver was beaten up and hospitalised by a group of youths after he tried to help a girl who was unconscious after falling down the stairs. Many people felt helpless when they were in dangerous situations: 'But sometimes, somebody smoke on the bus. I can say excuse me you cannot smoke on the bus. If you want to smoke please get off the bus and they start to be angry and they attacking me. And what I can do? Nothing' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Clearly passengers influenced the effort required of bus drivers. In order to cope with and manage the difficult, dangerous and demanding situations they

were often in, bus drivers had to hide their emotions whilst remaining calm at all times and this was evidently a difficult task.

In the food and beverage department new migrant workers' generally felt that while some guests could negatively impact upon their experience of work, others enhanced their job:

> You know one sentence can destroy all your day. Working in the hospitality is kind of, once you start it is kind of injection you know what I mean. Because you are completely allergic to people being rude to you. Yes blank, there are no emotions and things like that. You just get used to it and that is part of your job. You see where you have good customers that you know quite well and that is good. You see who you can talk to (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co).

Customers, or guests also exerted an important influence upon employees' experience of work in the housekeeping department, however this differed significantly from Bus Co and the food and beverage department. Although room attendants had minimum interaction with guests, they were in close proximity to each other. Moreover, room attendants provide a tangible service for guests, in that they cleaned their room. One of the key issues raised by new migrant workers was the variability in the tidiness of rooms, which impacted upon their experience of work and also determined how difficult or physically demanding the work would be: 'Especially when the people are here on

business they quite clean. I mean the rooms are quite tidy. So I don't spend a lot of time in these rooms. Eh but when the people are coming for the weekend, they having the parties. Ah so they drink a lot. So they leave a lot of rubbish. They leave a lot of things, I don't know why they think I need it to be honest' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). All room attendants highlighted that guests, and in particular untidy guests, were an important source of contention: 'So to be honest the job is awful. And sometimes I hate my customers because they doing a mess....Sometimes people, people are like, pigs. You know young people....And I don't like young people because too much dirty for me. Drugs, alcohol and too much party' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). Although room attendants did not always directly interact with guests, they often had an important impact upon new migrant workers' experience of work just as in the food and beverage department and in Bus Co.

Clearly working in Bus Co and the food and beverage department encompassed a great deal of emotional effort in order to serve and please guests and deal with problem passengers. This was an extremely important aspect of the effort bargain in both organisations, however the extent to which employees were in agreement with management over the expected effort differed significantly. It was also apparent that customers had an important influence not only upon the pace of work but also on the quality of work. This is particularly evident when considering bus drivers experiences of working in some of the deprived areas of Glasgow. The following section continues with this line of reasoning and considers a crucial aspect of the effort bargain of NLM: poor job quality.

8.3 POOR JOB QUALITY AND ARDUOUS WORK

The preceding section drew attention to important areas of commonality and divergence in the effort bargain in each of the case studies. In this section the discussion concerning managements' attempts to control and regulate employees' effort, and new migrant workers' experiences of work, shall be progressed. An important finding evident in all three case studies, namely new migrant workers' experience of poor job quality, shall be examined exhaustively. Despite important differences in the labour process in each organisation, it is evident that there are important themes apparent across the cases.

In both Laundry Co and Hotel Co work was described as physically demanding and arduous, which was attributed to increasing targets and workload. The breakfast service in Hotel Co was particularly challenging and employees were expected to undertake multiple tasks simultaneously whilst striving to please guests: 'You are busy, busy, busy and tired but you must go on. You serve, you clean. Very fast and tired'. Similarly, every room attendant in Hotel Co explained how tiring their job was and many people expressed their abhorrence of the job: 'We hate this job. It is an awful job. It is very, very hard. They have too many room for us. We are only woman. We have only two hands. We don't have magic wands. It is too hard' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). Targets were incredibly difficult to meet, as management had recently increased the number of rooms to be cleaned each shift. Consequently, many people were forced to work through their breaks without any acknowledgement or extra pay.

By imposing strict targets Hotel Co was able to reduce the indeterminacy of labour, in that workers were always required to clean fifteen bedrooms even if this entailed working extra hours with no pay. In Laundry Co work was equally gruelling and a Polish process operator noted the difficulty of maintaining a fast pace of work: ‘As it comes to me I am very fast at working. This is kind of my habit now. However, you cannot work every day so hard. Sometimes you don’t feel well’. Poor working conditions and extreme heat, especially during the summer months, were important concerns for the majority of workers in Laundry Co. This often contributed to the arduous work: ‘We work very hard and the conditions here are not very good. It is very hot. It is a lot of dust. It is uncomfortable. We work for eight hours in one position. It is difficult’ (Polish process operator, Laundry Co).

However, some CEE process operators agreed that as they had worked in the factory for some time, the targets were not very challenging. One Polish process operator admitted that adjusting to working in Laundry Co was initially difficult, however this became easier with time and training: ‘At the beginning it was quite hard and fast pace, however at the moment there is no problem with me working at those stances it is a matter of training’. Another new migrant worker stated that he simply exerted enough effort to meet targets and keep management happy, therefore work was not too testing: ‘When you work here, one year or more, you know how to work here. And I think managers are happy because everything is done and you are not very tired because you know how to work. You know how much you need to do to keep them happy’ (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). The dayshift Production Manager confirmed this ‘They

think if she is asking for two hundred, we'll give her two hundred and one. Then we will find something to do, you know, not to do anymore. I think that they look at it in the way. You know we are not being paid any more money for doing it. So they don't'` This highlights the way in which workers strived to make the effort bargain fairer by limiting their effort to exactly what was required by management and no more. If an employee worked extremely hard and produced above their targets they would not have received extra monetary rewards, and management would have increased effort and output without increasing wages. Exceeding targets would also have drawn attention to the possibility of higher output rate, which may have resulted in increased targets for all other employees. Controlling the effort exerted in work was a means of making the effort bargain fairer for employees and also of ensuring that targets remained at a manageable level. A Polish process operator raised an important point concerning the difficulties of targets in Laundry Co, arguing that the job was more demanding for women: 'It is not so bad on here. Quite easy job I would say for men, not for women... I say like a woman who is like fifty kilos for example and have to struggle with the bar which is seventy kilos and try to pull some duvets and other stuff. That's not so easy and to reach the target like one hundred and seventy pieces per hour, two hundred, so it is really hard' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). The data in Laundry Co supports this statement, and the majority of people who complained about difficult and demanding work were women. Whereas the majority of men agreed the workload and targets were manageable.

Although the work itself was not described as physically demanding in Bus Co,

many people explained that the long, and often unsociable, hours resulted in work that was tiring. Working hours were also problematic due to the impact on new migrant workers' personal and family life. As one driver discussed: 'I don't have my private life. In Poland I just start at 5 finish at 5 and I didn't work weekends and public holidays I have to work on Sundays, public holidays. I have no private life you know.' Numerous new migrant workers also worked extremely long hours by undertaking overtime in Laundry Co. This was an important method of 'topping up' low wages, however as in Bus Co, long hours impacted upon personal and family life. One Polish process operator explained that his wife was pregnant and how he felt compelled to work long hours: 'You know there's more overtime, it is working the full week. We are working seven days a week...Yes and you know my girlfriend, pregnancy and I need money. Working five days is okay. I am working six days, and now I need more money... More money, I need more money. You understand it is not a choice'. Many people in the food and beverage department complained about the long, unsociable hours they worked, however this was taken as a fundamental aspect of work in the hospitality sector. The majority of room attendants had a second job in order to earn a decent wage, and therefore were pleased with the hours they worked in Hotel Co as they were agreeable with other commitments.

Additionally, an important issue identified was the routine and repetitive nature of work in Laundry Co, Bus Co and the housekeeping department. Many people highlighted the difficulty coping with the monotony and 'getting through the shift': 'So I think that it is very boring actually and you have to repeat this same stuff all the time and it is one more room, and room and room. So it is pretty

boring actually. So that is why I am thinking about you know, something different. I would like to find something as fast as possible' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). When watching a training video with two Polish bus drivers, one remarked: 'See Hazel, this is what we do! This is how boring it is! Same thing all the time. You could sleep'. In Laundry Co a process operator described his job and the way in which it becomes a routine 'But after six months it becomes a routine. So it is very difficult after six months to expect something more because every day. We are doing the same every day. In fact it is a very simple job, very simple job'. As mentioned previously, in each company work was low skilled, routine, repetitive and involved relatively low task discretion. Therefore an important attribute of new migrant workers was the ability to cope with this poor quality work.

The impact of performing low skill, poor quality work on new migrant workers' status in the organisation and wider society was discussed by many people in each case study. In order to cope with this perceived low status, attention was drawn to the temporary nature of the work. However, despite perceptions of the temporariness of work, people were generally upset by how they were perceived in the organisation. Numerous room attendants were embarrassed by their occupation and continually downplayed the work they performed: 'Oh, we are only maids, we don't have many responsibilities. We clean the room and that is it' (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). Perceptions of low status within the organisation were not limited to room attendants and each supervisor also considered the issue:

> Well sometimes you are feeling that you are worse here because you are just a maid or just a poor supervisor in a housekeeping in a hotel. So sometimes you are feeling that you are like a lower level... You are feeling that you are worse because you can't show them your skills. So they don't know how you are normally. So probably there is this problem that they are thinking that all your life is just cleaning rooms and that is your only one ambition. So they are thinking that you are not thinking about your future. Not thinking about anything. You are just thinking about money and that it is just about money (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co).

This was an opinion also expressed by some drivers in Bus Co and a Polish bus driver considered the trade off that he makes in working as a bus driver:

> I am just actually stuck in the middle. That's quite sad but what can I do? I know eh working as a bus driver it is not the best, you know for prestige and stuff like that and happiness. But from the other hand there is opportunity to earn quite good money. Quite good money... And you know at the end of the day maybe passengers will upset me but I am going back to the depot and parking my bus and nothing. I am not interested in absolutely nothing... I can deal with it because it is quite good money. So it is a balance. Yeah the prestige is pushed on the background... Hazel it is just bus driving in Glasgow. There is no big mission or something like this. I am

> not caring for dying children in Sudan or something like this. It is just bus driving. People coming in, people coming out, going out there and that is it.... hopefully I won't be doing this in the next ten years, I might be insane.

This encapsulates the trade off many new migrant workers made between earning reasonably good money (compared with CEE) on the one hand, and working in low skilled, low status, poor quality occupations on the other. Some people asserted that they did not allow their job they worked to affect them by compartmentalising their work life and their personal life: 'I am quite happy. For me at the moment I realise it is not the most important who you are or what you do in job. The most important is who you are after the job and what opportunities you have after the job. We should realise that we are workers for only eight hours a day and consumers for 16 hours a day. So it is not really important what you do in a job. As long as you have enough money to live' (Polish team leader, Laundry Co).

A common finding across the case studies is CEE workers' experiences of poor job quality: that is work that was physically demanding, arduous and monotonous, which encompassed long hours and low status within the organisation. What is significant about this is the widespread evidence of poor quality work in each organisation, which signals new migrant workers' tendency to work in poor quality occupations in the UK. The following section considers new migrant workers' perceptions of the rewards received for their job, which is a fundamental aspect of the effort bargain, and also of job quality.

8.4 REWARD: MONEY

As the previous section examined the effort that new migrant workers exerted in their job, it is now essential to outline the extent to which the rewards received were perceived to equal this effort. The majority of people in each case study were unhappy with the rate of pay they received, though some people recognised they were able to meet their living costs with their wages, which was impossible in CEE: ‘Oh I think it is okay but I would like more money. Everybody would. But I think it is alright. I always think about Poland and then for me that is very good. Very good. But maybe for Scottish people it is no good. I can live with my family. It is very good. This is impossible in Poland’ (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). The level of pay received, therefore, was viewed more favourably due to an explicit comparison with what had been earned in Poland. However, one Polish housekeeping assistant stated that his wage did not meet his living costs as he was too young to receive the adult National Minimum Wage (NMW): ‘You know I here I can tell you I have £5.35 per hour so it is extremely low wage. I think I am not able to make any money myself with this. Especially if I pay my bills, my rent, my food and it won’t leave anything for me. And for the first time I thought that I can’t come here and earn the money and save up for myself but as it turns out it is pretty hard to do’ (Polish room attendant, Hotel Co). Clearly, one of the main concerns of new migrant workers was to simply meet their basic living standards. For some people their wage allowed them to do this, and for others this was not possible. Comparisons with the wages earned in CEE evidently ensured that new migrant workers perceived the level of pay to be adequate.

Although many people stated that their pay met their basic living needs, an important concern was the incongruity between the rate of pay and the effort expended: many people felt that they worked extremely hard and their pay did not compensate for this effort: 'It is a very hard job here and it is not enough money for this hard job' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). For others the problem lay in the continually increasing workload existing alongside the same pay rate: 'Sometimes I operate on two stances in that case I think that the rate should be higher' (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). This was also the case in the food and beverage department and one food and beverage assistant discussed her increasing responsibilities and dormant pay: 'If you do more jobs then somebody will see that you can do everything and will give you more tasks, more responsibilities. Of course the amount of work you do, doesn't grow the money you receive, you know what I mean. So that, that is a bit, a bit low point...' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). The significance of the label NMW troubled some people: 'Because it is minimum wage. You know whatever job I would do earning minimum wage I wouldn't be happy.' In Bus Co, where workers received a higher rate than the NMW (£8.50 - £9.00 per hour) people were also dissatisfied with the rate of pay. This dissatisfaction impacted upon some workers' application of effort: 'I am thinking the company pays rubbish money for that job. At the beginning I tried to be the best and all that stuff but after three years I realise that the money that they pay us for this job is like, is like a couple of pennies. So I can say that I do not owe them anything' (Polish bus driver, Bus Co). Evidently, regardless of whether pay was at the NMW or slightly higher, new migrant workers were dissatisfied with their

pay and this can be attributed to their experiences of difficult, arduous work, and long, unsociable hours.

A key finding in each of the case studies was new migrant workers' desire to have a stronger link between individual effort and pay: 'The amount of work you do because the people know you can do it, it doesn't equal what we are paid. And so, it is still bad. And so no, definitely not. Effort is appreciated in a verbal form. You know what I mean, from the manager, from the clients sometimes, and all that. But looking at the pay slip you can't see any appreciation. (laughs) No!' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). Some people stated that they would like to be rewarded, in monetary form, for their effort:

> Oh I would like to be rewarded, especially for safe driving. No collisions, eh no complaints. I am driving just now for three years without collision, two years without complaint. So I would expect to get some, even a wee amount of money. If I am speaking about reward I am speaking about money. Because I don't want just the vouchers for something. No, no that is not a reward. I would expect some money. I can see many drivers driving and they have complaints, they have accidents, incidents and collisions, there are people injured. I don't have this problem and I am same as others, just a number (Polish bus driver, Bus Co)

A focus group discussion in Laundry Co highlights how workers felt about the

link between their effort and pay within the organisation:

I: Do you think that the work you do is quite difficult, challenging or is it easy?

Work is work. Who want to work?

Every different person take job like for different reason. Somebody who is going for a job because they must go to job. Somebody is going to job because need money. You know somebody is going to job because I don't know why they are here. You know I am, I am. I don't know this word, it is the reverse of happy?

I: Sad, angry?

I am not angry here because you know I am coming to job because I know that I need, and I must. So I come here so I have got some money. But if I am coming here I want somebody that will see that I do good job and look around me. If somebody will do less than me so I will see this management will see this difference between us. I don't know. And that is not here.

I: So what do you mean? If you work hard managers don't notice that? Is that what you are saying?

I think that not all people working the same. Everyone takes the money. Somebody is working harder than the other person then they still get the same money. So I am speaking with experience in Czech. Because in the Czech there are managers looking for the hardest worker, and hardest worker have bigger money than someone who is lazy.

I: Does that happen in Poland as well?

Yeah.

Whole company have just £5.73 per hour because. I understand that is the national minimum wage. And but you know this management must see difference between good worker and lazy worker.

Yeah.

Yeah.

But you can say nothing because you got job. You can't say because everyone know what's happening later. So everyone is happy with the work.

I: What do you mean?

You be happy or you paid off.

The majority of new migrant workers were displeased with the rate of pay they received in each case study. Generally this was attributed to the physically demanding, arduous work performed: people did not feel the NMW reflected the effort they expended in work. An important finding was the desire to link effort with reward, and many CEE workers asserted they would like monetary recognition for the work they perform. The subsequent section concludes the discussion on the effort bargain by assessing managements' perceptions of the bargaining process and new migrant workers' effort.

8.5 MANAGERS' ASSESSEMENT OF THE EFFORT BARGAIN

When considering the effort bargain in each case study, it was apparent migrant workers felt they were working extremely hard but were receiving insufficient rewards for their effort. At this point it is worth analysing managerial perceptions of CEE workers' effort in each organisation.

In each organisation managers generally agreed that new migrant workers were initially good workers, however their work effort had declined with time: 'When they first started coming I thought they were really keen, really, really keen workers. Superb workers... You tell them what is expected of them and what their targets are. No problem. But then I found once they get in their comfort zone things change. You find new people come in and then they get into the same league as the rest of them.' (Night shift Production Manager, Laundry Co). This opinion was also shared by the Personnel Officer: 'You will find that for the first three months when they are on their trial period, they really do prove themselves. After that it is like they have taken on all the bad habits and just fit in as normal. So after that time you don't really notice any difference'. In Bus Co, the HR Business Partner discussed the changes he perceived to be happening to successive intakes of new migrant workers:

> So you usually found that if there were guys who were wanting to make money, that was all they were interested in doing and they would work all the hours that they could, that we could give them. So they were really hard workers. They didn't give us a lot of

> problems. As time went on and we started to take even more in, then you started to find that yes you would start to get the same sort of problems that you got from the Scottish drivers.

The Executive Housekeeping Manager in Hotel Co felt that CEE workers had an initial desire for money, however this had diminished with time and as people settled into the job and the country:

> It is not that they are not as hard working. I think three years ago if you said to someone "Do you want to stay on an extra hour? Do you want to work a day off?" They would say "yes, yes, yes!". It was all about the money then…. They were like kids in a sweetie shop…You know it's like that in any job. You start off you are like yeah, yeah, yeah, great, oh yeah I'll do that, yeah I'll work all my days off, fantastic! Then you are like "nah it is okay thanks, I don't need the money that much!"

Moreover, management within the housekeeping department expressed some of the difficulties they experienced in managing the workforce: 'So I know the housekeeping the job is really, really hard. And so after the training I spend some time with them because I respect them. They will be fine. But as well sometimes they are trying to be you know cheeky or they cut the corners. They know how possible as well. So you can't, so like, you can't leave it to them because they know what they are doing' (Polish Assistant Housekeeping

Manager, Hotel Co). New migrant workers' lack of concern for work and the organisation was stressed by the Housekeeping floor supervisor:

> Actually all of my maids are very young about 25 years old, or under. So they are still teenagers for me. I think sometimes they don't understand what work mean. You know they just want money for fun and to go out and they don't care about this place. For example that this is their job and they have to do this the best they can... I also am responsible for training people so I am spending with all girls whole day and show her how to work, how to work to you know do rooms very quick and eh good, and but they don't care… they just want to come here, do eight hours and go home and don't think about this place (Polish housekeeping floor supervisor, Hotel Co).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, migrant workers' willingness to accept low skilled work often lessens the longer they settle in a receiving country, and their aspirations can become similar to those of non – migrant workers (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). In their study of the impact of the EU expansion on the UK labour market, Blanchflower and Lawton (2008), assert that Polish workers have become 'less prepared to do unskilled work at the national minimum wage' than before. Thus, it is essential to recognise that new migrants are not simply passive workers who will accept poor work and conditions, rather they have aspirations, expectations and perceptions that must be analysed. Moreover, Thompson et al (2012:14) argue that rather than having an in-built

obsolescence, migrant workers are ‘good when they want to be’: ‘Their behaviour, like any wage labour is conditional on context and dynamics of power and legitimacy in the employment relationship’.

Although management described CEE workers as ‘good workers’, there was no real appreciation of people performing the job well or of increased effort in each organisation. In Bus Co management generally asserted that, as a large proportion of a bus driver’s job was performed outwith managerial control, it was difficult to ascertain the extent to which CEE drivers were good employees in terms of their driving standards or interaction with passengers: ‘It would be difficult for me to say but I don’t know what they would be like out on the road. Because bus drivers, just because of the nature of their job, are really left up to their own devices. They are given a bus, they are given a route and they are told to go out and do it. But certainly I would say that their capacity to work long hours, you know was evident’ (HR Business Partner, Bus Co). This is surprising as driving standards and interactions with passengers were a fundamental aspect of the job and new migrant workers were continually referred to as ‘good workers’. Managerial praise for the capacity to work long hours was common across the case studies: ‘They are more willing to work. See if it is their rest day and there is work available they will work. They will work because people are that way minded. What they are doing is they are trying to gather as much money as they can because a lot of guys are sending money back home’ (Depot Operations Manager, Bus Co). The majority of managers in Laundry Co agreed that CEE workers were not afraid of hard work and were willing to do overtime: ‘I think we wouldn’t get as much overtime done. Because the Scottish guys say

no to the overtime but the Polish, Lithuanian and Russian are always like yeah because that is what they are here to do, to make money. So most of the time Scottish people are paid off, but they keep migrant workers on because they are doing the overtime' (Scottish team leader, Laundry Co). In Hotel Co, however, the Housekeeping Manager spoke of how all her migrant workers had other jobs, and were therefore unwilling to work extra hours. She did add that most of her migrant workers worked seven days per week and never complained. Therefore, she concluded, they have a different attitude to work than Scottish employees. Evidently CEE employees are praised for their ability to work long hours (their quantitative effort) as opposed to actually expending more effort or being exceptionally good at the job (qualitative effort) in each organisation.

8.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter sought to explore new migrant workers' and employers' experiences of work by examining common themes to emerge in the effort bargaining process in all three case studies. The findings contribute to the argument that migrant workers often experience poor terms and conditions in low to semi skilled occupations in the UK. Therefore many people have a weak position in the labour market, which makes them vulnerable and susceptible to exploitation (TUC, 2008).

Evidence indicates that due to the difficult targets, detailed specifications over work and intense supervision, the effort bargain process was mostly a one sided process: employers demanded their side of the bargain, and due to their weak

position within the labour market and lack of available employment opportunities, CEE workers had to adhere. Yet, it was apparent that new migrant workers across the case studies did engage in forms of resistance. In Laundry Co some workers limited their effort so that they did not exceed targets, and management in the housekeeping department experienced problems managing new migrant workers and engaging them in the work. Moreover, in all three case studies management highlighted a decline in CEE workers work ethic the longer they worked in the organisation. Perhaps this is a way of new migrant workers resisting the tight control imposed upon them by management. Another important finding was despite key differences in the nature of work performed in each organisation, the majority of new migrant workers were dissatisfied with the quality of their work. Work was physically demanding, arduous, routine and repetitive. As a result of this people were generally discontented with the rate of pay received: in Hotel Co and Laundry Co workers were paid the NMW, whereas pay was slightly higher in Bus Co. Across the case studies people asserted that they would like greater congruence with the rate of pay they received and the effort expended. Evidence also signifies that one of the most important attributes of CEE workers is not their qualitative effort in work (the effort they expend) rather it is the quantitative effort (the propensity to work long hours).

CHAPTER 9: INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

9.1 REVISTING THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

The new wave of migration, or New Labour Migration (NLM) to the UK, has been described as: 'one of the most important social and economic phenomena shaping the UK today. This movement of people has dramatically changed the scale, composition and characteristics of immigration to the UK' (Pollard et al. 2008: 7). The literature review identified that employers in advanced industrial economies demand certain types of disposable labour (Piore, 1979). Within such economies the labour force is argued to be divided, which results in migrant workers undertaking unpleasant work with the poorest pay and worst working conditions (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Piore, 1979; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). This appears to be the case with Central and Eastern European (CEE) migrant workers who predominately fill low skilled jobs in the UK, which involve 'dirty, hard work' (de Lima and Wright, 2009: 395). At the same time CEE workers are valued by employers mainly for their general attitude, work ethic and positive orientations to work (Dench *et al,* 2006; LSC, 2007; Mathews and Ruhs, 2007). A common theme to emerge both anecdotally and within academic literature, when considering CEE migrant workers, has been the rhetoric of the 'good worker' (Dench et al, 2006; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Thompson et al 2012). The perceived attitude of the worker has been an important consideration for employers. Yet, migrant workers' willingness to accept low skilled poorly paid work often lessens the longer they settle in a

receiving country and their aspirations can become similar to those of non-migrant workers (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). It was against this backdrop that the central problematic of the thesis, to investigate the employment relationship of CEE workers, was developed. This problematic shaped the research objectives, outlined in Chapter 1, which guided the course of the thesis. The research objectives include:

- To propose a way of conceptualising the employment relationship of NLM
- To examine CEE nationals' expectations, experiences and aspirations in the Scottish labour market
- To determine the extent to which the employment relationship of NLM is distinctive

This thesis proposes a way of conceptualising the employment relationship of NLM, which includes the psychological contract, effort bargain, career theory and mobility power, thus ensuring that the first research objective was reached. The central focus is upon the interaction between employers and their expectations, and employees and their interests, in the employment relationship. Attention is paid to the way in which each party influences the expectations, obligations, actions and motives of the other. Therefore, this thesis marks a point of departure from existing studies, which analyse migrant labour, as the majority of studies focus solely upon the employer, or the migrant worker. A key conceptual contribution concerns the way in which these expectations and interests are brought together and how they interact. An additional facet of the

conceptual contribution is the way in which the concepts overlap with, and influence, each other. For example, aspects of an employee's psychological contract, like the desire to gain a promotion, can impact upon how much effort they exert in their job, therefore influencing the effort bargaining process. Drawing attention to this ensures that analysis captures the fluidity of the employment relationship, which encompasses not only the way in which each concept explains workers' and managers' expectations and obligations, but also the dynamic interaction between management and their employees. This interaction is crucial to analysis.

The conceptualisation of the employment relationship assisted in structuring the research questions, first posed in Chapter 4, and the fieldwork set out to empirically test and examine the employment relationship. Three organisational case studies, Laundry Co, Hotel Co, and Bus Co were selected in order to provide an accurate representation of the employment relationship of NLM. Now that the findings from the empirical fieldwork have been analysed, it is useful to revisit the research questions, namely:

- To analyse the interaction between employers' use of migrant labour and new migrant workers' experiences of employment, in terms of opportunities and constraints to their career trajectory
- To determine if new migrant workers and employers have distinctive obligations, expectations and experiences of the employment relationship by analysing their psychological contract

- To examine the extent to which new migrant workers can be viewed as willing workers by examining the effort bargaining process

This chapter shall proceed by abstracting some key findings and discussing them in relation to existing literature, whilst demonstrating that both the research objectives and research questions have been answered.

9.2 POSITIONING RESEARCH AGAINST THE LITERATURE

At its most basic level the employment relationship represents the buying and selling of labour power. However, it is a distinctive contract in that it is incomplete and can be ambiguous, and unlike other exchanges, it does not and cannot happen instantaneously (Edwards and Wajcman, 2007). A key manifestation of this is apparent when considering that employers can only purchase the capacity to work, as opposed to a fixed, definite quantity or quality of labour: actual labour is only realised in the workplace. This is a fundamental aspect of the effort bargaining process. In order to overcome this indeterminacy of labour there is a control imperative, which will ensure the capitalist revolutionises the production process, hence securing surplus value (Thompson, 1990). Capital must maintain control in order to ensure that the labour process is transformed and developed, however it is vital to note that this control imperative does not take any specific form. As a result of the control imperative and requirement to maximise capital's side of the wage effort bargain, it is recognised that forms of conflict, resistance and calculative cooperation are prevalent in the capitalist mode of production.

Career and Mobility Power

Smith (2006) makes an important point when he critiques Baldamus' conception of the effort bargain for failing to consider the power that workers have over where to sell their labour services, which he terms mobility-effort bargaining or mobility power. Mobility power is the 'securing labour services for capital and securing labour processes for labour' (Smith, 2010: 269). This concept is a useful way of analysing new migrant workers' careers in addition to other concepts like the effort bargain. The key issues that become apparent when thinking about mobility power with regards to the findings are examined in the discussion below.

Prior to the EU accession, employers had problems securing labour power and were struggling to find people willing to work in their organisations. Yet, as opposed to making pay and/or working conditions more attractive, employers simply drew upon a new source of labour available to them, CEE workers. Recruiting foreign workers was the easiest and cheapest alternative for employers in each case study. New migrant workers were predominantly viewed as a resource that could be utilised to meet employers' demands. This supports Piore's (1979) claim that the demand for certain types of disposable labour is an inherent feature of advanced industrial economies. Furthermore, MacKenzie and Forde (2009) argue that recruitment policies were focused upon those actors in the labour market who were lacking power. Many organisations employing low skilled migrant workers utilised a hard HRM approach, which makes the assumption that labour is a disposable and interchangeable commodity (Forde and MacKenzie, 2009).

At first glance, it would appear that new migrant workers, initially, had little mobility power in the UK, despite many people being highly educated. Evidence from the case studies indicates that the majority of CEE nationals had limited choices in the jobs they undertook. Their main concern was to simply find a means of earning money: 'I wasn't really thinking about what job I wanted to have at that point because it is more about survival. You know when you come to a big city, especially abroad. The first thing that you think about is how to survive. How to earn your living. How to pay your bills. So basically I needed any job' (Polish food and beverage assistant, Hotel Co). Employment choices were, thus, largely unrelated to the labour power that people possessed. This finding is consistent with the literature, which argues that CEE workers are underused within the labour market (Anderson et al 2006; Baum, 2007), and people often have to make 'tough choices and trade-offs' (Spencer et al, 2007: 23). These can be in the form of tolerating poor work and conditions due to the economic advantage, skills and experience gained and, importantly, the perceived temporary nature of their employment (Anderson et al 2006; Ruhs, 2006; Spencer et al 2007). Moreover the barriers to obtaining employment in the UK, including a lack of fluency in English and employers' lack of recognition of the educational attainment gained in CEE were stressed by CEE workers. This finding is consistent with the barriers identified in the literature (Bauder, 2005; Pemberton, 2008; de Lima and Wright, 2009). It was also apparent that these barriers segmented people into unattractive sectors of employment. The lack of choices that people had and the subsequent

segmentation into the lower skilled sector of employment was a common theme to emerge.

Despite an initial lack of mobility power, new migrant workers were soon valued by employers mainly for their general attitude, work ethic and positive orientations to work (Dench *et al,* 2006; LSC, 2007; Mathews and Ruhs, 2007). This supports evidence from the case studies: 'So they are very hard working, they are very reliable. They are very rarely sick. So it will change the whole face of hospitality.' (Executive Housekeeping Manager, Hotel Co). In their study of employers' rationale for hiring low skilled migrant labour in Los Angeles, Waldinger and Licher (2003) show that entire ethnic groups were ranked according to socially meaningful but subjective stereotypes. The perceived attitude of the worker is often an important consideration for many employers. Therefore, new migrant workers' willingness to undertake work, and their perceived good work ethic, increased their labour power in the UK. However the targeting of CEE workers by employers, due to their supposed benefits, further segmented people into poor quality occupations, and the perceived benefits of migrant workers lessen the longer they stay in a receiving country (Piore, 1979).

Many CEE workers were eager to leave the organisation they were employed in and undertake a new job, which better utilised their skills, education and/or experience. People also had clear career maps and aspirations to improve their future career, and therefore used their time working in Scotland to develop skills and experience that would be of use in the future. The main ways in which

people did this was through education, improving English language skills, and by developing interpersonal skills and experience. This is related to what Smith (2010) terms *the conversion question,* and the variability and plasticity of labour power. ‘When an employer hires an employee it is possible to train and retain them and workers can learn new skills and qualifications and ‘transform themselves and their “utility” repeatedly over a working life cycle.’ (Smith, 2010: 280). Many new migrant workers did exactly this and engaged in education or developed interpersonal skills in order to transform their ‘utility’ and move into their desired occupation. On the other hand, the majority of people who worked in Hotel Co as room attendants or as process operators in Laundry Co had the intention of learning English language skills but due to the work they performed this was not possible. This highlights that career aspirations, and the realisation of these goals are dependent not only upon the migrant worker but upon the organisation in which they work.

One of the key advantages that some new migrant workers had over the local labour force, in term of their labour power, is that they are not fixed to a particular place and are willing to move around to different locations to find employment. Smith (2010: 270) argues that labour power acquires fixity, by task (practising one occupation or skill), temporality (working with an employer for many years) and place (*somewhere* with cultural meaning or social community). A number of people across the case studies spoke of their ambitions to move to different areas of the UK, Europe and the rest of the world in search of better employment. Many people, therefore, had greater mobility power as they were willing and able to move to find work, as opposed to being

fixed to a specific location due to cultural or social ties. This may have positive implications for career trajectories. It is worth noting, however, that some people were relatively fixed to particular locations due to family commitments. The perceived upheaval of moving one's family to another area was not worth the benefits to an individual's career. Smith (2010: 280) states 'labour power gets fixed through institutional inertia, specialisation, market structures, occupational projects, work cultures, habit and the life cycle, some of which are defences for labour power in order to increase valorisation, others are structures to suit capital, to intensify productivity'. Additionally, it is worth questioning the extent to which new migrants will be able to realise their career aspirations because of the economic problems facing the UK, and wider European Union. CEE workers may become trapped into low paid and low skilled jobs due to the lack of available employment opportunities. This could impact upon their willingness to work and employers' perceptions of migrant workers' 'superior work ethic'. Further research into migrant workers' mobility in the UK labour market is necessary, and it would be useful to ascertain the impact that the poor economic climate has on CEE workers propensity to be upwardly mobile in the labour market.

This section has contributed to the second research objective of determining CEE workers' expectations, experiences and aspirations in the Scottish labour market. An initial literature review analysed previous waves of migration, and it was clear that migrant workers were historically segmented in poor paid and low skilled occupations. However, as opposed to adopting a deterministic structure orientated view, this thesis aimed to provide an explanation in which

importance was placed upon the individual and collective agency that new migrant workers possess in employment. This focus helped to develop the first research question, which sought to analyse the interaction between employers' use of migrant labour and new migrant workers' experiences of employment, in terms of opportunities and constraints to their career trajectory. Empirical work was then undertaken, and career theory and mobility power were employed to highlight the diverse expectations, experiences and aspirations that new migrant workers have, and the way in which this shapes their experiences of the Scottish labour market. The findings highlight the limited choices that CEE workers had in the labour market, and the way in which employers took advantage of a cheap and ready supply of migrant labour. However far from being passive workers, some CEE migrants had career goals and expectations, and developed skills and experience to meet their aspirations. The following section considers the key findings in relation to the psychological contract literature. Of importance is the way in which the influence of labour process theory (arguments like Smith's 2006, 2010 above) and the effort bargain literature influenced the conception of the psychological contract.

The Psychological Contract

There are four fundamental differences with the conceptualisation of the psychological contract employed in this thesis, and the psychological contract literature generally. Key differences include: new migrant workers were analysed as a group; focus was on expectations and obligations, as opposed to promises and obligations; the employer is viewed as a fundamental aspect of the

exchange; the way in which the concept was measured differs from extant research. Each point shall be discussed in greater depth.

The majority of research concerning the psychological contract, which was published prior to 1988, views the psychological contract as an individual-level subjective phenomenon, which exists in the eye of the beholder (Rousseau, 1989: 123; Robinson *et al.,* 1994; Morrison and Robinson, 1997; Turnley and Feldman, 1999). However, it is argued that in certain circumstances, groups of workers can share aspects of their psychological contract (Freese and Schalk, 1996). In this case, due to their experiences of migration, status as migrant workers, and work experience in low to semi-skilled occupations, new migrant workers were analysed at group level as opposed to individual level. The findings support this, as many of the expectations and obligations held by management and employees were comparable across the three case studies. Moreover, the majority of expectations were only applicable to new migrant workers, and not, simply people working in low to semi-skilled occupations.

As opposed to analysing promissory based obligations, and in keeping with earlier definitions of the psychological contract (Levinson *et al.,* 1962; Schien, 1965; Kotter, 1973), this research focuses upon new migrant workers' and employers' *expectations* and *obligations* in employment. An important point made by Conway (1996) is that expectations, promises and obligations all imply different levels of psychological engagement. It is, thus, essential to elucidate the rationale for rejecting promises. Whilst the reciprocal nature of the psychological contract is not disputed, it was felt that employing the word

promise would invoke notions of an explicit contractual agreement and mutuality. A promise is, therefore, deemed too strong: many conditions that people expected were based upon their personal experiences, expectations and perceptions of employment, which was quite separate from what was perceived to have been promised by the other party. Additionally, in contrast to the majority of studies concerning the psychological contract, managerial expectations of new migrant workers are argued to be a fundamental aspect of the employment relationship. Thus, there is agreement with Guest's (1998) contention that in neglecting the employers' perspective researchers are misrepresenting the core of the psychological contract; that it is the reciprocal obligations between two parties.

Traditionally, the psychological contract is measured by survey research (Conway and Briner, 2005). The methodology in this study was comprised of semi-structured interviews and focus groups with new migrant workers and management in order to elucidate the key aspects of the psychological contract. Employees and management were asked about their key expectations of, and obligations to, the other party, which allowed people to define their psychological contract, as opposed to agreeing or disagreeing with items on a scale. This ensured that the fundamentally important elements of the employment relationship were considered. Moreover, a great deal of extant research on the psychological contract focuses upon high skilled workers' and MBA students' perspectives. Thus, the majority of scales available to measure the construct are not applicable to people working in low to semi-skilled occupations, or for people who view their employment relationship as

temporary. Furthermore, few, if any, studies focus on the psychological contracts of migrant workers, and as this group of workers are argued to have a distinctive employment relationship, it was deemed vital to allow them to define and describe this experience in-depth.

As mentioned earlier, key features of the employment relationship include 'the effort–reward bargain, asymmetrical power, the commodity status of labour and the worker's economic interdependence with the employer, producing a relationship of structured antagonism and calculative cooperation (D'Art and Turner, 2006: 523). Viewing the employment relationship as operating under these terms has clear implications for the conceptualisation of the psychological contract. The effort bargain is a fundamental aspect of labour process theory, however the psychological contract is not closely aligned with the concept. Yet, it is argued that one of the main strengths of this research has been the way in which the effort bargain and labour process literature have complimented the conceptualisation of the psychological contract.

Traditional interpretations of the psychological contract are theoretically problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, a great deal of the literature on the psychological contract views the contract between employers and employees as insular and perceptual. However, the employment relationship does not stand alone, and is influenced by factors other than employers' or employees' perceptions. It is essential that recognition is given to the ways in which structural and contextual conditions influence the expectations and obligations that each party brings to the employment relationship. The utilisation of labour

process theory and the effort bargain compliments the psychological contract by giving recognition to such conditions. For example, it is important to understand the way in which the logic of accumulation and competition between units of capital can impact upon the expectations that management have of their workers. However, the psychological contract literature fails to recognise how this fundamental feature of a capitalist economy can impact upon the employment relationship. Secondly, the relationship between employees and employers is comprised of an asymmetrical power relationship in which the employee is under the command of the employer. This can have implications for the extent to which each party's expectations are met and it is likely that, given the inequality in the relationship, employers' expectations will carry more weight. When analysing psychological contract literature, there is no consideration given to the fact that employers have more power than employees: both parties' expectations and obligations are treated as carrying the same weight. This is quite clearly incorrect, and evidence from the case studies and wider literature highlights this point (see Cullaine and Dundon, 2006). Thirdly, employers and employees clearly have divergent interests, yet workers have economic interdependence with their employer. Thus a relationship of structured antagonism is evident. This constant process of cooperation and conflict has implications for both parties' expectations and obligations. However, the psychological contract has an inherent manageralist discourse. Cullaine and Dundon (2006: 1) argue that in its present form, the psychological contract 'symbolizes an ideologically biased formula designed for a particular manageralist interpretation of contemporary work and employment'.

At this point it is important to consider the main findings from the empirical data, and examine how they are positioned against the literature. Many of the expectations that management had of their new migrant workers were simplistic. Compliance with rules and regulations was the fundamental expectation management had of new migrant workers across the case studies. Perhaps this is due to the pressures placed upon management. Hyman (1984: 180-2) notes 'managements' role as servants of accumulation means that there is a constant drive to reduce labour costs, to intensify the pressure of work, to render existing workers "redundant"'. In each case study managerial expectations were predominantly shaped by issues like competition, pressure from clients, increases in labour supply and industry rules and regulations. However, it is worth noting that not all managerial expectations and obligations were the same. For instance, the union learning rep in Bus Co felt strongly obligated to help his CEE drivers settle into the organisation and wider community. He encouraged people to learn English and acted as a father figure to many of the drivers by helping them with the various problems they faced both in and out of the workplace.

Psychological contract research fails to appreciate the way in which external influences can impact the expectations that each party brings to the employment relationship. However, Guest (2004: 6) does place a certain degree of importance on contextual factors in his model of the state of the psychological contract and suggests that: 'A broader framework might extend this context outside the organization to include national legislative, economic and employment factors that might be expected to affect both attitudes towards and

the experience of being employed'. External influences clearly had an important effect on the employment relationships and often impacted upon managerial treatment of workers, particularly for bus drivers, room attendants and process operators. Many room attendants and bus drivers stressed that their relationship with management had worsened due to an increase in labour supply. In the housekeeping department and in Laundry Co, the threat of unemployment was a managerial strategy utilised to increase workers' output and meet client requirements. This highlights an important dynamic in the employment relationship, in that it is the manager who has the authority to hire and fire, and direct and shape the condition of work, not the employee. Management required people to do the job and they had an abundant labour supply, therefore a large degree of power. If people did not do the job to the standard expected, they could easily be replaced. The inequality of the employment relationship has a direct influence upon the psychological contract and actual work experience. This is why employees and employers engaging in a contract-like relationship is scrutinised by Cullaine and Dundon (2006: 10):

> ...a contract implies that the parties have entered into an agreement freely and equally, and in legal terms, the agreement cannot be changed without some consent between the two contracting parties. However this is a flawed assumption. Employment contracts are rarely made amongst equals, nor are they explicitly negotiated and agreed in the same way as buying a house or a car... In many instances, it is employers who determine the rate of pay, the pace of

work and what benefits are offered in exchange for the employees' physical and mental labour.

In each case study, new migrant workers' obligations towards the organisation generally corresponded with managerial expectations of compliance. Again this is partly attributed to the unequal power relationship in the employment relationship, in that managerial expectations essentially have more weight than employees' expectation. Coats (2009: 54) asserts the worker is an individual, however the 'employer is a collective of shareholders and professional managers with a considerable volume of physical capacity behind them'. This clearly influences the extent to which managerial expectations are met by workers.

When examining the CEE workers' expectations of their employers, it became apparent that the content of their psychological contract was distinctive, and attention is drawn to three aspects, namely understanding, fairness and respect, protection and safety and opportunities for advancement. A fundamental expectation in every organisation was understanding, respect and fairness. This was an important concern for people *because* they were migrant workers, therefore this expectation is distinctive only to new migrant workers. The majority of supervisors and food and beverage assistants stated they had a good relationship with management, however room attendants, process operators and bus drivers generally experienced bullying, unfair treatment and racism from their colleagues and supervisors. This finding is supported by Wright and Pollert (2006) who found discrimination in the labour market and employment is one of

four features that differentiates ethnic minority and migrant workers' experience of employment. It is fair to assume that migrant workers in organisations throughout the UK will experience some degree of discrimination and racism. In each case study, migrant workers were employed on the same contracts as indigenous workers. However, this may not be the case in other organisations, and consequently, migrants may have worse experiences of employment. More research into different groups of migrant workers' experiences of discrimination and racism in low and high skilled occupations is essential. CEE workers' psychological contract is evidently distinct from those working in low to semi-skilled occupations in that people have the expectation of fair and equal treatment. And additionally, for a significant proportion of new migrant workers in the case studies, this expectation was unmet.

Another crucial aspect of the psychological contract in Bus Co, which results in CEE workers having a distinctive psychological contract, was the expectation of protection and safety at work. As the majority of new migrant workers had previous bus driving experience in CEE, they made explicit comparisons with how they could interact with passengers there, and the strict rules and regulations that governed their experience in Scotland. The comparison with working in CEE made new migrant workers' psychological contract distinct and was fundamental in shaping what people expected from their employer. The final aspect of the psychological contract that will be discussed is that the expectation of promotion was important for only a small number of new migrant workers in each case study. However, what is interesting is why the majority of people did not have this expectation. For some it was attributed to poor English

language skills and the lack of opportunities to learn English. CEE workers across the cases generally worked long hours, therefore undertaking English lessons was not possible. In all three organisations people agreed that gaining a promotion was unlikely because they were migrant workers, either due to their poor language skills or because of perceptions of discrimination.

It was apparent that new migrant workers in each organisation had few ways in which to make their expectations heard, or to demand that they were met. Bus Co was heavily unionised and new migrant workers could bargain over their pay and could also go to their union with problems and issues that they wanted resolved. For example two Polish workers had been racially abused by their supervisors, and therefore decided to complain to the union. The union resolved the problem by ensuring that the two bus drivers did not work with the supervisor again. Although the problem was not completely and justly resolved, both workers explained that they were happy and were no longer subjected to racist bullying. In Laundry Co and Hotel Co, new migrant workers had no way of resolving such problems as they could not make their expectations explicitly heard. Cullaine and Dundon (2006: 10) assert:

> ...trust and employer legitimacy are always potentially a problematic issue when a social exchange interaction is based on unvoiced promises and expectations.... Given the constant competitive pressures that employers face to cheapen the costs of production, notably labour, employers often find it necessary or in its interests to make a decision that serves to negatively impact

> upon employees. Thus employee distrust is likely to surface, and co-operation is likely to be replaced by apathy, begrudging compliance or even resistance.

An interesting finding and empirical contribution was that new migrant workers' expectations of the employment relationship are distinctive, and additionally, were largely unmet by employers and management. Management, on the other hand, had far fewer expectations of migrant workers that encompassed compliance and willingness to work, and importantly, these expectations were all met. This would appear to support the literature on the psychological contract, which focuses on the concept of breach. Breach allows researchers to understand the different ways that the failure to meet promises and expectations affects the feelings and behaviours of employees. However, there is an important problem with applying breach to the conceptualisation of the psychological contract in this research. This is mainly because the concept of breach is 'borrowed' from legal contracts where one of the parties fail to meet the contract terms, and occurs 'when one party in a relationship perceives another to have failed to fulfil promised obligation(s)' (Robinson and Rousseau, 1994: 247). For breach to occur, this implies that a promise has been broken. The psychological contract is viewed in this thesis as comprising of expectations and obligations, as opposed to promises. Conway and Briner (2005) note the concept of breach, like the psychological contract, is subjective and based upon perceptions as opposed to actual agreements. Rather than focusing on a cognitive-perceptual phenomenon it is essential to piece together employees' and managers' experiences of employment, which shall help

provide an accurate explanation of the employment relationship. It is more worthwhile, therefore, to explain the nature of the employment relationship as a dynamic exchange of expectations and obligations. This exchange involves two parties and by analysing their expectations and obligations, in addition to experiences of where these have been met or not, we can capture the actual process as opposed to each party's perceptions, which may be idiosyncratic and changeable. Therefore, referring to the third research objective and second research question, the psychological contract of NLM is not only distinctive in terms of its content, but also due to the number of expectations held by each party and the extent to which they were met. It is worth questioning the extent to which this finding would have been uncovered if traditional psychological contract research had been undertaken. The following section focuses upon the sphere of work by analysing the effort bargain and dignity.

The Effort Bargain and Dignity

The findings illustrate how difficult, physically demanding and arduous work was for the majority of CEE migrants across the case studies. Additionally, the effort bargaining process was predominantly a one-sided affair whereby management made demands of workers and workers had little choice but to comply. An important outcome of an effort bargaining process of this nature can be the denial of dignity. Dignity, it is argued, depends upon the realisation of agency, which includes job satisfaction, a liveable pace of work, and creativity and meaning in work (Hodson, 2001). The achievement of dignity at work is conceptualised as confronting four key challenges, namely challenges to autonomy, the contradictions of employee involvement, mismanagement and

abuse and overwork. This section begins by reiterating some of the key aspects of the effort bargaining process and then illustrates the way in which this influenced the dignity of CEE migrant workers.

In the housekeeping department of Hotel Co, room attendants faced tight specifications over their work and had to adhere to the strict cleanliness standards, which were extensively monitored by supervisors and management. Managers in Laundry Co also utilised work based targets and supervision in order to control the effort of workers. Tight specifications, extensive rules and regulations concerning driving standards and monitoring by the Green Road system, were the key method utilised to maintain effort standards in Bus Co. Evidently, workers' autonomy and opportunities for employee involvement were extremely limited in all three organisations. People generally had little control over the work they performed, which in turn made them view their job unfavourably. In addition to this, employees were often subjected to mismanagement and abuse. For example the failure of management to help workers deal with dangerous situations and problem passengers in Bus Co, and the extremely high workload due to increasing targets in both Laundry Co and the housekeeping department of Hotel Co. However, in all three case studies CEE workers were continually described by management as good workers, with a different work ethic to the local population. It is worth noting that there was no real appreciation of people performing the job well or of increased effort. Rather, the good work ethic referred to CEE workers' willingness to work and capacity to work long hours.

An important concern in all three case studies was overwork. In both Laundry Co and Hotel Co work was described as physically demanding and arduous, which was attributed to increasing targets and workload. Many bus drivers in Bus Co highlighted long, and often unsociable hours as an important aspect of their work effort. Green (2009:22) argues that high effort jobs that offer low discretion, like those in the case studies, are argued to be a 'toxic mix' that are feared to be detrimental to an employee's health. However, some people regarded the ability to work long hours as an agreeable aspect of their job. Many process operators and food and beverage assistants viewed the long hours available to them as a favourable aspect of their jobs, while room attendants appreciated that working in Hotel Co allowed them to undertake a second job. This corresponds with MacKenzie and Forde (2009) who argue that the ability to work long hours and therefore earn good money is often one of the key reasons that migrant workers regard their current employment in this country as 'favourable'. Besond et al (2003) offers a useful distinction between voluntary or involuntary reason for working long hours. It is possible to distinguish if people work long hours for voluntary reasons such as ambition to progress in the organisation, or for involuntary reasons like the nature of work or low hourly pay. The majority of new migrant workers in all three organisations were clearly working long hours for involuntary reasons due to the work they performed or to top up their low pay. Moreover Besond et al (2003) assert that working long and excessive hours is a danger to workers physical and mental health, and impacts upon the balance between work and personal life. Many people across the case studies, particularly those with children, highlighted the impact that working long hours had on their work-life balance, in that it was

dramatically tipped in the favour of work, which had a detrimental effect on their family life. Therefore, although working long hours was, in some instances, a favourable aspect of the job, it can have negative consequences for new migrant workers.

An important outcome of the effort bargain in all three case studies was the denial of dignity in work. Hodson's (2001) account of dignity in the workplace focuses predominantly around issues at the level of the effort bargaining process. In each of the case studies overwork, mismanagement and abuse were common and workers had limited autonomy and opportunities for employee involvement. Mismanagement is the strongest predictor of all three aspects of worker agency, namely infighting, resistance and citizenship and 'is extremely aggravating to employees and seriously undermines their enthusiasm for work and their vision of the workplace as a productive environment where they can meaningfully invest their time and energy' (Hodson, 2001: 243). This was clear in all three organisations.

However, CEE workers did engage in acts of resistance and citizenship behaviour to preserve their dignity and create meaning in work. This was done mainly by: viewing employment as temporary, performing work well (housekeeping floor supervisors and food and beverage assistants), sabotage (of the Green Road monitoring systems) and co-worker relations. The majority of new migrant workers viewed the poor work that they performed as a temporary phenomenon. This allowed them to undertake work that did not match their high educational attainment and experience, whilst maintaining a sense of dignity. As

Anderson et al (2006) highlights, poor work is tolerable if it is viewed as temporary. Some employees also took pride in the work they performed by working to the best of their ability, whilst others strived to learn skills and gain experience that would be beneficial for their future careers. Again this allowed people to maintain a sense of dignity. This is supported by Newsome et al (2009) who highlight that CEE workers' willingness to work hard or harder than local workers was viewed as an important source of dignity and pride. Many bus drivers in Bus Co admitted not logging in to the Green Road monitoring system because it did not always perform as it should, and other drivers highlighted that many of the machines had been deliberately sabotaged. Both examples were important methods of resisting mismanagement in Bus Co. Engagement in co-worker relations also allowed room attendants to maintain a sense of dignity in work. The majority of room attendants grouped together and made clear distinctions between themselves and management by sitting separately from them at lunch, and by speaking Polish. As their manager had expressed racist views, perhaps this was an important means that room attendants chose to communicate their unhappiness and maintain their dignity.

However, it is important to be aware that management or employers' key goal was not to deny workers dignity, rather their dignity was often an unimportant consideration due to the pressures of dealing with intense competition, fluctuating demand and the nature of the products and services offered. This finding is supported by Newsome et al (2009). In striving to manage their department and organisation efficiently and effectively, management often neglected workers' dignity. Rather than being a direct and explicit challenge to

workers' dignity, it is perhaps best to view these examples as important omissions, albeit one that had very real consequences for new migrant workers' experiences of work. The one exception to this rule is bullying and harassment.

Bullying and harassment were the most extreme forms of the denial of dignity at work and were important ways in which supervisors and management knowingly aimed to take dignity from new migrant workers. Sayer (2007a: 23) outlines two distinct forms of inequality relevant to dignity at work, including 'identity-sensitive'. The first form of inequality is represented by types of unequal treatment such as sexism, racism, homophobia and ageism. Such forms of inequality can be present at the workplace or labour market level. Important here is the treatment of members of the groups in ways that are insensitive and undignified: 'typical forms are mistrust, underestimation of their ability and probity, refusal to take them seriously, and worst of all, taking advantage of their vulnerability, including the special vulnerability which derives precisely from their stigmatisation, as in sexual and racial harassment.' (p23). In Bus Co, new migrant workers experienced bullying and taunting from supervisors and were denied overtime because they were from CEE. CEE workers in Laundry Co frequently complained of being treated differently from their Scottish counterparts, in that they were reprimanded more often and did not have the same opportunities for advancement. Thus, there is often a notable difference between the way things are in practice and what they are said to be (Karlsson, 2012). Sayer (2007b: 575-6) contends:

> If employers make pronouncements about treating everyone with equal respect, but in their actions, and in the conditions which they provide for their employees, treat them unequally, then their words are likely to be seen as hollow, as being contradicted by their deeds. Expressions of equality of recognition which are not backed up by equality of treatment and distribution of resources, including job security and the provision of working conditions are likely to appear hypocritical

The second type of inequality identified by Sayer (2007a) exists in the nature of the employment relationship and in the internal hierarchies or inequalities of economic organisation. These can exist in absence of 'identity-sensitive' inequalities and are products of 'identity-insensitive' economic mechanisms. 'The employment relationship is in itself unequal in that the employee usually has fewer options than the employer, and the latter is dominant and indeed normally dominates. In turn, there are inequalities among employees in terms of pay, security and working conditions, and indeed in all the respects which we noted as important for dignity' (p23). This was clear in the fact that new migrant workers largely met employers' expectations of them, however employers failed to adequately meet new migrant workers' expectations of them, which led to a lack of dignity in the employment relationship.

When considering the final research objective about the distinctiveness of the employment relationship, and the final research question concerning the effort bargaining process, the findings highlight that CEE migrants are generally

willing workers who comply with managerial expectations and carry out overtime. This is what makes new migrant workers' effort bargaining process distinctive. What was interesting was that although CEE workers were continually described as good workers, with a different work ethic to the local population, there was no real appreciation of people performing the job well or of increased effort. Managerial praise for the capacity and willingness to work long hours was common in each organisation, and the perceived attitude of the worker is an important consideration for employers. This finding is supported by Thompson et al (2012) who assert the good work ethic of CEE migrant workers is related to their willingness to work long hours rather than them working harder or being more cooperative. However, the findings do indicate that migrant workers' work ethic declines with time. There were many examples of people engaging in acts of resistance and citizenship behaviour in the case study organisation. Both behaviours act to preserve their dignity and create meaning in work. An important point is made by Thompson et al (2012: 14) when they argue that migrant workers are 'good when they want to be'.

Evidence indicates the effort bargain and psychological contract were mostly one sided: employers demanded their side of the bargain, and due to their weak position within the labour market and lack of available employment opportunities, CEE workers had to adhere. This raises an important point, namely that the concept of dignity may not only encompass the effort bargain process but also the psychological contract, labour market experiences and the career. Bolton (2007) distinguishes between dignity *in* work and dignity *at* work. Dignity *in* work encompasses dignity in labour through 'interesting and

meaningful work with a degree of responsible autonomy and recognised social esteem and respect' (p8). Whilst, dignity *at* work includes 'structures and practices that offer equality of opportunity, collective and individual voice, safe and healthy working conditions, secure terms of employment and just rewards' (p8). This is useful as it highlights that workers may be engaged in poor work, but could have good terms and conditions. Dignity may therefore be a useful concept to discuss the psychological contract. Bolton's (2007: 8) definition of dignity encompasses the objective features of 'security, just reward, equality, voice and well-being', in addition to the subjective features that are fundamental to discussions concerning 'moral and political philosophy', including 'autonomy, meaning and respect'. The objective and subjective factors are viewed by Bolton as the dimensions of dignity. When considering some of the key expectations evident in new migrant workers' psychological contract (recognition, respect, understanding and fairness, protection and safety and the opportunity for advancements) and management's failure to meet these expectations, it is clear that the concept of dignity is useful. Additionally, it is worthwhile considering the concept of dignity in relation to CEE nationals' experience of the UK labour market. Many CEE migrants worked in the case study organisations because there were no other options available to them. In order to survive in Scotland, it was essential that they found work. Evidence highlights that the majority of CEE workers had limited employment options and mobility power. Moreover, a lack of fluency in English and lack of recognition of educational attainment further segmented people into unattractive sectors of employment. The lack of choices that people had, and the subsequent segmentation into the lower skilled sector of employment was a common theme

to emerge. Dignity, therefore, also applies to the availability of opportunities in the labour market.

By assessing the breakdown of the psychological contract, the effort bargain, mobility power and career concepts, it is clear the literature on dignity at work is a valuable addition to the analysis. Moreover the literature is complimentary with conceptual framework employed in this thesis, as some of the key studies concerning dignity are situated within the labour process tradition (Hodson, 2001; Bolton, 2007; Newsome et al 2009). The concept, thus, provides an important means in which to think about the consequences of employers' failure to meet employees' expectations of work and employment. Attention is also drawn to important reasons why management fail to meet their side of the deal. Bolton (2007) raises an important point when she questions the extent to which the employment relationship is a means of achieving dignity or a way in which it is constrained. This is an excellent question which highlights that discussions on dignity should not assume that the employment relationship is always a means of constraining dignity. Rather, new migrant workers showed clear ways of utilising their time to achieve dignity, namely in their willingness to work and perform their job well, and in gaining skills and experience for their future careers. However, it was evident that conditions in each of the case studies presented challenges to working with dignity, the majority of which are not argued to be explicit challenges by management to constrain workers dignity. It is worth noting that an important exception to this is in the cases of racial abuse, bullying and harassment.

Interaction Between Conceptual Resources

Whilst writing the literature review, conducting the fieldwork and analysing the findings it became apparent that each of the four concepts utilised to analyse the employment relationship of NLM were related. This section considers the way in which the four conceptual tools influenced one another.

An important finding was the way in which new migrant workers' wider career experiences and aspirations influenced their psychological contract and the elements of the effort bargaining process. This is particularly applicable to people who had progressed to supervisor and managerial positions. Moreover, most but not all people in this category had high levels of education and/or experience and decided they wanted to use their time in the UK to advance their careers. Progression was a fundamental expectation and essential aspect of their psychological contract and wider career plans: 'From the beginning I say, I don't want to stay on the machines all these years. I always try to get something more and more and more. So now I am the production manager. I would like to be something more. I still got opportunities here but maybe different when they open another plant' (Polish Production Manager Laundry Co). These expectations had a significant influence on new migrant workers' obligations to their employer and their work obligations. People said that they exerted extra effort in work and were committed to their employer in order to obtain the progression they desired. In some cases, however, the dynamic worked in the opposite direction and CEE workers highlighted that their experience of the effort bargain and poor job quality influenced their career aspirations, in that they wanted to move to a good job that utilised their skills and education.

It was also evident that aspects of the effort bargain constrained many new migrant workers' career expectations and aspirations. Mostly all process operators and room attendants were unable to progress within the organisation, or in their career, due to the nature of work they performed and the way in which work was organised. People generally had the intention of developing and expanding skills such as English language and/or interpersonal skills, however due to the nature of work this was unfeasible. In both Laundry Co and the housekeeping department of Hotel Co work was performed individually and was routine and repetitive with limited interactions with colleagues, management or customers. Therefore, the skills acquired were specific to cleaning in a hotel or working in a large industrial laundry, rather than important transferrable skills. It was also apparent that learning English in each organisation was incredibly difficult due to the large numbers of Polish people who worked there and naturally conversed in their native language. Some CEE workers, however, were able to utilise aspects of their job to help realise expectations of progression and/or future career aspirations. The majority of supervisors and food and beverage assistants utilised aspects of their effort bargain, mainly their interactions with customers and managers, to help build skills and experience that would help their future career prospects. These workers used their time wisely in the UK by learning English and/or to develop their interpersonal skills. For bus drivers in Bus Co, the company and Unite had an important obligation to their new migrant workers and employees generally, namely skill development. Drivers were taught English in the depot, which had a positive influence upon career aspirations: many people wanted to progress

their career and move into higher skills occupations and learning English was a means of helping them realise this aspiration.

Additionally, for many bus drivers in Bus Co there was a relationship between past career experiences, the effort bargain and the psychological contract. The majority of new migrant workers had previous bus driving experience, as the company specified that CEE applicants must have a year's bus driving experience. This experience impacted upon the expectations new migrant workers had of their employers. In CEE, drivers were given more freedom over their interactions with passengers, however due to the tight regulations in the UK, they did not get a great deal of freedom in how they dealt with passengers. Moreover, many drivers had experienced problems with passengers and often felt helpless. Both factors resulted in CEE drivers expecting Bus Co to offer them protection and safety.

Another important way in which the effort bargain influenced the psychological contract was in the expectation of recognition. This was the most widely reported expectation in Hotel Co and Laundry Co, and the third most commonly cited expectation in Bus Co. People generally agreed that this was a fundamental aspect of their psychological contract, however the majority of new migrant workers across the case studies complained of a lack of recognition. It was evident that the lack of recognition was most severe for room attendants and bus drivers due to the nature of work they performed. In both organisations work was predominantly undertaken away from direct managerial supervision making recognition difficult. Some people simply wanted management to say

hello to them or to acknowledge them. Attention was also drawn to the need for recognition of employees who worked incredibly long hours but were not always able to meet hourly targets: ‘They should recognise our work and that we work overtime. Scottish people don’t do overtime at all. Sometimes in a series of days we do overtime, we start at four o’clock and then after eight or nine hours they should recognise that we might be tired so we are not able to reach the target’ (Polish process operator, Laundry Co). This highlights the way in which people’s experience of work impacts upon the expectations they have of their employer in their psychological contract.

9.3 PRACTICAL AND THEORETICAL LIMITATIONS

As with any study, there are both practical and theoretical limitations. Generally social science problems are extremely complex, and it is not feasible to analyse large numbers of cases in great detail. Researchers are often faced with the choice of examining a large number of entities, whilst restricting the number of properties used to define them, or looking at a smaller sample more exhaustively (Sayer, 1992). The former, the extensive approach, focuses on common properties and general patterns of a population as a whole. As this study utilised an intensive research design and studied three cases in-depth, an important limitation is that the findings cannot be empirically generalised, as they are not representative of CEE migrant workers in Scotland. Danermark et al (2002: 165) assert ‘Actual concrete patterns and contingent relations are unlikely to be “representative” or “average” or generalizable’. Rather, the findings are case specific, and therefore, it is only possible to discuss the

employment relationship of migrant workers in the case studies. Moreover, the intensive approach focuses on generative mechanisms. 'Investigating how a mechanism works in a concrete situation involves tracing the causal power and describing the interaction between powers that produce a social phenomenon' (Danermark et al, 2002: 166). However, this approach cannot discover how common a phenomenon is or the characteristics of a particular population. It would be useful to carry out a follow-up study to determine the extent to which aspects of the employment relationship are relevant to a wider population of migrant workers in different organisations in Scotland.

Another limitation stems from using an interpreter to gather data. While it is essential to try to make the research process as robust as possible, it is incorrect to assume an unquestioning and unproblematic use of interpreters. By using an interpreter some degree of control over the research process is diminished. For example, some words cannot be translated into English, which requires the interpreter to create their own meaning. In order to improve the validity of the research, a professional interpreter was employed from an agency (Ric Liamputtong and Ezzy, 1999). This ensured that she adhered to professional standards and had substantial experience. A key problem with using an interpreter is they are often paid for short periods of time and rarely become involved with the research. Although the interpreter was not substantially involved in the research, measures were taken to overcome this problem. Measures included: using the same interpreter for all interviews and focus groups, and meeting with the interpreter frequently to discuss the research. Conducting focus groups with participants who spoke little English was also

problematic. In order to overcome problems, focus groups were purposely comprised of only a small number of people (no more than three) who could not speak English. The interpreter was positioned next to them and participants were notified that the interpreter was present, and that their contribution was welcome. If people did not contribute a great deal they were specifically asked questions to ensure their opinions were noted. This helped to minimise the potential problems of conducting focus groups with people who could not speak English.

A final limitation is related to the data that was collected. It would have been useful to conduct a second interview with management to discuss some of the issues raised by migrant workers, such as the failure to meet basic expectations in the psychological contract. This would have provided a deeper insight into the employment relationship and richer data. The next section ends the chapter by considering areas of future research.

9.4 FURTHER RESEARCH

In Chapter 3 it was highlighted that new migrant workers were segmented into low skill, low status occupations. In order to provide an accurate representation of the employment relationship of NLM case studies were chosen, which represented the nature of work CEE workers undertook. However, it is worth noting that the cases were also selected for pragmatic reasons, in that these organisations were willing to take part in the research project. It would have been interesting to consider the expectations and obligations that agency

workers have of the employment relationship. McKay (2009) highlights that 39% of registered CEE workers are employed in the administration, business and management industry. Yet interestingly, temporary agency work is included in this category, which highlights that a large percentage of CEE workers are likely to be agency workers. Therefore, this would be an important group to examine.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the majority of psychological contract research is operationalised through survey research. However, this thesis employed a different methodology that included semi-structured interviews and focus groups to uncover the key expectations and obligations that employers and CEE workers had in the employment relationship. It would be interesting to measure these dimensions with a larger group of new migrant workers to determine if these elements are applicable to new migrant workers in different organisations.

Chapter 3 and data from the case studies drew attention to some of the key themes to emerge when considering new migrant workers' work and employment experiences. This includes: breaches of health and safety, low pay, long and irregular working hours and a lack of training (de Lima and Wright, 2009). All the aforementioned features suggest that migrant workers undertake work that is poor quality, which is consistent with the reserve army of labour and dual labour market arguments. In each concept the labour force is argued to be divided between migrant workers on the one hand and the indigenous population on the other, which results in migrant workers undertaking the unpleasant work, with the poorest pay and worst working conditions (Castles

and Kosack, 1973; Piore, 1979; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). The main focus of this research was on the employment relationship, however given the literature on migrant labour, another important area of research would be the migrant labour and job quality.

Job quality has again become a key issue in advanced industrial economies, which over the past few years, has become an increasingly important public policy issue. Recent interventions have come from the UK government, the European Commission, the World Health Organisation and the International Labour Organisation. In 2005 the UK government appointed Dame Carol Black as the National Director of Health and Work, who conducted a review of the health of the working age population (Black 2008) and also developed a strategy that unites health and employment policy (DH/DWP 2005). At the European level, the ambition of the 'Lisbon strategy' is: 'to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion' (Presidency conclusions, Lisbon European Council, 23 and 24 March 2000) 'and a sustainable environment' (added during the course of the Gothenburg summit in June 2001). And at global level, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) launched the concept of decent work in 1999: 'The primary goal of the ILO today is to promote opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equality, security and human dignity' (ILO, 1999: 3).

Given the interest in job quality at national, European and global level, it would be interesting to investigate the main features of job quality identified in literature and ascertain the way in which they relate to new migrants' experience of work. Some key features of job quality, derived from the literature include: pay and conditions of work (McGovern et al, 2004; Green 2009; Coates and Lehki, 2008), effort (Coates and Lehki, 2008; Green, 2009), autonomy (Coates and Lehki, 2008; Gallie 2003; Green 2009), skill (Coates and Lehki, 2008; Green, 2009), security (ILO; Green 2009; Coates and Lehki, 2008), equality (ILO), and promotion opportunities (McGovern et al, 2004). Further research, which includes these features, and perhaps many more, would help to further illuminate CEE workers' experiences of work and employment in Scotland.

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