Migration, Structures of Feeling and pathways to inclusion and exclusion: migrant workers in Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Poland

PhD Thesis

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This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

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Abstract

Drawing on a concept well-established in social theory, but not yet applied by scholars of migration, namely, the concept of Structures of Feeling, the thesis develops a novel perspective on the role of the context of departure and destination in shaping migration experiences, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion. The main argument of the thesis is that migration involves a continuous process of migrants interpreting and reinterpreting a country of departure and destination, a process driven by ethics relevant to migrants. The experience of these ethics, largely shaped by the employment trajectories of migrants, can vary depending on a country or locality within it and, therefore, results in different experiences and interpretations of, or simply, different Structures of Feeling in connection with different places. In this process people also interpret and reinterpret themselves and their relationship with different places involved in migration. In this way, Structures of Feeling can affect people's sense of belonging and their migration decisions, especially decisions regarding settlement. By exploring this phenomenon, the study reveals complex subjective processes involved in migration.

This conceptual framework emerged from the qualitative analysis of data from nearly 100 interviews with 50 migrant workers in Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Poland. The thesis shows that interviewees experienced work and life abroad through the prism of three ethics connected with neoliberalism. Differences in the experiences of these ethics in the country of departure and destination mediated their sense of inclusion and exclusion and gave rise to the dual-idealisations of a place of departure and arrival which, in turn, affected their settlement decisions. Moreover, it is demonstrated that, while these experiences may not seem straightforwardly different across the three destinations taken into account in this study, certain context-specific variations can be identified, too. These are accounted for by the notion of Local Structures of Feeling.

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1. Introduction and thesis structure

The enlargement of the European Union (EU) in 2004 was a critical event in terms of migration on the European continent. Even though the overall increase in migration from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) after 2004 has been quite modest, the number of new arrivals varies significantly across the old EU member states (Kahanec and Zimmerman 2009: 7). As a result, some countries have experienced a major upsurge in migration from CEE. Moreover, new migration routes and destinations emerged. In particular, the UK became one of the most popular destinations for CEE workers. Their main country of origin has been Poland: the largest migrant sending country in the EU and, simultaneously, the largest (in terms of population size) country among the 2004 accession states. With the opening of the labour market for Polish workers in 2004, the UK has become the most popular destination for Poles, overpassing even the neighbouring Germany (Kahanec and Zimmerman 2009). At the same time, migration of Poles to the UK unleashed processes which resulted in increased migration to Poland from those Eastern European states that are not members of the EU (Iglicka 2005). Hence, a sort of migration chain or domino effect emerged. This applies in particular to larger cities which have attracted much foreign investment in the non-core services and manufacturing sectors, as well as public investment driven by the 'cappuccino urban politics' (Peck 2005) of the local élites (see Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of this issue).

Although certain new characteristics have been ascribed to CEE migration, in particular with regard to the novel context of intra EU mobility provisions that govern this migration (e.g. Engbersen, G., Snel, E. and De Boom, J. 2010), the scholarly accounts of this phenomenon have largely drawn on perspectives and approaches that have been well established in migration theory. First of all, from the structural perspective, the labour market institutions in the sending and receiving countries have been seen as the main engine behind CEE migration. For example, McCollum and Findlay (2015) argue that migration from CEE has been driven by the need for extension and reproduction of flexible labour markets in the UK. On the other hand, taking the sending country perspective, Woolfson and Sommers (2008)

see this migration as a flight of workers from the deregulated labour markets of low-road neoliberalism in CEE towards the much more regulated Western model of embedded neoliberalism. Secondly, the subject-centred perspectives focused more on exploring individual motivations for migration such as finding jobs, gaining higher incomes or, alternatively, pursuing post-materialistic values such as self-development or adventure-seeking (e.g. Kazimierska et al. 2011). An important subset in the latter type of literature has been the one that conceives of migration from CEE as a pursuit of normality (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009; Rabikowska 2010; McGhee, Heath, and Trevena 2012; Drinkwater and Garapich 2015).

While previous literature offers many insights into the experience of migration from CEE, the role of a sending and receiving context in shaping migration experiences, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion, can be better theorised in the light of more recent developments in broader migration literature and theory. The aim of the present thesis is to achieve exactly this. This is done by developing a conceptual framework which accounts for the role of a country of origin and arrival in the experience of inclusion and exclusion by unpacking the not commonly envisaged meanings of work, employment and citizenship. This conceptual framework sets off from a critical reading of a concept of the Community of Value, which was formulated by Bridget Anderson (2013) in her study of migration policies and discourses in the UK. Based on her analysis of immigration policies and immigration discourses in the UK, Anderson (2013: 2) argues that:

> ‘modern states portray themselves not as arbitrary collections of people hung together by a common legal status but as a community of value, composed of people who share common ideals and (exemplary) patterns of behaviour expressed through ethnicity, religion, culture, or language - that is, its members have shared values’.

The present thesis unpacks this concept (see Chapter 2), seeing it as indicating an important observation, namely, that states include and exclude individuals in terms of what could be best thought of as ‘existential inequality’: a concept proposed by Therborn (2013) to denote the unequal allocations of personal autonomy, recognition and respect. Moreover, since many of the normative ideals of a Community of Value

in modern states are concerned with issues of employment and people's status as productive workers in the market economy, it can be argued that inclusion and exclusion in 'existential' terms are dependent on one's status as a worker and one's employment circumstances.

These observations suggest a new perspective on the role of the context of a sending and receiving country in shaping migrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion. Therefore, the main research question posed in this thesis goes as follows:

> 'Place of origin.....place of arrival: to what extent do the context of departure and the context of destination matter for migration experience, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion?'

The present thesis proposes a novel conceptual framework within which to respond to this research question. This framework, discussed in Chapter 2, makes it possible to generate several contributions to current empirical and theoretical knowledge in the field of CEE migration and beyond it. These contributions are spelled out briefly in the section below.

1.1. Key contributions of the study

The key contribution that the present thesis makes to migration theory is the development of a conceptual framework that accounts for migrant workers' experiences of inclusion and exclusion in 'existential' terms (Therborn 2013), from a subject-centred rather than state-centred perspective. It does so by reformulating the concept, well-established in social theory, of Structures of Feeling. This concept is elaborated on in Chapter 2, where it is defined as a process of subjectively experiencing certain places that occurs at the meeting point of ethics and experience of life. An integral part of this process consists of interpretations of places and selves that people develop to make sense of their experience, which does not always go hand in hand with the ethics.

The study focuses on Polish migrant workers in the UK and Eastern European (mainly Ukrainian) workers in Poland. In addition, two destinations were chosen within the UK: Northern Ireland and Scotland, while in Poland the focus is on the city of Wroclaw. The rationales for choosing these places are explained in the methodology chapter but, in short, the choice was largely influenced by the fact that each of these places offers a unique context, especially in terms of discourses and ideologies, thus potentially making it possible to draw interesting theoretical conclusions about the relationship between political-economy and migration experiences which will be particularly relevant for this study's conceptual focus (i.e. the focus on ideologies and discourses that the notion of a Community of Value inspires).

Previous studies have identified a discourse and ethics of normality as a defining feature of post-2004 Polish migrant workers (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009; Rabikowska 2010; McGhee, Heath, and Trevena 2012; Drinkwater and Garapich 2015). The notion of normality has long been present in the literature on post-communist societies (Kennedy 1994; Eglitis 2002; Rausing 2002), where it refers to an ethic of a comfortable, modest life characterised by unproblematic identities and consumption which is subjectively associated with the West, and which the CEE societies undergoing transformation feel deprived of. More recent literature on Polish migration has identified similar discourse of longing for a normal, dignified life in the narratives of Polish migrants. These studies show that when justifying their decisions to live and work in Britain, Polish migrants portray themselves as deprived of normality in their country of origin. As explained by Drinkwater and Garapich (2015, 1925), the notion of normality in these accounts refers to 'a combination of factors making life easier than back home'. The study by Gałasińska and Kozłowska (2009) has been the main point of reference in this sub-set of the literature on Polish migration to the UK. This notion of normality that they identified in migrants' justifications for working and living abroad is constructed around expectations of working standards, as well as earnings from employment, that are linked to broader expectations of life beyond work, in particular expectations of consumption. The authors show that employment conditions in Poland are seen as not normal because of the assumed dishonesty of employers' practices and the role of informal social

networks which make obtaining a desired job very difficult. In addition, the wages from employment are seen as insufficient to sustain a decent life of a consumer. By contrast, migrants perceive the UK labour market as open (i.e. allowing easy entry and career progress) and the wages as modest but adequate for sufficient levels of consumption. In this way, the discourse of normality rests on the discursive practice of juxtaposing the two countries, whereby the UK is manifested as normal and Poland as still in the process of becoming normal (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009: 95). The authors argue that repetition of these discourses by many of their interviewees makes them 'a blueprint for all stories' (ibid.).

The analysis of data collected for the present thesis identified a similar 'grand narrative' being repeated across interviews (see Chapter 5). Interestingly, it was identified also among Ukrainian migrants who had come to work and live in Poland (see chapter 8). In this case, Poland became the object of positive idealisation, which stands in contrast to Polish migrant workers' views of their life in Poland. These discursive practices of juxtaposing the sending and receiving country will be referred to as 'dual-idealisations'. In these dual-idealisations, the receiving country is positively idealised as modern and affluent, with well-developed institutions which enable comfortable, hassle-free and unconstrained lives to be lived. The sending country, in contrast, is negatively idealised as not yet fully modern and as an economically, politically and socially backward place where normal lives are hardly, if at all, achievable.

However, while Gałasińska and Kozłowska (2009: 80) saw the source of this discourse in the 'ethos valued by communist propaganda [which] was marked with a strong anti-materialistic tendency, aiming to promote post-materialistic values and an aversion towards growing rich and also towards rich people' (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009: 80), the present thesis suggests that the dual-idealisations and the discourse of normality are at least to some extent driven by the experience of the three different ethics. The first can be best thought of as an ethic of a liberal adult-citizen, as it rests on the liberal discourses of adulthood and citizenship which are reproduced by contemporary neoliberal discourses. This ethic conveys values of individualism, independence, self-maintenance, self-governance, and self-

sovereignty. The second type of ethic, cognate to the first one but conceptualised in this thesis as particularly relevant to people of higher socio-economic background, is the entrepreneurial ethic. This one, too, is typically seen as part and parcel of neoliberalism, in that the latter extended the meaning of entrepreneur from the economic agent who launches a new, risky business venture to a role model of social subjectivity that should be exercised in every aspect of one's life, including crafting, changing, adapting and improving one's biography, self, working life, and relationships with family (Marttila 2013; Bröckling 2015). Last but not least is an ethic of a freely choosing consumer-citizen which, according to Barnett (2010), is also an integral part of the neoliberal ethic. Indeed, literature on the Polish neoliberal-fashioned transformation indicates that one of the most significant changes in the sphere of values in Polish society under the systemic transformation has been the exponential growth of the role of consumption in people's lives (Ziółkowski 1999). In line with this view, Sowa (2012) posited that neoliberalism in Poland established itself not only in practice but also in subjectivity, capturing the 'popular imagination of the masses – through a cult of consumption and individual freedom'. Also, Dunn (2004: 127), through her case study of the transition in a Polish manufacturing company, saw the 'active consumer with preferences and choices' as a new form of personhood established in post-socialist neoliberal Poland. Since all three ethics mentioned above have been posited in previous literature as integral parts of neoliberal discourse, they can also be linked under the single heading of neoliberal ethics.

The thesis links these ethics to people's experience of working lives and, by extension, lives beyond the workplace, in particular the experience of inclusion and exclusion, and shows how these may be shaping migration decisions. In this way, the thesis contributes to previous accounts of the discursive practices of Polish and other CEE migrant workers, especially those focused on the discourses of normality (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009; Rabikowska 2010; McGhee, Heath, and Trevena 2012; Drinkwater and Garapich 2015), by suggesting that it is the different experience of these three arguably neoliberal ethics or, more precisely, the different degrees to which they are seen by migrants as liveable in the political, social and economic contexts of sending and receiving countries, that stands behind the

previously described dual-idealisations. This, in turn, shapes their migration experience, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion, and, eventually, migration decisions.

Elaborating on this assertion, it is suggested that the specific mechanism behind this process lies in what can best be thought of as the 'hidden injuries' of neoliberal ethics. The notion of 'hidden injuries' is borrowed from Sennett and Cobb's (1972) study, which referred to feelings of shame and self-blame experienced by working-class men who saw themselves failing to live up to the ethic of American society at that time. Here it is also used to signify negative affective experiences associated with a sense of social failure which in the sociological literature are referred to as feelings of shame (Scheff 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003). This term encompasses feelings related to a negative self-perception, and it is argued in the thesis that these feelings emerge from the tension between the three neoliberal ethics and the actual experience of life in Poland.

The above analysis of migration from CEE constitutes the first contribution of this thesis to previous literature. The second contribution concerns literature on migrants' settlement practices and on the transition from being a migrant to development of a sense of belonging and home. In their recent study on Polish migrants in Scotland, Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee (2016) attempted to answer a question previously posed by Brah (1996: 1), that is: 'when does a place of residence become "home"?' In their response to this question, the authors proposed conceptualising home not as a place but, rather, as a phenomenon that exists 'wherever one (and one's family) achieves feelings of security, being rooted or anchored in the context of prolonged temporariness' (Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee 2016: 13). They also specified a number of

> 'diverse relationships and attachments including social ties (having a partner, family, and friends in Scotland), economic ties (stable job, property owner, accumulation of goods and products), familiarity with the geography of the city (familiarity with services and facilities available in the neighbourhoods, sense of attachment to particular places within the city), development of daily

> routines and rhythms related to work, housework, leisure and other emotional attachments'

which lead to a sense of belonging, rootedness, and, in the end, settlement. However, in line with sociological literature on shame (Scheff 2000; Czykwin 2012; Sueda 2014), it can be argued that the above-mentioned negative feelings of shame identified in the narratives of migrant workers interviewed in the present study indicate a tacit experience of exclusion and 'a weak social bond', whereas the positive feelings of self-worth convey inclusion and a strong social bond. Indeed, subjectively expressed feelings of belonging appeared to be related to these positive and negative feelings, as is indicated throughout the data analysis chapter (Chapter 6). Consequently, in the light of data analysed for the purpose of the present thesis, home can be further reconceptualised as the state of affairs whenever and wherever one achieves a sense of respectability or, in more theoretical terms, whenever and wherever one has existential citizenship (Therborn 2013). This existential citizenship comes from being in sync (Johansson and Olofsson 2011) with certain social ethics that characterise a particular place and time. The opposite experience is that of shame which, in line with sociological literature on this family of emotions, indicates a tacit experience of exclusion.

Moreover, it is argued that such subtle experiences of exclusion can be seen as a catalyst of migration. Through this proposition, the thesis makes a third important contribution to the literature on CEE migration, specifically the strand within it which explores how neoliberalism has shaped East-West migration in the enlarged EU. As already mentioned, some studies show how this migration has been driven by the need for the extension and reproduction of flexible labour markets in the UK (McCollum and Findlay 2015). On the other hand, other studies saw this migration as a flight of workers from the deregulated and flexible labour markets of low-road neoliberalism in CEE towards the more regulated Western model of embedded neoliberalism (Woolfson and Sommers 2008). Adding to these debates, the present thesis suggests that it is not just neoliberal policies but also neoliberal discourses and the ethics that they convey that might be playing a notable role in East-West migration in Europe. More specifically, this role involves the generation of certain

normative standards and expectations that have turned out to exceed what the actual conditions of life under low-road neoliberalism allow for. This creates negative feelings and experiences that may act as a catalyst for dual-idealisations and, arguably, also for migration – as one of the main arguments of this thesis posits. Such a conceptualisation of migration constitutes an important contribution of this thesis to state-of-the-art migration research and theory beyond the literature on Polish or CEE migration. Specifically, this contributions lies in re-conceptualising the role that a sending country plays in shaping migration experiences, in particular the experience of inclusion and exclusion, and, in the end, also in shaping migration decisions.

Moreover, in addition to the more general above-described Structures of Feeling characterising Polish migration to the UK (i.e. hidden injuries and the dual-idealisations resulting from them), there are also subtle variations in migration experience, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion, when it comes to different places in the UK. Specifically, the cases of Northern Ireland and Scotland are used to illustrate this point. The notion of Local Structure of Feeling developed by Evans et al. (1996) in their study of Sheffield and Manchester is used to describe these variations in migration experience. These authors argued that

> 'each urban area, region, and locality involves a given inheritance of geographical form (morphology), climate, industrial base, labour market and labour history, patterns of in-migration and emigration, ethnic and cultural mix, conflicts and contests with other neighbouring towns or cities, and many other given features that define it and endow it with an identity which, as we suggested earlier, can perhaps be thought of as a "local structure of feeling"' (Evans et al.1996: 32).

The authors define the concept of Local Structure of Feeling as an identity of a place conveyed through the way different publics live and actively reinterpret it. They see Local Structure of Feeling as composed of a sense of a place, everyday practices, and cultural assumptions, interpretations and meanings attached to a place, as well as local wisdom and folklore associated with it (Evans et al. 1996). In the present study it was observed that the idealisation of the UK through the discourse of normality, as

discussed in previous literature (e.g. Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009), sits uneasily with the experience of life in the sectarian labour market and communities in Northern Ireland. Indeed, within each single interview there was an apparent clash between, on the one hand, the notion of normality and idealisation of the UK, and, on the other hand, the sense of uncertainty, constraint, and fear, and an interpretation of Northern Ireland and Belfast within it as parochial, not fully modern places. This contrasted starkly with the experiences of interviewees in Scotland who not uncommonly idealised this place over the rest of the UK and conveyed a sense of autonomy, choice, and self-expression in connection with Edinburgh and Scotland.

These findings constitute the fourth key contribution made by the present thesis to both the literature on Polish migration and broader migration theory. Specifically, these findings suggest that, although the experience of migration may not seem straightforwardly different between Northern Ireland and Scotland, or straightforwardly different between them and the UK in general, to the same extent as was described in previous studies (in that the ideal of normality identified in previous literature as well as the neoliberal ethics observed in the present thesis were present just as much in the interviews from Northern Ireland as they were in the Scottish sample), there are also certain subtleties in the experience of migration in each of these places. The concept of Structures of Feeling that refers to the clash between, on the one hand, discourses and ethics, and, on the other hand, experience of life (in this case the clash between the discourses of normality and the experience of sectarianism in Northern Ireland), captures exactly these subtleties. Accordingly, this concept can contribute not just to the literature on Polish migration to the UK but also to a better theorisation of the role of a place of destination in shaping migration experience.

However, in addition to contributing to migration theory, the present study contributes to the further development of the concept of Structures of Feeling by reformulating it and showing the relevance to migration of the processes and phenomena that it refers to. This is the fifth and the last main contribution of the present thesis. The hope is that the conceptualisation of the notion of Structures of Feeling proposed in this thesis is a significant contribution to Williams's work and

will encourage scholars of migration to imagine the possibility of researching migration in different terms.

1.2. Structure of the thesis

The thesis proceeds as follows. The next chapter (Chapter 2) discusses the just-mentioned conceptual framework that was developed in the course of the research. The chapter positions it in relation to previous migration theories, concepts, and empirical studies in order to show how this framework emerged from them, and how it will contribute to the state of the art of migration theory and research. Subsequently, Chapter 3 sets the political-economy context in which East–West migrations in Europe take place. Furthermore, separate sections of that chapter discuss in detail the three migration destinations that the present study focuses on. This discussion will provide a solid rationale for choosing these three arguably peculiar places, which is then discussed in relation to the research design presented in the methodological chapter (Chapter 4). The research methods chapter also explains the specific research methods and techniques used in the study and critically addresses their relationship with the data and research findings, as well as their limitations.

The data analysis chapters follow. The first data analysis chapter discusses the dual-idealisations of Poland and the UK that were identified in Polish migrants' narratives on life in the two countries. In these dual-idealisations Britain is positively idealised as a modern and affluent country with well-developed institutions, where comfortable, hassle-free and unconstrained lives can be lived, whereas Poland is negatively idealised as not yet fully modern and as an economically, politically and socially backward place where normal lives are hardly achievable. Therefore, this chapter confirms and contributes to previous studies that identified the notion of normality as a discourse used by Polish migrants when justifying their work and life abroad (e.g. Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009). It also unpacks the nature of these dual-idealisations, showing the role of employment as well as that of factors beyond employment in these discursive practices.

In turn, the second data analysis chapter accounts for these dual-idealisations by using the concept of Structures of Feeling. It will be argued that, at least to a certain extent, it is through the different degrees to which the three ethics associated with neoliberalism are seen as realisable in the sending and receiving countries that migrants develop such dual-idealisations. The three ethics in question are: 1) the ethic of a neoliberal adult-citizen, resting on the liberal discourses of adulthood and citizenship; 2) the entrepreneurial ethic; 3) the ethic of an actively choosing consumer-citizen. It will also be suggested that the specific mechanism driving this process consists of the 'hidden injuries' of neoliberal ethics. The notion of 'hidden injuries' is borrowed from Sennett and Cobb's (1972) study of working-class men in the US. In their study they referred to feelings of shame and self-blame experienced by working-class men as they saw themselves failing to live up to the ethic of American society at that time. Here it is also used to signify negative affective experiences accompanying certain ethics. These 'hidden injuries' emerge from the tension between the three neoliberal ethics and the actual experience of life in Poland, and they take the form of a sense of failure, shame and frustration.

After this, the data analysis chapter (7) moves downward to the local level and unpacks how the dual-idealisations (driven to some extent by previously identified neoliberal ethics) interact with the experience of life in Northern Ireland and Scotland. As already explained, similarly to the discourse of normality as something to be achieved abroad (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009), the dual-idealisations (re)produce the image of Britain (and the West more broadly) as prosperous, wealthy, and modern, where good working and living standards prevail and offer a comfortable life. However, as Anderson (2013: 116) asks: 'What is life in the UK from the Shetland Isles to Salford? Or shared between the mansions of Holland Park and the council estates of neighbouring Shepherd's Bush?' In other words, it's not everywhere in Britain that the actual experience of life fits such an idealised and universalised image of the country. Therefore, what happens to the discourse of normality and the dual-idealisation when migrants come to parts of Britain where 'the myth of wealthy and rich West' (Kazimierska et al. 2011: 114), characterised by modern, well-functioning institutions, cannot be easily sustained? The example of Northern Ireland which has been chosen for this study serves as arguably the best

case in the UK to use in exploring this question. It is here that the idea of normality, modernity, and prosperity sits uneasily with people's lives and identities that have been shaped by an ethnic tribalism going back several centuries. Moreover, this third data analysis chapter explores the 'extreme' case of Northern Ireland in comparison with Scotland: another part of the UK which also stands out from the rest of the country but, arguably, in more favourable terms, at least as a destination country for Polish migrants, as discussed in Chapter 3. The focus on Northern Ireland brings to the fore experiences of migrants that go uneasily with the discourses of normality and the idealisation of Britain identified both in this and in previous studies. The data suggest that migration to this part of the UK is experienced by migrants in ways that challenge the idea of a peaceful, prosperous, modern and wealthy UK. In contrast, the latter place (Scotland) emerges as arguably the most advanced fulfilment of this idealisation. In this way, while on a general level migration to these two places may not seem straightforwardly different either from the rest of the UK or from each other, there are also subtle differences on the level of Local Structures of Feeling' that characterise migration to these parts of the country.

Surprisingly, however, the claim can also be upheld that the experience and interpretation of Northern Ireland as a not fully modern, but parochial and illiberal place, causing Polish migrants a great deal of insecurity and constrained autonomy, tacitly challenges but does not cancel out the discourse of normality and the sense of a normal life as a defining feature of migration to the UK. On the contrary, migrant workers appear to get on with their hassle-free, normal lives despite the apparent constraints and to realise the three neoliberal ethics. They buy houses, start families, and become consumers and entrepreneurs of the self, who shop between different identities and services offered by the two dominant communities. To account for this tension within Local Structures of Feeling of migrants in Northern Ireland, the concept of 'normality through exclusion' is proposed. In general terms, it posits that Polish migrants can sustain a sense of a hassle-free, comfortable life by keeping themselves confined to the privatised mode of living and self-enterprise. Accordingly, even though apparently successful as individuals, Polish migrants may become permanently disadvantaged and excluded as a social group.

Finally, the fourth data analysis chapter shows how a process of dual-idealisation identified in the narratives of Polish migrant workers appears also in the narratives of migrants from Eastern Europe (primarily Ukraine) who live in Wroclaw, Poland. In this case, however, it is Poland that is idealised as a developed, prosperous, and a normal country. Nonetheless, the character of this idealisation is somewhat different from that observed among Polish migrants in the UK, and different discourses are used. Above all, the neoliberal discourses are not much present in these narratives. Although people interviewed in Wroclaw also come from countries that have been affected by neoliberal policies and ideology, the neoliberal ethic is not manifested in their accounts of migration as strongly as in those of Polish interviewees in the UK. One may explain this by arguing that neoliberal ideologies and ethics might not have penetrated the societies further to the east to the same degree as Poland. While not discrediting this argument, which has some substance according to the existing evidence, another explanation is proposed, namely that it is the different policy frameworks under which migrations from Poland to the UK and from Ukraine to Poland take place that underlie such differences. Potentially, the perceived ease of taking up work abroad by Polish migrants may create a sense that an individual can indeed be the sole craftsman of his or her biography. In contrast to this situation, migration of Ukrainians to Europe, including Poland, is much more constrained. Policies regulating migration to Poland from its East European neighbours place many limitations on individuals and create a great deal of insecurity, making the ethics of independent adult-citizen, self-entrepreneur, and freely choosing consumer-citizen hardly sustainable. The chapter shows how these migration policies generate a sense of instability and insecurity that is one of the defining features of the migrants' Structures of Feeling in Poland.

2. Setting the theoretical frames

The purpose of the present chapter is to present the theoretical framework that was developed in the course of the research and to position it in relation to previous migration theories, concepts, and empirical studies, in order to bring out the contributions that the present thesis makes to the state-of-the-art of migration research and theory. To achieve this aim, the first part of this chapter critically discusses the existing dominant theoretical approaches in migration studies and the light they shed on the key question asked in the thesis, which, to recollect it, runs as follows: 'Place of origin.....place of arrival? To what extent does context of departure and context of destination matter for migration experience, especially experience of inclusion and exclusion?' The main contribution of this thesis to migration theory, it is argued, lies in offering a new way of looking at the context of departure and context of destination in migration, based on the concept, well-established in social theory, of Structures of Feeling.

The roots of this perspective lie in the critical reading of relatively recent conceptual developments in migration studies, specifically the concept of a Community of Value proposed by Anderson (2013). By reconceptualising the notion of the state, the concept of a Community of Value also encourages one to reconsider migration between states. This concept is unpacked in the second section of this chapter. In turn, this discussion leads to the argument that another, better-established concept with a long history in social theory, taps into the same phenomena identified by Anderson (2013) but through a different, subject-centred perspective. Because of this, it is a promising conceptual tool for advancing the state-of-the-art of theorising on the role of the context of departure and destination in migration experience, in particular the experience of inclusion and exclusion, as well as migration decisions. The concept in question is Structures of Feeling, which originated in the cultural and literary studies of Raymond Williams. The third section of the present chapter draws on the original formulations of this concept by Williams together with its subsequent reformulations outside cultural and literary studies, in order to develop and propose an original reformulation that makes it workable within migration studies.

This step leads to a reformulation of the research question of the thesis in a more theoretical fashion that accounts for the specific conceptual framework developed in this study. The last section of this chapter begins by discussing how such theory-driven research questions can be accounted for by existing studies on migration from Poland to the UK. It then briefly explains how the present thesis contributes to this literature.

2.1. Migration theories

The discussion of the three migration destinations in the previous section drew heavily on the dominant theoretical perspectives in migration literature, in particular the structural perspective as seen in, for example, the connections drawn between neoliberal policies and migrations to and from the three places. The structural perspective, which is one of the dominant approaches in migration research, posits that migrations are shaped by macro-structural forces of and meso-level players in capitalist systems around the world. Studies within this tradition see migration not as an opportunistic and voluntary action but more as a semi-organised mobilisation of cheap labour by the meso-level (e.g. recruitment agencies) and macro-level (e.g. states) actors, as a result of inequalities in the world economy. For example, according to Castels and Miller (2009: 26), structural approaches take a look at mass recruitment of migrant workers to factories, agriculture and construction in the West, seeing it as driven by the historical legacy of colonialism and war.

Three main approaches can be distinguished within this perspective. First of all, the dual labour market theory sees migration as resulting from the division of the labour markets of developed economies into a primary labour market with secure, well-paid positions occupied by native workers, and a secondary labour market consisting of precarious, low-paid jobs that native workers do not want to do and, hence, need to be filled by more desperate workers from less developed countries (Piore 1979; Sassen 1988, 1991; Wills 2010). These workers accept such positions because they still offer better incomes than the jobs (or lack of them) in their home countries. The second approach – the dependency theory – builds on the cognate idea that

international migration is driven by inequalities in the world economy whereby rich countries attract labour from poorer countries to fill devalued positions in the lower end of the labour market. However, it extends the argument by proposing that by this process migration is self-perpetuating, in that it reproduces the impoverishment of already less well-off countries and, hence, their subordination (King 2012: 17). Next, the third approach, called world systems theory, proposes that migration is shaped by hierarchies in the global market economy that can be divided into several tiers: the dominant capitalist core states (North America, Europe, East Asia), the semi-peripheral states possessing medium wealth (e.g. CEE), and the most impoverished states in the global capitalist periphery. Such hierarchies have created global divisions of labour in which workers from more peripheral countries constitute reserve labour for countries closer to the centre of the global capitalist economy.

The two latter approaches – dependency theory and world system theory – emphasise a systematic role of capitalism in international migration. They posit that migration results from the dispossession and impoverishment of the population in sending countries caused by the penetration of their economies by rich capitalist countries, which creates dispossessed masses. In congruence with this view, Sassen (1991) argues that the term 'expulsion' rather than 'migration' better reflects what the movement of people between countries is about. Because the latter term suggests more or less freely chosen mobility, it overshadows the experience of structurally-driven inequalities, dispossessions and exploitations that commonly lie behind individual motivations to migrate. In general, both these approaches find the roots of migration in the unequal power balance between countries and argue that these inequalities lead to perpetual impoverishment of some to the benefit of others. In the past, these inequalities were institutionalised through colonial policies but they continue nowadays in the form of unfair terms of international trade, exploitation of resources, and penetration by multinational companies into less developed countries.

The focus on unequal power relations in these perspectives also gives an account of migration experiences as shaped by the context of departure and destination, hence responding to the research question posed in this thesis. More specifically, these perspectives show that migrants from less developed, peripheral countries are often

driven by desperation in their home countries which makes them accept jobs in the low end of the labour markets in developed capitalist economies. They are used as cheap labour that meets the structural demands of those labour markets, in particular those in emerging or already formed global cities (Willis et al. 2010), or outside them if employed in agriculture. Therefore, migration experience appears as marked by dispossession in the migrants' countries of origins, followed by exploitation, marginalisation, and exclusion in their countries of destination. In the case of migration from CEE, Woolfson and Sommers (2008) argue that it was driven by the dispossession of workers in this region, resulting from low-road neoliberal policies which stripped them of their social rights. Adding to this, Ciupijus (2011) argues that these workers, dispossessed by neoliberalism in their home countries, are also disadvantaged as labour migrants in their destination countries in Western Europe, since they occupy the lower end of the labour markets and have relatively limited access to social rights. Similarly, McCollum and Findlay (2015) show that CEE migrants have been recruited primarily for precarious jobs in the UK's flexible labour markets that developed as a result of neoliberal policies. This has obvious consequences for their inclusion in the host society.

Despite their relevance, the structural perspectives on migration have been criticised for providing insufficient accounts of the agency of migrants (King 2012: 19). The critics say that the picture these approaches paint gives inadequate attention to 'the motivations and actions of the individual and groups involved' (Castels and Miller 2009: 27). Underlying this critique are the more subject-centred push-pull models of migration which focus on people's motivations rather than structural determinants, although the latter are also taken into account. Among these perspectives the one that has probably been the most firmly established in migration research across different disciplines, such as geography, economics, demography and sociology, and which has also dominated public discourse about migration, is a neo-classical economics approach. Its forefather, Ernst Georg Ravenstein, developed the so-called 'laws of migration' which, as observed by King (2012: 12), constitute a model of migration analogous in its approach to Newtonian physics. In terms of its focus, the neo-classical economics perspective aims to account for, above all, why people migrate, where they migrate and why they might return. It sees migration as a decision of

autonomous individuals driven by 'rational comparison of the relative cost and benefits of remaining at home or moving' (Castles and Miller 2009: 22). In the light of this theory, international migration is driven in the first place by macro- and meso-level differences between countries such as wage differentials, labour markets and all other types of opportunity structures. Migrants, the rational and self-interested actors, generally move away from countries with much labour but little capital which produce low equilibrium wages, and towards the countries with abundant capital but scarce labour and thus with a high wage equilibrium (Mahmud, Sabur and Tamanna 2009: 148). In simpler words, people follow better income opportunities and better paid jobs or, indeed, any jobs at all if unemployment is a problem that they struggle with in their country of origin.

Despite being very convincing in explaining why people migrate, this theoretical perspective is arguably limited in accounting for the main question posed in this research, in that it reduces individuals to rational decision-makers: social monads driven by self-interest and a pursuit of value-maximisation who respond to economic opportunities and costs offered by different countries. Such a reductionist view of the individual inevitably results in an excessively narrowed-down perspective on migration experience. It also reduces the role of the places of departure and destination to their economic and labour market structures, which are taken for granted: i.e. they are presented as objective rather than subjectively experienced and interpreted. As will become clear later in this chapter and in the overall thesis as well, the conceptual framework developed here challenges exactly this point.

Nevertheless, previous critiques of neo-classical approaches to migration focused on other weak points of the theory. Specifically, it has been criticised for not explaining how individual decisions may be shaped by the social groups that one is a member of. This is exactly the shortcoming that another major strand in migration theory, called the new economics of migration, has tried to compensate for. It posits that migration-related decisions are made not by isolated individuals but are embedded in and negotiated within social groups (families, households, and communities). By this approach, migration is a tool not so much for maximising individual income as for minimising different types of risks faced by social groups in which a migrating

individual participates (Mahmud, Sabur and Tamanna 2009: 150). On the one hand, these observations can be seen as an important step forward in migration theory. On the other hand, the new economics of migration also reproduces the main pitfall of its predecessor. More specifically, it could be said that it manifests social groups as nothing more than collective actors within a free market, which respond to its failure by sending their members to countries where it works better. In sharing the interpretation of migration as a process of rational decision-making, performed either by individuals or groups, none of these two approaches appreciates the extent to which migration is shaped, constrained, enabled or even driven by political and economic relationships between sending and receiving countries. As a result, it does not address questions such as why people from certain countries or regions migrate to one country and not the other, even despite objective cost-benefit calculations, or why people of intermediate social status from areas undergoing social and economic change tend to migrate in larger numbers than the poorest from the least developed countries (Castels and Miller 2009: 23).

To answer such questions, a greater appreciation of structural factors – such as migration networks that have been shaped historically by, for example, colonialism, the structural features of the labour markets, or the effects of migration policies on a national and supranational level – is necessary. This is offered by the previously described structural approaches. However, as mentioned two paragraphs earlier, this thesis will demonstrate that such structures should not be taken for granted: i.e. presented as objective rather than subjectively experienced and interpreted by migrants. Indeed, the present thesis will show how subjective meanings are given to structural contexts and how these can influence migration experience, including experience of inclusion and exclusion, as well as migration decisions.

Nevertheless, previous literature has also attempted to break the impasse between the structural and push-pull approaches by pursuing integrative approaches to migration that attempt to combine the two worlds. First of all, there is the migration systems theory which originates from geography and focuses on movements of people between two or more countries that are thought of as forming a separate migration system, to be analytically differentiated from any other migratory system between

other countries. The fundamental tenet of this theory is that migration systems are products of the interaction of macro-structures: i.e. 'large scale institutional factors' – and micro-structures: i.e. 'networks, practices and beliefs of the migrants themselves' (Castels and Miller 2009: 27). In short, migration systems theory sees migration as a decision-making process of an individual or a household that takes place within the context of political-economy and is shaped by specific social relationships. As such, it argues that a range of micro-, meso- and macro-level factors as well as individual motivations ought to be taken into account. Related to the migration systems perspective are network approaches. Castels and Miller (2009) seem to see these as part of migration systems theory, but the relationship can also be seen in reverse order: that is, with migration systems theory as a cognate of network approaches (de Haas 2007). Apart from these controversies, this perspective looks at the role of kinship, friendship, ethnic, and migratory social networks in driving and sustaining migration. Specifically, it is concerned with the way interpersonal ties facilitate international migration by creating opportunities, providing information and generating other forms of support to migrants that, to an extent, can allow them to overcome structural obstacles. As such, social networks are seen as a form of capital that individuals and households draw on to mitigate the risks of and obstacles to migration. This perspective is perhaps best seen as more narrowly (but, arguably, also more deeply) focused on social networks, by contrast with a more general migration systems approach.

The arguments developed in all the approaches discussed above offer a rich assortment of analytical tools for studying migration. This means that, although another perspective on studying migration is developed in the present thesis, it does not render the arguments of previous studies void. In other words, despite offering a further interpretation of why people work and live abroad, the thesis does not argue, for example, that people do not migrate for jobs or better paid jobs; that structural conditions in sending and receiving countries do not contribute to migration; or, lastly, that social networks are irrelevant. Instead, the thesis proposes a conceptual framework which brings out processes and phenomena previously identified in social theory that may be playing a role in shaping migration decisions and experiences but which remain undertheorised within the theoretical debates presented above.

This conceptual framework further unpacks the roles of the structural factors, the apparently rational motivations, and the social networks in migration by looking at how these are mediated by discourses and ideologies existing alongside them. Specifically, this framework is geared towards exploring how migration decisions and experiences are shaped by discourses and ideologies that migrant workers come to live with and experience differently in their countries of departure and of destination. Such a theoretical focus emerged from critical reading of recent conceptual developments in migration literature, in particular the concept of a Community of Value (Anderson 2013), which is discussed in the next section.

2.2. Reconceptualising the state as a Community of Value

In her study of migration policies in the UK, Anderson (2013) proposes a novel conceptualisation of states as not just political communities built around certain political and economic institutions. She posits that

> 'modern states portray themselves not as arbitrary collections of people hung together by a common legal status but as a community of value, composed of people who share common ideals and (exemplary) patterns of behaviour expressed through ethnicity, religion, culture, or language – that is, its members have shared values.' (Anderson 2013: 2).

These manifestations are, of course, idealised and normative rather than realistic images of states and the way of life of their people. As such, the concept may bring to mind the notion of a nation as an imagined community, coined by another scholar of the same surname, Benedict Anderson (1991). Indeed, the two concepts overlap to some extent:

> 'The community of value is one of the ways states claim legitimacy, and in this way it often overlaps with ideas of the nation. The British people uphold the rule of law, reward hardworking families, respect human rights, etc.' (Anderson 2013: 3)

However, the concept of a Community of Value places more emphasis on values and normative ideals that may be independent of notions of nationality and ethnicity. Consequently, even though a migrant might not be perceived as belonging to a national community as a result of his or her national or ethnic background and language spoken, he or she may well be included in a Community of Value described by Anderson (2013) by demonstrating a hardworking, law-abiding attitude, and respect for the values of liberal democracy. In contrast, even though one might be considered a member of a national community in ethnic, national or racial terms, one might still be excluded from a Community of Value if one fails to demonstrate the expected or right attitude. For example, she writes that even citizens of white British descent become racialised in public debates in the UK as 'degenerate whites' who do not live up to standards and values associated with their skin pigmentation and thus do not deserve social and possibly also political rights (Anderson 2013).

Therefore, Anderson (2013) proposes a concept of exclusion through failure – specifically, a failure to live up to the normative standards and ideals manifested by state discourses – and posits a discursive figure of a 'failed citizen' who may have legal citizenship and cannot be removed from the territory of the state but is treated as an internal other and thus can be, for example, incarcerated or subjected to other corrective measures. In the context of the UK as a Community of Value:

> '"Failed citizens" as a term describes those individuals and groups who are imagined as incapable of, or fail to live up to, liberal ideals. It includes a wide range of people, folk devils like the Benefit Scrounger with too many children, the paedophile, the rioter, the Criminal, and others (Cohen 1972). The Failed Citizen is both a disappointment and threat to the local community and/or the nation. They have a problem of culture, fecklessness, and ill-discipline leading to them making the wrong choices and also to welfare dependence. The Failed Citizen, like the non-citizen, can be legally fixed, although again like the noncitizen, this by no means exhausts the category. The Failed Citizen may be defined as a person who has a criminal conviction – that is, through the subcategory of "the Criminal". Criminals may be formal citizens but they are strongly imagined as internal Others, who have proved

> themselves unworthy of membership of the community of value. (…) For these people, the promise of formal citizenship is largely reduced to the bare toleration of their presence on state territory. Put like this, and purged of its moral claims, the distinction between some categories of non and failed citizens begins to look more hazy. The community of value is defined from outside by exclusion, and from inside by failure, but the excluded also fail, and the failed are also excluded.' (Anderson 2013: 4-5)

Juxtaposed against the 'failed citizen' is a normative ideal of a 'good citizen'. Based on the analysis of migration policies and discourses in the UK, she describes this ideal as follows:

> 'The Good Citizen is the liberal sovereign self: rational, self-owning, and independent, with a moral compass that enables him to consider the interests of others. (...) The Good Citizen is firmly anchored in liberal ideas about the individual, autonomy, freedom, belonging, and property.' (Anderson 2013: 3)

The notion of a 'good citizen' could be roughly compared to an excessively broad concept of social character which also signifies an assembly of characteristics and qualities of an ideal subject, although in Fromm's (1942) account more emphasis was placed on the functionality of this subject to the modes of production. In any case, the social character and 'good citizen' are constructed through discourses on what is normal and desirable and, therefore, the three concepts (social character, 'good citizen', and discourse) overlap.

This notion of a Community of Value raises certain conceptual problems that have to be addressed. Above all, it is disputable that states' policies and discourses manifest a set of ideals, norms and expectations coherent enough to be labelled a Community of Value. Although Anderson describes the UK as a Community of Value that rests on liberal ideals, this description is very broad in that it encompasses a wide range of values, ideals, and models of good citizenship that sometimes seem to have little relation to each other. For example, in one of the quotes above, she gives the examples of the paedophile, the rioter, and the benefit scrounger with too many children as failing to live up to liberal ideals; but it can be argued that the

relationship of each of these figures to liberal ideals is different. Moreover, the concept of a Community of Value manifests states and their policies in very homogeneous terms, hence possibly underestimating the discursive and ideological tensions and conflicts within them.

Nevertheless, Anderson's (2013) argument cannot be simply rejected on these grounds, as the data analysis that she performed provides substantial evidence for the claim that migration policies and public discourses do manifest certain dominant ideals, normative expectations, and values or, in one word, ethics that can be thought of as defining a Community of Value. In addition, her claim is in line with a long tradition of social theory, for example the previously mentioned concept of a social character, which itself draws on an even older Marxian idea of a superstructure that is determined by base. This concept posits that, rather than states in particular, it is dominant modes of production for which the state sets an institutional framework that determine the dominant ethics. This does not mean that such ethics are universally internalised by all state actors or by its entire population. In contrast, the concept of a social character acknowledges that a number of ethics are present at the same time in a particular society. For example, Williams (1961) described several forms of relationship between an individual and a social character, ranging from a high level of identification with the society's normative system (*servant*), through pragmatic obedience without internalisation or identification merely for the purpose of maintaining one's (social and material) existence (*subject*), to complete rejection of the society, which can take different forms: *exile, vagrant,* or *rebel.* Consequently, as individuals and groups may have different, often conflicting, ethics, the state and its policies, which they influence, can also convey conflicting ideals and ethics.

Nevertheless, rather than renouncing the notion of the state as a Community of Value, the present thesis takes it on board but looks at it through a different lens. That is, acknowledging that states do convey certain discourses, ideologies, and ethics, this study enquires which of these are relevant for migration experience: an experience that is a movement between places characterised by their own ideologies, discourses and the ethics conveyed in them; a movement between different Communities of Value. Which state discourses and the ethics conveyed in them shape experience,

especially experience of inclusion and exclusion, and how do they do it? To unpack this puzzle, the study goes back to a perhaps not well known but nevertheless long-established concept in social theory; that is, Structures of Feeling, because, as will be shown in the next section, this concept refers to the lived experience of ethics and discourses or, if you like, the lived experience of individuals in a Community of Value. Moreover, in contrast to the state-centred perspective of Anderson's (2013) concept, the concept of Structures of Feeling refers to a phenomenon that is about people's interpretations and reinterpretations of the discourses and ethics surrounding them. This means that not only do states as Communities of Value assign value and meanings to workers but, conversely, workers also interpret and reinterpret states, and in the process themselves and their relationship to them. These issues and the concept of Structures of Feeling are elaborated on in the next section.

2.3. Structures of Feeling

As explained above, the concept of a Community of Value refers to a dominant ethic that is conveyed in state policies and public discourses. In turn, what the concept of Structures of Feeling brings to the table is an invitation to refocus our attention away from public discourses and the normative ideals that they manifest onto how they are lived and experienced by individuals. The concept was first proposed by Williams in *A preface to Film* in the 1950s and then evolved over his entire career through *The Long Revolution* in the 1960s and *Marxism and Literature* in the 1970s, to be revisited in an interview for the New Left Review at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s. This concept can be best explained with comparison to a previously invoked notion of a 'good citizen'. While the concept of 'good citizen' deals with public ideals, structure of feeling 'has to deal not only with the public ideals but with their omissions and consequences, as lived.' (Williams 1961: 63); the former concept conveys a valued system of behaviour and attitudes that 'is taught formally and informally', whereas Structure of Feeling is an 'actual experience through which these are lived.' (Williams 1961: 67). In other words, while discourses surrounding the notion of a 'good citizen' are about normative ideals, values, beliefs – or, as these

shall be referred to from now on, ethics – of different social groups, organisations or cultures, Structures of Feeling are about the actual experience of these ethics. Moreover, this experience is shared by a group of people because, as Williams (1961: 48) put it, a Structure of Feeling is ‘a particular community of experience hardly needing expression, through which the characteristics of our way of life that an external analyst could describe are in some way passed, giving them a particular and characteristic colour’ (Williams 1961: 48).

An aid in making sense of this distinction between the two concepts (Structures of Feeling and social character or Community of Value) is an example that Williams himself proposed. In Britain of the 1840s, he argues, literary works drew on a discourse conveying an ethic that, for example, success follows individual effort and hard work, that wealth is the mark of respect, or that thrift is an important virtue. In a way, this discourse can be thought of as reflecting a certain Community of Value that Britain exemplified, or wanted to, in the 1840s. This Community of Value was defined by an ideal of a hardworking, thrifty and prosperous ‘good citizen’, to use a term from Anderson (2013). The British state at that time resorted to drastic measures to enforce this Community of Value and its ethic. For example, in 19th century Britain, whipping the idle poor through the streets or taking them into workhouses to teach them the value of paid employment were the methods used to instil the right attitudes to work among ‘failed citizens’ and avert their corrupting influence by separating them from ‘good citizens’. However, even for ‘good citizens’ this ethic was detached from the actual experience of life. As explained by Williams (1961: 82):

> ‘The confident assertions of the social character, that success follows effort, and that wealth was the mark of respect, had to contend, if only unconsciously, with a practical world in which things were not so simple. The confidence of this fiction is often only superficial. What comes through with great force is a pervasive atmosphere of instability and debt. A normal element, in these stories, is the loss of fortune, and this is hardly ever presented in terms consistent with the social character: that success or failure

correspond to personal quality. Debt and ruin haunt this apparently confident world.'

This, argued Williams (1961), was a dominant Structure of Feeling at that time in Britain and it was conveyed in the literary works of that period. Drawing on this example, Structures of Feeling can be understood as experience of an ethic; an ethic that is manifested by discourses. Or, building on Anderson's (2013) concept, it can be thought of as the experience of living in Communities of Value. Williams (1961) talks about Structures of Feeling in terms of a conflict between ethics and experience.

Williams developed his concept chiefly in relation to cultural and literary studies but there have been attempts to extend its use beyond them. For example, Strangleman's (2015) use of the notion of 'industrial structure of feeling' accounted for feelings of nostalgia and interpretations of new working environments by older workers at the now-closed Guinness Brewery at Royal Park in London. In turn, in one of his earlier studies, he looked at similar interpretations and experiences among older male workers in the railway industry in the UK and indicated that it would be foolish to dismiss them, following C. Wright Mills (2000), as 'private troubles which statistics do not recognise' or 'as simple nostalgia'. He suggests 'that these narratives can be understood as valuable organic critiques of industrial and social change emergent from work culture' (Strangleman 2012: 411-423). For him, workers' feelings and experiences signified a clash between the discourses and ethic of the industrial era of Fordist capitalism in Britain and the experience of life in post-Fordist society. This is an important contribution to the concept, especially due to the possibility of drawing it out from cultural and literary studies into the field of migration studies. More specifically, a parallel can be established between the experience of workers studied by Strangleman, and migrant workers. Just as the ethic of the older workers in Strangleman's studies met the new context of post-Fordist capitalism that confronted them, migrant workers may be carrying the ethic that they developed in their countries of origin and experiencing it in the new context of the country of destination.

This assertion becomes particularly interesting in light of the formulation of the concept of Structure of Feeling by Evans et al. (1996). These authors propose a

concept of Local Structures of Feeling, arguing that ‘each urban area, region, and locality involves a given inheritance of geographical form (morphology), climate, industrial base, labour market and labour history, patterns of in-migration and emigration, ethnic and cultural mix, conflicts’ which endow it with a specific identity that can be best thought of as a Local Structure of Feeling (Evans et al. 1996: 32). Defining this concept as an identity of a place conveyed in the way different publics live and actively reinterpret it, the authors see Local Structures of Feeling as composed of a sense of a place, everyday practices and cultural assumptions, interpretations and meanings of a place, as well as local wisdom and folklore about a place. The relevance of the concept of Local Structures of Feeling for the present thesis and for the study of migration in general lies in indicating that there might be subtle differences between the experiences of migration depending on the local context of reception, and that these may mediate more general Structures of Feelings.

To recall the concept, Williams defined Structures of Feeling as an area of tension between the ethic and the experience of this ethic that is particular to specific generations or social classes. In turn, Evans et al. (1996) suggest that the concept is also useful in exploring how specific local political, social and economic contexts are lived and experienced. However, these authors explored Structures of Feeling that different publics develop in relation to the two English cities (Sheffield and Manchester) where they live permanently. The present thesis poses the following question: what happens when people move to another country and city where the ethic that they might have brought with them from the country of origin meets a new social, political and economic reality?

To explore this issue the present thesis suggests conceptualising Structures of Feeling not as an identity, as Evans et al. (1996) did, but as a process. The approach taken by Evans et al. (1996) indicates something comparatively fixed and stable, whereas the notion of processes brings out the dynamism involved in people’s experiences and the potentially changing interpretations inspired by the experience of moving between different countries and places.

Therefore, drawing both on Williams’s original studies and on the subsequent development of his concept by other scholars, Structures of Feeling can be best

thought of as a process of experiencing certain places by different people or ‘publics’, as Evans et al. (1996) refers to them, that occurs where the ethics and the experience of life meet. In this thesis, the specific ‘public’ of concern comprises migrant workers who have come to these places from elsewhere. An integral part of the process consists of interpretations that people develop to make sense of their experience, which does not always go hand in hand with the ethics. The major example of such interpretations by migrants which was identified in this study consists of the previously mentioned dual-idealisations. However, Structures of Feeling involve not only the interpretations directly narrated by individuals but also tacit interpretations, experiences, and feelings that are less directly conveyed but can be deduced from people’s narratives and actions. Furthermore, the tensions between the two (i.e. ethics and experience) may lead people to reinterpret not only the places but also the ethics, as will also be exemplified later in this thesis.

Such conceptualisation of Structures of Feeling is in line with its original formulation by Williams as well as with those developed in other studies that used this concept, but it adds dynamism to them by seeing Structures of Feeling as a process. Moreover, it sees this process as both acting upon individuals and being acted upon by them. In this way, while accounting for how political-economies of different places shape migration experiences, it also avoids disregarding the role of individuals and groups as actors who give meanings and interpretations to their social, political and economic context, rather than being merely acted upon by it.

This having been said, a number of questions specific to this study can be spelled out now. These questions form a more specific elaboration of the general research question posed in the present thesis which, to remind ourselves, is ‘Place of origin.....place of arrival? To what extent does context of departure and context of destination matter for migration experience, especially experience of inclusion and exclusion?’ First of all, can we identify any ethic(s) that illuminate the narratives of migrant workers who are the focus of the present study? If so, how are these ethics experienced in the country of departure and country of destination and how do they influence their migration experience, especially experience of inclusion and exclusion? Are there variations in this respect within a single country (in this case the

UK)? Moreover, can these experiences be seen to influence in some way people's migration decisions?

Before answers to these questions are drawn from the data obtained in the present research, the next section explores what existing migration literature can tell us about them. The discussion focuses specifically on the literature on Polish migrants in the UK, because work on Ukrainian migrants in Poland is not particularly well developed. This is also why the focus on Polish migrants may appear to have been prioritised in this thesis.

2.4. Ethics and its experience in migrants' narratives

When it comes to social ethics that shape migration from CEE, previous literature identified certain ethics conveyed in the discourse of normality which migrants draw upon when justifying their decisions to work and live abroad (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009; Galasińska 2009; Rabikowska 2010; McGhee, Heath and Trevena 2012; Drinkwater and Garapich 2015). For example, Gałasińska and Kozłowska (2009) show how the discourse of normality is used by Polish migrants in Britain and how it allows them to present 'values which are important for them in their migration' (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009: 79). The authors posit that these values are linked to the 'ethos valued by communist propaganda [which] was marked with a strong anti-materialistic tendency, aiming to promote post-materialistic values and an aversion towards growing rich and also towards rich people' (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009: 80). They refer to this ethos as that of moderation and note that it has survived into the post-communist era. One example they give is that of a popular advertising slogan from the 1990s which urged: 'Give yourself a little bit of luxury'. The authors explain the slogan through the notion of the persistent presence of the ethos of modesty:

> 'Just after the communist system, and its related norms of social morality, collapsed, people were not prepared for "luxury" in its full bloom; embracing excessive luxury would have been inconsistent with the prevailing belief in

> modesty and moderation as desired values.' (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009: 80)

Based on this observation, they infer that the discourse of normality taps into this communist ethos: i.e. it allows migrants to fulfil the social ideal of moderation. In addition to this, the authors argue that narratives of normality also represent a discourse of social justice through which migrants 'were not only portraying themselves as people aiming for a basic standard of living and moderation in consumption, but also people looking for a just life that they felt was missing in Poland' (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009: 80).

However, is this a convincing interpretation of the discourse of normality? Were the people of Poland indeed not ready for luxury and did they, instead, prefer just a little bit of it? Arguably, there is a more straightforward explanation of the aforementioned advertising slogan and, by the same token, of narratives of normality. Specifically, it can be argued that, despite the promises of future luxury, on a par with that subjectively associated with the lives of Western societies and triggered by the coming of capitalism, real luxury in the new era of neoliberal political-economy was perhaps available to the elites but not to most people in the society. This era was characterised by significantly lower standards of living than in the West, by income levels lagging behind those found even in the Southern European countries that were going through severe economic crises, by a more deregulated labour market than elsewhere in Europe, and by investment in social welfare that was lower even than in the UK. Moreover, speaking of luxury in an advert for a soap or another basic consumer product could have come across as an absurdity in the context of people's expectations of life and their consumption capabilities after communism, inflated by the new capitalism (Sowa 2012); an absurdity that would lay bare the failures of the neoliberal project in Poland. Therefore, the notions of 'a little bit of luxury' and normality may not necessarily reflect any attachment to the socialist ethic of moderation. Instead, they may signify a compromise on the issue, to the effect that it might take a while before the dreams of prosperous and affluent lives on a par with those in Western Europe following the collapse of the centrally planned economy can be realised for the majority of the population.

As will be seen in the data analysis chapters, the notion of normality and the idealisation of the UK that it conveys were another important feature of narratives of migrant workers interviewed for the present study. However, an interpretation different from those offered in the previous literature has been developed. This interpretation draws on the concept of Structures of Feeling that was discussed earlier in this chapter. As such, it will see the discourse of normality and idealisation of the UK as driven by a process of interpretation and reinterpretation of places and selves by migrants in which certain ethics and actual experience of life collide.

Furthermore, the notion of normality and the idealisation of the UK that it conveys will be critically addressed by studying it in a specific part of the country where it is not easily sustainable: namely, Northern Ireland, which emerged from its bloody civil conflict less than two decades ago and, despite the ongoing peace process, is still characterised by ethno-sectarian divisions and violence (see Chapter 3). This case will be contrasted with that of Scotland. As noted by Anderson (2013: 116): 'What is life in the UK from the Shetland Isles to Salford? Or shared between the mansions of Holland Park and the council estates of neighbouring Shepherd's Bush?' In other words, it is not everywhere in Britain that the actual experience of life fits such an idealised and universalised image of the country. What happens to the discourse of normality and the dual-idealisation when migrants come to parts of Britain where 'the myth of wealthy and rich West' (Kazimierska et al. 2011: 114) characterised by modern, well-functioning institutions cannot be easily sustained? Chapter 7 will use the notion of Local Structures of Feeling when accounting for the process by which different places within the UK are experienced and the way this experience shapes a sense of inclusion and exclusion among migrant workers. These concepts will make us sensitive to how the discourse of normality is experienced and lived by contrast with how it is narrated.

2.5. Conclusions

The purpose of the present chapter was to familiarise the reader with the theoretical framework developed in the course of the research by positioning it in relation to

previous theories, concepts, and empirical studies in migration scholarship and beyond. To achieve this aim, the first part of this chapter critically discussed the existing dominant theoretical approaches in migration studies and the light they shed on the key question asked in the thesis which, to recollect it, runs as follows: 'Place of origin.....place of arrival? To what extent does context of departure and context of destination matter for migration experience, especially experience of inclusion and exclusion?' It was argued that existing approaches in migration literature offer a rich assortment of analytical tools for studying this phenomenon. However, it was also proposed that another take on migration is necessary in the light of more recent developments in migration scholarship. In particular, the concept of a Community of Value was unpacked in the second section of the present chapter. Following that, the third section discussed the related concept of Structures of Feeling and proposed a definition of it which makes it highly relevant for studies of migration. It was posited that the main contribution of this thesis to migration theory lies exactly in the reformulation of this concept as a process: a reformulation that offers a new way of looking at how the contexts of departure and of destination in migration may shape migration experience, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion. In particular, this concept focuses on the relationship between social ethics and the actual experience of life as an important process that influences how migrants experience and interpret their countries of departure and destination.

Finally, the last section of the chapter looked at the existing literature on CEE migration to see what kind of ethics may be relevant to migration experience. The ethic associated with the notion of normality was critically discussed and it was indicated that, although the discourse of normality was also present in the data collected for the present thesis, it will be interpreted in connection with ethics other than that identified in previous literature. Moreover, it was explained that there may be local variations in the way certain ethics are experienced by migrants within a single country, and the present thesis will account for this by looking at two particular migration destinations in the UK.

The next chapter presents these two destinations for Polish migrants by discussing the most relevant features of the two contexts. It also discusses the third destination

place that the present thesis takes into account: namely, the city of Wroclaw in Poland. Furthermore, it situates these three places within the broader European migration landscape and a political-economy context.

3. Contextualising East-West migrations in Europe

As explained previously, the present thesis is concerned with exploring the extent to which the context of departure and context of destination matter for migration experience, especially experience of inclusion and exclusion. In order to explore this question, three arguably peculiar migration destinations were chosen: Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wroclaw. As this chapter will illustrate, each of these places is characterised by a different discourse about migration, nationality, ethnicity, and belonging. Therefore, these three destinations could be thought of as constituting unique Communities of Value that include and exclude migrant workers in different ways. Consequently, they can be expected to influence migration experiences and, in particular, the experience of inclusion and exclusion, in unique ways.

The chapter discusses social, political and economic contexts which stand behind this specificity of each of the three places. However, it begins with a section that looks at a broader European context and argues that there has been an overarching turn across Western Europe, CEE, and on the supranational EU level towards what can be best thought of as neoliberalism. This shift, it is argued, has been taking place both on the level of policy reforms as well as on the level of ideals, values, discourses, and constructions of personhood. After this broader context is accounted for, subsequent sections look at each of the three migration destinations included in this study: Northern Ireland (Belfast), Scotland (Edinburgh), and Poland (Wroclaw). Here, too, the focus on neoliberal policies is present because they have arguably been an important factor in driving migration to and from these places. Therefore, despite the differences between Northern Ireland, Scotland and Poland, the chapter posits that there is a common factor among the three places, although it is also acknowledged that the neoliberalism has unfolded differently in each of them and has been mediated by a range of other context-specific circumstances. To illustrate this, the sections below discuss how neoliberalism unfolded in each of the three places and how it plays out within other aspects of the context into which migrant workers enter.

All in all, the chapter's discussion provides a rationale for choosing these three particular migration destinations when the main research question is considered.

Specifically, the peculiarity of these places provides a potentially fertile soil for drawing theoretical conclusions in response to the question about how the context of departure and destination shape migration experiences, in particular the experience of inclusion and exclusion.

3.1. Neoliberalism in Europe

It is argued below that the overarching political and economic context in which contemporary migrations in Europe take place is shaped by what can be referred to as neoliberalism. This is a contested term which requires some elaboration. Its contestability arises from the fact that the notion of neoliberalism has been 'promiscuously' applied to describe many things: as expressed by Clarke (2008), the omnipresence of neoliberalism has made it omnipotent. Therefore, some clarification concerning the application of this term is necessary. In general, neoliberalism can be understood as a theory of political and economic practices that advocates strong property rights, free markets, free trade, and minimal state intervention in the market (Harvey 2005). The latter, however, should not be mistaken for minimal state intervention in general, since neoliberalism arguably depends on a strong state that has to be used to impose market relations, not uncommonly in very forceful and violent ways (Davidson 2010b: 7). Characteristic of neoliberalism are policies of privatisation, introduction of the market principle in different spheres of public life, dismantling of state regulations affecting markets (including the labour market), and cutting of welfare programmes, which are seen as distorting market functioning by having corrupting effects on individuals. This last point, however, does not mean that the welfare state may not be occasionally used as an instrument in the strategy of pursuing neoliberal policies. The cases of transformation from state-socialism in CEE (Vanhuysse 2006) and of post-Asian crisis South Korea (Kwon and Holliday 2007) clearly illustrate this.

Neoliberalism as an economic theory emerged in the 1950s from the neoclassical economics of the Austrian school, including most importantly the economist Friedrich von Hayek, and a group of economists at the University of Chicago, among

whom the most prominent figure was Milton Friedman. In terms of policy, it is often argued that neoliberalism found its first application in Chile in the 1970s (Kelly 2012: 3). The case of Chile illustrates the point made above, which is that not uncommonly a strong state, for example in the form of a military dictatorship, is needed to impose market relations. After Chile, neoliberal policies gained momentum in the political economies of many Western countries, starting with the USA and the UK. The governments of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher are typically taken as the beginning of neoliberal restructuring in the two countries, respectively. Here, again, they were introduced through the state power exercised by, for example, squashing the resistance of workers and civil society to privatisation and marketisation. It is commonly argued that this period put an end to post-war Keynesianism and led to the gradual dissolution of Fordism in the Western world.

Neoliberal theory and policies have gradually spread to different countries around the world. For example, a study commissioned by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) indicated that neoliberal economic policies have been pursued to different but significant degrees across 91 developed and developing countries included in the study (Spilimbergo, Prati, and Ostry 2009). Neoliberalism also arrived with great impetus in CEE when state-socialism in this region collapsed. As remarked by Murrell (1996: 31), the experience of CEE countries 'was the most dramatic episode of economic liberalisation in economic history'. Among these countries, Poland was praised as 'the leader in economic reforms' (Murrell 1996: 26) and a 'number-one success story and case study' (Greskovits 1998: 58). It belonged to the club of 'advanced reformers' (i.e. the Visegrad countries) and was one of the first two countries to apply for EU membership (Webb 2008: 209).

Arguably, neoliberalism obtained a hegemonic position, or at least a position of supremacy, on the supranational EU level as well. Based on previous analyses of EU integration, Bohle (2004) points to three policies that substantiate this claim: the European Monetary System, the internal market, and the Economic and Monetary Union. All three of these policies have been designed with the aim of freeing market forces and limiting the scope of state regulation in the member countries in the sphere of economic and social policy. The hegemony or supremacy of neoliberal

ideology and policy in the EU can also be spotted in the 2004 EU enlargement, preceding which the new accession states had been required to introduce substantial policies of privatisation and deregulation in different spheres of their economies. As explained by Bohle (2004: 68-70), the 'accession partnerships' prior to the EU enlargement set up specific reforms for CEE countries that were designed in a neoliberal fashion. Moreover, she argued that a specific neoliberal model that was pursued in these countries was more radical in its outcomes than the 'embedded neoliberalism' of Western Europe. It was a low-road neoliberalism characterised by particularly poor labour standards and welfare provisions in comparison with the more regulated economies of Western Europe (Woolfson and Sommers 2008). However, the EU has in fact only anchored in CEE the neoliberalism that had already been pursued earlier with the assistance of experts and money from the IMF and the World Bank. The recommendations flowing from these institutions struck a chord with the political élites of Poland particularly well (Greskovits 1998: 58).

However, on top of policies, changes in values, ideals, beliefs, and conceptions of personhood have been ascribed to neoliberalism and observed by empirical studies of CEE, including Poland. Specifically, a significant body of literature argues that accompanying neoliberal political economic theory and policies is a 'new ethic of the active, choosing, responsible, autonomous individual obliged to be free, and to live life as if it were an outcome of free choice' (Miller and Rose 2008: 18). Such studies draw on the theory proposed by Foucault (2008), who argued that neoliberalism has created a new form of subjectivity through which it exercises power over people. This power is thought to operate through the generation of 'interests, desires and aspirations rather than through rights and obligations' (Read 2009: 9) or coercion, hence giving individuals a great deal of apparent freedom. As such, 'neoliberalism would seem paradoxically to govern without governing' (Read 2009: 9). As put by Dunn (2004: 7), it creates 'self-regulating slaves' (Dunn 2004: 7). This aspect of neoliberalism, which operates by transforming values and ways of seeing the social world, can be illustrated by the example of policies aimed at deregulating the labour market:

> ‘The contemporary trend away from long term labor contracts, towards temporary and part-time labor, is not only an effective economic strategy, freeing corporations from contracts and the expensive commitments of health care and other benefits, it is an effective strategy of subjectification as well. It encourages workers to see themselves not as “workers” in a political sense, who have something to gain through solidarity and collective organization, but as “companies of one”.’ (Read 2009: 9)

In line with this trend, literature on CEE transformation to neoliberal society has documented the ‘proselytizing of a rhetoric of responsibility, self-help and choice’ and a manufacturing of a new ideal of a good citizen that is self-authoring, enterprising, proactive in securing his or her economic well-being and, as such, juxtaposed against ‘passive individuals coddled by the paternalism of socialism’ (Makovicky 2014: 2). Particularly illustrative of these changes is the case study of Alima-Gerber in Poland by Dunn (2004). Alima was a state-owned enterprise that, following the collapse of state socialism in Poland, was acquired by the American company Gerber. The author maintains that labour relations represented only one sphere where neoliberal ideas were implemented. The other area that changed with the arrival of neoliberal capitalism was the corporate discourse which, according to the author, constituted a new form of personhood. In this regard, Dunn (2004) shows fundamental transformations in the conception of what it means to be a person, as reflected in the new management techniques introduced by the private owner. Moreover, she argues, these changes go beyond this particular company, accompanying the political-economic transformation from socialism to neoliberal capitalism more broadly. Addressing the essence of this new personhood, she documents the construction of the ideal of a privatised individual or an asocial monad who is self-oriented and self-entrepreneurial: a scaled-down version of a corporation that is interested in his or her private life and individuality. An important aspect of this new personhood was also the notion of an active, freely choosing consumer:

> ‘purchasers in the Polish market are being transformed from either “hunters” seeking products through *znajomości* or the passive recipients of goods from

> the state into active consumers with preferences and choices.' (Dunn 2004: 127)

Of course, the above is just a general overview of the changes in political-economy that have defined Europe over the past few decades. This means that there are significant differences across European countries when it comes to how neoliberal policies and discourses unfolded in each of them and how they were amalgamated with or mediated by other, place-specific factors. This is exactly the point that the sections below will illustrate by discussing the political-economies of the three migration destinations chosen for the present study.

3.2. Northern Ireland and Belfast: sectarianism, neoliberalism, immigration

Northern Ireland is a contested political body situated in the northern part of the island of Ireland. Its capital city is Belfast. Formally a part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, its contested nature stems from the fact that Westminster's sovereignty over this part of Ireland is not universally accepted. Rejecting this political formation, some prefer the term 'north of Ireland' instead of Northern Ireland. While respecting this contestability, the name Northern Ireland is used throughout the thesis. This part of the UK was chosen as one of the three migrant destination places to be explored in this study because it offers a rather unique social, political and economic context. Moreover, Northern Ireland was characterised by one of the highest rates of migration into the UK from CEE countries after the 2004 EU enlargement. The specificity of this part of the country is discussed below with particular attention being paid to the three important interacting phenomena: ongoing ethno-sectarian divisions, neoliberal restructuring, and immigration. Each of these is discussed in a separate section.

3.2.1. Sectarianism in Belfast

Present-day Northern Ireland occupies the territory of the historical Irish province of Ulster, which used to be the bedrock of Irish resistance to the English state. This started to change with the Plantation of Ulster in the early 17th century, when English and Scottish colonists were given some of the best lands previously taken away from the Irish people. The process resulted in the emergence of a dominant, wealthy class of English-speaking Protestant population loyal to the English state, and the displaced, predominantly Catholic Irish population. Generally speaking, over time the former group became the wealthier majority and the latter a disadvantaged and impoverished minority in the province.

The outcomes of the Plantation of Ulster have shaped the modern history of Ireland. When the island of Ireland was partitioned in early 1922, the province of Ulster, dominated by the pro-English Protestant élite, opted out of the newly formed Irish state, thus forming a new political body of Northern Ireland that remains part of the UK at present. This state was built upon a sectarian, English-Protestant supremacy that kept the Irish Catholic population disproportionately impoverished by excluding and marginalising it in, for example, politics, public employment, and public housing. This long-lasting discrimination against the Catholic and Irish population culminated in 1968 with a civil rights demonstration in Derry against such discrimination. It was violently responded to by the authorities and police, who were dominated by loyalist Protestants. These events became known as the beginning of The Troubles, a euphemism for the violent period of sectarian clashes between Irish nationalist paramilitaries and loyalist paramilitaries, the latter assisted by the British state. The Troubles lasted until 1998 when the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) was signed.

Figure 1: A view on the district of Bogside (Derry) where The Troubles began. Characteristic are the numerous Irish flags visible in the foreground.

Figure 2: A sign in the nationalist area of Derry indicating no entry for PSNI (Police Service of Northern Ireland) and its predecessor, the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary). A negative feeling towards police comes from the violent oppression the Irish nationalists suffered at their hands during the Troubles.

Figure 3: A panoramic view on the Bogside in Derry.

The GFA was built on an intercommunity consensus between the two sides of the sectarian conflict or, specifically, between the political parties representing them (with the exception of the DUP), and it was facilitated by the governments of the UK and Republic of Ireland. At that time, the modernising loyalists already realised that sustaining the one-party sectarian state was not a viable option, while Sinn Fein became more pragmatically oriented and interested in winning the support of a nationalist middle-class that wanted to stay away from sectarian uproar (Kelly 2012). However, rather than challenging and eventually resolving sectarianism, the GFA institutionalised it (Murtagh and Shirlow 2012; Kelly 2012; Garvey and Stewart 2015). For example, the Northern Ireland Assembly that was established by this agreement divides its members along sectarian identities. Furthermore, funding of

community activities, cultural agencies, and education is also organised along sectarian divisions and is ‘tied to each bloc publicly articulating that it is delivering its constituents through the redistribution of state funds that upholds respective electorate’s needs and cultural demands’ (Murtagh and Shirlow 2012: 50). Moreover, Northern Ireland and especially Belfast remain characterised by highly observable forms of spatial divisions: despite the Peace Process that officially commenced in 1998, walls dividing communities have become longer and higher than ever and keep dividing people even after death, as exemplified by the underground wall in the Belfast City Cemetery (Shirlow and Murtagh 2006: 13). Residents’ travel patterns, use of public services, choice of workplaces, and even leisure patterns have been shown to be determined by the fear of sectarian violence (Shirlow and Murtagh 2006).

Figure 4: ‘Peace wall’ (left) and a checkpoint dividing Shankill and Falls Road in Belfast indicate that geographical divisions of communities in Northern Ireland continue despite the Peace Process.

Figure 5: Colouring curbs and street lamps is a typical way in which nationalist and loyalist communities mark their districts.

Figure 6: A mural in Belfast indicates a continuity of sectarianism in present-day Northern Ireland.

On top of this, on the discursive level there is 'a noise of political and community discourses that have focused on the war between the two dominant communities' (Garvey and Stewart 2015: 399). There is also a rhetoric and a sense among the loyalist Protestant community of being under siege from the local Catholic population, a feeling associated with a demographic decline within the Protestant community that, according to Shirlow and Murtagh (2006: 15), 'created an enduring sense of decline and ideological defeat'. This sense of being under siege is conveyed in the photo captured during the fieldwork for the present study:

Figure 7: A protestant community in the city of Derry/Londonderry expresses a sense of siege in a wall graffiti.

This discourse is arguably intensified nowadays by the two other processes taking place in Northern Ireland: the expansion of neoliberal policies and immigration. These two are discussed one by one in the following two sections.

3.2.2. Neoliberalism in Northern Ireland

It was explained above that the GFA was a consensus on dividing power and resources between the two main communities in Northern Ireland. However, the GFA also involved a consensus on the developmental course that the economy of Northern Ireland would take. Specifically, it was a consensus on the neoliberal direction of reforms. As will be explained in this section, such consensus further aggravates the previously identified problems of sectarianism.

According to Kelly (2012: 3), neoliberalism was pressed upon Northern Ireland by 'the architects of the peace process in Washington and London' and embraced by all sides of the northern establishment. The latter point is very well illustrated by Murtagh and Shirlow (2012) who demonstrated a convergence towards the centre-right in the economic programmes of the DUP and Sinn Fein. Most tellingly, by 2011 Sinn Fein had ditched its previous ideas of nationalisation and democratic control of the means of production. Kelly (2012) also discusses Sinn Fein's abandonment of its socialist ideas and a drift towards neoliberal dogma as exemplified in, for example, the party's lining up with 'the heirs of Thatcher' in the present-day UK government in support of austerity policies.

Figure 8: Titanic Belfast - museum of Titanic that was constructed in Belfast. In Kelly's (2012) opinion, the project epitomises free market fundamentalism and neoliberalism that have taken over Northern Ireland since GFA.

Neoliberalism in Northern Ireland, as elsewhere in the world, has been characterised by deregulation of the labour market and reduction of planning controls and corporation tax to create a friendly environment, but at the expense of social welfare spending, as well as partial privatisation of public services (Kelly 2012; Murtagh and Shirlow 2012). However, neoliberalism in Northern Ireland has had a specific outcome that is not necessarily found in other places, namely, an intensifying ethno-sectarian competition for increasingly scarce public resources. As public resources are squeezed out by policies of welfare retrenchment and austerity, politicians on both sides of the sectarian divide focus on scapegoating the other party and blaming it for the destitution of their working-class constituents (Murtagh and Shirlow 2012). In this way, the sectarian political consensus established by the GFA interacts in Northern Ireland with the neoliberal consensus that underlined the same agreement. This arguably further aggravates that feeling of being under siege which was discussed in the previous section. A short quote by Kelly (2012: 14) succinctly describes this situation:

> 'Against the backdrop of increasing desperation among ordinary Protestants, Unionist politicians encourage the perception that Catholics are "getting everything" under the new, post-agreement regime. As one Protestant

> community worker on the Shankill told Socialist Worker a few years back, “The problem is that politicians and the paramilitaries are trying to convince working class Protestants that they are the “new Catholics”.’

To make things even more complex, sectarianism and neoliberalism coincide also with not insignificant migration to Northern Ireland. Potentially, migrant workers may be easily portrayed and perceived as yet another competitor for increasingly scarce resources, especially when the new arrivals are also Catholics. This is discussed in the next section.

3.2.3. Immigration to Northern Ireland

The Troubles took the lives of nearly 2,000 civilians and displaced thousands of others from their homes. Not surprisingly, until the end of the 20th century, Northern Ireland was not a country of immigration but, rather, of emigration. For example, thousands of people went to the Republic of Ireland as refugees in the late 1960s and early 1970. As explained by Garvey and Stewart (2015: 398), ‘the period of conflict lasting 35 years entrenched a remarkable lack of ethnic diversity’. However, while many people still do migrate out of Northern Ireland and, indeed, between 2009 and 2013 it was again a country of net emigration (NISRA, 2014), there is also a significant inward migration taking place. It started with Portuguese and South-East Asian workers in 2000 but migration from CEE has been most significant (Russel 2012). In fact, after the 2004 EU enlargement, Northern Ireland became the part of the UK with the largest concentration of CEE workers (Department of Learning and Labour 2009).

As elsewhere in the UK and Ireland, these workers were drawn mostly into labour intensive, low-paid, insecure jobs in the construction, agriculture, hospitality and cleaning sectors (Kempny 2013: 483). Although obviously not all CEE workers in Northern Ireland are in such low-end jobs, Garvey and Stewart (2015) suggest that migrant workers from CEE are generally disadvantaged labour, occupying the lowest places in the hierarchy of the neoliberalised labour market, as well as within workplaces. These authors also argue that the political and social settlement at the

end of the Troubles that was envisaged in the GFA created a new form of social subordination by 'allowing the main protagonists to the older conflict time to divide the spoils' and leaving migrant workers outside (Garvey and Stewart 2015: 402). Consequently, migrant workers appear to be marginalised not only in the labour market but in public life more generally, in ways perhaps not commonly found in other places. Therefore, it is important to consider the possible impact of such a particularity of Northern Ireland's political-economy in shaping migration experience, including the experience of inclusion and exclusion.

Indeed, the ethno-sectarian divisions in Northern Ireland have been shown to affect migrants' everyday experiences. For example, Kempny (2013) argued that Polish residents in Belfast experienced fear related to the ethno-sectarian segregation of the city and that this fear was particularly strong in relation to Protestant workplaces. She also noted that, for at least some of her respondents, being Polish Catholics influenced the way they were perceived and treated in the society divided by Protestant and Catholic identities. These observations are in line with a survey indicating that Protestant communities in Northern Ireland report a higher degree of anti-immigrant sentiment (Pehrson et al. 2012). According to the author, such sentiment is linked to a cultural threat experienced by these communities. This, in turn, is a result of the intensifying inter-communal competition for resources (see previous section) from which Protestant loyalist culture in Northern Ireland was insulated in the pre-GFA regime. As already explained, sectarianism facilitates competition over public resources that are being drained by neoliberalism and, in this context, migrant workers may be easily perceived or scapegoated as yet another competitor undermining the Protestant position. This is especially the case if these migrants come from a predominantly Catholic country, since they can be instrumentally categorised as the historically rival Catholics (Rijswijk, Hopkins, and Johnston 2009). Although Kempny's (2013) findings make sense in light of these arguments, the data analysis in the present thesis will draw a more complex picture of how Polish migrant workers experience sectarianism in Northern Ireland. Leaving this theme for now, the next section introduces Scotland and Edinburgh as a migrant destination, highlighting some similarities with as well as differences from Northern Ireland and the rest of the UK.

Figure 9: K.A.T. – Kill all Taigs (i.e. Catholics). A sign found in the loyalist district of Belfast. Arguably, the association of Polish identity with Catholicism can exacerbate the negative impact of sectarianism on migrant workers from Poland.

3.3. Scotland and Edinburgh

Scotland lies in the northern part of the island of Great Britain and is part of the United Kingdom. However, since 1999 Scotland has had its own parliament and government which have specific legislative and executive powers. Although these devolved powers are limited by Westminster, the present section shows that Scotland nevertheless constitutes quite a specific context of migration for Polish migrants, one that differs from the rest of the UK. In some important respects it contrasts particularly starkly with the other place studied in this research – Northern Ireland – which is exactly why it has been chosen as a second migration destination to be explored in the present thesis.

Firstly, although, like Northern Ireland, it is also a relatively new migrant destination country, Scotland has a long and rather unique migration history with Poland. This is discussed in the following section (2.3.1.). Secondly, it is characterised by political and public discourses about migration, ethnicity and nationality that stand in stark contrast to the exclusivist sectarian discourses in Northern Ireland and are also significantly different from discourses elsewhere in the UK. In this respect, the

framing of migration as necessary for the future well-being of the Scottish nation, together with the notion of civic nationalism, can be set against the discourse of being under siege that is found in loyalist communities in Northern Ireland. These issues are discussed in section 2.3.2. Thirdly, the last section on Scotland (2.3.3.) shows that this part of the country has been more resistant to neoliberal policies than the rest of the UK. However, this does not mean that it has not been affected by them. In this respect, the contexts in Scotland and Northern Ireland appear more similar than different and, therefore, may shape experiences of migrant workers in similar ways.

Figure 10: The Scottish parliament where policy for devolved Scotland is made. Its post-modern architectural design can be read as conveying the aspiration of Scotland to be a modern, progressive country. This, as we shall see later in this thesis, resonates with interpretations of Scotland that appeared in the interviews with Polish migrant workers.

3.3.1. Migration: history and presence

Scotland is a relatively new migrant destination in the UK. Historically, it has been a country of net out-migration, with more people leaving to live elsewhere than moving in. Although since the 1960s net out-migration has declined, with Scotland becoming a country of net in-migration in the early 1990s, from 1995 until 2000 it once again became a country of net out-migration (The Scottish Government 2016). This started to change again from 2001, after a period of continuous growth of inward migration and decline of outward migration to the rest of the UK, and especially since 2004, when Scotland started to receive significant numbers of CEE migrants (The Scottish Government 2016). Among them Poles have been the largest group. They are believed to make up 15% of all the non-UK-born population in Scotland (Vargas-Silva 2013: 2). According to National Insurance Number

registrations, they account for 84.9% of EU8 migrants and 28.9% of all overseas migrants in Edinburgh alone (Orchard, Szymanski, and Vlahova 2007).

Considering the above, it can be said that less than two decades have passed since Scotland began to be a significant migration destination country. Moreover, although it has seen inward migration of various groups throughout its history – the Irish in the nineteenth century, post-war Italian and Polish migrants, and, of course, people from the rest of the UK – it has remained a rather homogeneous country. In 2004, only 4.1% of Scotland's population was born outside the UK (Vargas-Silva 2013). However, this figure went up to 7.2% by 2012 (Vargas-Silva 2013), which can be explained by the migration of people from the new EU member states. Therefore, the current number of people born outside the UK is similar for Scotland and Northern Ireland. In the latter place it stands at around 7% (Vargas-Silva 2013).

However, because of the still somewhat longer history of inward migration to Scotland than to Northern Ireland, the former place is arguably characterised by a somewhat greater ethnic diversity that is not accounted for by the data on foreign-born residents. This applies in particular to Edinburgh and even more so to its Leith district, which has been a popular place for migrant settlement over the centuries (Crawford 2013). Nowadays, Leith and the adjacent Leith Walk are two of the five most diverse wards in Scotland (in terms of percentage of non-UK-born population) which are not also student areas (Simpson 2014). In addition, the district is a place of vibrant activity of migrant and ethnic minority community organisations. As far as Edinburgh as a whole is concerned, it has the second highest proportion of non-UK-born residents among Scottish cities, this figure standing at 15.88%, just 00.03% behind Aberdeen, where the foreign-born population accounts for 15.91% (Krausova and Vargas-Silva 2013), but where this high number is arguably contributed to by the presence of high-skilled temporary employees in the oil industry.

Figure 11: View on Leith's main street: Leith Walk. Small Polish businesses are very common here. On the left-hand side of the picture is a business offering legal advice and translation services for Polish migrants in Scotland (blue) and a Polish grocery store (red).

In terms of the longer history of migration to Scotland that sets it apart from Northern Ireland, the migration links with Poland are the most relevant for the present thesis but are also, generally speaking, perhaps among the most interesting to consider. Although the post-2004 migration from Poland has been the highest so far, Scotland and Edinburgh were not strangers to migrants from Poland prior to the EU enlargement. The Polish Resettlement Act of 1947 enabled Polish World War II soldiers who had fought under British command to settle in the UK in the context of possible repression by the state-socialist government if they were to return to Poland. As a result, more than 150,000 people born in Poland settled in the UK in the years immediately following WWII. Many of them (around 17,000) settled in Scotland. This number included some prominent figures from the Polish troops, including Gen. Stanislaw Maczek, who played a key role in the liberation of France, Netherlands and Belgium, and then settled in Edinburgh where, being denied a military pension by the British government, took up a job as a bartender. Symbolic of this postwar migration to Scotland is also the figure of Wojtek the Soldier Bear: a bear who was officially enlisted as a soldier in the Polish Corps, took part in the Battle of Monte Cassino, and after the war 'settled' in the Edinburgh Zoo. In 2015, a statue commemorating Wojtek the Soldier Bear was erected in Edinburgh's Princes Street Gardens.

Figure 12: Wojtek – the soldier bear in Edinburgh's Princes Street Gardens. Polish migrants were involved in the campaign to erect this monument.

The new migrant community formed after 2004 has tried to recreate the tradition of postwar settlement of Polish soldiers discussed above. This can be seen, for example, in the efforts to revive the 'Dom Kombatanta' (The House of a Combatant) – a residence of Polish soldiers in Edinburgh after World War II – or in promotion of the story of Wojtek the Soldier Bear. However, recent Polish migrants have also tried to situate their current migration to and presence in Scotland within a larger historical framework of migration between the two countries. For example, the Polish-Scottish Heritage project attempts to contextualise current Polish migration to Scotland by raising Scottish people's awareness of the substantial, in terms of its size, migration from Scotland to Poland that took place between the 15th and 18th centuries. In that period, Scottish people went to Poland for trade and mercenary work (Bosoworth 2006; Murdoch 2001). Some also sought religious freedom granted by the Kingdom of Poland but not available in their home country or elsewhere in Western Europe. It is estimated that up to 37,000 Scots lived in Poland at the beginning of the 17th century (Murdoch 2001: 192), which, taking into consideration the different historical context, was a significant number compared to around 56,000 Poles living in Scotland nowadays. This migration from Scotland to Poland at that time was so large that it was used as a warning case in the parliamentary debate about granting naturalisation to Scots in 1606 amidst heated discussion of an England-Scotland union and fears of growing migration from Scotland to England:

> 'If we admit them into our liberties, we shall be over-run with them (…) witness the municipalities of the Scots in Polonia.' (Bajer 2012: 100)

Because of this history, Scotland offers a rather unique context of reception for Polish migrant workers compared to other places in the UK, including Northern Ireland, where noteworthy migration between the two places occurred only after 2004. As this thesis will show, this factor may play a role in shaping migration experience, in particular the experience of inclusion and exclusion.

Another aspect of the chiefly Scottish context is that of immigration policy, discourses and public opinion, which differ from the rest of the UK to an extent that warrants discussion in a separate section.

3.3.2. Migration: policy, discourses, and public opinion

Immigration policy is the exclusive domain of Westminster, and the devolved government of Scotland has rather limited scope for shaping it according to its needs and objectives which, as we shall see, appear to be quite different from those of Westminster. Population in England has been growing steadily at least since the beginning of the 1980s. This growth has accelerated since 2003 with a population increase of more than 3 million people between 2003 and 2011, to a large extent as a result of inward migration (Migration Observatory 2013: 3). Both population growth and migration have been highest in England and are expected to grow faster than in other parts of the country. In contrast, Scotland has suffered a population decline of 100,000 from 1981 to 2003. This trend was reversed only in mid-2000 mainly thanks to inward migration, in particular from CEE, as the UK-born population in Scotland continued to decline (Migration Observatory 2013: 2). Moreover, without inward migration the population is projected to continue declining over the next two decades, and even when immigration is accounted for, the projection for population growth in Scotland is still lower than in England or even in Wales and Northern Ireland (Migration Observatory 2013: 3).

These circumstances result in different priorities and goals between the two governments. Specifically, the UK government has been pursuing policies aimed at reducing inward migration and net migration, and has announced the objective of 'stabilising the UK population as close to the current levels as possible' and

preventing it from exceeding 70 million people (Migration Observatory 2013: 2). In contrast, the Scottish government set itself a target of facilitating population growth to match the EU average (The Scottish Government 2013). One of the ways in which it has tried to achieve this is through encouraging inward migration and migrant settlement. These differences between the two governments made immigration one of the key points of contention in the debates about Scottish independence that preceded the referendum in 2014. The Scottish National Party (SNP) called for a specifically Scottish immigration policy but, considering that immigration is nowadays the most salient issue among the public in England, where the majority prefer to tighten up immigration controls (Migration Observatory 2014), the devolution of power to Scotland to decide its own immigration policy was and remains unlikely. With the negative outcome of the independence referendum, Scotland continues to be tied to the UK-wide immigration policy and its points-based system applied to non-EU migrants. Therefore, the government in Scotland has focused primarily on migrants from the EU, specifically the CEE member states.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the same immigration policy applies in Scotland as in England or Northern Ireland, the above-described situation arguably results in quite different discourses surrounding the issue of immigration. The Scottish government positions itself clearly in contrast to the UK when it comes to immigration policy. It has framed the discussion of immigration in positive terms as something that benefits Scotland by helping the country to deal with demographic problems:

> ‘Scotland has a different need for immigration than other parts of the UK. Healthy population growth is important for Scotland's economy. One of the main contributors to Scotland's population growth is migrants who choose to make Scotland their home. In future our enhanced economic strategy will also do more to encourage young people to build their lives and careers within Scotland and to attract people to live in Scotland. (…) Scotland's differing demographic and migration needs mean that the current UK immigration system has not supported Scotland's migration priorities. The current Westminster approach is strongly focused on reducing the overall

number of migrants and introducing caps for certain categories of skilled individuals. (…) Scotland's population needs are therefore different to the rest of the UK and Scotland has a clear economic rationale for growing our population – in particular our working age population.' (The Scottish Government 2013)

Further on in the document quoted above, the government proposed specific ways of liberalising immigration policy, such as reducing the income threshold required for entry of non-EU workers and re-introduction of the post-study visa. Although these suggestions are biased towards high-skilled workers, the overall rhetoric about migration in Scotland has a more positive colouring than that of the UK government. The Scottish government also speaks differently about EU migrants. In 2014 the UK government introduced tighter eligibility criteria for CEE migrant workers claiming state support (Wintour 2014) and later conducted a battle over EU workers' rights in the UK by renegotiating the EU treaty. These political steps were accompanied by a discursive campaign which portrayed EU workers as undeserving benefit tourists. In contrast to this, Moskal (2013: 158) posits that 'the arrival of Poles in Scotland is seen as helping to reverse the population decline'. In other words, it is seen not as a problem but as a solution to a problem. The difference in attitude towards migration from CEE was perhaps most visible in the aftermath of the so-called Brexit referendum, when Nicola Sturgeon was quick to reaffirm that Scotland wants to remain home to the EU citizens living here and that their contribution is valued.

Figure 13: A poster encouraging the residents of Edinburgh to vote in the EU referendum (left) and a sticker on a bus stop with a 'Yes2' slogan (right) which expresses a demand for a second Scottish independence referendum.

In addition to the aspects discussed above, there is the notion of a Scottish civic nationalism that is inclusive of different nationalities, ethnicities and cultures. This is the vision that the Scottish government under the SNP has tried to put across by various means (Moskal 2016: 89). One expression of this was the right to vote in the Scottish independence referendum in 2014, on the basis not of nationality but of residence, hence enabling even relatively recent arrivals from Poland to participate in the historical event. This type of nationalist discourse is consistent with the efforts to position Scotland as a good place for migration and, as such, can be seen as a part of the strategy of realising the demographic policy objectives of the Scottish government discussed above. In this respect, Scotland's context once again seems to stand out from the rest of the UK, where immigration now coincides with insecurities about British identity. But it differs perhaps most significantly from that feeling of being under siege that was previously identified as prevalent within loyalist communities in Northern Ireland.

There is also evidence that such a predominantly positive political atmosphere with regard to migration corresponds to more positive attitudes among Scottish people. For example, according to one survey (Migration Observatory 2014), far fewer respondents in Scotland than in England and Wales are in favour of significantly reducing immigration from outside the UK, and more prefer to keep it at the same level or increase it a little. Secondly, noticeably fewer respondents in Scotland than in England and Wales saw migration as bad for their country and more respondents in Scotland than in England and Wales saw it as beneficial for their country. Thirdly, whereas immigration and asylum occupied second place, just after the economy, on the list of the most important issues according to respondents from England and Wales, it came fourth in the responses of the Scottish sample. Fourthly, systematically, notably fewer respondents in Scotland than in England and Wales answered that they wanted a reduction in migration of people in each of the following categories: foreign students, immediate family members and extended family members of non-UK born migrants, and refugees. Similarly, fewer respondents in Scotland than in England and Wales answered that they wanted reduction in migration of workers across the entire spectrum of skills (i.e. from low-skilled to high-skilled) and professions, such as restaurant staff, construction workers,

care workers, IT specialists, scientists/researchers, or business professionals. In none of these categories did more than 50% of respondents in Scotland express a preference for a reduction in migration, which contrasts with the sample from England and Wales, where more than 60% of respondents wanted a reduction in foreign restaurant staff and construction workers.

The results of the EU referendum in the UK can also be seen as indicative of such different attitudes to migration. It will be recalled that migration from CEE was one of the most important topics, if not the single most important one in the Brexit campaign which, as the results suggest, succeeded in England. However, the campaign failed in Scotland where the majority of voters opted for staying in the EU. There is also some evidence that such relatively positive attitudes towards CEE migration in Scotland as compared with the rest of the UK may be reflected in the experiences of migrants. For example, Moskal (2013: 157-158) writes that:

> 'many Polish migrants with experience in other parts of the United Kingdom report Scots as more welcoming than others. Many say that they came to Scotland because informal networks of friends and peers already living in Scotland had told them that it was a friendly place'.

At the same time, this rather positive image of Scotland's approach to migration should not blind one to the racism and xenophobia which also affect the lives of migrants in this part of the country. As argued by Clark (2010: 228), 'it is also true, despite the popular mythology that Scots are somehow "not racist", that racism is a feature of Scottish life'. Moreover, apart from racist, xenophobic and anti-immigrant views being present in Scottish as much as in any other society, there is also a problem of structural inequalities in the labour market. As elsewhere in the UK, the EU migrants, including Poles, found employment largely in the low-skilled and low-paid sectors. In this respect, experiences of migrant workers in Scotland may not differ much from those in the rest of the UK. Although there has been a strong social-democratic rhetoric of building a fairer society in Scotland, the country has been affected by the UK-wide neoliberal reforms that are shaping the employment trajectories of CEE migrants (Clark 2010). This is discussed in the separate section below.

3.3.3. Immigration in the context of neoliberalism

On the one hand, Scotland manifests a degree of difference from the rest of the UK in terms of the extent to which neoliberal policies were implemented here. For instance, it is characterised by a higher level of public sector employment as well as more extensive welfare provisions in the form of, for example, lack of prescription charges, tuition-free tertiary education, and free personal care for the elderly. Some of these outcomes are the heritage of Labour/Liberal Democrat government, while the SNP that governs Scotland nowadays have also posed some challenges to neoliberal policy coming from Westminster (Davidson 2013c: 337; MacWhirter 2007).

On the other hand, these differences can be seen as rather marginal; hence they may not change the situation of migrant workers significantly. As argued by Davidson (2013a: x), the UK 'was one of the first sites for neoliberal experiment in socio-economic engineering' and, as a part of this state, Scotland 'has experienced, and continues to experience, the effect of these policies, with only minor variations since the establishment of devolved government in 1999'. Neoliberal policies came to Scotland with the reforms introduced by Thatcher's government and they resulted in the decline of the primary extractive sector and shipbuilding and automobile sectors and the expansion of the service sector, in particular finance (Davidson 2013a: xi). This change was associated with the decline of the manual skilled workforce and the growth of the white-collar workforce. However, as noted by Law and Mooney (2010: 158), despite repeated claims that these policies have made Scotland 'a more affluent, professionalised, less working class country', a new, highly divided workforce emerged:

> 'Far then from a homogenous process of professionalization, the structure of the employment relationship has become more polarized. At one end, elite professionals are serviced by a large pool of low paid support labour. At the other end, white collar work degraded and cheapened.' (Law and Mooney 2010: 150).

Therefore, the shift in the employment structure in Scotland resembles that in the global cities as described by Wills et al. (2010). This structure may perhaps be most evident in Edinburgh where service sector jobs are more likely to be 'specialised middle class professional occupations' because 'Edinburgh provides home for the Scottish state, a major headquarters for financial services, and is a leading-edge education and research base' (Law and Mooney 2010: 150). As in global cities, these service jobs have their precarious and low-paid underbelly. Apart from this, Edinburgh is a major tourist destination, which increases the need for low-skilled workers in the restaurant, leisure and hospitality sector. The 'large pool of low paid support labour' that Law and Mooney (2010: 150) mention has been recruited increasingly from abroad, in particular the CEE countries after their accession to the EU. Though some of them have moved up the labour hierarchy, not everyone has. As a result, their situation as a group is not much different from that of their fellow countrymen in Northern Ireland and other parts of the UK.

This section having explained how the transformations in the economic structure of Scotland brought about by neoliberal policies have influenced migration to this country, the next section argues that neoliberalism is also an important feature of the third destination country explored in the present thesis – Wroclaw and Poland. But, again, it unfolded there in a somewhat different fashion than in other places.

3.4. Poland and Wroclaw

Poland is the sixth largest EU country with a total population accounting for 52% of the population of all countries (including Poland itself) that joined the EU in 2004[1]. When this is considered, it is no surprise that Poland has been the major source of intra-EU migrants in aggregate, surpassing any other 2004 EU accession state in this regard. However, Poland has also been an increasingly important migration destination country, especially for people from Ukraine. The present section accounts for these inward and outward movements across borders of the Polish state by

[1] Own calculations based on EU population data.

situating them within the context of neoliberal transformation. Moreover, it sees Wroclaw – Poland's fourth largest city, located in the south-west of the country – as being at the centre of this transformation, arguing that the city is an emblematic case of the story of Poland's neoliberalism. After providing this general overview of migration to and from Poland (and, as far as possible, specifically to Wroclaw) in the context of neoliberal state and local government policies, the last part of this section focuses specifically on migration from Ukraine – a country that all but two interviewees in the Wroclaw sample came from. It describes the characteristics of this migration and pays special attention to the regulatory framework under which it takes place. This is important in that, as we shall see, the immigration policy context creates completely different opportunities and difficulties for migrant workers compared to those faced by Poles coming to the UK who migrate under the provisions of the EU's free movement of labour.

3.4.1. Neoliberalism in Poland and Wroclaw

As previously explained, when the state-socialist economies in the CEE collapsed, a consensus was reached among Western and Polish political élites on the neoliberal course of policy reforms. Although gradual liberalisation of the economy had already begun in the mid-80s, while the country was *de facto* still under the communist system, it was the crisis generated by the collapse of that regime which opened the way to full-fledged neoliberal policies in Poland (Polkowski and Paek 2016). The result of these changes was large-scale privatisation of public enterprises, deregulation of markets (seen for example in the labour market), and retrenchment of state welfare provisions from 1994, despite the initial expansion of social programmes. The extent and speed of neoliberal reforms that Poland pursued with its 'shock therapy' created consternation among observers, in that it was the country with the most coherent opposition movement, guided by principles of worker self-government, self-management, and social economy (Shields 2003: 225). As previously mentioned, Poland was at the forefront of the 'neoliberal passive revolution' (Bohle 2004) among countries of the region to which the EU has exported a more market-radical variant of neoliberalism.

Having a relatively more coordinated economy and higher welfare expenditure than some of the other CEE countries, in particular the Baltic states, Poland was described by some not as a neoliberal but, rather, as an 'embedded neoliberal' political economy (Bohle and Greskovits 2012). Nonetheless, this does not invalidate the claim that neoliberal policies have been far-reaching in this country, especially when it is compared not with other CEE countries but with Western European ones. For example, social expenditure in Poland measured as a percentage of GDP is now lower even than that of the UK – the country that is commonly seen as the neoliberal pioneer in Western Europe (OECD 2016). The labour market is also highly deregulated, with perhaps only Spain having a higher incidence of atypical employment (Trappman 2011). Considering these factors, it makes sense to speak of neoliberalism in relation to Poland.

Within Poland, it is the city of Wroclaw that can serve as a microcosm of neoliberalism when studying the phenomenon in this country. With the post-1989 law on local government and law in the *Special Economic Zones*, cities in Poland became 'important players in the neoliberalised landscape of Central Europe' (Cervinkowa 2013: 747). Just like the state, they became engaged in the global race for transnational capital. Wroclaw appears as one of the most successful cities in the country, if not the most successful, in this competition, especially if one considers the point from which the city started its transformation. In the 1990s, the city, and the broader region of Lower Silesia that Wroclaw is the capital of, was a rather underdeveloped part of Poland struggling with a high unemployment rate. To deal with it, the central government established in 1997 a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in order to attract foreign capital and create jobs (Bielawska 2015: 152). Since then, SEZs have mushroomed in this region. The website 'Invest in Wroclaw'[2] boasts that 'Lower Silesia is abundant with Special Economic Zone locations' and there are three SEZs in the Wroclaw Agglomeration alone. Indeed, according to the map presented on this website, Lower Silesia has the highest number of SEZs in Poland. These zones offer income tax exemptions and 'land plots suitable for the investment at competitive prices', as the website explains.

[2] http://www.invest-in-wroclaw.pl/en/doing-business/incentives/special-economic-zones/

This apart, in order to integrate Wroclaw more closely with global capital, a branding strategy was developed. It is aimed at promoting the city as a good place not just to invest but also to live. This campaign seems to target foreign nationals too, if not them in particular. For example, the city has been promoted as a 'multicultural city' and as 'the meeting place', to emphasise its openness to foreign workers, thus arguably helping it to lure even more foreign capital by the prospect of easily drawing on an international labour pool. In line with this policy, the city focused on attracting large-scale international events to raise its international or global attractiveness and recognisability. For example, it was one of the host cities of the Euro 2012 football championships, it currently holds the title of European Capital of Culture 2016, and in 2017 it will host the World Games. It also competed twice, though unsuccessfully, for the right to organise the World Expo.

Figure 14: Dwarf sculptures became a symbol of Wroclaw. According to Cernikova (2013), they are also a symbol of neoliberal urban politics of this city.

These attempts at positioning Wroclaw as a culturally attractive place can also be interpreted as a 'cappuccino urban politics' (Peck 2005) which asserts that urban growth and prosperity can be generated by the 'creative class' of middle-class professionals, artists and other creative people. As argued by Peck (2005), this type of politics is written into a broader neoliberal urban development syllabus that prescribes competitive, market-oriented low-road urban policies focused on the middle-class consumption and place marketing which 'are displacing urban-Keynesian systems, like comprehensive planning bureaucratic delivery, needs-based approaches' (Peck 2005: 764).

These strategies seem successful in terms of achieving their purpose of attracting foreign capital. For example, Wroclaw took away some high-profile investments

from West European cities: in 2008 workers at the Cadbury plant in Keynsham protested against closure of the plant which was eventually relocated to Wroclaw; in 2013 workers at the Volvo Bus factory in Swedish Säffle lost their jobs due to relocation of the production to Wroclaw; most recently, in 2015, Amazon opened its logistic centre in Wroclaw to serve the German market and bypass the strikes of workers in German factories. Nowadays, Wroclaw and its surrounding areas host facilities of high-profile foreign and international corporations. Apart from the aforementioned three, some of the most recognisable brands are: LG (Electronics, Display), IBM, Nokia, Hewlett-Packard, POSCO, Google, Credit Suisse, and HSBC. Quite tellingly, Wroclaw has a higher concentration of corporations than the national average and a higher number of foreign equity companies than any other large city in Poland (Ministry of Labour and Social Policy 2006: 227).

These investments create a specific local labour market structure that is also symptomatic of the positioning of the Polish economy in the global supply chain. Specifically, Wroclaw serves as an important hub where foreign companies outsource their manufacturing or non-core services. Therefore, the service sector accounts for the largest share of employment, followed by the manufacturing sector. Within the service sector, it is Shared Services Centres (SSC) and Business Process Offshoring (BPO) that account for the largest share of employment. An article on the Invest in Wroclaw website boasts that Poland has overtaken India in terms of the pace of new job creation in the latter sector, and that Poland is currently one of the most attractive places worldwide for such outsourcing, together with Brazil, China and India. Wroclaw occupies a central place in this dubious success story: the city's employment in this sector accounts for 16% of the entire workforce employed in it in Poland, just 1% below Warsaw, which has a population almost three times larger than Wroclaw's. In total, 20,000 workers were employed in Wroclaw in this sector in 2014 and this figure has surely increased since then. The largest companies providing such employment are Credit Suisse (4,000 workers), IBM (4,000 workers), and HP (2,600 workers).

Figure 15: One of many large buildings where large foreign companies in Wroclaw have their SSC and BPO.

As just mentioned, the concentration of employment in this type of service work indicates a more general feature of the Polish economy and its place in the global economy which was explained in the OECD (2013: 20) document:

> 'In comparison to developed economies, more people in Poland and Wroclaw are employed in low- and medium-skill jobs. This is partly caused by the industry structure and foreign companies that shift production activities relying on cheap and relatively unskilled labour to Poland.'

Also, the previously cited 'Invest in Wroclaw' publication states that the primary magnet for attracting outsourcing investments like those described above is a large pool of well-educated workers who speak many foreign languages and are willing to work for wages significantly lower than workers in Western Europe (sic!). This growing demand for a relatively low-paid, low- and medium-skilled workforce speaking different languages, at a time when many Poles have been moving to Western Europe, has arguably contributed to turning Wroclaw and Poland into an important migration destination. This is discussed in the next section.

3.4.2. Immigration to Poland and Wroclaw

Like the other two places investigated in this study, Poland is also a new migration destination country. One of the reasons why there has been no significant migration to Poland in its modern history was the isolationist migration policy under the state-socialist regime that lasted until 1989. On the one hand, immigration was tightly controlled and, although the 1979 agreement between the Soviet Union and Poland gave citizens of the Soviet Union the right to come to Poland without a visa, migration for work was negligible in scale. The only noteworthy inward migration to Poland under the authoritarian regime was that of workers from Vietnam, on the basis of bilateral agreements between the two governments. Restrictive measures apart, there was little economic need in Poland for a migrant workforce, especially when outward migration of Poles was also constrained by restrictive passport policies. Nor was Poland an attractive destination for many workers from abroad. This was owing to its undemocratic political system, the level of economic development, and also the isolationist migration policy.

However, these circumstances started to change from 1989, and especially from the 2000s, when both in- and out-migration started to accelerate. To begin with, the collapse of state-socialism gave Polish people new opportunities to go abroad for work. This migration intensified especially after the EU accession in 2004 when initially the UK, Ireland, and Sweden and, eventually, all other EU countries opened their labour markets to the citizens of Poland. This migration was arguably driven by neoliberal policies both in the receiving countries, where it served to extend flexible labour markets (McCollum and Findlay 2015) – hence particularly high migration to the most deregulated economies of the UK and Ireland – and in the sending country, where the low-road neoliberalism characterised by poor labour standards made people want to seek better working conditions in the still more regulated economies of Western Europe (Woolfson and Sommers 2008). Arguably, these new opportunities for work in the West reduced the scope for recruiting low-paid workers in Poland, as they could now more easily seek better working standards elsewhere. In turn, this put pressure on certain sectors, in particular the construction and agricultural sectors, but also in personal and homes services as well as hotel and

restaurants which have relied on low-paid workers to a large extent (Ministry of Interior 2012a: 9). With these pressures, government policy on migration started to change.

Prior to this, Polish immigration policy was not reflecting the particularities of the Polish economy and labour market. Immigration policy-making after the collapse of state-socialism was characterised by imitation of solutions developed in Western Europe, but under the constraints of limited financial resources, expertise and infrastructure (Ministry of Interior 2012a: 5). Since the late 1990s, the primary influence on Polish immigration policy has come from the EU as the country started accession negotiations in 1998. One of the key objectives of the EU was to ensure the tight control of Poland's eastern borders which were supposed to become also the EU's longest eastern frontiers. Not coincidentally, with the accession of Poland to the EU in 2004, the headquarters of the EU's border control agency called FRONTEX was established in Warsaw. In general, the immigration policy of the 1990s and early 2000s lacked a strategic approach and to a large extent was an outcome of international influences rather than those of the Polish government or civil society. It was only after 2004 that a more strategic and proactive approach to migration began to take shape.

The new strategic approach to migration has been formed with an aim of increasing Poland's competitiveness in the global race for foreign investment. The main problem that could weaken the position of Poland in this race has been the migration of young Poles of productive age, many of them university graduates, to Western Europe. This is because it could undermine the model of economic development based on foreign investment which, as explained in the previous section, is attracted by a well-educated but relatively inexpensive workforce. This situation is particularly problematic for the city of Wroclaw where, as indicated earlier, the economy is dominated by foreign corporations to a greater extent than anywhere else in the country and where the majority of new jobs are in the outsourced service sector.

Moreover, since these outsourced services commonly serve the purposes of headquarters in the West or in East Asia, or of their clients around the world, they rely on a workforce that speaks foreign languages. Because of this, there has been a

need for foreign workers to come to work in Poland in increasingly large numbers. They have sometimes been recruited from somewhat unexpected places such as South European EU countries where wages are significantly higher than in Poland. For example, the Financial Times reported that a significant number of young Spanish, Italian and Portuguese workers had sought jobs in Poland (Cienski 2013). These are not the managers and experts with extensive experience and high salaries but, rather, precarious workers who, faced with historically high youth unemployment rates in their home countries, are willing to accept much lower wages in CEE by working for the international capital that perhaps has just departed from their homelands. In line with this development, a major Italian newspaper has referred to Wroclaw as 'Little Italy', to describe the effects of the ongoing labour migration of young Italians to this city. This migration is related to the need for Italian language speakers in large international corporations as well as in Italian companies that had relocated some parts of their operations to Wroclaw. Below is an excerpt of a question posted on an online forum (www.polishforums.com) by a young Italian worker who became interested in a job in Wroclaw in one of the American corporations after having completed several internships for international companies in Italy and France. He wanted to negotiate his monthly salary to 4000 PLN gross, which is just over 900 EUR and perhaps 650–700 EUR after tax. The average monthly salary in Italy in 2015 was 2,033 EUR and this was even after tax. Therefore, his post is a good illustration of this changing migratory landscape in Europe, which is clearly illustrated by the case of Wroclaw:

> 'Hi! I am in the recruitment process for an entry-level position in HP in the Supply Chain function. I have a Joint Management Master Degree awarded in Italy and France, I speak fluently English and French and I'm Italian native speaker. I've been asked twice about my salary expectation during the interview but managed to provide no details about it, the minimum requirements for the position are a Bachelor, fluent English and the knowledge of an additional language. I know a girl who was covering the same role and who was paid 3k (PLN per month). Considered that I have worked as intern in three different multinational very large companies (in Italy and France) and my profile exceeds the minimum requirements, how

> much do you think I will be able to negotiate my salary? How much should I ask? (…) Ok that I am Italian native speaker and I am totally fluent in French, but I don't want to be paid based only on that, I have a Management Double Degree and the fact that I speak three languages takes absolutely a back seat in my profile. Is anyone covering a similar entry-level role in an IT company in Poland so that I can make a rough comparison? I think I will ask 4k gross anyway since it is really little money for such a big American company.'

The inflow of international capital has also created another type of migration to Poland and Wroclaw: that of high-skilled professionals and managers who work for the large corporations. In the case of Wroclaw, South Korea has been one of the most prominent investors, and according to most recent data Korean citizens are now the third largest group of foreign nationals living in the city, after Ukrainians and Germans (Gazeta Wyborcza 2013). This once again shows the integration of Wroclaw with the changing global economy, in which East Asian investment capital is gaining importance if not dominance.

The third group of workers needed in Wroclaw and Poland consists of low-skilled labourers. Since immigration for low-waged jobs from within the EU has always been highly unlikely, the government has looked for workers outside it. In keeping with this aim, a regulation was introduced in 2011 which allowed citizens of Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Russia to work in Poland for not more than 6 months within a 12-month period without a work permit, but based on a formal statement from an employer. According to a Ministry of Interior publication (2012a), this regulation serves the purpose of creating circular migration to fill in shortages in the agriculture and construction sectors.

Considering the circumstances observed above, there appears to be a clear polarisation among migrant workers in Poland and Wroclaw. First of all, there are the last-mentioned migrants in low-paid positions employed primarily in agriculture, construction, personal and household services (e.g. cleaners), and in hotels and restaurants (Ministry of Interior 2012a: 29). These jobs are filled mostly by workers from former USSR countries, in particular from Ukraine (Ministry of Interior's 2012a: 29). Secondly, there are migrants employed in medium- and high-skilled jobs

who work for international firms in the service sector. This group is dominated by workers from other EU countries (Ministry of Interior 2012a: 29). Finally, there are also the highly paid foreign managers working at subsidiaries of foreign companies, mostly from EU or other developed countries outside it; in the case of Wroclaw these would be primarily from South Korea.

This division of labour is also linked with inequalities in immigration policy. Hence, the first group (i.e. low-skilled workers mostly from less developed countries) are treated as circular labour who are expected to stay in Poland for no longer than six months. If a person wants to stay and work longer than this, an application for a residence permit and a work permit is necessary. The length of the residence permit depends on documents submitted with an application, most importantly the length of the employment contract. When the residence permit and work permit run out, an individual has to apply for new ones. In applications for work permits, the rule of preferential treatment of Polish citizens is followed, which means that the work permit can be awarded only if an employer shows that there is no Polish citizen to fill the position. Arguably, it is more difficult for employers to prove this in the case of a low-skilled position. In line with this, the data show that most work permits in Poland are granted to skilled workers, managers and experts, IT specialists and doctors (Konieczna-Sałamatin 2015: 73). This suggests that those in low-skilled jobs may be less likely to stay on legally and work in Poland.

In contrast to this, the EU workers who generally occupy higher levels of the labour hierarchy do not need to apply for work permits. The same applies to graduates of Polish universities from non-EU countries. Moreover, the document approved by the Ministry of Interior (2012a: 34) says that the regulatory framework should be 'smoothened as much as possible' for professionals delegated to work in Poland by foreign companies. While EU workers can be seen as a separate category, there is a stark discrepancy in the regulatory framework that applies to rich and not rich non-EU countries, that can be very well exemplified by visa regulations. While people from the neighbouring Ukraine normally need a visa even to enter Poland, not to mention staying there for some time, citizens of, for example, South Korea not only have the right to visa-free entry but are exempted from the limitations stipulated by

Schengen. These regulations normally set a maximum of 90 days' stay within a 180-day period, but Poland kept its separate agreement with South Korea (and a handful of other countries such as the US) that allows their nationals to be exempted from such European regulations, and to repeatedly leave and re-enter Poland after the 90 days have passed. This means that, in practice, they can legally reside in Poland for an unlimited period of time, though they are not able to have formal employment.

Beyond the characteristics of migration to Poland and its regulatory framework, it is hard to say exactly how many people have immigrated. Nevertheless, the number of work permits granted to foreign workers indicates a trend of constant growth. For example, 18,022 work permits were issued in 2008 compared with 44,583 in 2013 (Konieczna-Sałamatin 2005: 70). These numbers do not account for workers from Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Russia who, as previously explained, do not require a work permit if they come to work in Poland for not more than 6 months. These data also exclude graduates of Polish universities as well as EU citizens. With regard to Wroclaw specifically, the city's surrounding area (i.e. the voivodship of Lower Silesia) has the second highest number of foreign residents with residence permits in Poland, only lower than the Masovian voivodship containing the capital city of Warsaw (Konieczna-Sałamatin 2005: 63). This, as well as the presence of international firms and foreign workers employed in them, can perhaps give some substance to the otherwise highly disputable notion of a multicultural city (Dolińska and Makaro 2013) which, as previously explained, political élites in Wroclaw have tried to instil in the public consciousness, locally, nationally and internationally. However, against the image of an open 'multicultural city', some of the international companies mentioned in this section felt morally obliged to issue warnings to their non-Polish employees to avoid going to the city centre on Independence Day: a day that has been notorious for marches organised by the far right, xenophobic party National Rebirth of Poland (NOP) which has been particularly strong in Wroclaw.

As far as the country of origin of migrants is concerned, the largest group of foreign workers in Poland are Ukrainians, who in 2014 accounted for 59% of all work permits issued (Konieczna-Sałamatin 2005: 70). The second largest group were the Chinese (8%), the third the Vietnamese (6%), and the fourth the Belarussians (5%).

In Wroclaw also, Ukrainians are the largest group of foreign workers and it is this national group that the present study focuses on. The next section explores their situation in Poland and in Wroclaw.

3.4.3. Ukrainian migrants in Poland and Wroclaw

Figure 16: 'We are recruiting without intermediaries. Welcome to McDonald's Job Centre'. Posters in Russian advertising jobs in McDonald's and other firms can be commonly found around Wroclaw and other Polish cities.

One of the reasons why Ukrainian and other migrants from former Soviet republics constitute such a high percentage of foreign workers in Poland has to do with immigration policy. Specifically, there is an explicitly stated prioritisation of migrants from Eastern Europe, who are seen as culturally more similar and, hence, less likely to cause social problems. This can be seen in the previously mentioned document approved by the Ministry of Interior which states that:

> 'In accordance with the priorities stated in the resolution nr. 2 of the interdepartmental Migration Policy Unit from the 15th October 2007, it is recommended that the geographically determined preferential access to the Polish labour market for citizens of third countries is kept up (firstly near neighbourhood countries, then countries from Caucasus regions). It is worth noting that citizens of these countries have been for many years present on

> the Polish labour market, they integrate easily with local communities and show high occupational mobility.' (Ministry of Interior 2012a: 34)

The previously mentioned regulations which allow migrants from the six Eastern European countries (Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Ukraine) to work without work permits for up to six months is an example of this nationally and culturally biased policy. The other example is that the document just quoted calls for the simplification of immigration procedures for different categories of migrants who are seen as particularly important from the standpoint of the state's interests, more specifically its 'economic competitiveness' (Ministry of Interior 2012a: 14). The first category on the priority list is occupied by individuals of Polish descent and it is stated that currently the Polish Card serves the purpose of facilitating such migration. The Polish Card is a document created in 2007 which can be applied for by citizens of former USSR countries. It testifies to 'belongingness to the Polish nation' which, in the light of this policy, can be documented by the Polish nationality of one of the parents, grandparents or two great grandparents, by being active for the last three years in activities related to Polish language and culture, or by engagement in Polish minority organisations. Additionally, a person is expected to prove basic knowledge of the Polish language as well as having cultivated Polish traditions and customs. The Polish Card gives a range of rights not available to other categories of migrants, including access to the labour market without a work permit.

Such prioritisation of people who can claim Polish origin can be seen partly as arising from a moral responsibility of the Polish state to help those individuals or their descendants who used to be Polish citizens but who ceased to be as a result of factors beyond their control: the postwar re-drawing of borders. At the same time, however, the Ministry of Interior does not hide the fact that it is a channel for recruiting long-term migrants who should be prioritised 'because of their cultural and historical proximity which does not carry the problems and difficulties in social contacts since these people easily integrate with Polish society' (Ministry of Interior 2012a: 25). Such an assumption reveals how heavily immigration policy is entangled with notions of nationality expressed through shared blood, language, traditions, and customs. As a result, being considered culturally proximate, Ukrainian migrants in

Poland appear to be in a privileged position in comparison to people from other countries outside the Eastern European region. This is perhaps reflected in the percentage of visa applications rejected by consulates. In 2011, the rate of rejected visa applications for Nigeria was 44%, for Pakistan 38%, for Kenya 36%, and for Morocco 34%, whereas for Ukraine, Russia and Belarus these numbers were 2.2%, 0.6% and 0.19%, respectively (Ministry of Interior 2012b: 29).

The notion of cultural proximity takes a particular form in Wroclaw owing to its historical links with territories that are now part of Ukraine. Following the Second World War, the Polish state acquired the former German city of Breslau (now Wroclaw) but, at the same time, the Polish city of Lviv came under the authority of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and, after its collapse, of the contemporary Ukrainian state. As a result of these decisions and the redrawing of borders there was a mass migration of people from and to Wroclaw. Many of the Polish residents of Lviv moved into the new territories of Poland and settled in the city of Wroclaw from which the German population was expelled, to replace it with ethnic Poles. This gave birth to the narrative of the Lvivian heritage of contemporary Wroclaw and its particular proximity to this Ukrainian city that persists to the present day. Dolinska and Makaro (2013) call this a myth, arguing that in reality Lvivians accounted for only a small fraction of all settlers in Wroclaw. Nevertheless, this myth resonates in public discourses. For example, as part of the European Capital of Culture 2016 activities in Wroclaw, the month of April was designated as the month of Lviv and Ukraine. During this time, a 'Lvivian street' was established in the city centre and a range of exhibitions and concerts of Ukrainian artists took place. Arguably, this historical connection creates a context for Ukrainian migrants in Wroclaw similar to that encountered by Polish migrants in Scotland where the historical links between the two locations can hypothetically be used to forge a sense of place and claims to the place by recent migrants.

Nevertheless, apart from such discursive narratives of Wroclaw as a Ukrainian city, actual policy in Wroclaw points to a strong prioritisation of migration from Poland's eastern neighbours. This is seen in the project 'Teraz Wroclaw' ('Study in

Wroclaw')[3] which was developed by the city authorities and public universities, and has been in operation since 2006. The project aims at attracting students from Ukraine and several other Eastern European countries (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan) to study in Poland, and for the best of them offers tuition-free education. However, apart from bringing in students, what the project aims at in the long run is to bring in skilled workers from these preferred countries in the nearby neighbourhood:

> 'Teraz Wroclaw aims not only to attract, but also retain international students in Wroclaw – helping to ensure graduates remain in Lower Silesia to work and set down permanent roots. Paid internships are being developed because graduates who find subject-oriented jobs tend to be most satisfied.' (OECD 2013: 148)

It is important to note that 'Teraz Wroclaw' was the first such initiative in the country and that, therefore, Wroclaw has been at the forefront in the race among Polish cities for skilled workers from Eastern Europe.

Both in Wroclaw and in Poland generally, Ukrainian workers do find employment as skilled workers in significant numbers. For example, 37% of Ukrainians with work permits in Poland were employed as skilled workers in 2011, which was the largest skill category (Brunarska, Grotte, and Lesińska 2012: 22). However, only 2% were employed in high-skilled or professional jobs and as many as 23% were in unskilled positions (Brunarska, Grotte, and Lesińska 2012: 22). Moreover, it has to be remembered that Ukrainians who are employed in Poland on the basis of work permits are a minority if we consider also the workers who come to Poland based on six months' employment offers that do not require work permits. When these workers are included in the analysis, it turns out that almost 50% of all Ukrainian workers in Poland are employed in agriculture, 22% in construction and only 1% in professional, scientific and technical jobs (Brunarska, Grotte, and Lesińska 2012: 22). Some data indicate that 70% of all Ukrainian workers are employed in unskilled professions (Brunarska, Grotte, and Lesińska 2012: 22). Moreover, compared with

[3] Several people in the sample for this research study initially came to Poland through this project and have settled in afterwards.

other national groups, they are significantly overrepresented in unskilled jobs and in sectors such as personal household services (e.g. cleaner, carer), construction, and agriculture.

Therefore, even though many Ukrainian migrants do get employed in skilled professions, as a group they tend to occupy the lower echelons of the labour market. Contrary to the government's narrative of cultural proximity with Poles, easy and trouble-free integration, and high occupational mobility (Ministry of Interior 2012a: 34), Ukrainian workers seem to be a systematically disadvantaged and very precarious category of workers. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that when it comes to those who have settled in Poland or managed to secure residence and work permits – which is also a category that the present thesis focuses on – the employment structure is less skewed towards the low end of the labour market (Brunarska, Grotte, and Lesińska 2012: 23).

With regard to regulations on migration of Ukrainian citizens to Poland, apart from the special conditions for holders of a Polish Card (see above) or graduates of Polish universities, and excluding the investors or those delegated by their investors (whose numbers are in fact negligible), an average person who wants to work in Poland for more than 6 months has to apply for work and residence permits according to the procedure described in the previous section. If an individual loses a job, his or her residence permit expires within one month and he or she cannot continue to stay in Poland legally. This effectively binds a migrant to a single employer. Only after five consecutive years of living and working in Poland can a person apply for a permanent residence permit that gives a right to stay and work in Poland for up to a further five years. Acquisition of such a permit marks the first moment when one's stay in Poland becomes more stable and one is freer to change jobs. Eventually, after another five years, an individual may apply for Polish citizenship. All in all, this policy context gives completely different opportunities and creates different obstacles for migration and settlement compared with that of Polish migrant workers in the UK. Therefore, it can be an important factor shaping the migration experience in Poland, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion.

3.5. Conclusions

The present chapter began by unpacking the broader political-economy context of migrations in Europe, focusing specifically on neoliberal policies (as well as values, normative assumptions and ideas of personhood) as providing the international environment in which these migrations take place. Following this, the context of each of the three places chosen for this study was discussed in detail. In this regard, the key similarities and differences between them were identified. Considering these features, the cases chosen for this study offer a good starting point from which to unpack the role of context of destination in shaping migration experience, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion, which is the focus of the present thesis. More specifically, Northern Ireland allows exploration of the experience of migration into the sectarian labour market and society, where inter-communal competition becomes intensified as 'resources' (e.g. stable jobs, welfare benefits and services) are becoming drained by neoliberalism. Scotland, on the other hand, offers a context in which political discourses about and public attitudes towards migration have been systematically and significantly more positive and inclusive than elsewhere in the UK and where neoliberal policies have been also tamed to a greater extent than in the rest of the UK. In addition, Scotland shares a unique migration history with Poland which potentially may also have an impact on inclusion and exclusion of Polish migrant workers. Last but not least, Poland and Wroclaw offer a context of migration into a former state-socialist regime that has undergone far-reaching neoliberal restructuring and has a very different economic set-up: that of a semi-periphery of the global economy. This, as has been shown, also shapes migration to Wroclaw in ways that differentiate it from migration to the two other places. Moreover, there is a geographical and cultural proximity to the Ukrainian and Belarusian migrants that are the focus of the present study. Furthermore, the migration policy context is be quite different in this case, too.

Having elaborated on the specificity of the three migration destinations, we are now better equipped to appreciate the relevance of having selected them for the present study. This is discussed in the research methodology chapter (Chapter 4), which also

elaborates on the rationale for the focus on these particular migrant groups and for other significant methodological choices made in this research project.

4. Research design and methodology

The purpose of the discussion that follows is to familiarise the reader with the research design, methods and techniques used in the study and to show an understanding of their limitations as well as their critical relationship with the data and research findings. The chapter starts with an explanation of the research design (4.1.), followed by an elaboration on the choice of places and migrant groups taken into consideration in the present study (4.2.), the description of sampling (4.3.), data collection (4.4.), and data analysis techniques (4.5.). In turn, section 4.6 explains how the data were connected to theoretical concepts. Following this explanatory part of the chapter, the second part (4.6.) discusses various methodological problems and limitations by reflecting on the sample composition (4.6.1.), the role of the interviewer in shaping the data (4.6.2.), and in particular the issues of insider-outsider in a qualitative interview (4.6.3.) and of the interpretation of the data (4.6.4.).

4.1. Research design

One of the key points that should be made at the start of this discussion is that the research did not begin with a specific theoretical framework or with a hypothesis to be tested. Instead, there has been a continuous interaction, or dialectic, between data and theory. More precisely, the theoretical sensitivity (Glaser 1978) of the researcher guided the analysis of the data and, conversely, the analysis of the data drove the research towards specific concepts and theories. Moreover, the data analysis led to the reformulation of a concept that forms the backbone of the present study: namely, Structures of Feeling.

In general, the research progressed as follows. It started with an overall aim of theorising about the way the context of migrants' place of departure and destination shapes migration experience, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion. This research goal was translated into a general research question which was stated as follows: 'Place of origin.....place of arrival? To what extent do the context of departure and the context of destination matter for migration experience,

especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion?' To explore this question, several departure and destination countries, localities within them, and specific migrant groups were chosen. Following this, respondents were selected and interviewed. The data thus collected were analysed by methods described further in this chapter. Simultaneously, a literature review was conducted, which influenced the data analysis by informing the coding of the data in a more abstract rather than literal way and by directing the focus onto theoretically interesting aspects of the data that exhibited a potential for contributing to existing knowledge. At the same time, observation of patterns in the data led to reformulation of the theory, and most importantly to refinement of the conceptualisation of Structures of Feeling.

It is apparent from the previous paragraph that important methodological decisions and choices had to be made at different points of this research. These are the subject of discussion in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

4.2. Choice of places and migrant groups

There are several reasons for selecting the particular places to be examined in the present study. First of all, as previously mentioned, over more than a decade the UK has been one of the main destinations, if not the main destination, for CEE migrants, among whom Polish workers have been the largest group. Therefore, this migration route is one of the most significant, in terms of its scale, among East–West migrations in the EU. The decision to look at two different destinations within the UK was motivated by the purpose of exploring whether the place-specific political-economy matters for the experience of migration which takes place within a single country. To elaborate on this question, the two very contrasting, and in some aspects extreme, cases were chosen; they were discussed in the previous chapter.

In addition, as explained earlier (see Chapter 1 and Chapter 3), outward migration of Polish workers to the UK and other countries in Western Europe spurred inward migration of people to Poland, predominantly from Ukraine but also from other Eastern European countries. Indeed, Poland is currently the main European

destination for workers from Ukraine. Therefore, the migration route Ukraine–Poland–UK is a significant one in European terms. Moreover, exploring a single country from the perspective not only of people who have left it but also of those who have come there to work and live was seen as particularly relevant in terms of the research question that the present thesis poses. Specifically, it allows one to determine whether the same context is experienced in the same way by different groups or whether, alternatively, inward and outward migrants experience the same places differently. Driven by this rationale, experiences of migration from and to Poland were explored.

Apart from each one's significance as either a migrant sourcing country or a migrant sending country, or as both types of country, the UK and Poland are also the countries that have arguably been at the forefront of Europe's implementation of neoliberal policies. Since the time of Margaret Thatcher's government, the UK has been widely seen as Western Europe's 'kitchen' where many neoliberal policies and discourses are taking shape. In turn, judging from the speed and extent of the appearance of neoliberal policies and discourses in Poland after the 1990s (see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion), this country can be seen as the UK's counterpart in the Eastern part of the continent. Moreover, as indicated in the previous chapter, Wroclaw could arguably be seen as an epitome of Polish transformation towards neoliberalism. At the same time, it was acknowledged that both Northern Ireland and Scotland have been affected by neoliberal policies to a lesser degree than the rest of the UK. Still, the scope of neoliberal restructuring has been relatively significant. Therefore, the cases of Poland and the UK were also seen as a good choice in terms of their potential contribution to recent debates in migration scholarship which are concerned with the role of neoliberalism in East–West migrations in Europe (Woolfson and Sommers 2008; Ciupijus 2011).

4.3. Selection of respondents

As for choosing the sample, initial respondents in each of the three migration destinations were drafted from the researcher's personal contacts and from referrals

from other people. Secondly, those already interviewed were asked for referrals. Hence, a snowballing technique was used. Although this technique seem to indicate a convenience sampling in which a researcher accepts pretty much whomever he or she can get (Weiss 1994: 24), a more selective and purposeful approach was taken in the present study. More specifically, interviewees were selected with an aim of maximising the range in terms of certain key characteristics that were assumed to be potentially relevant for shaping migration experience, including the experience of inclusion and exclusion: employment status, educational level, gender, age, and engagement in community organisations or lack thereof. Those already interviewed were asked for referrals to other people within their social networks who demonstrated characteristics that had so far been missing from the sample.

The selection of interviewees was driven by the aim of talking to a diverse group of migrant workers in terms of gender, age, educational background and employment experiences. Since a range of other factors might shape migration experience, including disability or personality, the focus on these aspects may seem arbitrary. Nevertheless, this is an inescapable problem owing to the diversity of factors that may mediate migration experience. With regard to employment prior to migration, both people who had and had not had work experience in their country of origin were interviewed. Among the former group, a range of people with employment experience at various income and skill levels were sought. Similar diversity was pursued when it came to interviewees' employment experiences in the receiving country. Consequently, all three samples contain people currently employed in high-skilled positions and in low-skilled positions, as well as those who formerly worked in more skilled positions but now work in less skilled positions and vice versa. They are also a group with diverse attainment in terms of educational level. Because of numerous changes in their employment trajectories, it is hard to categorise any of them as high-skilled or low-skilled workers, as this would obscure the changing biographies of these people. When it comes to age, most of them were in their late twenties and early thirties when interviewed, but there were also interviewees in their forties and one in her fifties. As for gender, thirty-four informants were women and sixteen were men. Hence, female informants are twice as numerous. Indeed, there was a problem with recruiting male respondents for this research which was

particularly severe in Poland, where only three men from Ukraine were found who were willing to take part in the study.

All in all, the people interviewed for this study constitute a diverse group in terms of social and economic background as well as employment experiences and trajectories both before and after arriving in the UK. The purpose of assembling such a group was not to draw generalisable conclusions. Instead, since the research question is concerned with how the context of migration departure and destination may shape migration experience, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion, people who occupied a wide range of positions within these two countries were sought in order to see whether there is anything universal about the context of migration departure and destination across these cases, or whether the context of migration departure and destination are experienced differently depending on individual circumstances. Therefore, although techniques characteristic of convenience sampling were used (Weiss 1994: 24), attempts were made to calibrate the selection of interviewees according to the purpose of this research.

It was also decided that five years of residence in the destination country would serve as a threshold for qualifying as an interviewee. Although this threshold may of course be seen as arbitrary, it was assumed that people with longer migration experience may provide more insight into the life in a place. Moreover, the research has been concerned with migrants' settlement decisions and their transition from migrants to local settled residents. It was assumed that those with such a period of residence in the destination country are likely to decide, or have already decided, to settle there and, therefore, could potentially have more to say about the transition from being a migrant to being a settled member of a community or society in the receiving country. Nevertheless, this threshold was lowered to four years for the sample of migrants in Poland. This was motivated partly by the difficulties in recruiting respondents and partly by the aim of including experiences of people who live in Poland in a legally precarious situation. Specifically, a period of five years of living and working in Poland is a prerequisite for a migrant to apply for a permanent residence permit. Therefore, it is normally a cut-off point after which a new period of life characterised by greater stability of status commences.

The total number of people interviewed was fifty: eighteen in Northern Ireland, seventeen in Scotland, and fifteen in Poland. At some point in the ongoing data analysis that accompanied data collection, it became clear that certain themes were repeated across interviews, so it was decided that no more interviews needed to be conducted. Instead, follow-up interviews were designed and carried out with the purpose of filling data gaps that became apparent after the analysis of the main interviews, as well as when the gradually crystallising conceptual framework spurred more targeted research questions and puzzles. In addition, follow-up interviews provided the chance to clarify any uncertainties that might have arisen from the main interviews but had not been addressed in them. Thirdly, they could potentially indicate whether any changes had occurred in the experiences of migrant workers over the one-year period since the main interview. This, in turn, could be linked to changes in the context in the sending or receiving country, thus providing otherwise unavailable insights. Although, in general, no substantial changes in the narratives of migrant workers were identified over the one-year period, this stability in people's narratives amidst important events in countries of departure and destination is also an interesting finding that perhaps tells us something about the interpretations of places that people forge and their relationship with actual conditions in these places.

The main round of interviews took place in October 2013 in Northern Ireland, in January and February 2014 in Poland, and in March 2014 in Scotland. The follow-up interviews took place the year after the first one: October 2014 in Northern Ireland, late December 2015 and January 2015 in Poland, and March 2015 in Scotland. All but seven informants were interviewed twice. In the case of Northern Ireland, follow-up interviews could not be conducted with two people who had in the meantime moved to Poland and had not had time to meet any more. In Scotland, there was only one person who, for personal reasons, could not be interviewed twice. In Poland, as many as four interviewees were not accessible for follow-up interviews. One of them had moved for the purpose of studying in the UK, two others refused for different reasons, and one was inaccessible.

4.4. Data collection

Interviewing migrant workers was chosen as a method of data collection. The approach to interviewing taken in the present study can possibly be best described as semi-structured. The word 'possibly' is used because definitions of different interview designs differ in the research methods literature and the line separating semi-structured and unstructured or, as they are called by Silverman (2006), open-ended interviews, seems to be particularly unclear. In the present study, semi-structured interview design is understood as a middle ground between structured and unstructured interviews.

On the one hand, it is a design that allows for flexibility in terms of the interview spontaneously developing in ways different from those envisaged in structured interviews, in which a researcher is expected to follow the protocol to ensure consistency across interviews. Although there was a set of questions and topics that guided each interview conducted for the purpose of the present thesis, themes that emerged spontaneously during the conversation were followed up by, for example, additional questions being posed. While in structured interviews digressions tend to be seen as unnecessary, in semi-structured design they are embraced and actively pursued. Moreover, while in structured interviews prompting and improvisations are potential sources of error (Silverman 2006: 110), these techniques were commonly used in collecting data for the present study, with the aim of generating deeper and richer data. Such flexibility in the approach to interviewing was also seen as advantageous for the study because it arguably minimises the problem of pre-judgement by a researcher. Thanks to this method, unexpected but possibly relevant and theoretically interesting narratives are more likely to emerge in interviews.

On the other hand, there were specific themes and issues to be explored from the outset of this research. Moreover, as will be discussed further in this chapter, the simultaneous data collection and analysis led to the emergence of certain theoretically interesting themes which prompted additional questions. The presence of these pre-existing themes and topics precluded unstructured interviewing. Therefore, while structured interview design was deemed unsuitable because of its

rigid, standardised character, requiring a sequenced set of questions set *a priori* by the researcher, each interview conducted for the present study had a broadly similar structure and, in this sense, the design was not unstructured.

When it comes to the design of the semi-structured interviews that were conducted, two types of interviews have to be distinguished. This is because the participants of the present study were interviewed on two occasions with a one-year period in between the main and the follow-up interview. The design of the main interview was developed based on the overarching interest that guided the present study from its inception, which was: how migrant workers experienced their countries of departure and destination. Each interview began with a general question about the time of arrival in the present country of residence or the time spent there thus far, followed by a request to talk about reasons for the initial decision to go abroad, and the circumstances under which this decision was made. However, in many cases respondents started talking about these themes spontaneously without being asked. The interviewees were also asked to describe their lives prior to migration. To begin with, a general question was posed to spur narratives on this topic. This was to let interviewees talk about aspects of their lives that they deemed relevant. Following this, a more specific request was made to talk about their work and employment experiences before they came to the new country. The interviewees were also asked to talk about their employment trajectories in the destination country and to compare their employment experiences in the two countries. Questions about community life in the destination country and contacts with people in the country of origin were asked, too. For example, interviewees were encouraged to talk about their relationships with family and friends back in their country of origin as well as with people in the receiving country, including those of their own nationality, other migrants, and people who were born or had lived all or most of their lives in the receiving country (i.e. so-called ‘natives’). They were also asked to talk about their sense of inclusion, belonging, and home in the two places. Finally, interviewees were asked about their plans for the future and, depending on their answers, requested to talk about reasons for planning to stay in the country of destination, for wanting to return to their country of origin, or for intending to go somewhere else. In addition, certain themes were probed with different questions and the interview continuously

progressed with new puzzles and themes emerging from the data analysis and literature review that accompanied data collection. The discussion further on in this chapter sheds more light on the way conceptual themes were gradually formed and introduced in the data collection (section 4.3.).

In turn, the follow-up interviews were designed to explore whether there have been any important changes in migrants' experiences in the destination country since the main interview and whether their views or interpretations of the place of departure and of destination, as well as their plans for staying or returning, have been affected. The questions asked focused on the same themes as those asked in the main interview: employment, community, feelings of belonging and home, plans for the future. Therefore, the follow-up interviews lacked the extensive biographical narratives that were characteristic of main interviews in which migrants were asked to talk about their lives before migrating and then during and after moving to a new country. As a result, while main interviews lasted typically between an hour to up to two-and-a-half hours, follow-up interviews were usually thirty minutes long, with some exceptions in the case of somewhat longer ones.

4.5. Data analysis

Simultaneously with the ongoing data collection, the interviews already conducted were being transcribed and coded. There are different methods of analysing qualitative data and, despite many criticisms, coding remains one of the most common approaches to qualitative data analysis (Gläser and Laudel 2013). This approach was also judged the best option for the present study. Nevertheless, there is considerable variation in strategies and approaches to coding among those who use this technique, which requires further elaboration on the specific techniques that were used in the present study. The research drew on coding guidelines that originate from Grounded Theory. In this analytical approach, coding is seen as an indispensable tool for building a theory grounded in data and, therefore, Grounded Theory offers arguably the most systematic guidelines for coding qualitative data.

Several coding techniques are advocated in this analytical tradition. For example, Glaser (1978) proposed a coding strategy composed of two steps. In the first phase, known as substantive coding, the researcher creates many codes that describe data in what could be seen as a rather literal way. Gradually the number of codes is reduced and they are given more abstract form. This brings the researcher to the second phase, known as theoretical coding, whereby the chosen substantive codes are linked and relationships between them are established. By the end of this process, a coherent theory should emerge. Another approach to coding commonly used in Grounded Theory research comprises open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Böhm 2004). Although its details differ, this coding technique includes all the general steps of the previously described methods proposed by Glaser (1978). It starts with a coding of the text that remains 'close to the data', but gradually develops more abstract codes and categories (open coding). It then progresses to the process of linking the codes and categories (axial coding), and finishes by selecting core categories that are then linked with other important categories, thus producing a coherent theory. In similar fashion, Charmaz (2006) distinguishes initial coding, focused coding, axial coding, and theoretical coding. The initial coding is a stage in which a researcher remains 'open to exploring whatever theoretical possibilities we can discern in the data' and in which one 'should stick closely to the data' (Charmaz 2006: 47). She recommends different ways of conducting coding: word-by-word, line-by-line, and incident-to-incident. Whatever the specific technique used, 'Initial codes are provisional, comparative and grounded in the data' (Charmaz 2006: 48) until the second stage of focused coding, during which 'more directed, selective, and conceptual' codes are developed (p. 57). The focused coding is about synthesising and explaining larger segments of data and about drawing on the most significant codes 'to sift through large amounts of data' (Charmaz 2006: 57). Following this, a researcher can perform axial coding, which is about relating categories to subcategories. This helps in specifying the dimensions of categories. There are specific frames for conducting axial coding that were offered by Strauss and Corbin (1990) but, as explained by Charmaz (2006: 61), 'those who prefer simple, flexible guidelines – and can tolerate ambiguity – do not need to do axial coding'. In other words, axial coding is optional. Eventually, the last phase is theoretical coding in

which relationships between categories developed in focused coding are related to one another. This eventually leads to the emergence of a theory. As with axial coding, there are specific schemes for conducting theoretical coding but these are rather problematic and, therefore, not necessarily good to follow (see Charmaz 2006: 66).

Regardless of how they might be labelled, it was possible to divide coding techniques used in the present study into several stages that drew on the guidelines from the literature discussed in the previous paragraph. First of all, line-by-line initial coding was carried out on interview transcripts. Advice about remaining close to the data and staying open to other analytical possibilities, as voiced by Charmaz (2006), were followed, but it is also acknowledged that already at this early stage coding was presumably shaped by the researcher's previous knowledge and experience. As Charmaz (2006: 48) put it, 'there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head' and researchers inevitably hold 'prior ideas and skills' that influence coding. As expected, open coding resulted in a large number of codes. In order to manage them effectively and protect oneself against the 'code swamp' (Glaser and Laudel 2013), a recommendation from Strauss (1987: 35) was followed, that 'the analyst constantly looks for the "main theme"' and 'should consciously look for a core variable', taking as a motto the question 'What's the main story here?'.

Following certain codes and deciding which of them were more relevant moved the analysis towards another phase of coding in which the most significant and recurring codes were selected and grouped into categories and subcategories (e.g. 'neoliberal ethic' and its different types). The process of selecting the most important codes was driven by what Strauss and Corbin (1990: 41-42) describe as theoretical sensitivity: a notion that refers to a researcher's capability 'to separate the pertinent from that which isn't', the 'awareness of the subtleties of meaning of data', and the skill to understand it in conceptual rather than concrete terms. This is a research or, more specifically, an analytical skill that has its source in the researcher's knowledge of theoretical concepts and literature. Through theoretical sensitivity and the constant dialectic between data and theory, the initial research question was refined and reformulated into more theoretically grounded ones which were spelled out by the end of Chapter 2. Although no formal procedures of axial coding, as described by

Strauss and Corbin (1990), were performed, the general guideline of finding and refining the connections between categories, subcategories, and codes was followed. This helped to specify dimensions of categories (e.g. neoliberal ethics, Structures of Feeling). Eventually, core categories were selected, refined, and connected, thus producing the consistent conceptual framework presented in this thesis.

When it comes to the aforementioned refinement of categories, the constant comparative method was also used throughout the data analysis process. The constant comparative method is not an exclusive domain of Grounded Theory but occupies a prominent place in it. As explained by Charmaz (2006: 54), it is about constantly comparing different parts of the data with each other and relating the result to theoretical concepts. For example, we can compare narratives and events in one interview with relevant narratives and events in another interview. Besides this, codes and categories should be constantly compared across interviews. If a new code emerges from an interview, previous interviews ought to be reviewed to see whether this new code sheds a different light on their data. As she explained, 'some respondents or events will make explicit what was implicit in earlier statements or events (…) Then you may return to earlier respondents and explore topics that had been glossed over, or that may have been too implicit to discern initially or understated' (Charmaz 2006: 58). In addition, comparisons and the drawing of relationships between codes and categories were aided by memo writing (Charmaz 2006).

A typical problem that emerges during the process of coding is the realisation that some needed data are lacking. As explained by Charmaz (2006: 48), coding 'can prompt you to see areas in which you lack needed data. Realizing that your data have gaps – or holes – is part of the analytic process. It is inevitable when you adopt an emergent method of conducting research. (…) Then you can locate sources of needed data and gather them'. There are two ways in which the problem of a lack of needed data was dealt with in the present study. First of all, data analysis was performed simultaneously with data collection. Therefore, if certain gaps were identified after analysis of an already conducted interview, the next interview could be calibrated to account for this. Secondly, follow-up interviews were conducted with almost all

participants and, therefore, the missing but needed data from particular interviewees were collected on this second occasion.

Gradually, the methods described above helped to refine codes and categories. To make the codes and categories more specific, given the systematic recurrence of certain ethics and ideals conveyed in migrants' narratives, conceptual inspirations were searched for to account for these commonalities. They were found in the literature on neoliberal subjectivities and normative ideals, and how these have been proselytised in CEE countries after the collapse of their centrally planned economies. The linking of these theoretical insights and data helped to better refine these key categories. Moreover, given the systematic recurrence of feelings of shame and failure as well as pride in migrants' reflections on their lives 'then' and 'now', conceptual inspirations that could account for both the ethic and the experiences of it were searched for. These were found in Williams's concept of Structures of Feeling. Moreover, further refinement of this concept took place in the process of analysing data for the present study and its fruits were discussed in Chapter 2.

But how was this process of linking data to theory carried out? This is addressed is the next section.

4.6. Linking data with theoretical categories

To put the question posed above more bluntly, how can concepts such as Structures of Feeling or 'neoliberal ethics' that the present thesis draws on be observed in the data? How can one decide which data embody these concepts? Some may call this a problem of 'operationalisation' which, in short, means a translation of concepts into a set of identifiable and ideally measurable indicators. Regardless of the problematic ontological assumptions on which the notion of operationalisation is based (see Matheson 2008), translating concepts into a set of standardised, concrete indicators is both difficult and not necessarily desirable. To illustrate this, the arguments developed by Herbert Blumer are discussed below. Acknowledging the problematics of some of the underpinnings of his claims, especially the ontological and

epistemological assumptions about the distinctiveness of physical and social science, much of the critique of the problem of linking concepts or theory with data in social science that he offered is convincing and not highly controversial, as the discussion below aims to show (see also Hammersley 1989 for more detailed discussion of this topic).

The first problem to consider is that, in deciding which indicators to include in the definition of or measurement of a particular concept, arbitrary choices are made which result in watering down the original meaning of the concept. Blumer (1969: 31) illustrates this problem with an example of the concept of intelligence, arguing that 'relying on a specialized and usually arbitrary selection of one area of its presumed manifestation' does not give 'a satisfactory picture of intelligence'. Secondly, according to Blumer (1954), the effects of operationalisation are particularly negative in terms of producing new conceptual and theoretical developments. Since doctoral theses should normally aspire, or are even expected, to produce significant developments in the field and because 'advances in scientific development often arise from new concepts, from new ways of viewing a particular type of a phenomenon' (Hammersley 1989: 144), operationalising the concept and rigidly applying it to the data does not seem like the right way to go. Instead, a policy of working with, refining, and redefining the conceptual categories against the data seems more promising.

Based on the two points of criticism introduced above, Blumer advocated a sensitising concept rather than a definite concept. A sensitising concept 'give(s) the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances' but does not give 'specification of attributes or bench marks and consequently it does not enable the user to move directly to the instance and its relevant content' (Blumer 1954: 7). Such concepts are preferable 'because of the varying nature of the concrete expression from instance to instance' or, 'to invert the matter, since what we infer does not express itself in the same way, we are not able to rely on fixed objective expressions to make the inference' (Blumer 1954: 8). Instead, 'we have to rely, apparently, on general guides' (ibid.).

However, even though definite concepts might be neither possible nor desirable in social science, this does not mean that clarity and precision are not important when it comes to developing concepts. Indeed, Blumer saw vague concepts as the main impediment to scientific development. Vague concepts

> 'introduce a gap between theory and empirical observation and likewise do not allow for rigorous deduction. The vagueness of the concept means that one cannot indicate in a clear way the features of the thing to which the concept refers; hence, the testing of the concept by empirical observation as well as the revising of the concept as a result of such observation are both made difficult.' (Blumer 1940: 707-708)

All in all, Blumer's proposal was to avoid rigid sets of concrete indicators that characterise definite concepts and, instead, to rely on general guides that are constantly refined, specified, sifted out, and elaborated in the course of the research. We can discern a good example of a sensitising concept in the concept of Structures of Feeling, which is the backbone of the present thesis and which Williams continued to elaborate on throughout his career. Even when directly asked about the specific meaning of his concept during the interview conducted by the New Left Review (Williams 2015: 2911), at one point he answered: 'I have no simple answer, but perhaps some clarification'. One method of clarification was to give examples rather than to suggest a set of concrete, fixed indicators.

For Blumer, the meaning of concepts is to be developed or discovered in the course of research, specifically through the study of empirical data that uncover their different elements and aspects:

> 'One goes to the empirical instances of the analytical element, views them in different concrete settings, looks at them from different positions, asks questions of them with regard to their generic character, goes back and re-examines them, compares them with one another, and in this manner sifts out the nature of the analytical element that the empirical instances represent.' (Blumer 1969: 43-45)

Williams developed the concept of Structures of Feeling from literary work as sources of data. Subsequently, Evans et al. (1996) and Strangleman (2012, 2015) refined this concept in the process of using it to understand their own data from interviews. In the present thesis, the refinement of the concept was made possible by the particular data collected through interviews with migrant workers. Their narratives of life and work in different countries allowed for the conceptual development discussed in Chapter 2, which posited that the phenomena identified by Williams in his study of literary work are also present and play an important role in migration.

This conceptual development progressed as follows. First of all, the data analysis identified certain ethics conveyed in migrants' narratives of work and life abroad which, drawing on previous literature, gradually came to be conceptualised as the three neoliberal ethics. The data analysis also showed that these ethics were linked with certain experiences such as feelings of shame and failure or the opposite, feelings of achievement, pride, and success, which were distinctively related to the sending and receiving countries. Based on this information, it was inferred that it is through this ethic that migrants experience and interpret the contexts of sending and receiving countries in ways that frequently result in the dual-idealisations which have been described. Sociological theories of the emotion of shame were also used to account for these dual-idealisations. All this led to the reformulation of the concept of Structures of Feeling as a process integral to migration that involves experiencing certain places through the prism of certain ethics and, specifically, their relationship to the experience of life, and which includes also interpretations of these places (e.g. idealisations), which in turn impact on migration decisions.

Of course, this conceptualisation may be debated and criticised, as was the original concept developed by Williams which, in fact, would be another, previously unmentioned, contribution of this thesis to the field of migration studies. Indeed, it is hoped that these arguments will stir debate about the new conceptual approach to the study of migration that is developed and proposed here. Leaving it there, the remainder of this chapter engages with other problematics of the present thesis that are linked more directly to research methods.

4.7. Methodological problems and limitations

Broadly speaking, the main methodological problems and possible limitations of the present research appear in three main areas. The first refers to the composition of samples in the three destination countries. The second has to do with interviewing as a method of data collection. The third issue concerns data analysis. These three themes are discussed separately in the three sections below.

4.7.1. Samples in the three places

One of the key methodological issues in this study is the problematic character of the sample of migrant workers in Poland, which may not seem adequately comparable to the sample of Poles in Northern Ireland and Scotland. First of all, although the sample is comparable in terms of respondents' age, it includes some people who have stayed in their destination country for as long as 18 years (one person), 17 years (two people), 15 years (one person), 13 years (one person), and 12 years (one person). In contrast to this, people interviewed in Northern Ireland and Scotland, although of similar age, had stayed there usually between 7 and 9 years at the time of the first interview, with the longest stay having lasted for 11 years. To put it in more statistical terms, 8 years was the average period of residence at the time of the first interview for migrants in Northern Ireland and Scotland, whereas for interviewees in Poland it was exactly 10 years with a few outliers as indicated above. This difference may be potentially problematic for the research aim of exploring how contexts of departure and arrival shape migration experiences, because the number of years that migrant workers have spent in the destination country may influence how contexts of departure and destination are experienced, particularly when it comes to the experience of inclusion and exclusion.

On the other hand, the inclusion in the Ukrainian sample of people with somewhat longer residence periods in the destination country makes sense considering the regulatory framework under which this migration takes place. Specifically, their legal status in Poland is very precarious for at least the first five years following

arrival. During this period, a person typically has to apply year after year for a new residence and work permit, which sometimes may be refused at the whim of a public official assessing the application. This precariousness of status may generate obstacles to building a stable life, in contrast to the EU provisions of the free mobility of labour under which Polish migrants go to work in the UK. Therefore, while a Polish worker may be already well established in the UK's labour market and society five years from the time of arrival, for the Ukrainian person in Poland this is the beginning: the date after which they can for the first time start thinking about their life in Poland from a perspective that extends beyond one year ahead, and can for the first time, in the case of many of them, start thinking about changing their jobs and careers. Even if a person has a well-paid job and can afford to buy a flat or a house in Poland, it will always be a risky endeavour during the first five-year period of residence because their right to stay in the country for another year is not guaranteed. In light of this, it makes sense to include in the sample from Wroclaw people with somewhat longer residence periods in their destination country. Still, the sample includes also migrants who arrived more recently and are now going through the legal obstacles just described.

Another problematic that should be addressed with regard to the sample in Wroclaw is that although, at the beginning of the research, the plan was to focus only on Ukrainian migrants, there was some difficulty in finding people to participate in it. Therefore, the search was expanded to encompass people from other former Soviet Union countries. As a result, two people from Belarus were interviewed. However, after these two interviews, other people from Ukraine expressed a willingness to take part in the study. In addition, the ongoing analysis of data started to indicate that the themes were being repeated across interviews, including those with the Belarussian informants, and thus the somewhat protracted search for further interviewees in Wroclaw was no longer pursued.

In part, the difficulty of recruiting interviewees can be explained by the fact that some migrants residing in Poland may have their stay and work documented. Because of this, they might have felt insecure about participating in research. Indeed, this was the case with at least one person whom another already interviewed

informant tried to introduce. However, as she explained, despite reassurances about the anonymity of the study, the person was hesitant to take part in it and justified this position by citing anxiety about her undocumented status. In the end, this interview was not conducted and only people with at least a temporarily documented stay are included in the sample.

Another, related, limitation of the sample is that interviews could not have been conducted in Ukrainian or Russian, so that people unable to speak Polish or any other language used by the researcher are not included in this study. Instead, all participants could speak Polish very well or relatively well. This has to be kept in mind because language is a capital that can give migrants a better position in the receiving country, its institutions, communities and the labour market. Therefore, the migration experience of people who are able to communicate well in Polish can be quite different from that of people who cannot. This contrasts with the sample in the UK where interviews could be conducted in people's mother tongue and where, therefore, those whose English skills were not particularly high were also included.

Nevertheless, in addition to the sample composition, there are more fundamental problems about the interviewing process itself. These are discussed in the section below.

4.7.2. The role of the interviewer

One of the key questions raised by the use of interviews as a method of data collection is related to the role of an interviewer in shaping the data. This problem is unpacked below where it is argued that, as long as one departs from the positivist paradigm, all data gained from interviews are situated, temporary, and constructed, which means that this research does not differ from other qualitative approaches.

From the positivist perspective, a researcher is seen as a potential source of errors and bias in the data. This view stems from the idea of an interview as a unidimensional flow of information from a respondent to the researcher, or, as put by Holstein and Gubrium (1995: 3), 'a pipeline for transmitting knowledge'. To ensure

that this pipeline is unclogged, an interviewer is expected to maintain neutrality and minimise his or her input into the interview process. This can be done through, for example, carefully managing the way in which questions are phrased or minimising the influence of non-verbal communication on the interviewee's responses. In other words, researchers should attempt to remove themselves from the interview process, with the overarching aim of gaining data that present 'an objective picture, free from the potential distortions of their assumptions and values' (Duberley and Johnson 2016: 70). While the present research appreciates these guidelines and, in line with them, avoids as far as possible influencing the responses of interviewees (e.g. by leading questions), the ideal of a neutral interviewee removed from the interview process was seen as neither achievable nor desirable.

Instead of seeing the interview as 'a pipeline for transmitting knowledge' (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 3), it is conceived of as a social encounter that is shaped by all parties involved and by the time and space in which it takes place. The shaping of this encounter happens both consciously and unconsciously through participants' verbal and non-verbal cues as well as through the social categories that these cues may convey and which are interpreted by participants in the specific social and cultural context of the interaction. Much empirical literature gives evidence that this is how interviews work. In migration studies, for example, Leung (2015), Morosanu (2015), and Ryan (2015) all show how different socio-cultural categories (ethnicity, nationality, gender, age) and other characteristics of the interviewer (e.g. educational background) have shaped their interaction with interviewees, making each interview different from the other. From this perspective, an interview is always 'collaboratively produced' (Silverman 2006: 112) and, therefore, the interviewer's neutrality and detachment constitute an unachievable position.

Neither is it a widely desirable position. For example, Holstein and Gubrium (1995) advocate the position of an active interviewer who is not a passive recipient of knowledge but, rather, a party who purposefully takes an active role in the process of knowledge production. In line with this approach, 'creative interview' techniques (Douglas 1976) have been widely used in semi-structured interviews. They include provoking, probing, questioning the interviewee's opinions, or talking about one's

own experience. Moreover, rather than ensuring consistency of questions across the interviews, spontaneously reformulating questions and the way they are phrased, depending on the interviewee, may be a more desirable approach. For example, drawing on their research experience, Nowicka and Ryan (2015) argue:

> ‘Our common experience in our role as researcher and as a person is that communication – talking with someone – requires us to formulate our message in such a way that increases the probability that this message is comprehended by our conversation partner. This involves adapting the content of the message and the style of speech to what we believe the listener already knows about the given subject, to his/her current emotional state, and to the listener's background.’

Based on these insights from previous studies, the ideal of a neutral, passive researcher was abandoned in the present study. Although leading interviewees towards particular responses was obviously not the method used here, the study drew on the advice about a more flexible role for the interviewer, and used probing and other ways of provoking narratives.

4.7.3. The insider-outsider problem

Continuing the discussion in the previous section, the present one addresses the question that emerges from acknowledging that the interviewer is an active participant in the process of shaping data. This question is commonly raised in migration literature and it refers to the position of a researcher on the insider-outsider binary. The notion of ‘insider researcher’ has a long tradition in social science. For example, Merton (1972: 13) addressed it in reference to black social movements in the US in the 1960s and 70s, when it was often argued that ‘only black historians can truly understand black history, only black ethnologists can understand black culture, only black sociologists can understand the social life of blacks’. The notion of ‘insider researcher’ is also a recurring theme in migration research. It is an ethnocentric idea that sees the insider as someone who ‘shares the knowledge of the studied group because of her cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national or religious

association with it' (Nowicka and Ryan 2015: 13). As reported by Nowicka and Ryan (2015), there is a discourse in migration studies which assumes 'shared group or social category membership' on the part of an interviewer and interviewee who are of the same ethnic or national background.

There are arguably two levels on which an 'insider researcher' position might be claimed for the present study. First of all, there is a shared national background between the researcher and interviewees in the UK. This hypothetically might have generated differences between data collected in the UK and in Poland, since in the latter case the researcher was an outsider in national terms. Secondly, the position of insider stems arguably also from the fact that, prior to the study, the researcher had spent several years in the UK both as a student and as a worker: a cleaner at a university where he studied, a bottling hall operator in a whisky distillery, an assistant in a fish-and-chips takeaway, a kitchen porter in restaurants, a glass collector in bars, a waiter, a temporary agency worker, and, at the time of interviews, a researcher at the university.

However, it is argued here that such assumed commonalities of nationality and experience, while serving as capital that can be drawn upon in the research process, are generally fragile, contested, and constantly negotiated during interviews. The position of insider-outsider is shaped by a myriad of other tentative, temporary and contextualised social categories. The multiplicity of these intersecting categories makes accounting for the possible ways in which they could have affected research interviews an impossible endeavour. Instead, a reflection on them is all that can be offered and it is presented below.

To explicate the basis for these claims, the notion of 'insider researcher' has to be unpacked. This is because it is in itself a very problematic idea in that it fetishises ethnic and national categories while underestimating a number of other socio-cultural categories that may mediate one's position as an insider or outsider. Seeing ethnic and national categories as the main factors shaping the everyday practices and experience of migrants has been a common trend in migration studies and this fallacy has been referred to as 'methodological nationalism' (Nowicka and Ryan 2015). The present thesis reproduces it to an extent, as can be seen in, for example, its focus on

particular national categories of migrants (Poles and Ukrainians) rather than on groups of migrants divided according to other socio-cultural categories. Therefore, it is not argued that nationality does not matter for migration. Indeed, this would go counter to the design and findings of the present research. However, in methodological terms, insider-outsider is a complex process of negotiation of a wide range of tentative, unsettled, and contingent socio-cultural categories and identities rather than a stable, predetermined position of a researcher fixed along stable ethno-national categories. The latter view signifies a simplistic notion derived from an assumption of commonality based on a single category, which 'fits the imaginary that territorial and cultural borders are congruent' (Nowicka and Ryan 2015: 17). However, numerous studies have shown that insider-outsider are largely obsolete categories in migration research. For example, Morosanu (2015) shows how gender, rural/urban background, and educational background may undermine the position of an insider that she assumed she had, due to shared nationality with her respondents. Likewise, Ryan (2015) discusses how her age, gender, class, and religion have and might have shaped her position on the insider-outsider binary. Through interview data from the study of Irish migrants in the UK, she illustrates how fragile the position of an insider of a national group can be. She also shows how other categories have made her more of an insider in interviews with Polish migrant workers than with her co-ethnic interviewees from Ireland. In turn, Leung (2015: 1) shows that this fragility of the position of insider is further aggravated by 'the power of space, place and time' and, therefore, has to be seen as contextualised and always temporal. Hence, she posits that 'insiderness-outsiderness is dynamic, continually negotiated and in-the-making' (Leung 2015: 4), inasmuch as a researcher and an interviewee are engaged in a process of constant negotiation and management of their identities.

Based on the latter study, it can be argued not only that a researcher may be at one time an insider and at another time an outsider in different interviews conducted for a single study, but also that he or she may be an insider at one moment and an outsider at another moment of a single interview. Considering this, it is not argued here that the nationality of the researcher has been irrelevant in the interviewing process in the present study. On the contrary, the previously described position of insider was

capitalised on to recruit informants for this study. Moreover, personal experience of work abroad was used in interviews with both Poles and Ukrainians to provoke narrations or to probe certain observations and hypotheses. It was also used to build rapport with respondents. These are all common practices in migration research (Nowacka and Ryan 2015).

However, because of the tentative and negotiated character of all social categories and consequent fragility of the notion of insider, it is hard to speculate on how the relationship between the researcher and participants might have shaped interaction with them during the interviews. On the one hand, there was a sense of cultural proximity or cultural intimacy with migrants from Poland which could be observed in certain cultural references, critiques of Polish society, or jokes. Arguably, it could also be seen in the casual form that conversations with Polish interviewees took despite the age gap between me and some interviewees. It was especially notable that all but one of the interviewees from Ukraine addressed me in a formal way even though there was no significant age difference compared to the age difference between the researcher and interviewees in the samples overall. This may indicate that Polish interviewees perceived me more as an insider and, therefore, were more prone to address me in casual terms. On the other hand, it could have been shaped by the cultural context in which the interviews took place. In the UK, it is natural to address others by name and by the pronoun 'you', whereas in Poland a special form is required to talk to newly met people. Therefore, the fact that Polish interviewees used casual language and a casual way of addressing the researcher might be a result of this difference rather than a signifier of any sense of closeness. Conversely, Ukrainian interviewees did not necessarily mean to signify distance with their more formal language, but simply did what they thought was expected in the cultural context in which the interview took place. In fact, many of them talked about a sense of cultural proximity and similarity between Poles and Ukrainians as part of a larger Slavic culture, which undermines the assumption of a sense of distance and 'outsiderness'. The fact that their way of talking to and relating to the researcher was shaped by the cultural context of the interview reaffirms the point that Leung (2015) made about the situatedness, temporariness, and highly contextualised character of 'insiderness' and 'outsiderness' that was discussed above.

Moreover, there was only one interviewee among Poles who kept addressing me in a formal way and, in addition, used forms of speech that conveyed high cultural capital. He was a well-educated employee in a professional services company who, before coming to the UK, was very successful economically in Poland: he had a well-paid job and, later, ran his own profitable company. Throughout the interview he seemed to be trying to distance himself from other, less skilled and less well-off Polish migrants. For example, he explained that he came to the UK with 'a different wallet' compared to most other Polish migrants. He also said that he was not desperate to accept whatever job opportunities appeared and, instead, had enough money to wait until something better came up. He also added that on arriving in the UK he had his own agent who looked for potential employers in his name. In a way, this portrayal of himself as a highly educated and skilled migrant seems to be in line with his cultural capital, as conveyed through his somewhat unnaturally formal way of speaking and addressing a researcher who was a decade and a half younger than himself. In other words, his way of speaking during the interview could be seen as a manifestation of his class position. At times, this way of communicating created discord and a sense of discomfort within me, not as a researcher but as a person who grew up in a working-class family and neighbourhood in Poland, and for whom this way of speaking feels pretentious, stiff, and uncomfortable, and would normally be laughed at. Indeed, there was a different feeling or atmosphere when conducting interviews with people who used more casual forms of speech. This indicates how not only nationality but social status might have shaped interviews in this project.

In another case, a sense of discord emerged as a result of somewhat patronising comments that the researcher had never worked in Poland but could know from his father how it is to work there. In response to the correction that I had indeed worked in Poland, the interviewee questioned whether I had a family, house, and children to support with the salary from this work. Knowing already that I had not, this comment may be seen as expressing a certain social and cultural distance that the interviewee might have felt in relation to the researcher. Once again, this example underscores the fragility of the notion of the insider researcher based on nationality. As in the previously mentioned article by Ryan (2015), in this case the insider-outsider

position is also mediated by the age/generation and life stage of interviewer and interviewee.

Our position as researchers can be controlled and managed to a certain extent. For example, a researcher may adopt a way of speaking, use of words, or dress code to convey desired characteristics. All these measures may change the way the interviewee perceives us and, hence, shape the interview process. However, as argued by Ryan (2015: 51): 'the way we researchers seek to present ourselves in the interview may be different from how participants perceive and position us'. Moreover, many of the cues conveyed during and even prior to the interview, which may shape the interaction between participants, is conveyed beyond our awareness and, hence, control. In addition, some social categories cannot be easily controlled for. The case of age/generation is an obvious example here.

All in all, the discussion above shows how

> 'the assumed commonality of ethnic origin might break into a myriad of other positions, based on age, education, or gender of the researcher and her participants. At each of the research stages**,** both the researcher and her participants actively and in relation to each other negotiate positions.' (Nowicka and Ryan 2015: 15)

Considering all this, it is hard to determine how apparent national and experiential (migration) commonalities might have influenced this research, especially in view of their potentially differentiated impact on data collected in the UK (Norther Ireland, Scotland) and Poland. While it is acknowledged that they might have had varied effects, there is no way of identifying these once we realise the multiplicity of intersecting social categories that question the position of insider even within any single interview.

4.7.4. Interpreting the data

Having explained how data for the present study were generated during the contextualised social encounters that all interviews inevitably are, questions about

the accuracy of interpretation of the data present another problem. The data analysis methods have been described in an earlier section, but questions remain concerning what could be referred to as validity of findings or interpretations generated through them. Validity is a concept more typical of quantitative than qualitative research and, indeed, its appropriateness is often questioned with regard to the latter (Golafshani 2003: 602). Nonetheless, the main question that ought to be asked and answered is, to put it simply: how can a reader be assured that the arguments and interpretations of data offered in the present study are accurate in terms of accounting for the social processes and phenomena studied? This problematic is addressed below.

As previously explained, the data analysis draws on coding strategies and other techniques developed or at least advocated by Grounded Theory. The classical conceptions of this analytical framework (Glaser 1978; Strauss and Corbin 1990), through the systematised methodological procedures that they proposed, gave Grounded Theory an 'objectivist cast' (Charmaz 2008: 401). As explained by Charmaz (2008: 398), classical conceptions of Grounded Theory are rooted in mid-20th-century positivism. In a positivist tradition, a researcher should ensure the objectivity of his or her analysis and offer explanations of the phenomena that are unbiased and describe what is really going on. In keeping with this aim, the coding procedures prescribed in the classical writings on Grounded Theory seem to indicate that an analyst can be a passive, neutral observer capable of conducting a value-free inquiry, an account which, according to Charmaz (2008: 402) leads to 'naïve empiricism' based on the assumption that the 'data are self-evident and speak for themselves'. To correct this, 'rather than assuming that theory emerges from data', constructionist grounded theorists 'assume that researchers construct categories of the data' (Charmaz 2008: 402).

Likewise, it is acknowledged that categories and codes developed in the course of data analysis in the present study were constructed by the researcher and, hence, the findings to be discussed reflect his interpretation of the data. Coding is about labelling data and giving them a certain analytical meaning. Therefore, the code that one uses to describe the data will by default be our own interpretation of what the particular part of the data means. This will be the case even if we try to stay as close

to the data as possible – a rather hazy recommendation in itself – but will be even more so if we want to move our research beyond the descriptive level onto a more theoretical one. The role of subjectively generated meanings increases as we move from what is initially more descriptive coding towards more abstract codes and categories. This gradual shift also requires a degree of selectivity in treating the data, which means that a researcher has to make judgements about what is and is not relevant in the analysis. The perception of relevance may differ between researchers depending on their theoretical sensitivity (Glaser 1978). The notion of theoretical sensitivity as an ability to see relevant data due to familiarity with existing theory also implies that subjective judgements are necessary in data analysis. As a result, the conclusions drawn from the coding of the same data will most likely differ between researchers even though the same coding techniques are used.

This, of course, should not necessarily be seen as a limitation of a qualitative study. On the contrary, it can be argued that 'the interpretation makes the materials more significant than they were and makes the theoretical interpretation more understandable and familiar' (Blumer 1939: 75). Blumer (1939) further argued that plausibility and accuracy of interpretations can be increased by the researcher's efforts to get a sense of the experience and the world from the participant's point of view. This is emphasised also in Constructionist Grounded Theory, whose 'fourth principle assumes that in order to understand how research participants construct their world, researchers need to know that world from their participants' standpoints' (Charmaz 2008: 403). Arguably, the researcher's experience of migration and work in the UK adds plausibility to interpretations offered in the present thesis. This is because these interpretations can be seen as supported by insights and self-reflections of a researcher that were accumulated not just during the period when the study was conducted but over a number of years prior to its commencement.

Still, they remain *as much as and as little as* interpretations. And, as argued by Blumer (1939: 75), 'perhaps this is all that one can expect or should expect in the interpretative analysis of human documentary material' (Blumer 1939: 75).

4.8. Conclusions

The present chapter first described the research methods used in this research, starting with the data collection methods and going on to the data analysis procedures, most importantly the coding strategies. It also discussed how theory was linked with the data in the process of coding. Following this, the chapter critically addressed different problems associated with the research methods described. First of all, it accounted for the potential problems associated with samples in each of the three migration destinations studied in this research project. Secondly, it accounted for the problematics inherent in interviews as a method of data collection, conceptualising them as contextualised social interactions that are shaped by all their participants. Thirdly, the notion of an insider researcher was critically evaluated. Finally, the validity or plausibility of arguments that will be made in the chapters to come was assessed.

All in all, as previously mentioned, the explanations offered in the present thesis ought to be seen as interpretations by the researcher that originated from his particular theoretical sensitivity (Glaser 1978) and sociological imagination (Mills 2000), which are likely to be different from those of other researchers. To substantiate or illustrate the claims made in the analysis to come, extracts from participants will be quoted and discussed. Nevertheless, it is left to the reader to judge the reasonableness of interpretations offered in this thesis. As argued by Blumer (1939: 146-147):

> 'the judgement of the reasonableness of an interpretation is based upon the background of the reader's own experience and also upon the authority of the person who makes the interpretation' (Blumer 1939: 146-147)

In saying this, it is hoped that the honesty of the description of the research methods, and the critical discussion of one's perspective on the data, as spelled out in this chapter, provide a solid foundation for the development of convincing explanations and narrative in the coming chapters.

5. Dual-idealisations: labour market and society

The present chapter discusses a discursive practice that recurred most frequently in the interviews with Polish migrant workers in both places within the UK (Northern Ireland and Scotland). This practice, referred to in this thesis as dual-idealisation, denotes the contrasting manifestations and representations of the country of departure and a country of destination which are both idealised, although the former in an overwhelmingly negative and the latter in an overwhelmingly positive way. More specifically, what emerges from migrants' narratives is the idealisation of the UK as a modern, developed and affluent country where comfortable or normal lives can be lived, thanks to adequate wages and good employment standards. In contrast, Poland is idealised in terms of regression, as a not fully modern country which is characterised by poor employment standards, economic scarcity, and authoritarian social and employment relations. Such dual-idealisation appeared across almost all interviews regardless of migrants' employment situation, skill or educational level. Therefore, in that sense it was a grand narrative of these interviews. However, the latter part of the chapter shows that there were also counter-discourses which challenge such dual-idealisations by conveying a more critical interpretation of life in the UK. This is something that has been less discussed in the earlier literature.

5.1. The experience of employment in the two countries

Previous research has already identified the tendency of Polish migrants to idealise employment standards in the UK vis-à-vis those in Poland. For example, this theme was the most prominent one in the study by Gałasińska and Kozłowska (2009), who were the first to conceptualise post-2004 Polish migration in terms of discourses of normality. The idealisation of employment standards was also present in the narratives of migrants interviewed in the present research and it had two foundations. In the first place, it referred to the income level which was seen as inadequate in Poland but sufficient for living a normal, good, and comfortable life in the UK. This view was briefly summarised in one sentence by Monika: 'As I'm saying: here in the

UK people earn money that allows them to have a normal and a good life whereas in Poland everyone just has to *kombinować*.' (*Monika, 28 years old, Scotland).*

'Kombinować' is a Polish vernacular word which refers to a shady activity on the borderline of legality that brings certain material benefits. It conveys an ethic that involves the employment of individualistic, anomic behaviours in order to survive. As explained by Eade, Drinkwater, and Garapich (2007), 'kombinować' means:

> 'to arrange things, to "duck and dive" to do some shadowy deals, to get going in the system to get things. Kombinować has a rich meaning going back to the communist times when everything – from toilet paper to passport had to be skombinowane. An ability to kombinować is a prerequisite to survive both in communist regime as in today transformation ruthless period of free market reality. It is to see how laws are made and can be over-passed, how to make connections, use one's social capital, how to be flexible. Some who is good at it is a kombinator. It has a mixture of negative and positive connotations.'

Instead of *kombinować*, migrant workers appreciated their lives in the UK which they described with adjectives such as *comfortable, hassle-free, peaceful, worry-* and *pressure-free*, or as giving them *peace of mind*. Such a life was seen as achievable even on the minimum wage. A few quotes are given below to illustrate this:

> 'I got a job here and I could afford everything. Even on the minimum wage, I could afford to go for holidays. Pressure-free ['*bez spinki'*[4]]. No sacrifices. I just had money for a normal life that I always wanted to have. That I always thought life should look like.'
>
> *Mariusz, 31 years old, Northern Ireland*
>
> 'Why haven't I returned? Life is better here. I can afford everything. I didn't have to worry whether I could buy cigarettes or have money to go out with friends. I could afford going to the shop and even if I spent 200-300 pounds

[4] 'Bez spinki' is a slang expression that indicates a relaxed, pressure-free feeling or atmosphere.

at once, I knew that I could eat bread next week but at the end of the week I will get my wage again. In Poland I would have to wait one month (…) So here I have peace of mind.'

Marek, 35 years old, Northern Ireland

Apart from wage levels, employment standards in the UK were another theme around which dual-idealisations were built. For example, the previously quoted migrants Monika and Mariusz saw employment in Poland as another reason for working and living abroad.

Monika: 'I always knew that I would leave Poland. I just didn't know when. I thought I would still finish my studies there but it didn't happen.'

Interviewer: 'What made you feel like this?'

Monika: 'Everything. The way people are treated. That one person is not equal the other. Also the low wages and high costs of living. I could see how it is in my family home.'

Interviewer: 'You mentioned the unequal treatment. Can you tell me some examples?'

Monika: 'It's mostly at work.'

Monika, 28 years old, Scotland

'I had an incident with my employer. I started to complain about certain things because I didn't like how he treated his employees. He said to me explicitly that if I don't like it then I should get the f*** out of here. I didn't have a family or any dependants to look after so I just left. I think this was the main stimuli that made me think that there's a lot of exploitation in Poland. And you only have two choices: either you stay quiet and do as they tell you or if you have a chance to go abroad then you should go.'

Mariusz, 31 years old, Northern Ireland

As seen from these two quotes, Polish employment relations are seen as authoritarian and exploitative, with migration the only way of escaping them. Even though there were multiple accounts of exploitation at work in the UK, interviewees never talked about these individual experiences in such comprehensive terms as they applied to their experiences in Poland: that is, they saw each such experience as a problem of a particular workplace rather than of employment relations in the country at large. In general, among workers in jobs at the lower end of the skill spectrum, the dominant perception was that employment relations in the UK were significantly better than those in Poland. This was briefly summarised by Romek when he was asked about his negative work experiences in the UK: 'I worked in Poland and I worked here and I will tell you that wherever I worked here it was different, it was so much better than in Poland.' (*Romek, 35 years old, Scotland).*

Romek also emphasised the ease of finding employment in the UK and the overall openness of the labour market and the country, which was another recurring theme in the interviews. This is illustrated in the quote below, which also brings up the notion of a normal life in the expression 'we just started to live'.

> 'My first impression when coming here was that you have to have a lot of determination. One just needs a willingness to make things happen … I had it so I managed. Within the first week I registered in the employment agency, I got a job, started working and so on. (…) We worked with my wife on minimum wage but it was enough for everything. So we just started to live. That's all. (…) I came here and I've been doing well. I was surprised that being a man from nowhere, I opened a bank account. You're come here suddenly out of nowhere and you open a bank account, someone rents you out a place without asking about your past. It was all totally abstract to me.'
>
> *Romek, 35 years old, Scotland*

Interestingly, such dual-idealisation came not only from migrants in lower-skilled and lower-waged positions prior to migration but also from those who were employed in skilled jobs in Poland or were even employers themselves. For example, Grzegorz – a high-skilled employee of a professional services company in the UK

who used to run his own firm in Poland – gave a particularly vivid description of employment relations in the two countries, which best illustrates the aforementioned double-idealisations:

> Grzegorz: 'This is what I admire Brits in general: the British labour market. How they can squeeze – maybe it's a bad word – but, exactly, squeeze out the best from everyone whatever it is they do and they are good at. In Poland you have a situation where to sell hot-dogs you have to have A-levels and so on because a person who runs recruitment takes the criteria from thin air. (…)'
>
> Interviewer: 'And if you were to compare it with your experience of working in Poland?'
>
> Grzegorz: 'I experienced something completely different. Actually, this was the reason why I started my own company which did exactly the same that my previous employer did who considered workers as nothing. Now my status gave me a mandate to be a kapo in the barrack. But it was still a barrack. Anyway, many volumes have been written and probably not one but many doctorate thesis have been done on the topic of employment relations in the Polish labour market. And you know very well that there's no symmetry [with the UK]. And I'm saying this as a Polish employee and Polish employer as well as an employee and self-employed in the UK. So I have some insights from these different perspectives. Polish employment relations are frightening. I'm not saying here about exploiting people in Biedronka [one of the cheaper supermarket chains]. I watched a film about it recently. What I mean is that it applies everywhere, whether it is staff in the bank or an average worker in the large supermarket. It's a work ethos more generally. But also an ethos of running a company, of being a boss. I can't find any parallels here with the UK. Not even a single one.'
>
> *Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland*

In the quote above, Grzegorz makes generalisations about the 'British labour market' which, just like Romek in an earlier quote, he regards as open (i.e. allowing easy access) as well as characterised by good relations between management and

employees. In contrast, Poland's labour market is seen as marked by authoritarian and exploitative employment relations, as his metaphor of the manager as a kapo in the barrack starkly illustrates. In addition, he does not see it as a problem of particular workplaces or sectors but, rather, as an integral feature of Polish employment relations.

Interestingly, Grzegorz also brought up the topic of employment and welfare policies and in this respect also idealised the UK in overwhelmingly positive terms and Poland in overwhelmingly negative terms. Moreover, his narrative is in line with what was said earlier about the extent of neoliberal reforms in Poland. Even though some have argued that Poland is characterised by an embedded neoliberal regime (Bohle and Greskovits 2012), for Grzegorz Poland is experienced as representing low-road neoliberalism even compared to the UK:

> Interviewer: 'You've mentioned earlier the issue of social security. Could you say more; what do you mean by this?'
>
> Grzegorz: 'What I mean is that if something goes wrong here – for example, you lose a job … in my company we had four waves of redundancies every 7-8 months. I was in the last one that was actually the closure of the firm. The UK state understands that once there's a growth in the economy, and once there's no. Not only you get assistance that helps you to get through this difficult period but the state also gives you the complete support in terms of finding a new job and so on. In Poland the social assistance is so low that you get some scraps, you work somewhere informally and in the meantime look for some job. And this disables you. Here the government gives you money that at least doesn't mean you're falling down. Plus they say "Listen, maybe you want to change your profession, go for some courses?" I was directed to the course where they taught how to run your own company in the UK.'
>
> *Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland*

However, it has to be noted that few respondents expressed such appreciation of employment and welfare policies in the UK. Indeed, this issue was the only one where the idealised view of the UK was undermined, as migrants felt frustrated with

the British state being too generous when it came to giving benefits to other migrants as well as to citizens or so-called 'native' workers. However, the substance of these narratives will be unpacked in more detail in the next chapter. Instead, the next section of this chapter shows that such dual-idealisations as those discussed above were not only found in the sphere of employment or employment policies, but were also present in migrants' narratives on society and the state more broadly.

5.2. The Western candy shop and the Polish Pewex

It was not just in the sphere of employment but also more generally that Poland was observed and/or experienced in terms of regression, as lagging behind the standards, norms, and culture of the UK. This can be nicely illustrated with a quote from the interview with Patryk:

> 'Of course, there's the financial, economic aspect of migration. But above all, people in Poland are not tolerant, you know, and I couldn't have been myself. In the end, once you get a taste of freedom here [in the UK] you probably won't want to go back to the cage. I don't know who would want to come back.'
>
> *Patryk, 29 years old, Scotland*

In this quote, Patryk, who initially went abroad to earn extra money for his studies in Poland, says that higher income is just one part of his rationale for living in the UK, the other being a broader social, political and cultural context. The feeling of constraint and suffocation in Poland, which he conveys through the metaphor of a cage, was one of the recurring themes across interviews. Broadly speaking, interviewees saw the UK as a better place to live not just for economic reasons but also for its social environment. Some respondents, especially those of higher educational background, complained about the public discourses and public attitudes to social issues in Poland and interpreted them as a sign not of economic but of social backwardness in their country of origin by contrast with a progressively oriented UK. This can be exemplified by the case of Malgosia, who, in the first interview,

explained that she felt suffocated in the social climate following the election of the conservative government of Law and Justice in 2006:

> 'We call it a "cultural migration" because we left a little bit because of Kaczyński siblings. It was a very strange government at that time. This change with Kaczyński's government after Kwaśniewski was a period of changes and the anti-everything, anti-cultural atmosphere. The borders were open so it was attractive to go out in the world to see how things are elsewhere.'
>
> *Malgosia, 29 years old, Scotland*

Interestingly, the conservative government that contributed to what she referred to as 'cultural migration' was formed by the same party that came to Poland in late 2015 and caused a major stir around Europe for its policies, which were seen as threatening the rule of law, as well as for its nationalist, traditionalist, and xenophobic rhetoric. Asked about a potential return to Poland, she said:

> 'It is certain I can't go back to Poland. It's a bit because of my experience from last year when visiting there. It's socially different … Because of my attitudes to certain things I simply cannot live in Poland. I don't know if it's because of the organisation that I work where we always take up the issues of minorities, not just national minorities but for example gay people. I have developed an internal political correctness within me. Even my parents, who are rather enlightened people, the language they use to talk about certain things is really shocking. And the overall social acceptance for this kind of language. I just can't go back to this kind of social norms anymore. Not to mention the attitudes towards women. (…) It would be a culture shock for me. A negative one.'
>
> *Malgosia, 29 years old, Scotland*

Malgosia also used an example of 'gender ideology' discourse in Poland to illustrate the social backwardness of her country of origin. 'Gender ideology' is a term used in the pastoral letter of the Bishops' Conference of Poland in 2014 who defined it as attempts to impose a definition of man, woman, family and marriage that goes

against what is believed to be human nature. 'Gender ideology' is by no means a Polish vernacular concept. Emerging from conservative groups in the West, it has been described as something the left, feminist and homosexual movements want to impose on society. The term came to be used in political debates in Poland to criticise some policies aimed at gender equality or the rights of sexual minorities. The term also caused much frustration and embarrassment among more liberally oriented Poles who see it as the quintessence of parochialism, traditionalism, and conservatism in Poland. Patryk, who, as explained above, also experienced Poland as suffocating and constraining for an individual not only in economic terms, gave an example of conservative political discourses in Poland:

> 'Recently I watched some programmes in Polish TV. Some political debates and so on. For example, they were discussing civil partnerships between people of the same sex. When I listened to these people from the right who have such narrow-minded minds and are not able to think differently or to put themselves in other people's shoes … when I listen to how these people talk and what they say, I am really happy that I don't live in this country.'
>
> *Patryk, 29 years old, Scotland*

Apart from these issues, the dual-idealisation was manifested in more prosaic, everyday experiences of life. For example, the common theme was to idealise Poland as a grey society of unsmiling people with sad faces, whose energy is sapped by their daily struggles in an unfriendly social and institutional environment, in contrast to the UK where everyone is happy and where 'everything is possible':

> 'Here everyone is satisfied, happy, smiley, and positive. Everything is possible. When you go to the shop, people ask you how are you or how your day is. Smiling to you. When you go to Poland, people are unfriendly. Also you have this post-communist mentality of authority. The driver on the bus has the authority over the worker who takes this bus to get to his bakery to make bread. But when this bus driver goes to this bakery to buy bread, then she will show him that she's the boss here.'
>
> *Hania, 31 years old, Northern Ireland*

As can be seen from this quote, the sense of authoritarian or hierarchic relationships that was present in the narratives on employment relations in Poland (see previous section) appear also in the narratives on social relations in Poland more generally. Hania links them subjectively to the post-communist mentality, hence painting Poland as a country that has still not made a full transition to modernity and is held back by its communist heritage. Similarly, Mariusz, whose remarks, discussed in a previous section, conveyed a sense of mental comfort provided by work in the UK through sufficient wages and good employment relations, in the quote below talks about how life in Poland is not just an economic but also a mental struggle as a result of social relations there:

> 'I went to Poland and I think it brought me back on earth. I saw those faces, this world … I mean…. Even in the shop, the woman working there talked to me as if she was giving me a big favour. I also had to get a new ID and it was so tiring. I spent 45min in the government offices. I left and I thought: "Damn it, what was that supposed to be?" I just couldn't take it in mentally, I couldn't handle it. I decided there's no point in thinking of going back to Poland.'
>
> *Mariusz, 31 years old, Northern Ireland*

The notion of a mental struggle that results not just from employment standards, as the previous section posited, but also from social standards, was also conveyed in the quote by Malgosia who implicitly brings up that previously discussed notion of *kombinować* in the phrase 'manoeuvre between the law and a grey sphere' and, in contrast, idealises the UK as an open and transparent society:

> 'This society [UK] is open, at least officially. There are procedures that are there to help the citizen. Whereas in Poland it is the opposite. All the time you have to manoeuvre between the law and a grey sphere, and struggle for your life. So it is more comfortable here [UK].'
>
> *Malgosia, 29 years old, Scotland*

Dual-idealisations like those described above were the dominant narratives that appeared in the interviews with Polish migrants in the present research. However, there were also other narratives and, although they will not be the main focus of the present research, it is relevant to discuss them to show that, indeed, the previous accounts are mere idealisations rather than truthful descriptions of reality. These, as will be shown in the subsequent data analysis chapter, emerge from certain experiences. Moreover, even though it is not a central theme in this thesis, at least a partial explanation of these counter-narratives will also be offered within the conceptual framework of the present study. But, again, this will be done in the next chapter. It is particularly relevant to discuss them inasmuch as such narratives have not been substantially covered in previous literature on Polish migration.

5.3. Dual-idealisation: the hidden injury?

Some interviewees were more critical of life in the UK than may appear from the discussion above. For example, against the more common perception of the UK as a land of opportunities and permeable social hierarchies, Aneta said:

> 'I think that the whole world, whether it is Great Britain or Poland, or any other place in the world, in Africa or in Asia, is, unfortunately, hierarchical like in Orwell's Animal Farm. We all know this book so I don't have to explain what I mean.'
>
> *Aneta, 34, Scotland*

Following this statement, she described several examples of discrimination or exploitation in workplaces that she experienced in the UK. In one of the most descriptive quotes, she used the metaphor of 'Nazism in white gloves', which strikes a chord with Grzegorz's 'kapo in the barrack' image in his description, above, of employment relations in Poland.

> 'My first job was at the bar. Later I got promoted within the same hotel on the position of receptionist where the atmosphere of Scottish workers was…. I

> don’t know how to describe it but it hurt. I got neurosis and I felt like vomiting in the morning before going to work because of the atmosphere and how I was treated. I think it was just Nazism in white gloves.’
>
> *Aneta, 34 years old, Scotland*

In similar fashion, Amanda distances herself from her countrymen who only ‘complain’ about Poland and even talks about her attempts to find a job for her Irish husband in Poland:

> ‘I like Poland. I’m not like others who say that they will never come back because of this and that.... I like Poland and it’s my homeland. I would love to live there and I keep convincing my husband to move there. At the moment it’s impossible but maybe in a year’s time.… We will see. I even found a job for him in Poland.’
>
> *Amanda, 30 years old, Northern Ireland*

Throughout her interview, Amanda emphasised the negative aspects of life in the UK and tended to positively idealise Poland on a number of levels such as living standards, the education system, culture or even weather. Thus, her narrative was in clear contrast to the dual-idealisations presented in the two previous sections.

A few interviewees were very aware of such dual-idealisations and seemed to want to challenge them. The best instance of this is provided by Janusz, who accounted for the dual-idealisations by saying that ‘migrants typically have a sense that they leave a worse country and go to a better country, and they typically work in underqualified positions’. Therefore, it is mostly on him that the remainder of this chapter will focus. He elaborated on the above statement as follows:

> ‘I think that how we look up and pray towards the West just facilitates this. But I was in the West and I know that it’s not as great as you might think. Roads here are also fucked up and you can’t ride a bike. You know, if someone rides a bike in Poland and hits the hole, they’re gonna say “Damn it, only in Poland!” But that’s absolutely not true. There are many things that

> don't work here, too. So this fascination with the West and the copying from it is not good. They also go back from many things.'
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

Here Janusz explicitly criticises the positive idealisation of the West, including the UK, and the negative idealisation of Poland, seeing their source in what may be described as a cultural cringe. He continues this theme in the quote below. It is an outlet for his criticism of the dual-idealisations discussed in the two previous sections, as well as a reinterpretation of the UK, seen particularly in his comment on 'slums' in this country, in contrast to the picture of an affluent, modern country where normal lives can be forged. Against the notion of normality, he talks about the struggles of people in the West living on the minimum wage:

> 'Poles are very auto-racist. If something is bad, we say it's like in Poland. But when you look objectively, people in this country have the same problems as in Poland. If you work on the national minimum wage in this country, I don't know how you can survive. It's not easy. Similar to people who work on minimum wages in Poland. You can also see exploitation of workers here just as much as in Poland. This is not a saint West and so on (…) When Poles think of the West, they think of Germany or London. They think it's the West but if you drive through Germany and get to France you gonna see that roads are bad again and that many things don't work, and again you have chaos [Pol. *burdel*] and corruption, and so on. Outside of London, most English cities are really behind. It's really not an ideal place. There's a lot of places that resemble slums more than Polish *blokowisko*. I lived in France and there were not many Poles there. I met regular French people who worked on the flower plantation or as cleaners. Their lives were no different from people in Poland with the exception that they thought that they lived in an amazing country and were relaxed whereas Poles thought that they live in a shitty country and were aggressive.'
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

In direct contrast to the idea of the UK as a society that offers an open labour market and allows anyone with at least some determination to achieve success, Janusz takes a more critical view of the structural obstacles to social mobility in this country:

> ‘There’s no American dream here. That you start from the bottom, work hard and you reach high. There’s nothing like this. There are four directors in my company and two of them are idiots but their parents had enough money to buy them shares in the firm and they are automatically in the executive board, right? So they’re not clever but they have super-rich and influential parents. And it’s a circle of people that is, goes back to their childhood so even if there’s someone ten times smarter than them but doesn’t know this world and has no connection, he won’t make it. This is Great Britain. Great Britain has very strong class divisions. A lot of people told me that many Brits who are born in the lower level have no opportunity to even reach the level where I am at because they have no chances for education. Also because they don’t have money. Classes are clearly visible here. I’m a part of a lower middle class. I probably don’t have chances for upper middle class. I don’t think so. Maybe in the next generation. Of course, there are individuals who make it. Maybe the post-war Scotland was a bit different.’
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

In addition, he deconstructs the unified image of the UK by distinguishing between London and other places within it. As can be seen in the quote below, he does the same in relation to Poland by distinguishing between its Western part and the rest of the country and saying that the former is liberal and modernised. Through this discursive practice he deconstructs the dual-idealisation that portrays one country in overwhelmingly positive and the other in overwhelmingly negative terms. *Nota bene*, this quote also seems to directly address the negative idealisation of Poland through the kind of prosaic, everyday life experiences that were discussed in the previous section.

> ‘I used to live with a friend who each time when he came back from Poland was very frustrated, saying that everyone there is a boor, that a woman in the

shop was unfriendly (…) I can't see anything true in all those stereotypes about Poland. Even the ones about public institutions. My hometown is relatively small so it modernised quickly. I don't have any problems when dealing with public institutions. Generally I don't have problems with Poland. Neither with its people, nor with public servants. Western Poland is liberal, the culture is liberal. Maybe other parts of Poland are different….'

Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland

All in all, the dual-idealisations identified in the two previous sections appear to be not only features of migrants' narratives but also, for some, part of the baggage of migration and of being a migrant that they want to get rid of by forging alternative interpretations. This is a somewhat more complex interpretation than the one proposed in previous studies that tended to focus on positive idealisations of the UK and negative idealisations of Poland. This notion of migration baggage is perhaps best conveyed in a quote from Malgosia, with which the present chapter will conclude:

Interviewer: 'What's the biggest change that coming here has made in your life?'

Malgosia: 'It's a provoking question. I can say that I matured in Scotland, in Edinburgh, cause I left Poland when I was 22 years old. So many things have changed but for sure I've been getting rid of a Polish parochial way of thinking that, I don't know … that we're from the East and that we know nothing, that we're a failure. I've got rid of this thinking. I fight against this thinking, my parents are getting rid of it too but I'm worldly-wise now.'

Interviewer: 'So you mean that it's behind you?'

Malgosia: 'I think that it's an inferiority complex of being a migrant or of being a Pole. But I'm getting rid of it. And I'm also getting rid of homo sovieticus. I try to forget that we're from the country where there was socialism and martial law, and stories like this. There was even an exhibition titled "I don't want to talk about communism" that my friends organised.'

Malgosia, 29 years old, Scotland

Going by Malgosia's observations as quoted earlier in this chapter, in contrast to what she says in the quote above, she had probably not gotten rid of this thinking completely. According to Gałasińska and Kozłowska (2009), the discourse of normality allows for dealing with the challenges facing post-accession migrants. More specifically, they argue that they use this discourse 'to protect a self-image as a migrant', which is in line with 'migration practices that are accepted in a particular society' (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009: 79). However, from the perspective of what was just said, the discourse of normality, which positively idealises the UK and negatively idealises Poland, can be seen not only as a self-protection tool, as argued by Gałasińska and Kozłowska (2009), but also as a 'hidden injury' involved in being a Polish migrant in the UK.

5.4. Conclusions

The present chapter discussed the most frequently recurring discursive practice in the interviews with Polish migrant workers in both places within the UK (Northern Ireland and Scotland). This practice is referred to in this thesis as dual-idealisation and is characterised by contrasting manifestations and representations of the country of departure and a country of destination which are both idealised, though one in an overwhelmingly negative and the latter in an overwhelmingly positive way. Similar dual-idealisations have been identified in other studies on Polish migrants, including those that focus on the notion of normality (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009; Galasińska 2009; Rabikowska 2010; McGhee, Heath, and Trevena 2012; Drinkwater and Garapich 2015), though this specific term has not been used to describe this discursive practice. Against these studies, however, it was suggested that dual-idealisations and the discourse of normality that is a part and parcel of such idealisations can be seen not just as a self-protection tool (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009), but also as a 'hidden injury' involved in being a Polish migrant in the UK. This having been said, the next chapter explores other instances of hidden injuries that characterise the migration of workers interviewed in the present study.

6. Neoliberal ethics and their hidden injuries

The present chapter unpacks the dual-idealisations and discourses of normality that were identified and described in the previous chapter. It finds their roots in the relationship between the three types of ethics and an actual experience of life in the country of origin and of destination. The first of these ethics is referred to as an ethic of a neoliberal adult-citizen, the second as an ethic of a self-entrepreneur, and the third as an ethic of an actively choosing consumer-citizen. Each of the three sections of this chapter starts with an explanation of what one of these ethics involves, followed by a discussion of how it manifested itself in the narratives of Polish migrant workers, and how it was experienced by them in the country of origin and a country of destination. The chapter relates these ethics to people's experience of working life and, by extension, life beyond the workplace, in particular the experience of inclusion and exclusion, and shows how these may be shaping migration decisions.

The main observation, and an argument, is that migrants' Structures of Feeling are characterised by a sense of shame as well as, for some, a sense of suffocation when it comes to the country of origin. Taking inspiration from the classic study by Sennett and Cobb (1972), these negative feelings are referred to as hidden injuries. Throughout the chapter it is also discussed how the insights from the literature on the feeling of shame, especially the works of Schefff (2001, 2002, 2003), Elias (1978), and others, can account for the dual-idealisations discussed in the previous chapter. It is posited that dual-idealisations are interpretations of a country of departure and of destination that are forged as a response to the just mentioned hidden injuries. Therefore, they are an integral part of migrants' Structures of Feeling. Furthermore, the aforementioned literature on shame gives an idea of how migrants might be experiencing inclusion and exclusion differently in connection with the country of origin and that of destination. This is also discussed in this chapter.

In addition, by identifying feelings of shame and seeing their sources in specific ethics, the chapter taps into the previous literature on shame which has identified the

experience of this category of emotions as characteristic of working-class people (Sennett and Cobb 1972; Willis 1977 in Scheff 2002; Skeggs 1997; Lamont 2000).

Finally, while the previous chapter presented the counter-narratives that challenge the dual-idealisations and the discourse of normality, the arguments developed in this chapter will make it possible to account for them in more depth. The most illustrative cases from the sample will be discussed in the latter part of this chapter in the form of two short vignettes, with the aim of showing how a Structure of Feeling characterised by shame can lead an individual to develop narratives and interpretations that run counter to the dominant ones.

6.1. The ethic and Structure of Feeling of a neoliberal adult-citizen

According to existing research, employment is an important pathway to adulthood (e.g. Francesconi and Golsh 2005; Golsh 2003; Kurz, Steinhage, and Golsh 2005). In turn, the analysis of data for the present study suggests that work abroad can be an alternative pathway to adult status when employment circumstances in the home country prolong the transition to adulthood. This will be illustrated in this chapter. First, however, it is necessary to unpack the concept of adulthood and specify what is meant by it. While the notion of adulthood is sometimes taken for granted in the studies on the transition from school or youth, a more critical view is offered below.

So exactly is meant by the adulthood? For Sennett (2003), the contemporary normative ideal of adulthood in Western societies derives from a classical liberal thought in which it is associated with qualities such as independence, self-maintenance, self-governance, self-sovereignty, and self-discipline. Moreover, the classical liberal thought conceived of adulthood as linked with the concept of citizenship. As put by Sennett (2003: 107):

> 'Of all those who have invoked the shame of dependency, it could justly be said that they have a horror of the primal maternal scene: the infant suckling

> at the mother's breast. They fear that through force or desire, adult men will continue to suckle; the mother's breast becomes the state. What's distinctive about liberalism is its view of the man who disengages his lips; he becomes a citizen.' (Sennett 2003: 107)

This quote is part of Sennett's (2003) more extensive discussion of the key feature of liberal discourses, which is the shaming of dependency. Throughout his analysis devoted to the notion of respect in modern societies, the author gives a rich account of discourses that put the independent, self-sufficient individual on a pedestal while finding signs of dependency demeaning. He sees the source of these discourses in classical liberal thought; as he put it, 'the belief that dependence demeans derives in the liberal canon from a concept of adulthood' (Sennett 2004: 102). One of the discursive practices through which such demeaning takes place is through what he refers to as the 'infantilisation thesis' – a figurative practice well illustrated by the previously quoted metaphor of an adult man suckling his mother's breast. The thesis assumes that an interventionist state – like an overprotective mother – makes adult men act like children in the sense of being unable to cut the umbilical cord and, hence, encourages dependency.

This liberal ethic has arguably been re-enacted with the spread of neoliberal ideals. This was described in Chapter 3 of this thesis and, as was noted in that chapter, literature has documented the predominance in the public discourse of the ideal of a free, independent, and self-maintaining subject or, simply, a neoliberal citizen (Makovicky 2014: 2; Miller and Rose 2008: 18), which resonates with the classical liberal ideals of adulthood and citizenship just described. The shaming of dependency in neoliberal discourses can be seen in the infantilisation thesis appearing in pejorative descriptions of the welfare state, such as 'the nanny-state'. This discourse seems rather alien, or at least marginal, to the dominant postwar view that tended to favour expansive social policies as espoused in, for example, the image of the Five Giants in Beveridge's report. As is widely known, the period up to the 1970s witnessed substantial expansion in state welfare policies across Europe, which indicates that the dominant thinking about dependence at that time was arguably different from the liberal discourses just described. With the spread of universal

welfare programmes, dependence seems to have been seen as something that was not contemptible. In contrast, the shift from welfare to workfare paradigm, most visible in liberal market economies like the UK but by no means limited to them, marks the change in the dominant narrative, whereby dependence on the state becomes a sign of individual failure and a reason to feel ashamed. The latter attitude can be illustrated by the demeaning ways in which welfare dependants are often presented in public discourses and popular culture. Finding the reason for individual failures in the labour market in too-generous welfare provisions, welfare-to-work programmes are designed to encourage individuals to become self-maintaining and self-governing citizens by making state support less generous and more difficult to obtain. Accompanying these policies is a rhetorical emphasis on individual initiative and responsibility for improving one's circumstances, often without acknowledgement of structural obstacles.

In light of these discourses, 'in the public realm dependence appears shameful' (Sennett 2003: 101). Drawing on literature on the transformation of Polish society, the shame of dependence in this former state-socialist country could be additionally intertwined with the notion of a civilisationally incompetent *homo sovieticus* (Sztkompka 1993). The latter invokes a habitus of the discredited socialist system characterised by helplessness, passivity, and lack of individual responsibility (Buchowski 2006).

The feeling of shame associated with dependence has been a recurring theme in migrants' narratives. It can be best illustrated with the case of Monika, a 28-year-old woman who went to the UK for a summer job to make some extra money to support herself at a university in Poland. However, she never returned and in the quote below she explains what prevented her from doing so:

> 'If we returned they would treat you more like a loser than a person who was brave enough to pack her suitcase and go. You would be perceived more as a loser.'
>
> *Monika, 28 years old, Scotland*

The negative image and evaluation of self from the position of the other, as in the quote above, is an indicator of a sense of shame (Retzinger 1995). In the subsequent sentences, Monika elaborated on what being a loser meant for her:

> ‘So I said that I won’t return to work for pennies in some McDonalds, assuming that they gave me a job at all in Poland. Cause it’s hard to support yourself in Poland.… talking with my acquaintances I see that people are already 30 years old but sometimes they still live with parents and they are practically so tied up that they can’t leave home because of their income. Despite the fact that they work in their field and are graduates, and they do PhDs or they already finished PhD, they are still tied up.’
>
> *Monika, 28 years old, Scotland*

What seems to discourage Monika from returning to Poland are the low wages and employment opportunities which do not allow for an independent, self-sufficient life. She perceives possible return migration as a form of infantilisation which would be a path leading away from rather than towards the previously described neoliberal adult-citizenship. This notion of infantilisation is seen in her fear of becoming once again tied to her parents, which is the kind of lifestyle that she observes among some of her acquaintances in Poland. Interestingly, another woman in the sample, who obtained a PhD in Poland but, struggling to find a job matching her education, left to work at a farm in Northern Ireland, also brought up the fear of dependency as something that deters her from returning to her country of origin. Below is a short excerpt from her comparison between her current life in the UK and the life that she thought she would have to live in Poland even if she obtained a desired job:

> ‘In Poland I would have to live at my mum’s because I would not have been able to afford to rent a flat on my own. I just wasn’t interested in this kind of life (...) Later when my mum came to the UK, I lived with her, too. But I didn’t live with her, really – she lived with me. Mum lives with me. This makes a big difference. It’s a different balance of power.’
>
> *Judyta, 36 years old, Northern Ireland*

Returning to the case of Monika, her experience illustrates how going abroad can enable migrants to forge positive narratives that may generate a sense of pride. By moving abroad, she was able to construct a biography of a proactive, brave subject who realises the qualities that Buchowski (2006) and Sztompka (1993) associated with normative ideals promoted by the political-economy of post-socialist Poland, such as individual responsibility, learned resoluteness, and innovative adaptation. This ethic was encapsulated in Monika's description of migration as simply 'packing up a suitcase' and being 'brave' in one of the quotes above. Through such a narrative, she symbolically shook off the old system's habitus of helplessness and passivity, and proved herself civilisationally competent (Sztompka 1993) by readily exercising the newly available freedom of mobility. Therefore, migration became her pathway to embodiment of the active, self-authoring, choosing, enterprising self-made subject who is juxtaposed against 'passive individuals coddled by the paternalism of socialism' (Makovicky 2014: 2). Another excerpt from her interview can further help to illustrate how migration makes it possible to forge positive narratives of the self as an independent adult, thus generating feelings of pride rather than the shame of dependence:

> Interviewer: 'When have you decided that you were going to stay in Scotland?'
>
> Monika: 'Probably when I worked in *** because it was a permanent job. (…) So I felt … confident. (…). I felt that I was coping well. I could earn a living together with my partner and we were self-sufficient. (…) we felt that we stood up on our feet. (…) That we are now responsible for ourselves. That we are not dependent on our parents but that we work for ourselves. It depends on us whether we have money to pay bills and so on. So we felt stronger. And it probably also was the reason why we decided to settle here. I mean, to treat this place more like a home even though there was no such a permanent place at that time yet.'
>
> *Monika, 28 years old, Scotland*

In the quote above, Monika emphasises the importance of establishing herself as an independent, self-sufficient, self-responsible adult. Interestingly, she brings up these values when talking about why she decided to settle in Scotland and how she started to perceive it as her home in an emotional sense. According to Sueda (2014), and theory of the emotion of shame more broadly:

> 'Pride generates a secure bond while shame generates a threatened bond (Nathanson 1992; Scheff 1994). Too much shame will cause isolation and alienation (…) That is, if one is too ashamed of oneself or made to feel ashamed by the society, one is isolated or even alienated. Social integration takes place when people have a sense of pride.' (Sueda 2014: 40)

In view of this, the presence of feelings of home and emotional attachment in the narrative of pride is not accidental. Looking at Monika's descriptions of Poland and the UK, the turning point of her narrative is the shame that she experiences as a result of being tied, helpless and constrained in one place, versus the pride that she gains from being individually responsible, self-sufficient, and free in the other place. In Sennett's (2003) terms, it is a contrast between the social characters of an infantilised, dependent social loser and a liberal adult-citizen. In line with the theory of shame, these feelings are related to her experience of inclusion and exclusion in both countries.

The building of a positive sense of self and a feeling of pride through migration and, in particular, through achieving the ideal of an independent adult-citizen is clearly visible in the narrative of Alicja, who explicitly invokes the notion of adulthood as she conceives of her migration as a sort of test of adulthood that she has successfully passed:

> 'It was a sort of a test for me to see if I can make it on my own. I think that I achieved a 150% success and I think this is the most important for me now. I mean that I am independent, that I can handle any situation. (…) I used to say that I didn't plan to stay in the UK and blah blah blah. But the truth is that I left to become independent.'
>
> *Alicja, 31 years old, Scotland*

Throughout the interview Alicja portrayed herself as an active, self-directed subject who shapes her own destiny. For example, as if unconstrained by inequalities in the social structure that are commonly faced by migrant workers, she says that she rejected manual jobs right from the start and looked only for office work:

> 'I was very conceited at that time in that I said that I won't work in hotels or behind the bar and I aimed straightaway for office work. And I got one.'
>
> *Alicja, 31 years old, Scotland*

In another quote, Alicja expresses dissatisfaction with her current profession but presents these circumstances as resulting from her rational choice and, symptomatically, feels that she can change them at any time, hence manifesting herself as the sole craftsmen of her career:

> 'Honestly, I think I got into a profession where I don't feel like a fish in the water. But I'm good at this and it guarantees a comfortable life. You know, that I have mortgage and can travel for holidays wherever I can. After work I can close the door off and live my life. So it's a life that is hard to just let go. (…) My work is a tool which allows me to live comfortable and stress-free life but it doesn't define me in any way. If I get an opportunity – and it probably depends only on me – I will change this job.'
>
> *Alicja, 31 years old, Scotland*

From such narratives, an individual emerges as the only true master of himself or herself and as a subject unconstrained by, for example, existing labour market segmentations that are widely known to affect migrant workers (Willis et al. 2010). Similar ethics radiate indirectly even from the dual-idealisations discussed in the previous chapter. For example, the quote on page 112 by Romek presents the UK as a country where anyone with some self-determination can achieve success. Importantly, this neoliberal ethic appears in the interviews as realisable only in the UK, which, as in the same quote by Romek, is viewed as an open society. The limitations on individual initiative and talent are only seen in relation to Poland.

It is interesting to add that Alicja is a single woman who obtained a mortgage and bought a house on her own, and her occupational as well as economic status represents a social step up in relation to her family background. Migration stories like hers can be interpreted with reference to neoliberalism as more than a set of economic policies. As argued by Walkerdine et al. (2001): 'The neoliberal subject is required to bear full responsibility for their life biography no matter how severe the constraints upon their action.' Moreover, Gill (2008: 436, 443) suggests that this ethic might exert a particularly strong influence on women owing to the overlap between neoliberal and postfeminist discourses which idealise the figure of the woman as empowered, possessing agency, and exhibiting freedom of choice:

> 'Just as neoliberalism requires individuals to narrate their life story as if it were the outcome of deliberative choices so too does some contemporary writing depict young women as unconstrained and freely choosing. (…) To a much greater extent than men, women are required to work on and transform the self, to regulate every aspect of their conduct, and to present all their actions as freely chosen. Could it be that neoliberalism is *always already gendered*, and that women are constructed as its ideal subjects?'

Nonetheless, such narratives of migration as a pathway to what was described earlier as liberal adulthood and citizenship were also common among men in the sample, as can be seen, for example, in the case of Marek, a 35-year-old manual worker in a factory in Northern Ireland. Before coming to the UK, he was a sales representative and then unemployed. When comparing his life in the UK with that in Poland, he gave an account of his failed attempt to move out of his parents' flat and live on his own:

> 'I moved out [to live on my own] only once in Poland but it was only for half a year or so (…) I wanted to see what life on my own would be like. Independently. But I realised that it didn't make sense. Expenses were higher [than earnings] (laughter). (…) So you see, here [UK] when I wanted to move out, I already had the basis for doing so. As I'm saying, I could afford to live freely on my own.'

Marek, 35 years old, Northern Ireland

According to Marek, the wages from his employment were insufficient to allow him to live on his own. This became even more problematic when he became unemployed. By contrast, he said that he could afford to live on his own in the UK, even though he was on the minimum wage. In yet another quote, Marek appreciates the opportunity to start his own family in the UK – something that he felt was unachievable in Poland:

> 'At times I get really annoyed with my wife but then I think that if I lived in Poland, I'm sure I wouldn't have been able to start a family there and live with my wife and a family. So Ireland, its people and the entire country, gave me an opportunity to be happy.'
>
> *Marek, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

Similarly, Pawel talks about his inability to live an independent life and to start a family due to the poor wages he received at his job in a saw-mill:

> 'I worked for five years in the saw-mill. It was a poorly paid job but I didn't complain. I could get on with help of my parents. Sufficient for a life as a single man but not if I wanted to start a family in Poland.'
>
> *Pawel, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

Such aspirations for economic independence and family breadwinning may be read as a reflection of gendered social expectations of men of Marek's and Pawel's age. However, as discussed above, they can also be linked with the imperatives of the ethic of the neoliberal adult-citizen.

Importantly, work in the UK allowed migrants to attain this ideal by portraying themselves as independent not only of their parents but also of the state. This can be seen in the recurring emphasis across interviews on economic success that people perceived and presented as entirely self-made. This can be nicely shown by a quote from Marek, which is just one of the most illustrative quotes among many others that were fashioned in a similar way:

> 'You see, what I don't like about this country is that foreigners, including Poles... there are a lot of immigrants who come here and take everything that this country gives them and this is exactly what I don't like. That it is so easy to get social benefits, subsidy for housing and other things. There are so many migrants who abuse it. I had to work to achieve everything by myself. I have worked my ass off, refuse myself many pleasures. But there are a lot of Polish people who just take everything the state gives them. (…) Poles are terrible, you know. If you give them a finger, they will take your whole hand.'
>
> *Marek, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

Interestingly, the welfare system was the only recurring theme to go against the otherwise positive idealisation of the UK by the migrants interviewed in this study and this can be seen in Marek's quote above. The reverse idealisations of the UK and Poland in this respect were explicitly expressed by another interviewee in the words 'No-one would give him that much money in Poland' at the end of the anecdote quoted below:

> 'There's a guy at my workplace who came to work because someone told him to. Forced him. I'm not an inquisitive person so I don't ask him. But over the time it turned out that he was sent here by some other company that cooperates with the city council and they forced him to seek work 2-3 times a week, two hours a day, and they observed him whether he was really looking for a job. He was receiving social benefits for half a year. After half a year he had to attend 2-3 times a week some job-seeking workshops. Had to make calls, send letters and so on. So he was frustrated and he decided he'd better get some job for a while and now he's thinking of leaving it again to get benefits for another half a year. Can you feel it? He says it right in your face that you're stupid because you work. So how I'm supposed to feel? Shock. People got totally messed up. No-one would give him that much money in Poland. The worst thing that hurts is that you work and pay your taxes while someone else just sits down and tells you right in the face that he won't work cause it doesn't make sense. See? It's a shame, really!'

Tadeusz, 34 years old, Scotland

In like manner, Adrianna in the quote below draws on anti-immigrant discourses in the UK when calling on David Cameron to eventually fix this negative aspect of the country:

> 'I'm not fond of the type of "benefit immigration" which people talk about a lot here. That we come and steal local jobs, take benefits for nothing and get flats. I can understand their frustration because I also pay taxes but I've never made use of any social assistance. People who get this social assistance don't really deserve it. Besides this, Poles are crafty people. It's their national feature. If there's some easy money available, they would take it. So I absolutely agree with Cameron. He should sort it out. Because we're working now but if we needed some help in case something happens, we won't receive it because we work. A person who works doesn't deserve anything whereas people who don't work – they live from day to day, making new children and I'm sure they are better off financially cause they get some benefits.'
>
> *Adrianna, 33 years old, Scotland*

Such narratives tap into the neoliberal discourses against the welfare state discussed earlier in this chapter. They also underscore Anderson's argument (2013: 6) that migrant workers often become guardians of a Community of Value manifested by the UK state and accordingly are 'eager to differentiate themselves from failed citizens', as well as from other migrants, 'to prove that they have the right values'. Even more so, their narratives display a sense of frustration with the UK state for letting these things happen – 'It's a shame, really!' as Tadeusz puts it in the quote above.

On the other hand, as noted earlier in this section, the UK is commonly praised for being an open country with an open labour market that provides many opportunities for self-entrepreneurial individuals. This view was conveyed in, for example, one of Alicja's quotes and was also discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter on dual-idealisations. In fact, the neoliberal ethic discussed here also radiates indirectly from these same dual-idealisations. For example, the quote by Romek on page 112

conveys an ethic of an unconstrained self-made man who needs nothing to achieve success except strong determination and hard work.

All this shows the strength with which the ethic of a neoliberal adult-citizen plays out in migrants' experiences, shaping their Structures of Feeling in relation to both the country of departure and a country of destination. To recapitulate what has been shown by the present section, the ethic of a neoliberal adult-citizen, which vividly appeared in the interviews with Polish migrant workers in the present study, was experienced differently in Poland and in the UK. In the former country, it was seen as an unrealisable ideal. In other words, the neoliberal ethic seems to clash with the reality of life under the conditions generated by neoliberal policies: low wages and, in some cases, precarious employment. This clash generated a sense of shame that can be thought of as a 'hidden injury'. Sennett and Cobb (1972) coined this term to describe the emotional experiences of working-class men who saw themselves as failing to live up to the ethic of American society at that time. They could be called 'hidden' because they were not as obvious as the more apparent signifiers of class, such as, for example, educational level, income, dress code or language. They could also be seen as injuries because they were negative and hurtful to the individual experiencing them. Specifically, they took the form of a sense of shame, which is an umbrella term for a range of negative feelings related to a negative view of the self (Scheff 2002). Similar feelings were identified in migrant workers' narratives in interviews conducted for the present study. There is also a similarity between Sennett and Cobb's research and the present chapter in that, in both cases, these hidden injuries arose from individuals seeing and evaluating themselves against certain social standards, expectations, and values. Specifically, in this study they were related to the inability to live up to the ideal of a neoliberal adult-citizen. However, it seems that migration can be an ointment applied to these hidden injuries, in that feelings of shame in Poland are covered over with positive narratives of self-making and success abroad which convey an underlying sense of pride.

Moreover, it was shown how these experiences of shame and pride shaped the experience of inclusion and exclusion in the sending and receiving country. Specifically, interviewees felt emotionally detached from their country of origin

while experiencing a sense of home in connection with the country of destination. This is in line with the sociological theory of shame that perceives this emotion as indicating a threatened or a broken bond between an individual and a group (Scheff 2000); or, as Czykwin (2012) put it, as a unique barometer of social integration.

Furthermore, identifying a Structure of Feeling characterised by feelings of shame can also help to account for the dual-idealisations identified in the previous chapter (as well as in previous research on post-accession Polish migrants). More specifically, these dual-idealisations can be seen as a response to the 'hidden injuries': a response that is targeted at shifting the blame for failure to realise the ethic of a neoliberal adult-citizen away from the individual to the state in the country of departure. This is a practice that the subjects of Sennett and Cobb's (1972) study did not have the opportunity to engage in; instead, they appear to have internalised the blame. For Polish migrants, the shifting of blame is allowed for by migration and occurs through a comparison of the country of origin with a country of destination that is overwhelmingly biased in favour of the latter. Consequently, it is not the individual who is shamed but, rather, his or her country of origin. Unfortunately, however, rather than generating a criticism of the neoliberal economy, migrants seem to adhere to its ethos even more tightly, as seen in their narratives of self-making and critiques of welfare policies in the UK, which were the only deviations from the aforementioned dual-idealisations.

In turn, a sense of emotional attachment and belonging (or lack thereof) differently experienced in connection with sending and receiving countries, as well as the dual-idealisations, seem to be linked with migration decisions, including decisions on settlement or return. In this way, the focus on the Structure of Feeling among migrant workers shows how the experience of a country of departure and destination may affect migration in ways not envisaged in previous studies.

On a side note, the ethic discussed in this chapter manifested itself to different degrees in all cases, but the present section drew in particular on the narratives of the eleven workers for whom this ideal was unattainable in Poland because of economic constraints. This points to the class-specific character of Structures of Feeling and is also in line with previous studies on shame which have shown that this feeling is

differently experienced between social classes (Skeggs 1997; Lamont 2000). The next section discusses another variation of the same ethic which manifested itself in the interviews with migrants from more advantaged socio-economic backgrounds who did not experience the same economic obstacles in Poland.

6.2. The ethic and Structure of Feeling of a self-entrepreneur

It is often posited that the entrepreneurial ethic is a part and parcel of neoliberalism (Marttila 2013; Bröckling 2015). But what is meant by the entrepreneurial ethic? Neoliberal discourses have extended the meaning of an entrepreneur from the economic agent who undertakes a new, risky business initiative to a role model of social subjectivity that should be exercised in every aspect of one's life, including crafting, changing, adapting and improving one's biography, the self, working life, and relationships with family (Marttila 2013; Bröckling 2015). Hence, apart from the business entrepreneur, neoliberalism champions the role model of an entrepreneur of self who exercises initiative and risk in relation to his or her own life. The ideal of the self-entrepreneur appeared in the narratives presented in the previous section, in which people presented themselves as self-made wo/men who actively crafted their individual biographies through migration. However, the entrepreneurial ethic radiates most strongly from interviews with those who did not experience economic constraints to self-making in their home country but, nevertheless, embarked on a risky journey aimed at reshaping their biographies, selves, working lives, and relationships with significant others. This chapter picks out exemplary quotes from interviewees who arguably could have continued living relatively affluent, successful, economically independent and stable lives in Poland but nevertheless migrated for work abroad. It also shows how their country of origin was experienced by them as limiting, not in economic but mostly in social terms.

The two cases of Agata and Hania – one from Edinburgh and the other from Belfast – serve as good illustrations of the ethic of entrepreneurship that manifests itself

through migration. Agata, a 28-year-old skilled worker from a large city in Poland went to the UK for a summer job when she was still a student at a university in Poland. However, after completing her studies, she pursued a new degree in Edinburgh where she stayed after graduating. She does not talk about the economic circumstances of life in Poland but, instead, narrates her migration as an escape from a stable and safe life, and a project of crafting her unique biography:

> ‘Everything was good in Poland except that I wanted to go to new places. Maybe it was a kind of escape from the everyday life because I felt that if I stay there everything will be so predictable and my life is already set once and for good. (…) I think I had a sort of crisis in a way that I felt that I got stuck in one place in my life: stable long-term relationship, studies which I didn’t like and chose only out of sheer convenience because they offered me a safe future.’
>
> *Agata, 28 years old, Scotland*

Similarly, Hania, who found her first job in Northern Ireland through an employment agency and went there with the aim of saving money for travelling around Europe, talks about her migration as a non-materialistically oriented move aimed at changing something in her life. Symptomatically of the ethic of self-enterprise, she describes her migration as a non-conformist decision. She also explains that she could have had an objectively good life in Poland. All in all, she presents herself as an active subject who is not determined by structural conditions.

> ‘It was not that I was escaping some terrible, unliveable circumstances in Poland. That I was, for example, lonely and had no perspectives. It wasn’t like that. It wasn’t so conformist. It wasn’t a conformist decision. Actually, it was easier for me to stay in Poland. I just finished studies, had friends, it was a great period of my life. There was nothing that I could have been not missing. I just wanted to try something different, something new, gain new experiences.’
>
> *Hania, 31 years old, Northern Ireland*

Hania graduated with a degree in pedagogy and at the start of the interview, when asked about her reasons for going abroad, she said that she 'could not see herself in the structures of the Polish education system'. In this way, the rationale that she gave differs starkly from interviewees discussed in the previous section for whom insufficient wages rather than post-materialistic factors were the main obstacle. Unlike them, Hania did not express a sense of insecurity in everyday life. By narrating their migration as an act of abandoning stable and well-organised lives in Poland, the two women manifest themselves as ideal risk-taking, flexible entrepreneurial subjects who are not content with their existing identities, which have to be constantly worked on (Giddens 1997).

In addition, once in Scotland, Agata created around herself a specific social reality which in the quote below she describes in terms of 'bohemia'. This also is consistent with her pursuit of a sense of independence, freedom, and individuality. Noticeably, while the interviewees focused on in the previous section wanted to stabilise their lives, Agata seems to have sought the opposite: abandoning the structured, stable life of an adult-citizen which, in the quote below, she describes as stereotypical.

> 'I don't have a plan to buy a house here. I know people who live according to the plan: they were much focused on, you know, step by step buy a house, a flat, have children. Everything according to a plan. But people in my social circle here and in Poland are usually not like this. They are critical of such attitudes. It's my motto not to be surrounded by people who think about future stereotypically. Because of this, I'm not a person who comes back from work and looks for a flat and a mortgage. I'm surrounded with artistic people: musicians, dancers, and bohemia. All of us think that were are here just now but not for good and it gives us a sense of freedom. You think that they don't have to be here but they can. It's a sense of freedom. When you complain about this city you always feel that you can just leave it. You think that you can come back to Poland but you never know if you do it and when.'
>
> *Agata, 28 years old, Scotland*

Clearly, in Agata's narrative, independence takes on a somewhat different meaning from that expressed in the interviews discussed in the previous section. She also experiences and interprets her country of destination differently from those interviewees. Specifically, she sees it as a place of current residence that she can leave behind anytime. This sense of temporariness and living in the moment is reflected in her everyday practices:

> 'Even when I look at my home: I don't surround myself with items. I don't buy new things all the time, I don't buy kitchen equipment, I use whatever there is. I have a very minimalistic attitude to life. I have some boxes where I can just put all my stuff in and move if I have to. I always think before purchasing anything that I would have to carry later if I move. For example, I don't buy larger items like furniture, I would never buy a wardrobe cause I always think about how will I move it later. That's true, I always have this kind of thoughts.'
>
> *Agata, 28 years old, Scotland*

In much the same way, Hania explains in the quote below how she deliberately tries to sustain a sense of temporariness in relation to the country of destination. This sense of temporariness and open-endedness arguably allows migrants like Hania and Agata to escape the suffocating climate that they associated with life in Poland.

> 'I never think of my presence here as for good. I just think that it's for a year, maybe another year and another, and so on. Cause if I thought that I'm going to spend the rest of my life here, I would feel some kind of sadness. Feel very sad that I have to spend all my life here. I prefer to think that maybe I do or maybe I don't. For now I think in temporary terms.'
>
> *Hania, 31 years old, Northern Ireland*

The entrepreneurial ethic also comes across vividly in the interview with Grzegorz, a 39-year-old employee of a professional services company who came to Northern Ireland in 2005. He distances himself from the figure of a desperate migrant driven abroad by necessity. Instead, he presents himself as an entrepreneur 'with a different

motivation and with a different wallet' who comes here out of choice, stays open-minded in relation to opportunities, and has some money to invest:

> 'I should also say that I came here with the purpose of working only in my profession. I absolutely didn't allow a thought of working outside of my profession even if only for a short time. I could afford it and I thought that in case things don't work, I can come back to Poland and start looking for some new ideas. Many people come here with the mind-set that they have to find some job no matter what. They plan to live with many other people in a small flat for a year or two before they can afford to rent something on their own. I came here with a different motivation and with a different wallet.'
>
> *Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland*

Moreover, it was partly because of his experience as an entrepreneur in Poland that he decided to seek work abroad:

> Grzegorz: 'I was very open-minded at the beginning and didn't say that it has to be here [UK]. But I was sure of one thing: I didn't want to come back to Poland for some time. Because of one simple reason: I was severely tired, bored and discouraged with Poland really.'
>
> Interviewer: 'Why was it so?'
>
> Grzegorz: 'Two reasons only. One is problems with executing invoices to be paid when you run a company in Poland. My firm offered intellectual services and in this case a customer pays after the service is delivered. There're no means of executing your payments in Poland. The second problem is the administrative apparatus. If you run a company in Poland, the very moment you register it your name is written down on the list of potential thieves of state's budget with some invisible pen. During the 5 years of running the company, I had a tax investigation twice. Of course it wasn't exactly like from the movie Closed Circuit but the general approach and a way of dealing with the case resembled it. Here [UK] my contacts with tax office were, I would say, really a pleasure if we want to make a comparison.'

Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland

In the quote above, Grzegorz gives an account of an institutional climate in Poland that, according to him, stifles the expression of his entrepreneurial spirit. His reference to Closed Circuit is illustrative. This is a Polish film made in 2013 that tells the story of three entrepreneurs who have been unjustly accused of criminal activities. The film is a critique of the overly powerful and distrustful state apparatus which treats entrepreneurs as potential criminals. Such an interpretation of the Polish state can be subjectively linked with the state communist system, which was also characterised by a powerful apparatus and stringent limits on private enterprise. In contrast to this is offered the experience of a business-friendly attitude on the part of British officials.

Moreover, the negative, anti-entrepreneurial interpretation of Poland is associated in the quote above with feelings of suffocation, fatigue, boredom, and discouragement. These feelings seem to emerge from his experience of the ill-functioning economic institutions and state bureaucratic apparatus. He sees Polish economic institutions as not living up to the entrepreneurial needs of a modern economy and as stuck in an old-fashioned, over-bureaucratised and politicised system:

> 'Everything is more predictable here in the UK. For example, if you want to start a firm in Poland, you start working on your business plan. So you do a massive market research. Then you eventually have your research plan. You start a company. At the beginning you just invest money in it. After a year, when you eventually start making profit, tax or other regulations change and everything you developed two years ago falls into pieces.'
>
> *Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland*

Further on in his narrative, he portrays the UK as an ideal model of a state which, through its limited welfare policies, facilitates entrepreneurial individual efforts without having corrupting effects on non-entrepreneurial individuals:

> 'I'm not a benefit scrounger by birth by which I mean that I don't go to the country where welfare benefits are most generous, for example Scandinavian

countries. However, the state interventionism in a crisis situation – when the market collapses or something like this – I think it's optimal. It's how it should work. It doesn't demoralise/corrupt people in a way that they would say "Why should I go to work if I can live on the same level without a job". I think it's very well balanced here [UK] (…) I'm afraid that you can just come to the UK, register as unemployed get an unemployment benefit right away after coming. At least that's how it used to be. I know such people. But, of course, even the perfect system will always have some flaws. They are working on it to stop such abuse and, in my opinion, it is good.'

Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland

Even though one might see the quote above as going somewhat against the narratives attacking the UK welfare state which were discussed in the previous section, Grzegorz's position on the issue of welfare is in fact not much different from those. First of all, he too emphasises that he is not a benefit tourist himself. He also clearly emphasises the limited character of state interventionism ('state interventionism in a crisis situation') that he advocates and takes the UK, rather than the Scandinavian countries, as a model. Moreover, he adds that still more can be done to limit the abuse of the state through welfare. In this way, his narrative is written into a discourse of a minimal state that plays a role supportive of the market (commodification) rather than one concerned with social rights and social security.

Having said this, we can gain a better sense of his dual-idealisation of Poland from part of his narrative quoted in Chapter 5 (p. 113 - 114). In that quote, Grzegorz seems to interpret the UK as an ideal neoliberal state with a well-functioning labour market that squeezes all that is best from workers and, on top of this, implements well-functioning labour market policies that further enhance this efficiency. He appreciates social security but in extremely narrow terms. The UK state provides the right amount of social security to create a perfect environment for proactive, entrepreneurial subjects while having limited corrupting effects on individuals who lack the neoliberal habitus and wish 'to keep sucking on the mother's breast' (Sennett 2002). In contrast, Poland is experienced as a place with an old-fashioned, highly hierarchical and inefficient labour market further aggravated by ill-

functioning labour market policies that stifle entrepreneurial economic activities. In other words, he reinterprets Poland as not having made a full transition to the ideal of a modern, neoliberal state – a state that is limited but, at the same time, active in facilitating the productive elements of the society.

Stories like those discussed above can be seen as indicating a clash between an entrepreneurial ethic that goes with neoliberalism and the actual experience of this ethic in Poland. This clash creates a Structure of Feelings – the 'culture as lived' (Williams 1961) – that, as mentioned with reference to the cases of Hania and Agata, can be described with adjectives such as 'suffocating' and 'stifling'. These 'hidden injuries' are perhaps best captured in yet another very graphic metaphor employed by Grzegorz:

> Grzegorz: 'Whereas up until recently I used to say that my homeland is where my wallet is, now I can say that I am anchored in this city. If you woke me up in the middle of the night and asked me where my home is, the first thing I would come to think of would be the street where I live in Belfast.'
>
> Interviewer: 'Why there?'
>
> Grzegorz: 'Let me use my favourite, although a very brutal metaphor. Poland is like an alcoholic mother to me. I love her because she gave birth to me. She always wanted the best for me but she's been drinking. Drinking a lot. Sometimes in this boozed-up rampage she totally loses recognition of who is who. On top of this, she lives with a pimp who beats her regularly. Abuses her and so on. So now I'm faced with the question: what should I do? Of course I can't be by my mother and she also doesn't want me to be next to her. But, on the other hand, she's still my mother. Then there's Belfast: a distant aunt who loves me as much as she can. She's 100% predictable. If I was to choose, without being driven by emotions but just calculating it on the piece of paper and a calculator, which of these two gave me more, then I would say the aunt. Definitely.'
>
> *Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland*

In this metaphor, Poland is experienced as an alcoholic mother who does not create normal, predictable conditions for the child to grow up in. Although he does not feel happy living with her, she is still a mother and, thus, the child thinks that she ought to be loved. It is this dilemma that creates the 'hidden injuries' of suffocation; a feeling that can be resolved only after escaping these dire circumstances by means of migration to a metaphoric aunt.

Similar themes of an entrepreneurial ethic versus a sense of suffocation in Poland can be seen in the case of Roman, which is particularly interesting from the theoretical point of view and, therefore, will be discussed in detail in the remainder of this section. Roman is a 35-year-old man from northern Poland who exchanged his well-paid corporate job in Poland for a number of low-paid jobs in the UK:

> 'I've done everything here. I was a cleaner, I was a "loading-man", filling shelves with products, I was a merchandiser. Everything, I've done everything. I've worked in all sorts of warehouses.'
>
> *Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

With regard to his life in Poland, Roman said that he was born in what he himself considered an affluent family. After graduating with a degree in Economics, Management and Marketing, he started working as a sales manager in a retail company and, subsequently, as a sales representative for a major corporation. When talking about his life in Poland, he describes a successful career progression and a very good economic situation. Although this was not a form of social advancement for him, he saw it as a major success in terms of living up to the expectations of his social milieu, in particular those of his parents. Just as in interviews analysed earlier, we can see the satisfaction that Roman gains from achieving everything by himself, which indicates a similar ethic of the self-made man illuminating his motivations. All these themes appear in the quote below:

> 'I had a lot of money. Listen, here [Northern Ireland] I don't earn more than I used to in Poland. So income doesn't matter. (…) My family was well-off so it wasn't social advancement for me. Rather just the beginning of what I was supposed to achieve in order to at least match my parents. On the other hand,

> and this will make you confused, it was a success for me because I achieved everything myself.'
>
> *Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

His achievements were not limited to his working life. In parallel with it was his personal life that was also marked by social success and advancement, as he became engaged to a woman from a wealthy, influential family of lawyers. Roman describes this fabulous life by emphasising that her parents bought them a house and the couple each had a private car:

> 'Imagine that her parents bought us a house. We had two cars, she was learning to be a judge and everything was arranged, she had her career path defined. So you know, when it comes to my life in Poland everything was well organised. But the problem was that I still didn't feel happy.'
>
> *Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

In a sense, Roman was a success story of Polish capitalism: a young man graduating with a business-related degree, obtaining a well-paid job in a large international corporation, getting engaged to a status-wise 'look-alike' from a rich, respectable family, and he and his partner having their own house and cars: the artefacts of success and independence that, as we saw, occupy an important place in interviews of migrant workers as something achievable only after rather than prior to migration. Based on this information, it is hard to imagine why Roman would go to Northern Ireland in the first place and then stay on there despite earning less than in Poland, at least if we confine our thinking to a classical economics paradigm. Yet, as the last sentence of the quote above indicates, something was wrong with this apparently glossy life, and that has to be unpacked in order to understand the reasons for his migration as well as to uncover the hidden injuries of Polish capitalism, which can be inflicted even on its objectively most successful players. Roman himself explained that his migration was driven by a pursuit of adventure:

> Interviewer: 'Can you tell me how did it happen that you came here? If you could start from as early as you remember … for example, when the idea first came to your mind?'
>
> Roman: 'I came here eight years ago for holidays. It was August 2005. What made me come here? An adventure.'
>
> Interviewer: 'Adventure?'
>
> Roman: 'Adventure. Cause it was good in Poland, even very good. But my relationship fell apart and I said "Ok, let's go" [laughs]. I had acquaintances here [Belfast] so I said "I'm coming to you" and that's how it was. So it was not a well thought decision. It was under an impulse, I just went to see what's out there in the world.'
>
> *Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

His decision to go to Belfast seems rather ad hoc and not preceded by much preparation or planning. He quit his job on short notice and moved abroad:

> 'I had some acquaintances here. They suggested that I leave everything behind and just come here and that was the decision I made. I thought about it for 2 days at most. I left my job the next day … well, of course I had a call-off period so I had to work a bit more. They wanted to keep me but I said that I can't do it anymore, that I'm leaving everything behind and just go. And so I left.'
>
> *Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

The way he talks about his migration portrays it as a spontaneous decision that was aimed at taking himself immediately out of his current circumstances and the injuries that were created by changes in his workplace and in private life:

> 'It was also a period when my company was going through important changes so I expected that things would only get worse. I had a lot of money but I was so busy that I didn't have time to spend it. My relationship fell apart, too. So I was also emotionally broken. So I just left everything behind.'

Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland

It is also interesting to look at the reasons why he saw his relationship fall apart because, as previously explained, Roman's personal life was an extension of his corporate life: it was affluent and economically secure, with his fiancée's father resembling a benevolent manager who offered him materialistic perks but, in return, demanded subordination. We can sense an overlap between working and private life that also imposes costs in the form of a sense of being out of control.

> 'I admit that it was my fault that the relationship ended. (…) I just said that everything was too fast and someone's pride got hurt and he said "What? You don't want to be with my daughter?" This was a very influential person who didn't like opposition. So when I said that I want to wait for two more years, it turned out that it was not acceptable for this person (…) She was completely dependent on her parents. Whatever her father said was sacred and I said "Listen, sorry but either we live together as a couple or you live with your father."'

Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland

While the state of subordination in his private life became gradually unbearable, his reference in the quote before last to changes in the management of his company hints at an expectation that his terms of subordination in the workplace will also deteriorate. In light of this information, going abroad could be seen as a way of escaping these two suffocating lives: working life and private life.

Roman also explained that he did not go back to Poland for three years after moving to Northern Ireland. This can also indicate that underlying his migration are 'hidden injuries' consisting of suffocating and stifling feelings. Like the child in Grzegorz's metaphor, he wants to separate himself from the alcoholic mother in order to heal his wounds; at least until he has done the necessary emotional work and come to terms with his feelings. That this migration was akin to the healing process is indicated by the metamorphosis that he describes himself as having gone through. It is worth quoting a longer excerpt from an even longer part of this narrative of self-transformation, as it brings up many theoretically interesting issues.

Roman: ‘It was different in Poland cause personally I’m a good person inside and in Poland internal conflicts arose inside of me. Cause I’m a competitive person.… I love competition but when I was in Poland I was completely oriented on career and personal development and, you know, these ends would justify the means. I don’t think it was good, I think it was wrong but back then … you just had to win. I wasn’t mature enough to understand, you know, what life is really about. So one would be winning, yes, I had plenty of diplomas but what for really? I was demanding towards people, I was stricter, I demanded a lot from myself but I also demanded a lot from other people cause that’s the way I was brought up actually. So I demanded a lot from myself and the same from others, and this led to many conflicts. Cause under my supervision, everything had to be done perfectly. The target had to be met. And it wasn’t really nice.’

Interviewer: ‘So this change took place here or already in Poland or … ?’

Roman: ‘The change was … I was different cause I had a lot in Poland and I was different inside of me. And I thought that one has to have money, status, a car, a house, a family … you know, a stereotypical Polish way of thinking. That I need to have it and ideally have better than a neighbour. So you keep running, fighting, rushing around. And you feel as if you were in the cup and someone is swirling this cup and you just swirl in it like a ball. And you shake like a fish caught in the net. For two years I used to work until 2am and wake up at 8am, and on weekends was binge-drinking. When we had trips with colleagues it was also binge-drinking and high-life. Cause you had to unwind in some way. But whether it was healthy or normal? No. You can stay at castles – we used to go to castles around Poland and stop at extravagant restaurants; i spent one week in a palace on some workshops that my company sent me to. We ate like kings, you know. (…) But it doesn’t matter cause you’re not a good person, if you can’t find yourself in it, if this does not lead to a healthy, normal life-style. What’s the point of having everything you want in your house while your relationship is falling apart and your wife, even though she’s a judge, but when you come back home she’s

> cold like a fridge. And you can't even talk because you're somewhere far away with your mind. So you are in a constant struggle with yourself. I think that young Poles cannot find themselves in this cause they don't understand the tradition and they don't understand what they live for. I was also packed with messages from advertising. When I came here I had adverts milling around my mind. When I closed my eyes I would see adverts, photos, magazines. The media that shape your values and life-style and you take it as your own. But in reality it's not yours. You just accept it cause that's how the majority does. It is only when you start asking questions: "Who am I, what I'm doing here and what's most important" and when you answer them, you can start looking for your happiness. I threw everything into the bin. I don't read newspapers, I don't watch TV, I have a mobile-phone aversion which, by the way, you must have noticed from contact between us [laughs]. I would be fine if mobile phones did not exist. I have a simple model and at home I have the standard as how it should be. (…) I posed a question to myself about what will make me happy. For me the family and family values are the most important and thanks to this I achieved normality and found my happiness. (…) Now I live a life that I dreamt of. My mates in Poland could say that I stopped and I don't make a progress. For me this is not a priority. My priority is peace and stability, right?'
>
> *Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

This rather lengthy quote brings up several issues. First of all, it describes Roman's transformation as a person, in which migration is a dividing line between his former, in his opinion regrettable and contemptible, life, and his current desirable life. He describes his former self as driven by competiveness, a pursuit of individual success, achievement, and materialistic values which he could transcend through a new post-materialistic orientation. Moreover, he describes these values as characteristic of the Polish culture and way of life, seeing them as standard. This explains why he talks about going for a low-paid job in the UK not as a migration but as an adventure. From his perspective, it was not just a migration but about an escape from certain social imperatives through a journey towards self-discovery. Coincidentally or not,

the place of his destination – Belfast – seems to fit nicely into this narrative. As discussed in Chapter 3, this place at the time of his arrival – which was just one year after the 2004 EU enlargement – had not yet been much penetrated by Polish or, indeed, any other migrant groups. It was also not the easiest place to live in for Polish migrants, as indicated in the third chapter of this thesis. But despite his initial surprise at conditions in Belfast (see the quote in Chapter 7, page 188, where the focus is on migration experiences in the two specified locales within the UK), Roman did not find the city overly intimidating but, rather, challenging and stimulating. In this light, it is an ideal place for an adventure and for starting everything anew. The yet undiscovered Northern Ireland offered plenty of opportunities for Polish migrant workers at that time. Like the American continent for 19th - century migrants, it was an unknown land, full of opportunities, where one could start everything from scratch, which is exactly what Roman was looking for.

In the long quote above, Roman also conveys a sense of some hidden injuries underlying his life in Poland that he doesn't specifically articulate. These are conveyed in his statement that certain internal conflicts arose in him. Nevertheless, his metaphors of feeling like a ball in a cup that someone else swirls and as a fish caught in the net point to the nature of these hidden injuries which may be thought of, just as in the previous cases discussed in this chapter, as a sense of suffocation. These feelings can be read as hidden injuries of a subject who, in a Faustian bargain offered by unfolding capitalism, enjoyed economic prosperity and high social status, but struggled psychologically and, paradoxically, sensed a loss of control. On the surface, Roman's life is a success story of Polish capitalism but we can also see hidden injuries underlying his migration experience. Part of this experience was also a sense of emotional detachment and of not belonging to Poland.

Moreover, the feeling of being stuck in a cup that somebody else swirls or of being a fish caught in a net generate metaphors both of which run counter to the entrepreneurial ethic of self-making. This point is particularly important because, on the one hand, his narrative may appear to challenge at least some aspects of neoliberal ethics. For example, Roman gives up the values of competitiveness, individual success, the pursuit of material goods, and his corporate position, and also

emerges as an antithesis of a consumer-citizen, as indicated by his statement that he threw away media to avoid adverts that shape values and desires. With his extended criticism of such values and aspirations, which have defined Polish society since the transformation (Sztompka 1993; Buchowski 2006; Dunn 2004), he appears as Williams's (1961) *rebel*. He becomes very aware of the ideological machine which tried to instil in him certain values that 'in reality were not his', to paraphrase his own words. Roman's narrative signifies a nostalgic retreat to the idealised past, expressed in his memory of his parents' life that contrasts starkly with his own:

> 'I have wonderful parents and I really liked their relationship. They lived peacefully all their life and I really liked it.'
>
> *Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

Perhaps his migration can be best understood in terms of a clash between the idealised lost world of modesty, stability and predictability subjectively associated with the life of the previous generation (his parents), and the life of subsequent generation(s) who entered the labour market during the transformation into neoliberal capitalism. Therefore, his migration appears not just as geographical mobility but also as an ascetic retreat into stability and peace, anchored in conservative values that champion a traditional family life ('For me the family and family values are the most important'), an anti-materialistic orientation ('I have a simple model of phone and at home I have the standard equipment one needs'), and communitarianism ('You should also give something from yourself. So I've been keen on participating in some social events, I've been helping and doing a lot of things for free locally').

On the other hand, this seemingly anti-materialistic and anti-consumeristic narrative can be seen as still written into the neoliberal ethic of entrepreneurship. After all, his metamorphosis involves withdrawal to the private sphere and a focus on the reworking of his selfhood. He reshapes his individual attitude to his labour by giving up exploitative corporate employment and boasting, in another part of the interview, about how he manages to challenge his current boss's attempts to make him work overtime, but he does not think in collective terms apart from a very narrowly

conceived participation in community life (i.e. activity in a martial arts club). Indeed, his ‘shunning of politics’ signifies an inward orientation and, in metaphorical terms, a retreat to the cave where he leads a private life centred on his family and some apolitical engagement in a community. This inclination towards an inwardly oriented individualistic restructuring of self brings his narrative into line with the ethic of the entrepreneurial self. Indeed, he left Poland to craft his own way of life far away from what he saw as a dominant way of life and dominant values which, as previously observed, generated in him feelings of suffocation. That this unique pathway to the ‘self’ took a trajectory perhaps most common among Polish migrant workers (i.e. ending up at the lower end of the labour market) is a completely different story.

All in all, stories like those discussed in this section of the chapter can be seen as indicating a clash between an entrepreneurial ethic that goes with neoliberalism, and the actual experience of this ethic in Poland. This clash creates a Structure of Feeling – the ‘culture as lived’ (Williams 1961) – that can be described with adjectives such as suffocating and stifling. However, these hidden injuries had a somewhat variable origin across interviews. For Agata and Hania, they were related to personal experiences of their social milieus. On the other hand, Grzegorz felt overwhelmed with the state apparatus and legal framework in Poland. In turn, Roman struggled with the imperatives of individual success in the market economy characterised by fierce competition.

In addition, while these hidden injuries appear relevant for the migration decision, this feature also manifests itself differently across interviews. For example, Agata and Hania tackled the sense of suffocation with a feeling of open-endedness and temporariness with regard to their lives abroad. Grzegorz, on the other hand, having found an optimal configuration of welfare and a business-friendly state apparatus in the liberal market economy of the UK, felt emotionally connected with his country of destination and saw his future in this place. Lastly, Roman, having regained a sense of control over his life and his labour, also felt emotionally attached to the new place and did not consider returning to Poland or going elsewhere.

Of course, there were other manifestations of entrepreneurial ethics in the interviews conducted for the present study. However, the four particular cases discussed above

most vividly illustrate how the clash of this ethic with the experience of life can generate hidden injuries in the form of a sense of suffocation which, in turn, can be linked with migration decisions. As previously explained, these experiences were characteristic of migrants from more advantaged socio-economic backgrounds who did not experience the economic constraints that were the subject of the narratives discussed in the first part of this chapter. Having presented them, the next section returns to the discussion of economic constraints on neoliberal ethics. Specifically, it focuses on the obstacles on the path to the ethic of a freely choosing consumer-citizen.

6.3. The ethic of a freely choosing consumer-citizen

Existing literature on neoliberalism sees the model of an active and freely choosing consumer-citizen as an integral part of a neoliberal ethic (e.g. Barnett 2010: 3).[5] In the context of Poland, Ziółkowski (1999) argued that one of the most significant changes in the sphere of social values under the systemic transformation was the exponential growth of the role of consumption in people's lives. In turn, in her study of the reshaping of personhood under the new capitalism in post-socialist Poland, Dunn (2004: 127) wrote that:

> 'purchasers in the Polish market are being transformed from either "hunters" seeking products through znajomości or the passive recipients of goods from the state into active consumers with preferences and choices'. (Dunn 2004: 127)

For such consumers with preferences and choices, a lack of ability to exercise them can arguably be experienced as a lack of freedom. Therefore, in the market economy where the consumerist ethic prevails, consumption and individual freedom become intricately linked. In keeping with this view, Sowa (2012) posited that neoliberalism in Poland established itself not only in practice but also in subjectivity, capturing the

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[5] See Barnett (2010: 3) for further references to literature that documents the reworking of people's subjectivities under neoliberalism towards an ideal of an active consumer-citizen.

‘popular imagination of the masses – through a cult of consumption and individual freedom’ (Sowa 2012: 178). Such linking of consumption and personal freedom suggests that the ability to be a freely choosing consumer is part of being a free citizen.

This connection between lack of consumer choice and a perceived lack of a more broadly understood freedom is vivid in the anecdote related by Mariusz – a 31-year-old social entrepreneur in Northern Ireland:

> ‘I’m a typical child of the EU accession. I left Poland just before 2004, stayed three months in Brussels and three months in Amsterdam. I went back to Poland exactly at the moment when it entered the EU. After three months I realised I can’t find myself there. This atmosphere in the country … it wasn’t for me. Actually, I left Poland for a few years as a child and I lived in the US for some time. These were the times when in Poland you could buy a chewing gum only in Pewex.[6] It wasn’t a normal, colourful world. Later I came back and I adjusted but when I went abroad again it came back to me that Poland is not yet a cool place.’
>
> *Mariusz, 31 years old, Northern Ireland*

Above are the words with which Mariusz began his interview, in response to the first question about his reasons for coming to work in the UK. He started by saying that his experience of working in Western Europe created, upon his return to Poland, a discord with the atmosphere in his home country which he found no longer suitable for him. In trying to describe what was wrong with this new impression of Poland, he goes back in time to draw on his memory of travel to the US as a child. Even though he talks about the era of a still state-socialist Poland and a lack of basic consumer products, such as chewing-gum, at that time, he explains through this retrospective anecdote how he still feels about his country of origin. Specifically, he says that going to work in Western Europe brought back these memories of Poland as a place that is still not ‘cool’ enough. Interestingly, Mariusz uses exactly the same anecdote in the concluding remarks of his interview when asked whether he plans to return to

[6] A chain of shops in state-socialist Poland where foreign goods could be obtained for payment in US dollars.

Poland in the future. Rather than directly answering the question, he does so indirectly though this anecdote:

> 'I will give you a silly metaphor. First was my visit to the USA when on the first day I asked my uncle to buy me a chewing gum. We went to a supermarket, he took me to the chewing gum section and I totally grew stupid. I think my brain was not ready for these kind of stimuli. I didn't know what to do. In one second I got a choice of chewing gums in front of me that I've never seen during my entire life. After 15 minutes my uncle simply put the random gum in my hand and we left. Since that moment I knew it was the place I wanted to be. That I have to try all of these chewing gums in my life.'
>
> *Mariusz, 31 years old, Northern Ireland*

In the quote above, Mariusz once again uses the notion of consumer choice – encapsulated in the anecdote about chewing gum – to talk about his sense of constrained freedom and choice in Poland. His narrative fits well with those discussed in the previous section, in that the availability of different kinds of chewing gum can be interpreted as symbolising the availability of opportunities for self-making and self-enterprising in ways that transcend strictly economic concerns. However, the present section wants to show that Polish neoliberalism has not resolved even the more basic, economic obstacles to the fulfilment of aspirations to consumer choice and freedom: aspirations that, paradoxically, neoliberalism itself has created. Under the state-socialist system, the ethic of a freely choosing consumer-citizen was not much in evidence and was markedly constrained by the government's tight control over the production and availability of consumer goods. This is suggested in the study by Dunn (2004) that was quoted from earlier. However, nearly three decades of neoliberal political economy have not extended this particular sense of freedom significantly, at least not for thirteen interviewees in the UK sample whose common characteristics included a perception of either insufficient wages or insecure employment.

For these migrants, work abroad was initially a temporary project aimed at dealing with perceived deprivations in the material sphere of life in Poland, but then turned

into an indefinite settlement. This can be exemplified by a quote from Karolina – a 32-year-old café employee in Northern Ireland:

> Interviewer: 'Why didn't you want to go back to Poland even though your partner wanted you to return?'
>
> Karolina: 'It's because I felt too comfortable here. The memories of life in Poland were too vivid. My husband was looking for work back then so I was the only one with income. I worked in a pizzeria for earning 850 PLN netto. We paid 500 for the flat. On weekends I used to sell flowers on a market. During the week I also worked in the shopping mall as a promotional staff. So I spent home only around six hours. I worked a lot but the standard of life was completely different back then. Now I don't have to think whether this month I should pay bills for water, electricity or gas, or whether I should buy a shampoo or a conditioner. I just go to the shop and buy what I want without looking at prices. I also used to send 300 pounds every month for bills in Poland where my husband stayed, and 100 pounds to my parents to help paying back the loan and so on. And I still had money left for a comfortable and free life.'
>
> *Karolina, 32 years old, Northern Ireland*

In the quote above, Karolina talks about her difficulties in affording basic consumer goods in Poland despite having a number of sources of income from non-standard and irregular employment. This account resonates with those in the previous chapter on dual-idealisations. For those people, migration was initially thought of as a temporary solution to the financial shortages in their home budgets. However, after having experienced working and living in the UK, they typically became attracted, through their significantly increased freedom as consumers, to the idea of staying there for a longer period or for good. The appeal of this newly gained consumer freedom can be best exemplified by a quote from Daria's interview:

> 'I got a taste of a different life here. I used to earn 200 pounds at the beginning plus some tips at the bar, right? And still I could go to the shop and buy some cool jacket, some cool clothes. Or go to the cinema and so on. I

lived in the village in Poland. There was only one shop and it was far away. So it was a different reality, right? (…) It was always difficult during my studies in Poland. I got some social assistance but after paying the rent, I had only pennies left.'

Daria, 28 years old, Northern Ireland

Such narratives indicate the importance of consumption in people's lives and their feelings of constraint in Poland in this respect. This is further underscored by a widespread manifestation of consumption aspirations in migrants' narratives concerning a sense of home and belonging. The questions about home and belonging, which might be assumed to relate to the sphere of *sacrum*, were commonly answered in terms of *profanum*, with reference to the consumption of consumer goods. This can be illustrated with a quote from an interview with a couple from Edinburgh:

Interviewer: 'So you said that you perceive Scotland as your home?'

Tadeusz: 'I think that our life is focused on here.'

Irena: 'We have something that holds us here. Here we have something that we achieved ourselves. Because in Poland we have completely nothing. Besides family (laughter) we have nothing so….'

Interviewer: 'What you have achieved?'

Irena: 'A house, a car.'

Tadeusz: 'These are materialistic things.'

Irena: 'Materialistic. Because generally you feel confident here cause you've got something. In Poland over the same period of time you would probably not have achieved this. Maybe we would build a house but whether we would be able to finish it – I doubt it. This is the reality. (…) It makes us happy that we didn't ask parents for anything. Neither of them. We try to do everything by ourselves.'

Irena and Tadeusz, 31 and 34 years old, Scotland

Interestingly, the reference to the family in the quote above is followed by disparaging laughter. Following this, the interviewees invoke the themes that were discussed in the previous section: independence, self-making and individual success, especially in the concluding sentence. But perhaps the most striking motif is their outspokenness about the materialistic considerations and consumption that govern their feelings of home and belonging. In similar fashion, Marek's and Daria's settlement and sense of belonging are also framed within a structure of materialistic having and not-having as the two contrasting worlds in their biography:

> 'It's hard to explain how I felt at that time. You see, I had two different worlds: in one world I had nothing, completely nothing. In Poland I didn't have a job, I didn't have anything. Whereas suddenly: bang! Completely different world: Ireland. I have money, I have everything, I have a roof above my head, I bought a car maybe after three months of being here (...) After two months I could afford a car. Ireland for me is my home.'
>
> *Marek, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

> Interviewer: 'You said that you don't plan to leave. Do you feel attached to this place?'
>
> Daria: 'Well, I feel attached… Cause one got used to here, right? That there's a better standard of life. When I compare myself to my family in Poland. I feel sorry for them. I can afford to get an Iphone – maybe it's a silly example – but in Poland an average person cannot afford to buy an Iphone unless they spend their monthly wage. So there are kind of stupid, mundane things.'
>
> *Daria, 28 years old, Northern Ireland*

From quotes like this we can see how countries of departure and destination are differently experienced though the ethic of consumer freedom and choice. They suggest that, at least in the experience of these interviewees, neoliberalism in Poland has not kept the promises of consumption and individual freedom with which,

according to Sowa (2003; 2012: 178), it captured the popular imagination of the masses.

While at face value the narratives presented in the previous section indicate what Kazimierska et al. (2011) define as materialistic value orientation and migration driven by comparison of living standards, measured by the ability to consume everyday goods, this orientation can also be read as reflecting a much more fundamental individual yearning for inclusion, belonging and 'citizenship in the sense of worth and honour' (Anderson 2013). As explained by Ray (2014: 123): 'if the self in contemporary societies is a "consuming self", then commodity performance is likely to be crucial to maintaining senses of self-worth'. Therefore, if commodity performance is not available to the desired extent, people are likely to experience a diminished sense of worth, which is one of the cognates of the sense of shame (Scheff 2000). As previously explained, this emotion indicates weakened social bonds (Scheff 2000) and weak social integration (Czykwin 2012). As such, narratives of scarcity like those discussed may indicate a state of consumer-denizenship or, simply, of exclusion from consumer society.

In turn, displays of consumption are among the techniques for suppressing feelings of shame in a consumer society (Ray 2014: 123). In other words, displays of consumption are a way of strengthening the sense of a social bond. For many migrants, the availability of this technique for suppressing shame was very limited in Poland, due to low incomes or employment insecurity. The latter obstacle can be well illustrated by a quote from Tadeusz's interview:

> 'At first I used to be employed directly by the company but later it was through some ridiculous agency who renewed my contract every two weeks. It was just funny. So even when you want to buy a mobile phone in Poland, they check your income but if you have two weeks long contract you can't buy anything. We were a young couple, living with a mother. What can you buy? Nothing.'
>
> *Tadeusz, 34 years old, Scotland*

Looking at migrants' narratives from this perspective, their lived experience of the ethic of a freely choosing consumer-citizen or, in other words, their Structure of Feeling, appears as marked with a sense of shame when it comes to Poland and the opposite sense of self-worth when it comes to the UK. Moreover, as seen in section 6.1 of this chapter, such feelings were connected with experiences of inclusion and exclusion in relation to the sending and receiving countries. Specifically, interviewees felt emotionally detached from their country of origin while experiencing a sense of home in connection with the country of destination. To recapitulate, these findings are consistent with sociological theories of shame. Furthermore, identifying a Structure of Feeling characterised by feelings of shame can help to account for the dual-idealisations identified in the previous chapter (as well as in previous research on post-accession Polish migrants). In line with Elias's (1978) notion of invisible shame, in modern Western societies shame is a negative emotion that individuals want to hide, mask or suppress. The quotes above can be seen as ways of hiding, masking or suppressing shame, in that what one can observe in them is the reinterpretation of a lack of consumption capabilities as resulting not from the failure of the individual but, rather, from the systemic failure of a defunct labour market and economy in Poland which is laid bare by comparison with the relatively prosperous lives forged in the UK. Therefore, the dual-idealisations may be a way of shifting the blame from the individual onto Poland's inferior political-economic system and, hence, a way of dealing with negative feelings of shame.

Moreover, in addition to the conclusions of the two previous sections, these narratives may indicate another contradictory tendency within neoliberalism in Poland. This contradiction lies in the fact that that the low wages and insecure employment – arguably conditions generated or at least aggravated by a neoliberal economy – limit people's opportunities to achieve the consumerist ideals that, paradoxically, have been proselytised in Poland since the arrival of neoliberalism. Once again, there is a tension between the neoliberal ethic and the lived experience of this ethic under the low-road neoliberalism that characterises Poland.

Of course, this contradiction is not solely characteristic of Poland or of CEE economies. The 2011 riots in London and other English cities clearly illustrated the

fact that increasingly significant parts of the population in the UK feel excluded from the consumer society whose values they have internalised. Indeed, Ray (2014) also saw these riots as a response to the feelings of shame experienced by this precarious young generation as a result of exclusion from the consumer society. In her analysis, she drew on the theoretical framework proposed by Scheff (2002) which identifies two dominant responses to the hidden-injuries of shame: withdrawal and silencing, or anger and hostility. These two contrasting responses are exemplified by two classical studies in the sociology of labour: those of Sennet and Cobb (1972) and of Willis (1977). In the first study, working-class boys who experienced feelings of shame in the school system withdrew and became silent in the classroom, trying to just get by. However, this only reproduced their disadvantaged class position in the school system and, in the long run, in the society at large. In the second case, the lads suppressed shame with hostility towards teachers but this had similar results in terms of reproducing the inequalities that had caused their 'hidden injuries' in the first place.

The response of the subjects of the present study can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, it constituted withdrawal, since the people left their home country; but, on the other hand, their disparaging images of Poland conveyed in the previously described dual-idealisations indicate feelings of anger. This interpretation accounts for the role of such dual-idealisations in migrants' narratives, hence explaining something that previous literature only described. More specifically, the dual-idealisations may be a response to anger felt by these people. Unfortunately, this anger was directed towards their country but did not lead them to reappraise the values against which they evaluated their lives. However, the latter scenario is also possible because, as argued by Ray (2014: 122), shame can be overcome through 'rejection of dominant values' and so 'shame has the potential to separate the actor from hegemonic ideals and become "queering"'. We have seen an anti-consumerist and anti-materialistic rhetoric surfacing vividly in Roman's narrative, discussed in the previous section, although, as was argued, this narrative was also written into a neoliberal ethic of self-making and self-enterprising. In turn, Vignette 1 below shows that the experience of shame can also generate a more radical detachment from neoliberal ideas. Vignette 2 discusses how shame can generate narratives that

challenge the dual-idealisations common among migrant workers. In this way it refers back to something projected at the end of Chapter 5: that is, it shows how these narratives that run counter to dual-idealisations can be explained.

Vignette 1: When the free consumer-citizen is beyond the reach even after migration

Among the few in the sample who did not see their migration as a success story, there is one case that particularly well suits the purpose of exploring the power of hidden injuries, in the form of shame, in detaching an individual from the dominant ethics. Aneta is a thirty-four-year-old café employee in Edinburgh who, after graduating with a higher education diploma in Poland, found a job in her profession but said that she struggled to make ends meet. She remembers going to the UK full of enthusiasm, perhaps fuelled by what Kazimierska et al. (2011: 144) refer to as 'the myth of wealthy and rich West (a Promised Land), created through means of public and private discourses'. However, she also explains that this enthusiasm quickly waned as the promise of a new, better life did not materialise. These themes are all captured in the brief quote below:

> 'I came here full of enthusiasm and a belief that the world is mine. But one day I woke up from this dream and I felt as if I had lost my identity. I was a social worker with a diploma in Poland. I earned shit money but it doesn't matter. I was studying, I was taking private English classes. Everything with the help of my parents because a salary of a typical employee like me was insufficient. The money was funny – both for workers and for the recipients of social assistance. But when I came here I felt that I fell four levels downwards. Instead of office work, I've been serving beer, washing dishes and even not able to communicate with people.'

Aneta's story of low salaries forcing continued dependency on her parents resonates with the narratives of workers discussed previously in this chapter. However, in contrast to their accounts of individual achievement through work abroad, Aneta

emphasised in the interview how she got stuck in low-paid, low-status, and often unstable jobs: bistro waitress, receptionist in a small hotel, then again waitress, followed by work for a large multinational sandwich-bistro franchise; next, a small coffee shop at the time of the first interview and later a café franchise during the follow-up interview. Unlike most of the other interviewees, she did not get a mortgage, buy a car or gain access to other consumerist artefacts which, as explained previously, can serve the purpose of masking shame in the consumerist society (Ray 2014). In further contrast to the other interviewees, she did not present her migration as an entrepreneurial success. Instead, she developed a narrative that criticised the materialistic orientations, competitiveness, consumerist values, and the notion of individual success, saying that she 'never wanted to be a part of a rat race'. A brief and most illustrative passage of this narrative is quoted below:

> 'At some point I realized that it's all bullshit. That it doesn't have to be this way. There're so many people who do lots of cool things in life and they don't have to go as the system tells you. That, you know, I don't really have to study, I don't have to be a super-educated person and have lots of money to be happy. I don't have to wear a suit to be happy. I feel that people in Poland lost themselves in all this everyday rush and they are unhappy. They work, work, work, and make a lot of effort but in the end they have nothing out of it. They're stressed out, rushed, have civilisational illnesses like schizophrenia, heart attacks and so on.'

As previously explained, Ray (2014: 122) argued that 'shame can be overcome through rejection of dominant values' and, therefore, 'shame has the potential to separate the actor from hegemonic ideals and become "queering"'. Therefore, it might have been the shame associated with lost social status and exclusion from a consumer society that lies behind Aneta's narrative of separation from the hegemonic ideas of consumerism and individual success.

Nevertheless, it has to be noted that shame can have this transformative power in some cases while not in others. Ray (2014) argues that the context (conditions in the external environment at a particular point in time) have a mediating role to play in

this process. For Aneta, perhaps it was the migration experience that became a trigger for this transformative power of her hidden injuries. Indeed, she subjectively connects her transformation with a migration experience that exposed her to other ways of living:

> 'In Poland few people go outside society's frames. But here society is multicultural and these frames are bended and have holes. By living here, you shake off all prescriptions and prohibitions like a dog that just walked out of the river and shakes off water. In Poland, if you grow up in a certain environment, a "caste", your parents will guide you since early days. They choose your social circle, your acquaintances, who you socialise with and what your values are. But when you come here you take yourself out of this little world and you are thrown into a pot with diverse people that you get to work with. All of them have different values and it was a huge eye-opener for me.'

As the quote above suggests, her migration experience offered a solution to her hidden injuries by opening her eyes to new social environments and, hence, alternative values, ethics, and ways of looking at the world. Thus, while the present chapter showed how migration can be a pathway to the ethic of a free consumer-citizen, for Aneta it opened opportunities for finding alternative valued ways of living and for a reinterpretation of self. Williams (1961) described several forms of relationship between an individual and a society, ranging from a high level of identification with the society and its normative system (*servant*), through pragmatic obedience without internalisation or identification merely for the purpose of maintaining one's (social and material) existence (*subject*), to complete rejection of the society, which can take different forms: *exile, vagrant, or rebel.* It is impossible to use this categorisation as a typology in the present study. To assign each of the interviewees to one of the categories, one would have to conduct a more in-depth study of their social and political views. However, with her critique of the competitiveness, materialism and consumerism of modern life, Aneta clearly appears to resemble the figure of a *vagrant*. As a *vagrant*, she also did not feel emotionally attached either to Poland or to the UK, and her vagrancy was particularly vividly

conveyed in her self-description not as a migrant but as an 'emigracz' which is a made-up word combining the Polish words 'emigrant' and 'gracz' (player); in English 'emi-player': a free spirit who migrates but is not embedded in any of the places. Moreover, as noted in the third section of Chapter 5, her narrative challenged the idealised view of the UK that radiated from the dual-idealisations narrated by other interviewees. For her, the UK was ridden by the same inequalities, injustices, and exploitation as any other country.

Of course, not all Polish migrants in the UK experience their migration as a success story in terms of their achievements. Therefore, Aneta's experience as discussed in this brief vignette is arguably more prevalent among Polish migrants, even though it was uncommon in the sample of people interviewed for the present study. Besides this, there were other narratives which did not challenge the neoliberal ethics in the same way as Aneta's, but still went against the dual-idealisations of the UK and Poland. The discussion of these was forecast at the end of Chapter 5 and, as promised, it is attended to in the second vignette below.

Vignette 2: Challenging the dual-idealisations

Chapter 5 concluded with a forecast that the counter-narratives to dual-idealisations, which were thus far only presented and described, will be at least partially accounted for in Chapter 6. The purpose of this Vignette is to fulfil this promise, and it is done by drawing on the insights from the theories of shame that were referred to repeatedly throughout the present chapter. Based on these theoretical insights, it is argued that it is the feeling of shame, but this time experienced in the country of destination, that can result in critical or negative interpretations of it. This proposition is based on the observation that the narratives of those who deviated from the grand narrative of dual-idealisation were also characterised by indicators of a loss of social status and shame in the country of destination. This can be best illustrated with the two cases: one from Belfast and the other from Edinburgh.

The first case is that of Amanda, a thirty-year-old woman living in Belfast, who is

one of the interviewees identified in Chapter 5.3. as deviating from the grand narrative of dual-idealisation. As noted on page 120, throughout the interview she emphasised the negative aspects of life in the UK and tended to positively idealise Poland on a number of levels, such as living standards, education system, culture or even weather. At times, her narrative took quite a derogatory tone when describing the people of her migration destination country:

> 'We often say that Poles are "persecuted" here. That the Irish people look down on us. That's true because I experienced racist comments directed at me a few times. But, on the other hand, when I look at them I also think that I'm a racist because I laugh at their character. For me they're a bit dumb. And it's not good to think this way, right? [laugh] Not good to laugh at them. So they laugh us and we laugh at them, and think they are stupid.'
>
> *Amanda, 30 years old, Northern Ireland*

Agreeing with the theoretical argument mentioned earlier, that shame has a propensity to generate anger and hostility (Scheff 2002) as well as alienation and isolation from the society (Sueda 2014: 40), one can account for her negative, if not hostile, narrative of her destination country by saying that she responds to the shame that she experiences as a migrant from Poland in the UK with a narrative that shames this country: a classic reject-the-rejecters response (Scheff 2002; McCorkle and Korn 1954). Through this derogatory counter-narrative, she may be able to protect her sense of self, as indicated in the quote above where Amanda positions her deprecatory perception of the 'natives' in direct relation to the deprecatory perception of Poles that she can sense in them. Throughout the interview Amanda gave a number of examples of situations where she felt that she was stigmatised because of her national identity. In this sense, her narrative involved many cues of shame, such as the negative self-perception from the viewpoint of a generalised other that is also vividly conveyed in the quote above.

In addition, one should look at her migration experience beyond the issues of nationality to get a better sense of the feelings of shame that might have accompanied her experience of life in the UK. Specifically, Amanda comes from a

family of middle-class professionals: her mother is a doctor and her father an accountant. Amanda graduated from one of the best universities in Poland and soon after this got a job in a large international company in Belfast. However, she soon experienced many setbacks to this successful career. Just four months after moving to the UK she lost her job following significant downsizing on the eve of the 2007 financial crisis. Following this, she became self-employed and after only a few years was successful in being recruited for a job at a multinational company, thus regaining her position. Despite this success, she decided to withdraw her application in order to take care of her little daughter. Apart from family life and motherhood, Amanda's story is that of loss. First of all, despite initial success in getting a job at a large company in the UK, she soon became unemployed and could never rebuild a sense of occupational success. Secondly, she complained about relatively poor living conditions such as a cold house with damp on the walls, which contrasted with the good standard of living that she was used to in the home of her affluent parents. On top of this, Amanda wanted to return to Poland but could not do so for family reasons. All in all, set against the background of this story of loss of social status, coupled with her negative experiences of derogatory discourses towards Polish migrants, of which she gave several examples, her reversed dual-idealisations of Poland and the UK can be seen as aimed at elevating her injured identity.

A similar pattern is identifiable in the narrative of Janusz which, in Chapter 5.3., was also used as an example of a discourse that undermines the dual-idealisation present in other interviews. Like Amanda, Janusz comes from a more advantaged socio-economic background: his mother is a high-skilled researcher and his father a university lecturer. For Janusz, going abroad to work was not an economic imperative. As he puts it, his acquaintances went abroad to work in Germany and Netherlands but somehow he 'preferred to travel for sightseeing':

> 'It was a period when everyone, at least from Western Poland, went for some temporary work in Germany, the Netherlands or elsewhere. It was a cultural trend. A lot of my acquaintances did it but somehow I did not. I preferred to travel for sightseeing and I felt that I've been missing on something, that I didn't go through some kind of test or initiation. It wasn't that I was forced

> but it was like "Who doesn't go is a pussy" sort of feeling. At least in my environment, everyone has been somewhere.'
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

However, after having visited several places in Europe, he came to Scotland where he got a job in his skilled profession. But this apparent career success was the beginning of his negative experiences of shame as a result of bullying by his manager:

> 'For the first year or more of my work in Scotland I experienced bullying. My supervisor was a racist. He kept making subtle and "cultural" but, still, insults because of my nationality.'
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

Interestingly, Janusz was employed in exactly the same profession as Grzegorz, whose case was discussed previously in this chapter. However, Grzegorz's narrative of life and employment in Poland was marked by intense feelings of misrecognition and, by contrast, he felt much appreciated in his UK workplace. In contrast, Janusz had no prior experience of working in Poland and held no negative views about employment relations in that country. Instead, he experienced them in the UK. While Grzegorz said that Polish employees in his company were always assigned the most ambitious tasks, Janusz says that he felt underrated because of his nationality:

> 'The British tend to feel better just because they are British. That, for example, their education system is better and more valuable. I heard things like "You with your Polish education, don't even speak up". Even though I came with a degree that wasn't even here [Scotland, UK] yet. This area was very underdeveloped and primitive here and I came with great knowledge. And they were like "nah, get away". Our company could have been ahead of competitors but it got wasted. Interestingly, a few years later another guy who was English took up this issue and then everyone thought it was amazing idea.'

Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland

Following this, Janusz remarks that these experiences of shame inflicted by his xenophobic boss made him develop the counter-narrative that allowed him to take pride in his national identity:

> 'It was him [the manager] who, paradoxically, motivated me to become engaged in Polish community. I was regularly insulted and I decided that I will kick back the ball, so to say. I started to learn about Poland and realised that – damn it – we know nothing about Poland. We know nothing about our achievements. We have no bloody idea.'
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

The pride narrative that he developed in relation to his country of origin emanates from his community engagement described below:

> 'We've never published any interventionist report on, for example, a Polish worker who was cheated with his wage for picking up strawberries or that someone was fired. Not even a single article of this sort. No one is gonna feel sorry for the poor Poles that were exploited by someone, right? This would always keep us in the so to say "weaker" group. And I don't think we are in any way weaker. The only way we are weaker is that we think about ourselves in these terms. So the more we are civically active through Polish and Scottish initiatives and the more there is of Polish surnames and words – the more important we will become, they will respect us more both politically as well as in the labour market. We have to make noise but high standard noise. We shouldn't think of Fiat 125p. Instead we should design a Ferrari. And that's what we do with our activism. We're designing Ferrari. There's no point of sitting in the corner and cry that someone kicked us in the ankle. No. They will keep kicking and there will be always someone "anti". So this "victim" attitude is not effective.'
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

At the same time, on several occasions in the interview this pride narrative

contrasted with the narrative that deprecated the culture of his migration destination country. Apart from the contested image of the West and the UK conveyed in his quote presented in Chapter 5.3., he devoted much of his interview to talking about his country of destination in negative terms (although positive references were also made). Perhaps what Janusz is trying to do can be best described in terms that Malgosia referred to as getting rid of homo sovieticus, and as screaming 'I don't want to think about communism' (see Chapter 5.3) – a slogan conveying a desperate attempt to come to terms with the legacy of the inferiorised country of origin that haunts the lives of these migrants. It haunts them by inflicting hidden injuries in the form of an often unacknowledged but deep-seated, internalised sense of shame. The reappraisal of such feelings leads Janusz to develop a sense of belonging.

> 'I think that at the beginning I was excluded because I remember these were the days when we were the savages from the East. (…) Now feel that I am part of this world and strongly believe that it's the matter of the choices I made. It's a matter of language abilities and also self-confidence. I'm more or less equal now.'
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

This is in line with Scheff's (2000) argument that the acknowledgement of shame promotes stronger social bonds and identification with others instead of a sense of distance.

6.4. Conclusions

To conclude, the present chapter described the three ethics that were identified during the data analysis process as occupying a prominent place in the narratives on work and life abroad provided by Polish migrants. To recollect, these three ethics are: the ethic of a neoliberal adult-citizen; as a cognate to it, the entrepreneurial ethic; and the ethic of a freely choosing consumer-citizen. While the first and third ethics were characteristic of migrants who experienced economic scarcity in their country of origin, the second one was typically found in the narratives of workers of higher socio-economic background. The chapter also showed how these ethics were linked to people's experience of working life and, by extension, life beyond the workplace, in particular the experience of inclusion and exclusion. Specifically, it was discussed how each of these ethics was differently experienced by migrant workers in their countries of departure and of destination, largely, but not solely, because of employment experiences. Furthermore, it was indicated that these ethics were in tension with the actual experience of life in Poland, whereas the UK appeared as a country where these ethics could be eventually realised. Consequently, it was argued that these contrasting experiences of the three ethics resulted in different Structures of Feeling in relation to the country of departure and a country of destination.

In particular, Structures of Feeling in relation to the former place were characterised by feelings of shame and suffocation. The presence of the former type of feelings is consistent with existing literature which posits that in modern states those 'lacking in neoliberal potential may be treated as less-worthy subjects' and 'are constructed as excludable populations' (Ong 2006: 16) and that people's 'worth, value, and inclusion are accordingly determined by contractual successes or failures in relationship to utility' (Somers, 2008: 41). Notably, these feelings of shame marked the narratives of people who faced economic scarcity in Poland, whereas narratives of those who did not have such experiences were marked by the latter type of experience, namely, a sense of suffocation. This difference taps into the previous literature on shame which has identified the experience of this category of emotions as characteristic of working-class people (Sennett and Cobb 1972; Willis 1977 in

Scheff 2002; Skeggs 1997; Lamont 2000). As argued by Sayer (2005: 954), this situation results from the fact that:

> 'class inequalities mean that the "social bases of respect" in terms of access to valued ways of living are unequally distributed, and therefore that shame is [unequally distributed]'.

Previous literature also identified sources of the opposite feelings – i.e. a sense of self-worth and pride (Sayer 2005: 954) – in specific ethics of the working class. For example, Lamont (2000) showed how American working-class men derived their sense of worth and pride 'from their self-discipline, their ability to work hard, provide for and protect their families, and maintain their values in an insecure environment' (Sayer 2005: 954). Similar observations were made in the study by Sennett and Cobb (1972). In turn, the present chapter showed how migrant workers from Poland derive their sense of worth and pride from the different types of neoliberal ethics discussed above, and that they experience these ethics differently depending on their socio-economic status.

It can be argued that the clash between these ethics and actual experience of life in Poland represents more general tensions within neoliberalism that are not unique to Poland. More specifically, it appeared that low-wage and precarious employment make the ideals of a neoliberal adult-citizen and a freely choosing consumer-citizen difficult to attain. Inasmuch as neoliberal policies tend to generate precarious and low-paid employment, it can be suggested that neoliberal policies can at some point and in the long-run create economic conditions that will undermine the neoliberal ethic.

Following on from this, it was suggested in the first Vignette in this chapter that the experience of shame resulting from the inability to live up to the ethics of neoliberalism can lead to the detachment of the individual from these ethics. In this process, individuals reinterpret their values, themselves, and their relationship with the the country of departure and destination) As put by Ray (2014: 122), 'shame can be overcome through rejection of dominant values' and, therefore, 'shame has the potential to separate the actor from hegemonic ideals and become "queering"'.

Therefore, at least theoretically neoliberal policies can generate conditions that in the long-run undermine neoliberalism by undermining its ethic. However, it was also explained that this path leading away from the ideal of a 'neoliberal citizen' was uncommon among the interviewees in this study. Most of them sustained their neoliberal ethics and, arguably, this was made possible by migration in that they could validate the ethic of self-making and self-entrepreneurship by going abroad. Therefore, in the process of migration their reinterpreted themselves as being not social losers in the country of departure but self-made men and women who achieved individual success through individual initiative, self-enterprise, and risk-taking attitude.

In this way, instead of becoming a force for the 'rejection of dominant values' (Ray 2014: 122), shame coped with by withdrawal from the social context which generated it. Arguably, it was also masked by anger directed at their country of origin, which was interpreted as inferior and as not living up to the needs of these neoliberal subjects. In this way the chapter accounted for the dual-idealisations described in Chapter 5 and did so in a way that differed from previous migration literature. Specifically, it was argued here that dual-idealisations can be seen as a response to hidden injuries: a response that is targeted at shifting the blame for failure to embody neoliberal ethics away from the individual to the state in the country of departure. Therefore, in line with the previous paragraph, it can be argued that it is exactly through migration that the tension between the neoliberal ethic and the experience of life in the neoliberal economy can be resolved.

However, the previous chapter (Chapter 5) showed that not all interviewees reproduce the dual-idealisations of a country of departure and destination. To account for this, it was proposed in the Vignettes that the experience of shame in the destination country – triggered by lost social status or experiences of stigmatisation because of the person's nationality – can lead to the classic 'reject the rejecters' response (Scheff 2002; McCorkle and Korn 1954) and that this response is reflected in the critical, and sometimes derogatory, interpretations of the country of destination accompanied by positively idealised images of the country of departure.

In addition, drawing on the literature on shame (Sueda 2014; Scheff 2001, 2002, 2003) which argues that this feeling generates a sense of exclusion, isolation, alienation, and not belonging, it was shown that, indeed, narratives on the country of departure that were marked by shame were also marked by emotional detachment from this place. In contrast, narratives on life in the UK were marked with a sense of emotional attachment conveyed in, for example, the notion of 'home'. This, in turn, was related to interviewees' decisions on settlement and return. It was also noted that the expectation of shame following a potential return to the home country acted as a deterrent. In this way, it can be argued that the Structures of Feeling of Polish migrant workers described in this chapter influence their migration decisions, at least those regarding settlement and return.

This adds to the previous literature on the settlement of Polish workers in the UK as well as the conceptualisation of 'home' that emerged from it. In particular, in their recent study on Polish migrants in Scotland, Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee (2016) attempted to answer a question previously posed by Brah (1996: 1) which goes as follows: 'when does a place of residence become "home"?'. In their response to this question, the authors proposed conceptualising home not as a place but, rather, as a time 'wherever one (and one's family) achieves feelings of security, being rooted or anchored in the context of prolonged temporariness' (Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee 2016: 13). They also specified a number of

> 'diverse relationships and attachments including social ties (having a partner, family, and friends in Scotland), economic ties (stable job, property owner, accumulation of goods and products), familiarity with the geography of the city (familiarity with services and facilities available in the neighbourhoods, sense of attachment to particular places within the city), development of daily routines and rhythms related to work, housework, leisure and other emotional attachments.'

which lead to a sense of belonging, rootedness, and, in the end, settlement. However, in the light of data analysed for the purpose of the present thesis, home is further reconceptualised as whenever and wherever one achieves a sense of respectability or, in more theoretical terms, whenever and wherever one has existential citizenship

(Therborn 2013). This existential citizenship comes from being *in sync* (Johansson and Olofsson 2011) with certain social ethics that characterise a particular place and time. The opposite experience is that of shame which, in line with sociological literature on this family of emotions, indicates a tacit experience of exclusion.

All of this underscores Anderson's (2013: 4) argument that 'immigration and citizenship are not simply about legal status, but fundamentally about status in the sense of worth and honour'.

7. Local Structures of Feeling: Northern Ireland and Scotland

The previous chapter discussed the more general Structures of Feeling that characterised Polish migrant workers in the UK interviewed for the purpose of this study. However, as foreshadowed in the introduction to this thesis, the present chapter will go down to the more local (or regional) level and explore how these general Structures of Feelings are mediated by the political-economies of the two specific locales within the UK: Northern Ireland and Scotland. Therefore, the focus here is on what Evans et al. (1996) called Local Structure of Feeling. The chapter shows that these two migration destinations generate different Local Structures of Feeling among Polish interviewees. While in the case of Scotland they seem to further advance the dual-idealisations discussed previously, narratives of migrants in Northern Ireland go uneasily with them. In particular, the Local Structure of Feeling seems to reveal a tension between the discourse of normality and idealisation of the UK on the one hand, and the lived experience in the sectarian labour market and society on the other hand. However, the chapter also underscores that the dual-idealisations and previously discussed Structures of Feeling are sustained even despite this tension on a local level. In accounting for this, the concept of normality through exclusion is proposed, which problematises the existing literature that explored the relevance of the notion of normality in Polish migration.

The discussion that follows is divided into three main sections. The first one shows how experiences in workplaces and communities shape contrasting interpretations of the two places. Northern Ireland and Belfast is manifested as a homogenous, divided place that generates a sense of uncertainty and insecurity whereas Scotland and Edinburgh emerge from people's narratives as modern, multicultural and open places that generate a sense of fascination. The second section digs deeper into the affective, indirectly conveyed aspects of these contrasting Structures of Feeling. It illustrates the sense of suffocation and constraint in relation to socio-political context in Northern Ireland that is interpreted as a parochial place, and contrasts it with a sense of autonomy, choice and self-expression that surfaces in the narratives from the

Scottish sample. In turn, the third section discusses how inclusion and exclusion are experienced in the two places. It is showed how the sectarian discourses can generate a sense of exclusion and isolation compared with discourses in Scotland which promote a sense of inclusion and belonging.

Considering the fact that the Local Structure of Feeling in relation to Northern Ireland appears to come into tension with the previously discussed grand narratives of Polish migrants (i.e. dual-idealisations), the last section focuses exclusively on Northern Ireland in order to unpack this paradox of migrants' narratives. Therefore, there is a clear justification for giving more space in the present chapter to the case of Northern Ireland. In this last section it is argued that the sustaining of the discourse of normality and the dual-idealisation among migrants indicates their exclusion from the society. It is posited that they can live their normal, comfortable, hassle-free lives of neoliberal adult-citizens, unconstrained self-entrepreneurs, and freely choosing consumer-citizens but the price for this is their marginalisation in the society and politics of Northern Ireland.

7.1. Workplaces and communities: Belfast's ethno-sectarian segregation versus Edinburgh's melting pot of nationalities

Workplaces and communities are the first points of contact with the receiving country and, therefore, are arguably the places where migrants' first impressions and interpretations of a place of destination are forged. In Northern Ireland, they were the first points of contact with ethno-sectarian divisions that were described in more detail in the third chapter of this thesis. The two quotes below illustrate such experiences:

> 'At our company the majority of workers – maybe 90% or 80% - are Protestants. The only Catholics are Polish workers.'
>
> *Pawel, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

‘Ilona: Dawid works at a Protestant place. The owner is a Protestant.

Interviewer: Does he employ Catholic workers too?

Ilona: He employs anyone who is willing to work.

Dawid: But the Irish workers are all Protestants. He doesn’t look at religion when it comes to Poles.’

Ilona and Dawid, 28 and 29 years old, Northern Ireland

Such experiences contrasted with manifestations of Edinburgh’s workplaces as melting pots of different nationalities. Again, a few quotes below can illustrate this well:

‘There was a very big circulation of people. There were students, Spanish or Italians. It was very mixed. So no one paid attention to your nationality. Our clients were also mostly foreigners, especially in the summer.’

Ewa, 33 years old, Scotland

‘Later I got a job in [anonymised], place where people can have lunch. I worked there for three years. It was really good, it was a mixture of young people so it was fun. From 7 am till 3pm. I met some French people there, for example, whom I still keep in touch with.’

Aneta, 34 years old, Scotland

‘The place where I work now, 95 per cent are foreigners. There are few Poles but there’s a lot of people from North America, Africa, New Zealand, Australia.’

Alicja, 31 years old, Scotland

Many migrants in the sample came to Edinburgh initially for a summer job. Having a large tourism industry, as well as being a centre of international finance capital and a

home to the Scottish state, Edinburgh draws foreign workers from everywhere, not just CEE, to work both in the professional middle-class service sector jobs as well as their low-end underbelly (see Chapter 3 for more detailed discussion on this). As explained earlier (Chapter 3), the migration history and an ethnic diversity in Northern Ireland are quite different. This can explain a complete lack of narratives about diversity in workplaces in the sample from Northern Ireland as those illustrated with the three quotes above. Instead, there was a sense of homogeneity that is apparent in Kaja's description of her first impressions and feelings about Northern Ireland briefly quoted below. Interestingly, Kaja worked in Edinburgh before coming to Belfast for her new job in a call centre and, therefore, her description can be read as based on her previous experience of life in Scotland:

> 'Interviewer: What were your first impressions when you came here?
>
> Kaja: The weather was awful. It was raining, all my shoes were wet. It was a big difference coming here. Besides this, there were not many foreigners at my work. There are some things about the culture and history here that you can notice when you see the police station that is so fortified and all those walls, security fences and so on. So these are some kind of first feelings.'
>
> *Kaja, 28 years old, Northern Ireland*

Ethnic and national homogeneity apart, in the quote above Kaja gives an indication of a particular sense of Belfast and Northern Ireland as a place where not only workplaces but also communities are rigidly divided along ethnic and sectarian lines. Such narratives were universal in the sample and were generally associated with a feeling of uncertainty and insecurity in relation to life in communities of Northern Ireland as the quote below illustrates:

> 'You come to the new country, you don't know anyone, you don't know the situation, you don't know where you can go because there are divisions. You know that Catholic Irish don't go to Protestant streets. So you also don't know where you can go and where you cannot. There are streets where Poles are not welcome and it's better if they don't go there.'

Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland

Some of the narratives on Northern Ireland's divided communities took a form of quasi folkloristic tales and a local wisdom about the place. The examples of such tales and local wisdom are anecdotes passed on by a word of mouth which interviewees narrated often like some fascinating legends:

> 'There was a period of time when… cause I didn't witness it but I've heard… there are two neighbourhoods and a football pitch in-between them. On the one side there are Catholics and on the other side Protestants. There was a situation that Protestants went on the football pitch with golf balls and played golf on Catholic houses. There is also one Protestant neighbourhood where a Catholic cannot enter. Same with a foreigner. It doesn't matter if he's black, Hindu, or Japanese. You can't enter if you're not a Protestant.'
>
> *Marek, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

Typical for legends, these anecdotes were sometimes covered with a mystery around certain 'evil' places where one should not endeavour, which is also seen in the quote above. Moreover, a vocabulary as if taken out of fairy tales can be used, too. For example, Grzegorz talked about 'a magic line' dividing Belfast:

> 'There's a magic red line going through the map of Belfast that no one ever drew but that all local people and letting agencies know about. Poles have no idea about it. It's a line which says where the foreigners can settle and where they by all means should not.'
> *Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland*

These narratives contrasts with experiences of a community life narrated by migrants in Edinburgh. It comes across most visibly in the two quotes below:

> 'Edinburgh for me… I live in Leith and it's very multicultural. Especially now there are a lot of Polish and Spanish people in Leith. I have a lot of acquaintances who are Scottish, English, Polish and other nationalities. In Leith there's a place which is a good example of such a community. People

> come there to play table tennis in the evenings. From children to the elderly. They play, drink beer, and eat. It's cool.'
>
> *Alicja, 31 years old, Scotland*

> 'If I lived in Poland I probably wouldn't have a chance to fall in love with an Italian or Spanish man, or have a romance with a Greek. I don't know. Or go for a date with a black person. You know what I mean. Multiculturalism is very important for me. Exchanging one's worldviews and so on. (…) Edinburgh is a multicultural city. There's a festival, there are always people who come here to explore the city, to stay here for a few months, earn some money and move somewhere else.'
>
> *Aneta, 34 years old, Scotland*

The district of Leith that Malgosia talks about is an area that has for centuries been the centre of migrant settlement. It is also a place where many, if not most Polish migrants to Edinburgh, typically start their new lives. Like with previous accounts of workplaces, these accounts of community life also convey the experience and an interpretation of Edinburgh and Scotland as a modern, multicultural and open place. Edinburgh was often interpreted as a bohemian city that offers great opportunities for self-making, self-directedness and forging of one's unique identities. A quote below illustrates such sense of a place most succinctly:

> 'In Poland few people go outside society's frames. But here society is multicultural and these frames are bended and have holes. By living here, you shake off all prescriptions and prohibitions like a dog that just walked out of the river and shakes off water.'
>
> *Aneta, 34 years old, Scotland*

All in all, such feeling in relation to Edinburgh contrasted with how people felt about Belfast. The next section looks deeper into the affective aspects of such contrasting interpretations of the two places. Specifically, a sense of freedom and self-expression

in Edinburgh/Scotland and a sense of uncertainty and suffocation in Belfast/Northern Ireland are unpacked.

7.2. Sense of autonomy, choice and self-expression vs. suffocation, uncertainty and constraint

Northern Ireland was commonly experienced and interpreted as a suffocating place that constraints people's individuality and behaviour. For example, in the quote above, Hania gives an account of a sense of tight rigidities that severely constrain opportunities to express one's political opinions:

> 'If someone is called Kevin, 90% chances are that he will be Catholic. If someone is Ben, he will probably be a Protestant. Then you know what you can talk about with the first one and with the other. Even the conflict in Palestine now. This society is divided in a stupid way in that they hang up Israeli flags only because the Catholics identify with Palestine. But it's just in opposition to Catholics that they hang Israeli flags up (…) Recently there was a question about Scottish independence. In our office this topic comes up only when the only people left in the room were those of, let's say, the same political and religious identity. Otherwise these are the topics one does not talk about. See, if you brought up this topic in England where you have a multi-polar society, you can be open for discussion and you're not afraid to talk. But here this discussion also brings up the issue a range of other political views that you have.'
>
> *Hania, 31 years old, Northern Ireland*

In Hania's account, one cannot craft one's identities, views and allegiances freely but, rather, has to make them coherent with regards to an existing set of political allegiances defined by sectarianism. Hania's account indirectly implies also a sense of insecurity seen in previous quotes but here it is related to expressing one's political views openly. Instead, one has to be conscious and manage what one says to

whom. This can be best seen in her example of the Scottish independence referendum. On this note, since she brought up the topic of the Scottish independence, it is interesting to compare her experience with that of interviewees in the Edinburgh sample who actually had a right to vote in this referendum. The first important observation is that whatever their views might have been, no interviewee expressed a sense of feeling constrained when it comes to expressing them. For example, Janusz discussed this topic with his Scottish acquaintances and said that they encouraged him to vote even before knowing his stance on the issue:

> I'd rather not vote. Although all Scots that I ask tell me that I have a full moral right to participate in the referendum and they say that I should vote even before asking me what I am going to vote for. I would like to see this [independence] as a social experiment. I like how Scotland develops towards more social democratic and eco-friendly direction. So it's very attractive but I know that if something doesn't work out, I can just leave.
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

As seen in the quote above, for Janusz the question of Scottish independence is not limited to narrow ethnic considerations but, rather, includes other issues such as environmental or social policy. There was also a particularly illustrative case of a flexible attitude to the issue of independence. This interviewee manifested an attitude that may seem truly extravagant and nonchalant in the context of Northern Ireland as it was described by Hania. Below is an exemplary quote of that case:

> 'I'm going to vote but probably with a very immature rationale. I feel the need for some change and I want to use this voting as a spark for some change. If Scotland becomes independent, it will naturally generate some element of chaos that may push things forward. Maybe this element of chaos would be the collapse of the economy, right? But it doesn't make me sad really. The only thing that would happen is that I would have to change my place of work and possibly where I live. So maybe it would push me to make some more concrete decisions about my life.'
>
> *Rafal, 35 years old, Scotland*

Such 'careless' manifestations contrasts with a sense of Northern Ireland where, as elaborated by Hania in the previous quote, one's standpoint on this topic defines virtually an entire worldview and identity of the person and, therefore, should be carefully considered and made coherent with views on other issues. In general, migrants in the Scottish sample were against the Scottish independence, as illustrated with the quote below:

> 'Of course that I will vote no. With all respect to Scotland and its culture, I don't think that this country has financial and economic resources to make it on its own.'
>
> *Adrianna, 33 years old, Scotland*

Importantly, they were not intimidated to express these views among their Scottish friends or colleagues. Therefore, a sense of uncertainty that radiated from the previous quote by Hania as well as other quotes from the interviews with migrants in Northern Ireland to be discussed below, was not present in Scotland.

A sense of uncertainty with which the context of Northern Ireland was lived and experienced can also be illustrated with examples of self-surveillance exercised by the interviewees during the interview process. This self-surveillance took very subtle manifestations. For example, people interviewed in public places commonly lowered their voice when saying words 'Protestant' or 'Catholic', and sometimes preceded them with a quick glance around the café, as if to scan for any potential threat. The latter is illustrated with a quote from Daria's interview:

> 'It was a mixed group of people. There were some…. [stops and starts with a lower voice] some Protestants worked there although it was a predominantly Catholic area.'
>
> *Daria, 28 years old, Northern Ireland*

Another narrative technique that indicates the ongoing self-surveillance was to refer to Catholics as 'those of our religion' and Protestants as 'those of other religion' in order to avoid using the two words:

‘There were a few houses which belonged to strictly Pro… those of the other religion. I’m going to avoid certain words.’

Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland

Such caution and self-restraint exercised by migrants as if they were under public surveillance can be thought of in terms of practical strategies that people adopt, perhaps unconsciously and automatically, in their daily lives. These strategies convey the Structure of Feeling marked by an atmosphere of uncertainty hanging above people’s apparently normal lives in the UK. It can be illustrated with the quote by Roman:

‘There was martial law in 2005, tanks, helicopters, army on the streets[7]. So I didn’t feel so safe here. I was asking myself where I was? I saw the police car and it looked like a tank so I thought sorry but where am I? It turned out later that it was martial law, then all those bomb threats around. I asked myself where I was. But it didn’t frighten me so much as to go back to Poland. In my first rented house there was a two-meter high wall with bottle-bottoms at the top so that no one could climb over. So I asked where I was. It’s the XXI century.’

Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland

Visible in the quote above is also the reinterpretation of the destination country as a modern, progressive place that emerged from the dual-idealisations and discourses of normality discussed previously in this chapter as well as identified in the previous literature. In contrast to this, upon arriving to the UK Roman found himself asking whether it was the XXI century he was in. Similar reinterpretation of the place of migration destination as parochial as well as a sense of frustration and suffocation associated with it emanates from the quote by Kaja:

‘After all, I think one can’t hide that Belfast is a province… and a lot of people run away from here. A lot of my friends moved out from here. Some people just want to take a breath and live somewhere else. I think that it’s not

[7] Roman refers here to the riots that erupted in Beflast in September 2005. See the BBC report on these events: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/4234626.stm.

a typical big city. It's not huge but, after all, it's the capital of this province. But what I wanted to say really is that big cities usually attract diversity, and that there's more tolerance in cities than outside them. But Belfast is quite different, specific.'

Kaja, 28 years old, Northern Ireland

Kaja's frustration was also associated with a feeling that sectarianism overshadows every other social problem thus leaving many groups, including migrant workers, behind:

'What hurts me is that when there are some situations with regards to discrimination in general, no matter what the discussion will end up on the local conflict between the Catholics and Protestants. For them it's the most important problem and everything else is pushed aside.'

Kaja, 28 years old, Northern Ireland

Her experience goes in line with previous findings of the study by Garvey and Stewart (2015: 399) who showed that sectarian discourses drown out 'a diversity of experience that includes hostility to migrant workers'. In contrast to this, Edinburgh was experienced as offering new opportunities and identities for migrants that were not necessarily available in their home country. This was indicated already in the quote by Aneta presented earlier in this chapter as well as in the previous chapter (Vignette 1) where it was illustrated how Aneta talked about her migration as a door to new ways of being and living. Another illustration of this can be a quote by Janusz who explains how Scotland opened for him a new political identity which he was not familiar with before coming there:

'By being here I have learnt a new way of being. Cause it seem like there are two routes in Poland: either you are a lewak [derogatory for leftist] or you're so called prawicowiec [nationalist right]. In a sense, both are not good. But here I like Scottish patriotism which is like: you're a Pole wearing a kilt – awesome. (…) So I've learnt that you can be proud of being from Poland and,

at the same time, be still liberal. This way of thinking is still very seldom in Poland.'

Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland

This quote brings up to the third issue forecasted in the introduction to this chapter, which is that of inclusion and exclusion. It is discussed in detail below.

7.3. Inclusion and exclusion in Northern Ireland and Scotland

Although Scotland is not a haven completely free from xenophobia and racism – indeed, even just quoted Janusz experienced negative treatment from his boss because of his nationality (see Vignette 2 in chapter 6), the quote above is theoretically relevant because it indicates how features unique to the social and political context of Scotland – in this case the discourse of a Scottish civic nationalism – may shape migrants' sense of and interpretation of a place. His words 'you're a Pole wearing a kilt – awesome', indicate that the discourse of civic nationalism may potentially facilitate a feeling of inclusion even if a person retains a strong sense of one's national identity. His quote contrasts starkly with that of Grzegorz who was also a skilled worker employed in precisely the same profession as Janusz but in Northern Ireland.

> 'When talking about inclusion, one should distinguish between people from the outside – I mean migrants – and the local ones. When it comes to immigrants, I don't think there's a problem and, if there is, it's marginal. But when it comes to locals, then one cannot say that one is an Irish from the North with no colour. After all it has to be orange or green. (…) I will never be an Irish Catholic, nor Irish Protestant. Nor will I be an Irish or Northern Irish. I will always be a Polish person who lives here.'
>
> *Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland*

In the quote above, Grzegorz discusses the issue of inclusion and exclusion in Northern Ireland. In so doing, he points out the rigidity of Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant identities. However, he also notes that these two dominant identities are not applicable to him nor other migrants who are considered as outsiders to the society. This leads him to conclude that he 'will always be a Polish person who lives here'.

There were a few more examples in the sample from Northern Ireland where migrants expressed a feeling of not belonging and although they did not explicitly linked it with sectarianism or at least xenophobia driven by it, it can be said that the social context of Northern Ireland, of which sectarianism is an important part, has been more frequently experienced as not inclusive when compared with narratives of migrants in the Scottish sample. In line with this, none of the interviewees from the latter group have returned back to Poland or moved elsewhere whereas four interviewees from the sample in Northern Ireland have done so. Among them was Kaja who, as previously discussed, felt frustrated and suffocated with the parochialism of sectarian discourses in Northern Ireland. She moved to England after the follow-up interview. The second one was Amanda who, as the Vignette 2 (chapter 6) showed, did not feel particularly welcomed in Northern Ireland. In turn, Ilona and Dawid moved back to Poland because of a fear of what might happen to them as foreigners:

> 'Ilona: We are afraid that one day things will go that far that… like it was in Belfast. There was a period when there were attacks on foreigners, breaking windows in their homes and so on. We're afraid of this, too. We wouldn't want our daughter to grow up in such a place. In such an aggressive place.'
>
> *Ilona and Dawid, 28 and 29 years old, Northern Ireland*

In addition to this, one more couple considered moving to Scotland having developed a liking for this country after visiting their Polish friends there. All of this, however, should not idealise the processes of migrant inclusion in Scotland. But, on the other hand, even though it is not a representative sample, no respondent in Scotland said that they felt excluded or not belonging in their country of destination. Moreover,

there is a particular feature of Scotland that may be drawn upon by migrants to generate a sense of belonging and provide a basis for claims to belong, and this can be illustrated with, once again, a quote from Janusz.

> 'It is very important that Scottish people know that we have a colossal historical heritage that we share and that usually things were the other way than they are now. When Scots migrated to Poland, looked for work in Poland, they were beggars and poor people. Sometimes they gained some success. But the stereotype is completely opposite. So we have to emphasise that: "Hello! Sorry, but we didn't appear here suddenly out of nowhere". We've always been here. We have a lot in common. Some incredible things on both cultural and economic level, really. Even the royal families in the past – there were links between Poland and Scotland. Not to mention the World War II and that Polish army was based here in Scotland. I once read a letter that a woman sent to Scotsman paper. She wrote that in order to understand relations between Poland and Scotland during the II World War, one should talk to women who are now in their 80s. The Polish men were very popular and Scottish men were not necessarily happy about it. But Scottish women were very happy because eventually someone bought them flowers, kissed them on hand and was a gentleman. I don't want to sound brutal but Scots at that time were a rather barbaric nation. It was a poor country, life was difficult here. Whereas the Poles came in extravagant clothes and with extravagant manners.'
>
> *Janusz, 33 years old, Scotland*

In the quote above, Janusz draws on the historical connections between Scotland and Poland to justify his claims to this place. This is seen in particular in his words: Hello! Sorry, but we didn't appear here suddenly out of nowhere. We've always been here'. Moreover, he also turns upside down the discourses of a rich and wealthy West and poor, backward East. The way he talks about the historical links between the two countries reverses negative stereotypes present in Western public discourse that portray Polish migrants as poor, unskilled, and culturally inferior. Instead, he signifies their cultural superiority by talking about them as well-dressed and well-

mannered gentlemen that arrived to a poor and underdeveloped country that once used to send beggars to Poland. Such reversal of discourses and stereotypes can be seen as a way of coping with a low sense of self-worth associated with discredited national identities. Arguably, it is also a way of negotiating inclusion. Once again drawing upon the sociological theory of shame, this emotion indicates a broken bond between an individual and a group (Scheff 2000). In other words, it is a unique barometer of social integration (Czykwin 2012). Therefore, by challenging this feeling Janusz negotiates his inclusion in this subtle sense. Janusz' case illustrates how Scottish-Polish heritage project that was set-up by post-2004 Polish migrant activists in Edinburgh to raise public awareness about such historical links can be a tool for individual migrants in a struggle for belonging and inclusion. In this way we can see how the specificity of Scotland's context of reception offers Polish migrants tool for negotiating inclusion in ways not available not just in Northern Ireland but anywhere else in the UK. This specificity of Scotland stems from the historical patterns of migration between this country and Poland that were described in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

However, still the majority of interviewees in Northern Ireland felt attached to Northern Ireland and considered it as their home. Moreover, they sustained their normal lives as well as the discourse of normality that manifested Northern Ireland as any other place in the UK. In that way, their experience appears as not different from that of migrants to Scotland or elsewhere in the UK. How are we to explain such resilience of the discourses of normality despite many abnormalities that these migrants observed since arriving to the UK? The next section focuses specifically on this puzzle

7.4. Sustaining the notion of a normal life and normality of the UK

To recapitulate, Structures of Feeling is a concept that refers to a clash between ethics and experience. As far as the discourse of normality reflects certain public

ideals about life and migration (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009), the interpretation of Northern Ireland as a parochial and not fully modern place that emerged from the quotes in the previous sections of this chapter, and a sense of frustration, suffocation, uncertainty and insecurity accompanying these interpretations, that go against the discourse of normality can be thought of as a Local Structure of Feeling that characterises migration experience to this part of the world. Yet, paradoxically, for the majority of interviewees this Local Structure of Feeling did not undermine their positive idealisations of the UK as well as their sense of a normal, hassle-free, and unconstrained life in this country. For example, as explained by Roman in the quote below, despite the certain negative aspects of social and political context in Northern Ireland, he could lead there a 'normal' life:

> 'This is my home. I have my flat here and my family. My son goes to the school here. I have a job here. I even have British citizenship and local friends. Life goes on normally. Besides all those minuses that I told you about, there are many pluses. One can't demonise it. (…) There are a lot of good things and one should be happy with them. One of these things is a hassle-free life.'
>
> *Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

Despite experiences of divided workplaces and not infrequent workplace exploitation and discrimination when compared with 'local' workforce, migrants tended to idealise the labour market in the UK in comparisons with Poland such as those discussed in chapter 5. Likewise, despite all the inefficiency of state institutions or public services caused by what can be seen the tribal, pre-modern conflict (see Chapter 3), the UK as it emerged from their narratives was a modern, progressive state with efficient institutions that allowed migrants to live normal lives. Their normal lives were, as indicated in the quote above, centred on jobs and a family. Somewhat contradictory to what emerged from the discussion in this chapter, when directly asked most interviewees said that sectarianism did not affect them personally and it did not constrained them in any way. The dominant opinion was that sectarianism is something that happens between people who were born or grew up in Northern Ireland but it does not affect migrants:

‘Wiktor: But this conflict doesn’t affect us. The Irish just keep it between themselves.’

Wiktor, 31 years old

‘They say that it’s a conflict between the two religions but, in fact, it’s a conflict between two nationalities. So no one told me that you’re Polish and therefore you’re of a certain religion. (…) They don’t see me as of another religion but they see me as of another nationality, and they treat me accordingly.’

Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland

Besides the anecdotes about no-go places exemplified in earlier in this chapter, everyday practices of Polish migrants indicate that they see sectarianism as imposing few constraints on their ability to live normal lives. More than this, they seem to exercise a relatively high degree of choice and autonomy in their lives compared to what might be viable for Catholic people born here. For example, marriages between Protestants and Cahtolic are not particularly common in the North. Yet, migrant workers did not see such mixed relationships as problematic. This can be illustrated with the quote below where Daria recollects how she was accepted by parents of her boyfriend despite being a Catholic.

‘I met my boyfriend who is a Protestant and obviously and I met his family. And to be honest when we started going out, you know, he had a problem. He said: “I don’t know what my parents are gonna think of you because you are Polish and you’re a Catholic”. And he was quite concerned obviously. I sort of didn’t see the problem. Like, you know, what is the problem? But then when they met me, they were like: “God, you know, you’re Polish. You’re fine. You’re not a local Catholic.’

Daria, 28 years old, Northern Ireland

Moreover, while a previous study on Polish migrants in Belfast argued that

‘narratives of Belfast as a strictly divided city may be permeated with strong feelings of fear’ and that ‘this fear is particularly intensive when migrants walk through the Protestant parts of the city’ (Kempny 2013: 440), several interviews in this study indicate something completely different. For example, Catholic parts of the city were seen as more dangerous by Grzegorz and in the quote below he gives his ‘theory’ to account for this:

> ‘Grzegorz: It’s my own theory but I think that there are many indicators that support it. In my opinion the republican side overslept its opportunity. They’ve never tried to bring us closer to them. In a sense ‘Ok, there’s so many of you, come join us to strengthen our republican community’. Protestants, on the other hand, approached it in a very smart way. ‘Ok, you’re Catholics but you are Catholics in Poland. So we won’t identify you as our, local Catholics.’ And it was super clever.
>
> Interviewer: So when it comes to the Catholic areas, it’s more difficult there?
>
> Grzegorz: They don’t trust anyone. There’s a place which shows all these subtleties as if under a magnifier. It’s a Catholic enclave, very small, and it’s called Shore Strand. It’s surrounded by the Protestant East. Here whoever is from the outside gets beaten. It doesn’t matter whether you’re a Polish pizza delivery workers or a hard-core Protestant.’
>
> *Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland*

In line with this, living in Protestant neighbourhoods was not uncommon among the interviewees. Indeed, previous data on Belfast suggest that Polish migrants live predominantly in the protestant neighbourhoods (Wardach 2016). Going beyond this, it is interesting to look at practices of migrants who live in these neighbourhoods as it shows the flexibility with which Polish migrants navigate through ethno-sectarian identities. The case of Karolina, a thirty-two year old café worker, who described the Protestant neighbourhood where she lives as the ‘blackest hole in whole Ireland’, is particularly illustrative of this: ‘It’s a beautiful house but, you see, I think that this

neighbourhood is the blackest hole in whole Ireland. (…) The owners of this house are also staunch Protestants'. Despite this, Karolina said that she felt completely safe and welcomed by this community. This was despite sending her children to a Catholic school, working in a predominantly Catholic workplace and making active attempts at obtaining an Irish rather than the UK citizenship because of her emotional attachment to the former. Just like for other interviewees, for Karolina sectarianism was something that happened predominantly among the people who were born or grew up in Northern Ireland and did not involve those who were not born or who did not grow up here. Grzegorz, who has already been quoted above, also lived in the Protestant neighbourhood of east Belfast while sending his child to a Catholic school but, at the same time, pledged allegiance to the UK state and England:

> 'After all, it's the capital city. Yes, a capital of Northern Ireland, but still a capital. And it's also part of the UK. English currency, English law. I'm very happy that, after all, it's part of the UK and not Ireland.'
>
> *Grzegorz, 39 years old, Northern Ireland*

In turn, Roman expressed a greater sympathy to the English and a Protestant identity even though he lived in a Catholic district of Belfast:

> 'I prefer local English, Protestant people because I know what to expect from them. They have been my acquaintances and employers for four years now and I prefer working with them'.
>
> *Roman, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

Although the actual source of his sympathy remains unclear, his statement underscores the argument made above about the extent of flexibility with which migrants appear to treat ethno-sectarian boundaries. This flexibility allows them to live normal lives with unproblematic identities that they longed for: buy houses, start families, be consumers and relatively unconstrained entrepreneurs of selves. In this way, the discourse of normality can be sustained. However, there is a cost to this normality.

On the one hand, it is certainly beneficial for migrants that, at least on the surface, they are relatively little affected by sectarianism. On the other hand, there is a downside to their apparently normal lives. Arguably, despite living normally they remain an excluded social group in the society that they have made their home. To the extent that the entire political system of Northern Ireland is set upon the ethno-sectarian divisions, exclusion from the sectarian communities involves social and political marginalisation in general. For example, as previously explained, funding of community activities, cultural agencies, and education is organised along sectarian divisions and is 'tied to each bloc publicly articulating that it is delivering its constituents through the redistribution of state funds that upholds respective electorate's needs and cultural demands' (Murtagh and Shirlow 2012: 50). Moreover, the Northern Ireland Assembly that was established by the GFA agreement divides its members along sectarian lines, too. Therefore, Polish people who would want to take part in politics and deliver to their community would have to position themselves as either unionist or republican, or, instead, face marginalisation as 'other'. However, by positioning themselves within one designation, Polish migrants would potentially risk their comfortable, hassle-free, normal lives by being dragged into the ethno-sectarian competition and animosities. Therefore, they can sustain their normal lives as long as they continue the privatised mode of living that is centred on their homes, families, private consumption, and self-entreprising. This, in turn, makes migrant workers not in a strong position to challenge the subordination that Garvey and Stewart (2015) talk about. According to these authors, the political (and social) settlement at the end of the Troubles created a new form of social subordination by 'allowing the main protagonists to the older conflict time to divide the spoils' and leaving the migrant workers outside (Garvey and Stewart 2015: 402).

This exclusion applies also in the sphere of employment, which can be illustrated with the experience of Marek. Even though immediately after his arrival to Northern Ireland he was able to easily find a job in the factory that did not employ any Irish Catholic workers, his experiences in this workplace indicate an exclusion rather than inclusion:

> 'They treated us as a cheap workforce. Really. I noticed it later. They put an extreme pressure on us but not on the Irish workers. For example, the boss tells you to go faster, faster and faster and then he goes and talks behind your back with an Irish workers and they both laugh at you. You understand? That you have to work your ass off while the Irish workers just hang around and pretend that they are working. And we, the Poles, were working like those ants.'
> *Marek, 35 years old, Northern Ireland*

Knowing that the boss and local workers chit-chatting friendly behind migrants' backs were of the same ethno-sectarian denomination, we can read the quote above as an illustration of the paternalistic employment relations between management and workers that can be found in some workplaces in Northern Ireland and from which migrant workers are excluded. As showed in the study by Garvey and Stewart (2015), challenging this exclusion can lead to serious dangers for workers, including sectarian violence from the paramilitaries. Of course, not all workplaces are characterised by such anachronistic employment relations. Therefore, the extent to which workplace exclusion or marginalisation affects a person and to which it can be challenged will ultimately depend on their position in the labour market. As put by Murtagh and Shirlow (2006, 139): 'The worst thing that could happen in the offices is that someone would throw a bagel at you. On the shop floor, you could get a spanner in the teeth'.

Furthermore, individual circumstances can be improved if a person becomes integrated into one of the dominant communities. For example, Marek, who initially faced discrimination in his workplaces as indicated in the previous quote, became integrated into the paternalistic employment relations in another workplace after marrying a Protestant woman who was a relative of its owner. However, even though individuals can change their position within their host society, they remain excluded as a group.

7.5. Conclusions

Previous literature on Polish migration to the UK identified the discourse of normality in people's justifications for working and living abroad. The discourse of normality refers to a longing for comfortable, unproblematic lives and identities free from material deprivations. Such life is associated with the UK and is allowed for by good working standards and well-functioning public institutions. While chapter 5 largely confirmed these findings (though an explanation of the discourse of normality offered in chapter 6 was different from previous studies), the present chapter explored how such discursive practices are mediated by Local Structures of Feeling among Polish migrant workers in Northern Ireland and Scotland.

Apparent differences were identified between the two places in this respect. In short, owing to continued ethno-sectarian divisions, the former place was interpreted as parochial and not living up to an ideal of a modern, liberal, open society. This interpretation was associated with different degrees of feelings of uncertainty, insecurity, frustration, suffocation, and exclusion. In contrast to this, the latter place tended to be experienced as an ideal of a modern, open, liberal and multicultural society where individuals could forge their unique identities and a sense of belonging more easily. Consequently, the discourses of normality and the dual-idealisations seem to go uneasily with the Local Structure of Feeling in Northern Ireland.

However, it was also showed that discourse of normality and dual-idealisations were largely sustained and in this sense the experience of life and migration to Northern Ireland appears as not significantly different from that of Scotland. In accounting for this apparent contradiction, it was suggested that normality is maintained through the exclusion of migrant workers as a social group. Although on the individual level Polish migrants can make a good living in Northern Ireland, get integrated into the host communities and live apparently normal lives of consumers and self-entrepreneurs, they remain excluded as a group and confined largely to their private lives. This is the price of normality that Polish migrants in Northern Ireland pay. Moreover, the price is arguably highest for those in the lower end of the labour market.

Certainly, the discourse of normality and the idealisation of Britain that it manifests can come under strain not only in Northern Ireland but, in fact, in any other place in the country. For example, what does normal life mean in the face of poverty and, for example, class inequalities that are found everywhere in the UK? How is normal life to be lived in Calton - the deprived district of Glasgow where life expectancy for men is only 54 years old which, as noted in a Guardian article on January 21, 2006, is far below the average of a war-torn Iraq, totalitarian North Korea, or occupied Gaza Strip? The discourse of normality arguably makes one blind to such inequalities and manifests them as resulting from individual deficiencies that arise in otherwise normal social context. With such narratives, migrant workers are not likely to be catalysts of social change in receiving societies as some might hope them to be. Instead, they may reproduce the inequalities that disproportionately disadvantage them as a social group as it is migrant workers that then to occupy lowest echelons in already unequal receiving societies. Therefore, the case of migration to Northern Ireland analysed in this paper arguably reflects a more general problem than it may seem.

Nevertheless, the chapter suggests also that although experience of migration may not seem as straightforwardly different between different parts of the UK, there are certain subtleties to the experience of migration in each of the places discussed in this chapter. To recollect what was said in the theoretical chapter of this thesis (Chapter 2), Evans et al. (1996) argued that specificities of local political-economy endow localities with specific character and identity that can be thought of as Local Structure of Feeling. This concept can also be used to capture the specificity of migration experience to Northern Ireland and Scotland accounted for in this chapter. Moreover, using it in future research can aid a better theorisation of the role of place in shaping migration experience.

8. The constraints of migration policy: the case of migration to Wroclaw (Poland)

In very broad terms, Chapter 6 showed how, with some notable exceptions, Structures of Feeling that migrants developed in relation to Poland presented this country as not having lived up to their expectations of a modern, neoliberal, consumerist political-economy and that such interpretations of the place of departure were associated with experiences on the affective level, most importantly a sense of shame and suffocation. However, besides being an important place of outward migration, Poland is also an increasingly important place of destination for migrants, especially workers from the countries east of its borders (see Chapter 3). Therefore, an interesting question emerges: how do these people, who actually migrate to a place that is experienced and interpreted in such negative and atavistic terms by those who leave it behind, make their lives there? Do they develop the same Structures of Feeling in relation to Poland and, if so, why have they decided to stay and settle there, despite the rigid settlement permit regulations that were discussed in the third chapter of this thesis?

Rather than discussing everything that the data from interviews in Wroclaw show about migration experience to this city and to Poland, the present chapter focuses specifically on the parts of the data that are particularly relevant for the findings presented in previous chapters, showing similarities and differences in the Structure of Feeling that these interviewees developed in relation to the place of their migration destination. The discussion starts with what emerged as the grand narrative of interviews with migrants in Wroclaw: the experience of the hurdles set by immigration policy. In this regard, it can be argued that a sense of constraint, instability, and insecurity were the main markers of narratives of migrants in Wroclaw. This contrasts with the grand narrative of being an unconstrained self-entrepreneur, independent neoliberal adult-citizen, and freely choosing consumer-citizen that was identified in the UK sample.

However, why did migrant workers in this study remain motivated to stay in Poland despite these obstacles? In responding to this question, the second section of this

chapter shows that, unlike Polish migrants in the UK, these workers positively idealised Poland as a modern, prosperous and well-developed country where normality can be achieved, though it has to be deferred for the number of years that migrants need to wait to secure a permanent residence permit. In addition, it is shown that migrant workers can idealise Poland and Wroclaw as more culturally proximate, thus seeing them as a migration destination preferable even to the wealthier countries of the West. This indicates how the interpretation of the context of reception can affect the experience of inclusion and exclusion.

All in all, in line with the previous chapter, the discussion below underscores the observation that, although dual-idealisations may be a feature of Structures of Feeling involved in any migration from East to West, they are also mediated by a particular context of the country of departure or of destination that gives them a specific colour. Apparently, contrary to what the dominant understanding of migration suggests, a range of aspects of the place of departure and the place of destination that is broader than the differences in income levels can shape migration experiences and, by extension, migration decisions as well.

8.1. Immigration policy and a sense of instability

To recapitulate what was discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, the regulations introduced to facilitate labour migration from non-EU Eastern European countries to Poland state that migrant workers from these countries can come to work in Poland for six months based on a 'declaration of intention to entrust a job to a foreigner' issued by a prospective employer. If a worker wishes to stay longer than this, he/she needs to obtain a temporary residence permit and a work permit. The length of the former depends on documents submitted with an application, most importantly on the length of the employment contract. The limitation that this regulatory framework places on migrants, especially in the sphere of their working lives, can be well illustrated with the quote below:

> ‘To say it frankly, employers often take advantage of knowing that your documents are about to expire. When you get employed, they know what period they can employ you for and how long your papers are valid for. So they take advantage of it. They see that your papers are close to expire so they know that you’re desperate to keep the job. That you will do everything to keep the job because you need it to get a new residence permit.’
>
> *Anna, 34 years old*

In the quote above, Anna – a 34-year-old restaurant worker – explains the vulnerability of a migrant worker vis-à-vis the employer that emerges from the unequal power relation in favour of the latter actor and is intensified by the residence permit regulations. More specifically, if an employer does not prolong a formal employment contract when it is about to expire, a worker cannot obtain a new residence permit. In that case, he or she is left with two options: either to leave the country or to stay undocumented. In addition to the situation Anna describes, if the employment contract is cancelled prematurely, a person has 30 days to find a new one before the residence permit expires. Therefore, losing or quitting one’s job carries significant risks. This limits opportunities for changing workplaces and thus improving one’s working life. Anna, for example, saw such regulations as a major obstacle to moving out of the restaurant sector and finding a job closer to the profession that she qualified for at the university in Ukraine. In turn, Denis in the quote below explains how he has deferred his decision to change employers until his residence in Poland becomes more secure:

> ‘I’ve been thinking about changing a job for a longer while now but in my circumstances I can’t really change a job. Because I want to get a permanent residence permit and to obtain it, I have to have a full-time job contract. If I wanted to change my job now, I would have to apply for a new temporary residence permit and a work permit once again. So it’s better to wait a bit, to obtain a permanent residency and then change a job.’
>
> *Denis, 29 years old*

For Denis, not only seeking new career opportunities but even expressing discontent in the workplace can be a risky endeavour, in that the antagonised employer can refuse to extend the employment contract for the next year or can simply cancel an ongoing one:

> Interviewer: 'What if there is a conflict between you and an employer?
>
> Denis: 'He can just fire me and if I don't find a job within a month then it's "goodbye". I have to leave the country because that's what the law says[8]. That if you lost a job and didn't find a new one within a month, your residence and work permit become invalid.'
>
> *Denis, 29 years old*

The opportunity to seek better jobs is additionally limited by the regulation that the employer has to announce every job opening in the public employment office first and give priority to applicants with Polish citizenship before a position can be entrusted to a citizen of a country outside the EU. In other words, a foreign citizen can be employed only if no Polish citizen with adequate qualifications has applied for the post. These regulations kept Ilona – a 30-year-old woman from Belarus – in a state of uncertainty for some time when she was offered a job at an international NGO where she had previously worked as an intern for half a year:

> 'There's a rule that when an institution wants to employ me, a woman from Belarus … I could have worked for half a year but later we had to make a sort of open call. That we have a position in the organisation and it had to be announced in the entire country. (…) If for 2 months no unemployed Polish person had applied for my position, I could continue working there. But if someone applied, and even if the organisation didn't want to hire him but he would want to work there, I wouldn't be allowed to stay in the organisation and would have to go back to my home-country.'
>
> *Ilona, 30 years old*

[8] Denis refers here to the act from 12.12.2013 nr. 144 that was introduced on 01.05.2014. Before this, the ending of an employment contract resulted in the automatic ending of a residence permit.

Such regulations significantly constrain the autonomy of workers. In contrast to Polish migrants in the UK who, in practice, can stay in the country indefinitely after losing or quitting a job and may also be eligible for Jobseeker's Allowance, for migrants in Poland who came through the work permit route, losing a job carries a high risk of having to leave the country or becoming undocumented. As a result, changing one's employer is almost a luxury that only those with specialist skills in high demand in the labour market may be able to afford. This puts obvious constraints on the self-making, self-enterprising, independence, and choice that were so preeminent among Polish interviewees' considerations.

Moreover, work permit regulations may be disadvantageous on the employer's side also, but even in this case they rebound negatively on workers. Specifically, the former may possibly be discouraged by the prospect of going through the hassle of employing a foreign citizen and, thus, may be prone to employ those with Polish citizenship rather than migrant workers. This preference might not necessarily be for 'ideological' reasons but could be purely pragmatic, as explained in the quote below:

> Maksym: 'Personally, I have never had a problem cause I always knew what formalities I had to meet so that the employer could be assured that I lived in Poland legally and that he did not write any additional declarations or sign extra documents. So that they didn't have to worry about having problems with the public officials. It can be a problem for many employers who don't know themselves about the formalities that have to be met when employing a foreigner because many employers have prejudices.'
>
> Interviewer: 'In what sense?
>
> Maksym: 'In a sense that they think that there is always a lot of formalities when it comes to employing a foreigner. Additional declarations or controls from the border agency and so on. So if they have the opportunity to choose between a Ukrainian and a Polish worker with the same skills, they would rather choose a Polish one. Not because the other one is a Ukrainian but because they are afraid that they have to meet a lot of formalities to be able to employ him.'

Maksym, 23 years old

According to Maksym, in the light of regulatory disincentives to employing foreign citizens a migrant worker has to be proactive in coping with the formalities and legal aspects of employment if he or she wants to get a job, or at least to get one that is not so exploitative that workers with Polish citizenship are unlikely to take it up. This risk- and hassle-aversive attitude of employers puts an additional burden on migrant workers, especially those with skills that are perceived as more readily available in the labour market and less specialised. For Maksym, who was a young, skilled migrant with higher education and ability to speak several languages, it was not a problem:

> 'When I started working in [Anonymised], I got four different job offers right away. Very ambitious ones. Private companies connected with Ukraine, for example those entering Ukrainian market, would approach me because they sought people who could speak Ukrainian, Russian and English plus had experience in finances.'
>
> *Maksym, 23 years old*

However, this factor could be a major obstacle for less skilled migrant workers who were also not completely fluent in Polish, not to mention English. For example, Anna wanted to get an office job and leave the restaurant sector. However, she explained that due to her residence status, employers preferred to employ Polish citizens:

> 'It turned out that because I was a foreigner with no permanent residence permit, they couldn't offer me a job.'
>
> *Anna, 34 years old*

All these regulations in the sphere of employment and residence influence migrants' experiences of exclusion, as the quote above indicates. On top of this, workers like Anna who were in less skilled jobs felt that there was little support available to them that would shift the balance of power away from the employer and in favour of a migrant worker:

> Interviewer: 'There's no organization in Wroclaw that could try to influence the politics to change the situation?'
>
> Anna: 'There's an Ukrainian consulate in Wroclaw to help Ukrainians but to be honest … it's there but it turns out that many things have happened and I heard a lot … for example, there was a woman who they were supposed to help with the documents but they didn't. She had to stay in Poland illegally, she couldn't leave cause she would have gotten a deportation at the border (…) So it's been one and half year now that she works undocumented in Poland with no ability to go to Ukraine. If she turned to consulate for help, they wouldn't care that it was the employer who cheated her but rather they would be the first ones to report her to the Border Guard.'
>
> *Anna, 34 years old*

These circumstances were associated with Anna's sense of insecurity, which is best captured in the following quote:

> 'I want to stay here. I want to have what every human wants to have: stability. So far I can't say that I have stability. I like it here but I can't say that I feel good here and that I have everything that I'd like to have. If you don't have stability, you can't have anything.'
>
> *Anna, 34 years old*

Ilona, who was quoted previously, also explained that she felt insecure because of having to wait to see if a Polish citizen were to turn up one day at the public employment office to claim a job that was initially offered to her. But even after her position was secured, a sense of insecurity remained, reappearing every time she was about to apply for a residence permit for the upcoming year. These feelings of instability are conveyed in her quote below and, when reading it, it is relevant to take into account that she was a skilled migrant working in an NGO, where the attitude may have differed from that in private firms concerned mainly with profit.

> 'I didn't feel sure here because of this. In a sense that I didn't know if I should start packing up or not. But I got the job. After one and half year it

became easier. I also had to apply for a residence permit and a work permit but I knew how to do it. At the beginning it's very difficult because you don't know how to do it and you don't know the names in Polish of the public offices and documents. But once you learn where to do what … there's still a bit of fear that maybe this time you won't receive a permit. But there's more probability that you will.'

Ilona, 30 years old

Although Ilona gained confidence by learning how to apply for a residence permit, she says that some degree of anxiety always persists. In that sense, feelings of insecurity and instability were a 'blueprint' of narratives of migrants in Wroclaw, at least among interviewees who had lived and worked in Poland on the basis of this residence permit and work permit system. This contrasts with the experience of Polish migrant workers in the UK who talked about the ease of building stable, independent and hassle-free lives in Britain. They could plan their lives well in advance, buy houses, start families and establish themselves as independent adults with no significant constraints imposed by immigration policy. This difference may also explain why the grand narratives of self-entrepreneurship and independence did not appear in interviews with migrant workers in Poland to the same extent as in interviews with Polish workers in the UK.

In the sample from Wroclaw, only two interviewees have attained permanent residence permits or citizenship as a result of having a stable and regular source of income from employment for an uninterrupted period of five years. One of them is Ilona, who received a permanent residency card by the time of the second interview. The other one is Anton who completed a pathway to Polish citizenship. Both of them talk about the sense of stability and the sense of Wroclaw and Poland as home that this change of legal status has given them:

'I have a sense that Wroclaw is a kind of base for me now. It's also related to the fact that now I have my own flat here and also that having a permanent residence card I can look for employment freely. Previously I lived in

> Wroclaw with a sense of hurry-scurry. I was here and now with a lack of past and future.'
>
> *Ilona, 30 years old*
>
> 'I started to see Poland as my home after six or seven years when I got some stabilisation there. Before this I had to apply for all the permits and pay for it. Visas and so on … It consumed lot of time and also costs a lot. But later when you get a citizenship, you get some stability.'
>
> *Anton, 39 years old*

Four other interviewees are still on their way to such stabilisation and a sense of home. The remaining seven interviewees in this study enjoyed a greater degree of security in terms of residency in Poland from an earlier stage. Six of them could obtain a right to reside and work in Poland for several years on the basis of marriage with a Polish man. Among these, five have already received Polish citizenship and the sixth has had a residence permit for 10 years. The fourteenth remaining person in the sample came to Poland on the basis of the so-called Pole's Card (see Chapter 3 for an explanation). These different legal statuses shape the extent to which one can experience a feeling of stability and a sense of Poland as home. However, what made migrant workers want to stay in Poland despite such constraints? The next section responds to this question by revealing the dual-idealisations of sending and receiving country that seem to motivate migrants' decisions.

8.2. Dual-idealisations of Poland and Ukraine

Similarly to Polish migrants' idealisations of the UK, migrants in Wroclaw interpreted their country of destination as a place where normal lives can be forged thanks to sufficient income from employment. This was contrasted with a negative idealisation of Ukraine as a place of chronic economic scarcity, where employment on its own is insufficient for making a living. A few illustrative quotes are given below:

> 'It's difficult here but easier than in Ukraine. You can find some job and live from it.'
>
> *Alina, 40 years old*

> 'In Ukraine you can only achieve something if you are selling something and run some business on your own but if you want to live normally based on your job only, I don't know whether this is possible.'
>
> *Yana, 40 years old*

While the two interviewees quoted above have already secured their residence in Poland by obtaining Polish citizenship, Anna, who was quoted in the previous section, explains below why she keeps trying to settle in Poland despite all the obstacles. Noticeably, her initial plan of working in Poland only temporarily, which then turned into a plan, or at least a desire, for permanent settlement, clearly resembles the narratives of Polish migrants discussed in previous chapters:

> 'At first I came here for half a year but I liked it, so I started to think about applying for a residence permit in order to stay here. So I stayed here because even though you don't earn a lot, it's still more than in Ukraine and there're more chances to support yourself. I can provide for myself from my wages here. (…) I came here first just to make some money but now I'd like to stay here because I can make a living. I don't want to live a life where I can barely survive on my wage and where I have to think what I can afford and what I cannot this month if I want to have enough money for food. And this is really a problem in Ukraine.'
>
> *Anna, 34 years old*

The sense of economic scarcity associated with Ukraine was particularly strong among the two workers who talked about their experience of a barter economy in the 1990s. In that decade, Ukraine was among the four former state-socialist countries whose economies featured the highest proportion of barter. It accounted for as much as 24% in 1999, compared with a figure of 4.7% for Poland in the same year (Marin,

Kaufman and Gorochowijskij 2000). Therefore, their experience may represent a more general experience of migrants from Ukraine:

> Julia: ‘We had our home, I used to be a teacher and my husband was a fireman in Ukraine. But it was hard. There was a moment when we didn’t see any money at all because all my wage went for paying the rent and my husband received, for example, three bags of flour, some amount of sugar that was worth his wage.’
>
> Interviewer: ‘Instead of real money?’
>
> Julia: ‘Yes. Other people also got some products. Then you had to go with it to the bazaar and sell it for pennies because everyone had the same goods so the price was low. (…) It was a period when they paid you in goods, for example in rice. My husband used to say that he would start feeling like a Chinese because of eating rice every day.’
>
> *Julia, 38 years old*
>
> ‘I was a kindergarten teacher and I was a lone mother. When the Perestroika came, they told us that they don’t have money to pay me and we were given food instead of wages. Like a plate of soup. I had no choice but to start doing something on my own to survive. I started going to Romania to buy something there and sell it in Ukraine. I used to sell my clothes at some bazaars or exchange some goods to get food.’
>
> *Elena, 47 years old*

Such economic scarcity was also linked in some migrants’ narratives with a sense of underdevelopment of Ukraine going beyond the economic sphere, which can be illustrated with a quote from Maksym:

> ‘In Poland people think a lot about money and often say that they don’t have money to go out for the beer or go play bowling and so on. There’s no such problem in Denmark and people think about higher things in life. For example, about global problems. What surprised me was that when we talked

> over the beer, we didn't talk parties but we talked about global problems like ecology or adoption, migration processes, culture, religions. More ambitious topics rather than basic, everyday topics. It surprised me because I've spent most of my time in less developed countries and the level of conversation at the table was a bit different. (…) I think that it is related to Maslow's pyramid of human needs. People have to satisfy their basic needs first before they can start thinking of some higher needs. It's the same with Poland or Ukraine. It's better in Poland than in Ukraine but, still, when compared with Denmark, Poland has some homework to do. Poland has satisfied the basic needs of its people and now is climbing up to this higher level. Ukraine is still in the midst of satisfying the basic needs because, as far as I know, 25% of people live on the verge of poverty. So if there is such a high level of poverty in Ukraine, these people are not likely to think about some higher issues because they struggle with having food to eat or having a place to sleep.'
>
> *Maksym, 23 years old*

In this quote, Maskym idealises Poland as situated somewhere between the West and East. While it is imagined as still less developed than at least the particular Scandinavian country that he mentions, it is seen as advantageous compared with his country of origin. Such linking of economic and social underdevelopment appeared in several interviews. The quote below is another illustration of this discourse:

> 'I think that the majority of people in Poland are happier on a daily basis. They notice small things that bring them happiness. The political and especially the economic situation in Ukraine in recent years is very difficult and, of course, an average person worries day by day about it. This leaves scars on the mood of such a person. Takes away life satisfaction, optimism.'
>
> *Marina, 29 years old*

To recollect, interviewees in the UK sample manifested Poland as a backward, grey, uncool place of unsmiling people with sad faces who bear the habitus of *homo sovieticus* and whose life energy is drained by their daily economic struggles or the unfriendly social and institutional environment. In contrast, some interviewees in the

sample from Wroclaw experienced Poland as a modern, colourful country. The public discourses about Wroclaw, which manifest it as a modern, open city and a melting pot of diverse cultures and nationalities, can play a role here, too. While Dolinska and Makaro (2013) see this myth of a multicultural city as unsubstantiated by data on the actual ethnic, religious or national composition of the city's population, this myth may be shaping the sense and experience of Wroclaw and Poland among migrants to this country. This is indicated in the quote below:

> 'I like the climate in Wroclaw. Spring comes early, summer is long, and autumn is warm. Secondly, our beautiful river Odra and everything around it. It adds glamour to the city. But I also mean the spiritual climate, the atmosphere. This colourful society, the participation of different cultures, festivals. You can meet and talk with someone from other culture because it's common in Wroclaw. It's very fashionable and the city promotes itself as a meeting place. I think that Ukraine there is nothing like this. I think it's because of the circumstances in which people live. They are concentrated on survival so the culture is left behind. (…) Wroclaw is a multicultural city. Whatever you think of it, there are a lot of people from other countries so whether you want it or not, you meet people who speak other languages, who have different skin colour or look differently. I like it. There is no strong conservative sentiment like in cities towards the east of Poland, for example Krakow. Wroclaw is further from that eastern border and there's not many native Wroclawians so the atmosphere is different.'
>
> *Maria, 33 years old*

The quote above underscores an observation made previously by Polish interviewees, that it is not only a sense of the level of economic development but also a broader sense of place that is important for migrants' experiences. Moreover, migrant workers may reinterpret their country of origin as a result of the experience of living abroad, which may lead to a sense of mismatch between one's values and the values or atmosphere of the country of departure. In a way, migrants have a feeling of no longer belonging to the place they come from; they feel separated from their country

of origin and experience themselves as strangers. This can best be illustrated by unpacking the quote below:

> 'When I am in Ukraine I feel that I quickly want to come back to Poland. I love you mom but I can't take it anymore. People's mentality is completely different. Ukraine is a strange country. It's very sad but the society is divided in a way that 5% are very rich people, 20% very well educated but the remaining 80% is just the rest. I was sometimes in this 80% and also saw the world the way they see it. Now when I listen to my mother I can't believe. It's like comparing heaven [Poland] with an earth [Ukraine]. It's as if a 5-year-old child was talking. It's a huge difference. It's very sad and also very frustrating. (…) I see what is happening. Still I see those Gogol's dead souls. Another thing is that there's still the black cat, magic, people still live with this kind of things. Yesterday there was a Ukrainian woman called Olena in the TVN24[9] and she said that in Ukraine there's a legend, some sort of a spell, made by some tsar. He supposedly put a spell on Ukraine for 325 years and this spell will disappear only after a woman becomes the head of the country. It was supposed to be Yulia Tymoshenko. I was watching it with my husband and we couldn't believe that people in Ukraine still think in these terms.'
>
> *Elena, 47 years old*

In the quote above, Elena talks about Ukraine in terms described in a previously mentioned study as orientalising (Mayblin, Piekut and Valentine 2016). Ukraine is experienced and interpreted as a strange, irrational country that, after having lived for many years in Poland, she no longer comprehends. Also very symptomatic is her reference to a novel written in the 1840s by Ukrainian writer Nikolai Gogol. *Dead Souls* is a satire on the flaws of the Russian mentality as well as the corruption and inefficiencies of the Russian Empire. The word 'souls' refers to serfs who were bought and treated as property by landowners at the time when the novel was written. In turn, the word 'dead' refers to those serfs who had already died but nevertheless still appeared in the population census so that landowners were obliged to pay taxes on them. In this novel, the main character comes up with an idea to buy off the 'dead

[9] Major TV news channel in Poland.

souls' from landowners thus relieving them of the unnecessary tax burden. What he gets in return is that, by presenting himself as an owner of many serfs, he is able to get a large loan and become rich quickly. His method of making money is a prime example of resourcefulness and of shady activity on the borderline of legality that brings certain material benefits: in other words, *kombinować* (see Chapter 5 for a definition of this word). However, through the metaphor of this novel, Elena associates such resourcefulness not simply with Soviet times and the Soviet man, as indicated by previous literature on workers in Poland (e.g. Mrozowicki 2011). Instead, she reaches more deeply into qualities of the mentality of people in the East which have been there at least since the Russian Empire.

Such orientalising discourse can also be seen in the quote from Sveta, when she explicitly describes some behaviours as 'Asian' and sees them as typical of migrants from former Soviet Union countries.

> 'I like that you can go to the office here and you don't have to give a bribe to anyone in order to, for example, register your new residence. (…) When we get new employees all of whom come from the former Soviet Union, they always think that they should take some chocolates, some cognac or other gifts for public servants to get their things done in the office. They carry their mentality to Poland. I say to them that this is Poland and that you don't have to give cognac to a public servant to get a residence permit card. They are trying to bring those Asian habits to Poland and we're trying to stop it. Poland is not like this. It's a public servant's responsibility and they get money for serving the citizens and they should also smile to you. So things are different here and I like it.'
>
> *Sveta, 34 years old*

One could argue that Sveta's manifestation of Poland and migrants from the East of its borders as conveyed in the quote above draws on hegemonic discourses that portray the West as embodying a more advanced civilisation than the East. She interprets Poland as a modern state with uncorrupted institutions that are driven by management techniques developed in Western capitalist economies. The latter idea is

conveyed in her remark that civil servants 'should also smile to you' because they are paid to do so. This remark brings to mind a trend in public service management that developed in the West in the 1980s which treats citizens as customers (Hood 1991) and, as in the private service sector, demands that public sector workers manage their feelings in order to please customers (Hochschild 1983). In another quote, she ascribed the quality of 'normality' to Poland, which strikes a chord with the narratives of Polish migrants in the UK. While they tended to express frustration with life in Poland, Sveta gives an account of frustration that arises in relation to Ukraine as a result of having lived in Poland.

> 'Once you experience something better then you look at your home country through this prism and you think that things can be better. That certain things can be done differently. Back in Ukraine no one gives a damn, no one cares. Here things are normal. You don't have to give a bribe to anyone when you go to the public office to register your residence. Paying a bribe for the registration would not even occur to a Polish person. So gradually everything over there [in Ukraine] starts irritating you. So no-one wants to go back.'
>
> *Sveta, 34 years old*

Alina also experienced Ukraine as a not-normal place that still has not shaken off the 'communist dust':

> 'There is still communism in our country. They're still trying to bring down communism.'
>
> *Alina, 40 years old*

A similar narrative appeared in the interview with Olga, but it allows for drawing a more nuanced picture of how the context of a country of departure shapes the experience of a country of destination. In the quote below, Olga speaks of feeling like a stranger in her home country because of what she sees as a kind of mentality of the people, especially in the eastern part of the country, that she describes as Soviet, Russian, and working-class. At the same time, even though she sees western Ukraine

as more progressive and suitable for her, she also feels that she does not belong to this imagined Community of Value (Anderson 2012):

> Olga: 'I've never felt like a stranger here in Poland. I felt more like a stranger in my home country.'
>
> Interviewer: 'Why is it so?'
>
> Olga: 'Because we have a civilizational difference in Ukraine. Half of the country has a more European mentality and the other half is absolutely ... in mental terms … Russia runs its propaganda war and tries to build up Russian identity there. That we are not Ukrainians but Ruski and so on. (…) This mentality is totally foreign to me. I don't understand how you can go and stand up for Janukovych for 10 euro. This is how they do it now. They are all heated up totally. This still remains from the Soviet Union. It's a working class that will just never … they don't have any identity. I see myself as a Ukrainian but it is paradoxical that I felt like a foreigner in my own territory. (…) On the other hand, when I went to western Ukraine, where I have many acquaintances, for them I am a foreigner. I will always be a Ruski[10] for them. Even my good friends whom I shared a flat with told me that I speak Ukrainian so well. You know, I have Ukrainian passport but for them I'm still not part of them. So the country is split into two.'
>
> *Olga, 25 years old*

In the end, it is in Poland that she feels most at home. In accounting for this feeling, she drew on the discourse of Slavic identity and solidarity:

> 'I've never felt being treated worse or something … in the end, Poland likes Slavic people, right? Poland likes Ukrainians and Belarussians.'
>
> *Olga, 25 years old*

Interestingly, Olga also idealised Poland in more positive terms than Western Europe. The latter she saw as foreign in cultural terms. This was summarised in her short

[10] As explained by Mayblin, Piekut and Valentine (2016: 64), it is a disrespectful term applied to Russian people.

quote that describes her time spent in France as a student. First of all, she did not feel comfortable with the presence of non-white people ('it's all black everywhere'). Secondly, she felt alienated from the French people and angered that they do not feel more solidarity with her because of a shared skin colour ('They don't distinguish anymore whether you are black, white or something'). Thirdly, she criticised the state welfare support that migrants receive. In contrast to this, she saw Poland as being more familiar and friendly towards her as well as morally superior when it comes to the treatment of 'outsiders' to the national community.

> 'I came back from France and what I saw there was really a tragedy. This society is just so sick. It's because the state gives benefits. It's all black everywhere. People come there from abroad and are fed by the country but they don't work for the development of this country that feeds them. All those immigrants don't care and French people know about it and they hate them. I didn't have any problems there but once I started to speak with my broken French, people looked down on me. They don't distinguish anymore whether you are black, white or something. They are just angry that you came here. It is completely different in Poland. People like foreigners here and they are appreciated. The only problem is with the papers, I have to get new papers every year. Poland is all right in the moral sense. People here live normally… I don't like the leftists and here [in Poland] it's healthy and normal. I cannot get a scholarship because of being a foreigner but, on the one hand, this is fair. Because scholarships are paid for from taxes, right? No one in my family has paid taxes in Poland.'
>
> *Olga, 25 years old*

In building a sense of inclusion in Poland, some migrant workers also drew on the historical relationship between Wroclaw and Lviv and idealised Wroclaw as a Ukrainian city. To recollect a circumstance explained in Chapter 3, the city of Lviv belonged to Poland at different historical periods, including the interwar years. After the Second World War, the city came under the jurisdiction of the USSR. As a result of this decision made by foreign governments, the Polish population in the city was forced to leave. Many of them settled in Wroclaw, from which the German

population was forcibly expelled, while the settlement of ethnic Poles was encouraged. However, in reality Lvivians accounted for only a small fraction of all settlers in Wroclaw (Dolińska and Makaro 2013). Despite this, a myth emerged in the post-war period about the Lvivian origins of Wroclaw (Dolińska and Makaro 2013). Although Dolińska and Makaro (2013) argue that this myth has been losing its prominence over time, we can see how it is re-enacted over and over by Ukrainian migrant workers to forge a sense of belonging:

> 'It turns out that every other person in Wroclaw who comes here to our restaurant says that he had, for example, a grandmother in Lviv.'
>
> *Elena, 47 years old*
>
> 'I would say that Wroclaw … ok, I can't say that it's a Ukrainian city but every fourth person here is in some way connected with Ukraine. It's simply history.'
>
> *Maksym, 23 years old*
>
> 'I feel very good here. I don't feel as an outsider. Maybe some people think of me like this – it is normal and it's everywhere like this: in Ukraine and in other countries. But, above all, Wroclaw is like a part of Lviv and its surroundings from where people were moved here. The Poles. People here like my accent. For example, there was a man who came to the restaurant with his family and told me not to lose my accent because there are few of people speaking it left. His mother-in-law died and it's only him who speaks with a Lvivian accent. It's disappearing. Wroclaw is quite specific. I'm sure there's nothing like this in Warsaw anymore. Wroclaw and its surroundings is like Lviv with its surroundings that were moved here to Wroclaw.'
>
> *Yana, 40 years old*

All in all, interpretations of the country of departure and destination, like those conveyed in the narratives quoted in the present section, run counter to the negative idealisation of Poland conveyed in the narratives of Polish migrant workers in the UK. This further underscores the argument that these are, indeed, no more than

idealisations rather than realistic depictions of life in any of the countries involved. In addition, the chapter shows how the idealisations of the country of departure and destination that migrants forge influence their experience of inclusion and exclusion. Specifically, certain idealisations of Poland and Wroclaw generated a sense of belonging and home, whereas contrasting idealisations of Ukraine gave rise to feelings of alienation and detachment from it.

8.3. Conclusions

The present chapter showed that dual-idealisations may be a more general feature of migration not limited to the experience of Polish migrants interviewed in this study. It was argued that in the case of Polish migrants, these dual-idealisations may play a role in helping them to cope with the hidden injuries of shame produced by exclusion from what one could call, after Therborn (2013), existential citizenship. What role do these dual-idealisations play in the narratives of Ukrainian migrants in Poland? This cannot be determined for sure but, assuming that Ukraine and the entire post-Soviet world has been significantly influenced by neoliberal ethics, the sources of these dual-idealisations may be similar. Indeed, some of the left-leaning analyses of the 2013 protests in Ukraine have explained them in terms of the pursuit of neoliberalism by the Ukrainian élites and society (e.g. Lewis-Lawrence 2013). In fact, the direct stimulus to the protests was the Ukraine president's abandonment of the free trade agreement with the EU; more generally, the Yanukovych government was seen as a threat to Ukraine's dream of becoming a modern European society. Inasmuch as European states are, to a lesser or greater degree, neoliberal states (see Chapter 3), this was a dream of a neoliberal Ukraine.

If this is so, why were the three neoliberal ethics not conveyed in these interviews as persistently as they came across in the interviews with Polish workers in the UK? One possible explanation could be that, actually, neoliberal ideologies and ethics have not exerted such a strong grip on Ukrainian society as on Polish society, in that neoliberal transformation in the former country has been significantly protracted (Torbakov 2001). Another explanation could be the different immigration policy

context within which these people come to Poland. Potentially, the perceived ease of taking up work abroad by Polish migrants may create the sense that an individual can indeed be a sole craftsman of his or her biography. In contrast to this, the migration of Ukrainians to Europe, including Poland, is much more constrained. Policies regulating migration to Poland from its east European neighbours place many limitations on individuals and create a great deal of insecurity, rendering the ethics of the independent adult-citizen, self-entrepreneur, and freely choosing consumer-citizen hardly sustainable. Therefore, even though migrants from Ukraine may be driven by similar aspirations, these may have been overshadowed by concerns and limitations not applicable to Polish workers in the UK. Consequently, even though they do idealise Poland in certain ways, they do not perceive it as a spectacularly open country where any sufficiently motivated and self-entrepreneurial subject can easily achieve a normal life.

In addition, the chapter has shown how the idealisation of Poland was driven by specific experiences of life in Ukraine prior to migration. Therefore, it can be said that, although dual-idealisations may be a feature of Structures of Feeling involved in East-West migrations in general, they are also mediated by the particular context of the country of departure and destination that give them a unique colour.

9. Discussion

'Immigration and citizenship are not simply about legal status, but fundamentally about status in the sense of worth and honour'
(Anderson 2013: 4).

The present thesis set off from a research question: 'Place of origin.....place of arrival? To what extent do the context of departure and the context of destination matter for migration experience, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion?' To respond to this question, the thesis began with a discussion of existing migration theories; it was argued that, even though there is a range of approaches that convincingly account for the different aspects of migration, the recent developments in migration scholarship, in particular the reconceptualisation of states offered by the concept of a Community of Value, invite a new theoretical perspective on this phenomenon.

The main argument made in the thesis was that migration involves a continuous process of migrants interpreting and reinterpreting their country of departure and destination. This process is driven by the experience of ethics relevant to migrants, an experience which can vary depending on a country or locality within it. In this process people also interpret and reinterpret themselves and their relationship with the different places involved in migration. Accordingly, this process, referred to as Structures of Feeling, can affect people's sense of belonging and their migration decisions, especially decisions regarding settlement.

The thesis illustrated this process with data from semi-structured interviews with migrants from Poland in Northern Ireland and Scotland as well as migrants who came to Wroclaw from countries on the eastern side of Poland's border (mostly Ukraine). It identified three particular ethics as having relevance for these migrants and suggested that they reflect the neoliberal state discourses which, according to previous literature, have spread in CEE following the collapse of the state-run economy.

This conceptualisation of migration rests on the ideas developed in the cultural and literary studies of Raymond Williams. While offering a new perspective on the study of migration, the conceptual framework proposed in this thesis is also a significant contribution to the concept of Structures of Feeling already coined by Williams half a century ago. In particular, the study indicates that the phenomenon which he has identified through the study of literature also has a role to play in one of the most important human phenomena: migration. In addition, the study makes several important contributions to the previous literature on CEE migration. These are discussed in the next section.

9.1. Contributions to literature on CEE migration

Literature on CEE migration talked of the notion of normality as the grand narrative of post-2004 Polish migrant workers (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009). The analysis of data collected for the present thesis identified a similar 'grand narrative' being repeated across interviews (see Chapter 5). Interestingly, it was identified also among Ukrainian migrants who had come to work and live in Poland (see Chapter 8). In that context, Poland became the object of a positive idealisation as normal, which stands in contrast to Polish migrant workers' views of their life in this country. However, while Gałasińska and Kozłowska (2009: 80) saw the source of this discourse in the 'ethos valued by communist propaganda' (Gałasińska and Kozłowska 2009: 80), the present thesis suggests that the dual-idealisations and the discourse of normality are at least to some extent driven by the experience of three different ethics: the ethic of a liberal adult-citizen, the entrepreneurial ethic, and the ethic of a freely choosing consumer-citizen. In particular, it was argued that it is the different experience of these three ethics or, more precisely, the different degrees to which they are seen by migrants as liveable in the contexts of sending and receiving countries, that stand behind their idealisation of one country as normal and another as abnormal.

A specific mechanism behind such dual-idealisations was described based on the insights found in sociological theories of shame. It was argued that what drives these dual-idealisations can best be thought of as the 'hidden injuries' of neoliberalism.

The notion of ‘hidden injuries’ was borrowed from Sennett and Cobb’s (1972) study where it referred to feelings of shame and self-blame experienced by working-class men who saw themselves as failing to live up to the ethic of American society at that time. In the present thesis the concept was used to signify similar negative affective experiences associated with a sense of social failure which in the sociological literature is referred to as feelings of shame (Scheff 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003). It was argued that dual-idealisations were interpretations that migrants forged to cope with the negative feelings of shame by shifting the blame for a failure to fulfil the neoliberal ethic away from the individual to the state in the country of departure, which is compared with the destination country in overwhelmingly negative terms. In this process, migrants also reinterpreted themselves as self-made men and women who achieved success through individual initiative, enterprising, risk-taking attitude. In other words, dual-idealisations and the discourse of normality that is related to them may be seen as a way of coping with ‘hidden injuries’ of shame. Moreover, inasmuch as shame indicates a broken social bond, they were also a way of coping with the exclusion that migrants experienced in their country of origin: exclusion from a consumer and neoliberal society.

These findings underscore Anderson’s (2013: 4) argument that ‘immigration and citizenship are not simply about legal status, but fundamentally about status in the sense of worth and honour’. The second contribution of this perspective on migration to previous migration scholarship and to the literature on CEE migration feeds specifically into the studies of migrants’ settlement practices and literature on transition from the sense of being a migrant to development of a sense of belonging and home. In their recent study on Polish migrants in Scotland, Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee (2016) attempted to answer a question previously posed by Brah (1996: 1): ‘when does a place of residence become “home”?’ In their response to this question, the authors proposed conceptualising home not as a place but, rather, as a condition ‘wherever one (and one’s family) achieves feelings of security, being rooted or anchored in the context of prolonged temporariness’ (Piętka-Nykaza and McGhee 2016: 13). They also specified a number of factors (economic ties, social ties, and familiarity with the place) which lead to a sense of belonging, rootedness, and, in the end, settlement. However, in the light of data analysed for the purpose of the present

thesis, home can be further reconceptualised as whenever and wherever one achieves a sense of respectability and recognition or, in more theoretical terms, whenever and wherever one has existential citizenship (Therborn 2013). This sense of respect and recognition comes from being *in-sync* (Johansson and Olofsson 2011) with certain social ethics that characterise a particular place at a particular time. This notion is in line with observations made by Johansson and Olofsson (2011) in their study on migrants in Sweden in which they argue that being *in-sync* with the normative expectations surrounding the idea of a Swedish citizen was linked with migrants' positive self-evaluation and a sense of belonging, whereas narratives of being out-of-sync with these ideals was associated with lower self-esteem and lack of a sense of belonging.

Moreover, it is argued that such subtle experiences of exclusion in existential terms can be seen as a catalyst for migration. This proposition constitutes the third important contribution of the present thesis to the literature on CEE migration, specifically the strand within it which explores how neoliberalism has shaped East-West migration in the enlarged EU. As previously explained, some studies within this strand of the literature argued that this migration is driven by the need for the extension and reproduction of flexible labour markets in the West (McCollum and Findlay 2015). On the other hand, some studies saw this migration as a flight of workers from the deregulated and flexible labour markets of low-road neoliberalism in CEE towards the more regulated Western model of embedded neoliberalism (Woolfson and Sommers 2008). Adding to these debates, the present thesis suggested that it is not just neoliberal policies but also neoliberal discourses and ethics that might be playing a notable role in East-West migration in Europe. More specifically, this role consists of generating certain normative standards and expectations – as suggested by the concept of a Community of Value (Anderson 2013) – that turn out to exceed what is actually available under the conditions of low-road neoliberalism in CEE countries where welfare provisions even fall below those found in the archetypal neoliberal political-economy of Western Europe, namely, the UK. This tension between the ethics and lived experience creates the negative feelings and experiences associated with failure that sociological literature describes as 'shame'.

This feeling can operate as a catalyst for dual-idealisations and can also influence migration decisions

The mechanism behind this process can be explained by once again drawing on the sociological literature on shame, which suggests that negative feelings associated with a sense of failure in living up to the social ethic (e.g. that conveyed in state and public discourses) can exert power over individuals. This power can then make them prone to migrate. Speaking more precisely, previous literature has argued that feelings of shame have a role to play as a tool of social control through self-control. This could be control over workers in a workplace (Sennett 1980) or over individuals in the wider society outside the workplace (Elias 1978). In the present study, we could observe the self-disciplining power of shame as it influenced the choices and actions of migrants with regard to migration, return and settlement. This disciplining role of negative feelings of shame that seems to underlie migration from CEE can be illustrated by drawing on William's analysis of British literary works of the 1840s. This was the decade of the triumph of liberal capitalism, free-trade and laissez-faire orientation, and the social ethic of self-help. However, as previously explained, the confidence in this social ethics was only superficial, as was reflected in novels of that period in which many characters fell into debt and despair despite hard work, thrift, and living by other prescriptions of the social character at that time (Williams 1961). These characters – the 'black sheep' – were then frequently rendered invisible from the storyline of novels by being 'transferred' to the Empire (i.e. British colonies):

> 'characters whose destinies could not be worked out within the system as given were simply put on the boat, a simpler way of resolving the conflict between ethic and experience than any radical questioning of the ethic' (Williams 1961: 83).

From there they might have returned later with miraculously acquired fortunes. In this way, Williams (1961) argues, migration to Empire was an escape route: 'the weak of every kind could be transferred to it, to make a new life' (Williams 1961: 83). This made liberal capitalism sustainable in at least four ways. Firstly, it reaffirmed the ethic that was challenged by the experience of the 'black sheep', because 'going out to the new lands could be seen as self-help and enterprise of the

purest kinds'. Secondly, this method was consistent with the belief 'that there could be no general solution to the social problems of the time; there could be only individual solutions'. Thirdly, it was a perfect solution to working-class problems and, fourthly, there was a need for labourers in the Empire (Williams 1961: 83-84).

In similar fashion, Polish migration to Western Europe can be seen as a solution to the conflict between ethics and the actual experience of neoliberalism in Poland. On the one hand, neoliberalism champions an ideal of an independent, self-sufficient, entrepreneurial adult citizen-consumer, but its actual policies as they unfolded in Poland undermine the prerequisites necessary to realise this ideal (e.g. sufficient income, employment security, and a state that is present rather than absent). Characters whose life trajectories revealed this mismatch between neoliberal ethics and actual experience of life in Poland disappeared from the 'storyline' of a sending country: i.e. they migrated. They reappear every now and again through their contacts with family and acquaintances in Poland who may interpret the success and wealth acquired abroad as a confirmation of the ethic of self-entrepreneurship. Consequently, the neoliberal ethic remains unquestioned.

In this way, the West comes to resemble the literary device of the Empire: it needs labourers but it also provides a solution to working-class problems in Poland, thus making the ethics of neoliberalism viable. But, as if this symbiosis were not already efficient enough, the orientation of these migrants reinforces the neoliberal ethic embodied in the Empire when they become guardians of neoliberal values in the UK. This could be seen in, for example, their attacks on welfare provisions for supposedly undeserving individuals, including migrant workers, which was discussed earlier in this thesis. Moreover, Structures of Feeling characterised by feelings of shame may be playing the role of an invisible oil making this *perpetuum mobile* run more smoothly. This is because, in line with the previous literature (Scheff 2002; Sueda 2014) and insights from studies by Sennett and Cobb (1972) and Willis (1977), the unacknowledged shame channels the focus of an individual towards suppressing it (e.g. by withdrawal) and away from collective identification that could encourage collective action to challenge the structural context which caused such hidden

injuries in the first place. In other words, shame promotes an isolation that can only further fuel the individualistic ethic of neoliberalism.

Furthermore, it is not necessarily relevant whether or not individuals have internalised neoliberal ethics. Recent research suggests that, rather than by personally endorsed values, our self-regard and self-esteem are shaped predominantly by culturally normative values:

> 'Our multilevel analyses showed that bases for self-evaluation are defined collectively, reflecting culturally normative values, rather than personally endorsed values. Within any given cultural context, individuals evaluate themselves in culturally appropriate ways, deriving feelings of self-esteem particularly from those identity aspects that fulfil values prioritized by others in their cultural surroundings.' (Becker and Vingoles 2014: 672)

This means that whether or not people do internalise neoliberal ethics, its discursive hegemony in the society or culture that they are part of may still influence their self-evaluations and, thus, may lead to Structures of Feeling characterised by a sense of shame. Even the *rebels* and *vagrants* (Williams 1961) who may explicitly reject and criticise these ethics may be affected by them, perhaps on a subtle, not apparently visible level of emotional experiences: the 'hidden injuries'.

Such conceptualisation of CEE migration reveals a certain paradox: on the one hand, the mobile CEE citizens may be seen as success stories of neoliberalism in Europe in that, with the happiness that they claim to have found in the UK, they seem to embody the ethic of self-making and limitless opportunities in the 'borderless' Europe. At the same time, they can be seen as victims of neoliberal policies in their country of origin. Moreover, one can cautiously argue that they are victims of neoliberal ideology also in the country of destination in that the anti-immigrant discourses which portray CEE migrants as benefit tourists are in part driven by the neoliberal ethic that champions economic utility, self-sufficiency, contractual and market-based access to social rights. The fact that interviewees in this study vigorously distanced themselves from the notion of a 'benefit tourist' and tried to portray themselves as hardworking and economically independent workers who do

not claim social rights indicates that neoliberal discourses of economic utility and self-sufficiency may be a source of their anxieties about exclusion from a Community of Value in the receiving country by the continuous risk of being labelled as a 'benefit tourist'. In this way, neoliberal ideology causes further 'hidden injuries' among these subjects also in the country of destination. Despite this, as Chapter 6 (section 6.1.) illustrated, they become guardians of the ideology that caused and continues causing their 'suffering'.

However, it was also showed that as a result of the experience migration people can develop critical interpretations of the neoliberal ethic (see Vignette 1). In this process they also reinterpret themselves, their lives, values, and their relationship with a place of departure and a place of destination.

Moreover, it was noted that there were differences between those who had faced economic scarcity in Poland and those who had not, in that the former group's narratives were marked with a sense of shame whereas those of the latter revealed a sense of suffocation in relation to their country of origin. This difference taps into the previous literature on shame which has identified the experience of this category of emotions as characteristic of working-class people (Sennett and Cobb 1972; Willis 1977 in Scheff 2002; Skeggs 1997; Lamont 2000). As argued by Sayer (2005: 954), this situation results from the fact that:

> 'class inequalities mean that the "social bases of respect" in terms of access to valued ways of living are unequally distributed, and therefore that shame is [unequally distributed].'

Previous literature also identified sources of the opposite feelings – i.e. a sense of self-worth and pride (Sayer 2005: 954) – in specific ethics of the working class. For example, Lamont (2000) showed how American working-class men derived their sense of worth and pride 'from their self-discipline, their ability to work hard, provide for and protect their families, and maintain their values in an insecure environment' (Sayer 2005: 954). Similar observations were made in the study by Sennett and Cobb (1972). In turn, the present chapter showed how migrant workers from Poland, both men and women, derive their sense of worth and pride from the

different types of neoliberal ethics discussed above, and that they experience these ethics differently depending on their socio-economic status.

Moreover, in addition to the more general above-described Structures of Feeling characterising Polish migration to the UK, there are subtle variations in migration experience, especially the experience of inclusion and exclusion, when it comes to different places in the UK. To recollect, Chapter 7 showed that although migration to these two places may not seem straightforwardly different, there were certain subtleties in terms of how migrants experienced inclusion and exclusion in workplaces and communities of the two locales. Specifically, the discourses of normality and dual-idealisations seemed to sit uneasily with migrants' experiences in the sectarian labour market and communities in the former place. At the same time, it was shown that interviewees reinterpreted the North in ways that sustained these discourses but, arguably, at the cost of exclusion (i.e. 'normality through exclusion'). Conversely, it was illustrated how migrants' interpretations of different aspects of the Scottish context allowed for generating experiences of inclusion perhaps unparalleled in other places in the UK.

Furthermore, the last data analysis chapter argued that the migration policy context can be another factor mediating the Structures of Feeling that migrants develop in the country of destination. The perceived ease of taking up work abroad by Polish migrants thanks to the provisions of intra-EU labour mobility is more in line with a self-making ethic which posits that the individual is the sole craftsman of his or her biography. In contrast to this, policies that regulate migration to Poland from its East European neighbours place numerous limitations on individuals, in spheres including employment, that make the ethics of the independent adult-citizen, self-entrepreneur, and freely choosing consumer-citizen hardly sustainable. Consequently, although people interviewed in Wroclaw came from countries that have also been affected by neoliberal policies and ideology since the collapse of communism – indeed, many left-leaning commentaries saw the 2013 protests in Ukraine as driven by the pursuit of neoliberalism by élites and the broader society alike – the neoliberal ethic was not manifested in their accounts of migration as strongly as it was in those of Polish interviewees in the UK. Moreover, migrants' normal lives in Poland were somewhat

deferred in that they were attainable only after the long-term residence permit was secured. On the other hand, that chapter also showed how other aspects of Poland and Wroclaw have influenced migrants' experiences of inclusion and exclusion, sometimes in ways that positioned Poland as a destination that was preferable to the wealthier countries of Western Europe.

9.2. Policy implications

Apart from contributions to migration theory, literature on CEE migration, and social theory more broadly, the findings of this study carry several policy implications that go beyond the phenomenon of migration. Indeed, they are topical in the context of ongoing debates on the detrimental social effects that neoliberal policies might be having for social cohesion, social peace, and democratic institutions. The argument frequently appearing in public debates is that neoliberal policies generate inequalities, exclusion, and anxieties that are capitalised on by the authoritarian right-wing parties which pose a long-term threat to democratic institutions. The popularity of Donald Trump in the US, Marine Le Pen in France, Nigel Farage in the UK, Viktor Orban in Hungary, the Law and Justice party in Poland, and other right-wing politicians and parties has been accounted for in this way.

The present thesis adds to these analyses by highlighting a problem with neoliberal policies which is perhaps insolvable and could be considered an internal paradox of neoliberal ideology. More specifically, as noted above with reference to Poland, this ideology on the one hand champions an ideal of an independent, self-sufficient, entrepreneurial adult and freely-choosing citizen-consumer but, on the other hand, undermines by its actual policy proposals the prerequisites necessary to realise this ideal: i.e. adequate income, employment security, and a present rather than an absent state that offers an appropriate social safety net. This came through vividly in the narratives of the workers interviewed in the present study who, despite discursively embracing neoliberal values and logic, can be seen as victims of neoliberal policies in their country of origin.

Therefore, these narratives provide a valuable critique of neoliberalism that should be taken into account before further policies of deregulation, welfare retrenchment, and austerity are proposed. Such policies could have particularly problematic outcomes in high-income countries in the western part of the continent, where the strategy of 'getting on the boat' to the 'Empire' (Williams 1961) in order to escape the feelings of shame and failure in a consumerist and neoliberal society is less of an option. To elaborate on this assertion, it can be argued that, although many youth struggling with precarious working lives in Western Europe, including those with higher education diplomas, do migrate to lower-income countries in CEE in increasingly large numbers in search of stable and respectable lives [11], the opportunities for building such lives in these new destinations are relatively limited because of the typically even poorer employment standards and welfare provisions found there compared to those found in Western Europe. Therefore, while the 'black sheep' of neoliberal ethics in Poland have the option of proving themselves as worthy individuals by migrating – and, as previously explained, 'going out to the new lands could be seen as self-help and enterprise of the purest kinds' (Williams 1961: 83-84) – this is less of an option for the 'black sheep' in Western Europe. Therefore, they need to develop another strategy for coping with the negative feelings of shame and failure.

Scheff (2002) identified two types of responses to unacknowledged shame. One of them was withdrawal from the context that causes these feelings, and migration could be conceived in these terms in that it involves a person leaving behind the context that led to his or her negative experiences. The other response is that of anger which can spiral into rage:

> 'When anger has its source in feelings of rejection or inadequacy, and when the latter feelings are not acknowledged, a continuous spiral of shame/anger may result, which is experienced as hatred and rage. Rather than expressing and discharging one's shame, it is masked by rage and aggression.' (Scheff 2002)

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[11] Indeed, one such migrant from Scotland to Poland was interviewed in the present research before the decision to focus on Ukrainian migrants was taken.

Ray (2014) interpreted the England riots of 2011 in exactly this framework. He argued that the rage of precarious youth was driven by feelings of shame caused by their exclusion from the consumer society which denied those people access to sources of social respect, namely, the consumer goods. This could explain the remarkable performativity of these riots, which included rioters ostensibly displaying to the CCTV cameras the consumer goods acquired after breaking into shops, or attacking the largest, most recognisable brands. With the neoliberal political-economy failing to safeguard its promises of prosperity for all and, instead, creating ever-growing social inequality that excludes people from access to symbols of status and social respect (which in a consumer society would be consumer goods), such shame-driven riots may be repeated or expanded.

In addition, the underlying feelings of shame may be capitalised on by right-wing politicians who offer a tempting alternative to this hidden emotional suffering: namely, a sense of pride derived from the notion of a strong and proud nation. Right-wing nationalist rhetoric may be particularly attractive also because it allows people to elevate their sense of self by diminishing the worthiness and value of others, especially the disadvantaged social groups: migrants, sexual minorities, women, and others. Therefore, the present thesis sheds a new light on the mechanism behind the rise of right-wing nationalism in Europe and beyond that has troubled mainstream and left-leaning politicians.

Specifically, existing interpretations (e.g. Standing 2009) suggest that the rise in popularity of right-wing nationalism is related to the changes in employment in post-Fordist capitalism that stripped workers of their sense of occupational identity, as life-long careers have been largely replaced with temporary, irregular, frequently changing, and precarious job assignments. In the context of 'blocked avenues for advancing a meaningful life' (Standing 2009: 19) through employment, people seek meaning elsewhere, often in right-wing nationalist ideology and activism. However, based on the findings of the present study, we could add to this interpretation another process that lies behind precarious workers turning to right-wing nationalism. In their study of working-class men who performed jobs with low social status, Sennett and Cobb (1972) observed that to cope with the feelings of shame these workers sought

meaning and self-worth by playing the role of breadwinners and reinterpreting their working life as an honourable sacrifice for their families. However, the present study indicated that nearly 30 years after neoliberal policies began to be implemented in Poland, many young workers in this country do not see even a remote opportunity of establishing a family, forming an independent household or becoming a breadwinner. In other words, while unable to draw a sense of pride from their careers, they also lack access to the way of life that was available to the workers interviewed by Sennett and Cobb (1972) in Fordist America. In these circumstances, right-wing nationalism may be a more accessible source of pride, especially for men, the gender that Sennett and Cobb's (1972) study was concerned with.

This assertion could be illustrated by a somewhat distant but very illustrative case of a burgeoning far-right and misogynist male community in South Korea called Ilbe (일베). The community has been infamous for its derogatory language directed at women and other socially disadvantaged groups: migrants, refugees, and the people of the economically disadvantaged Jeolla region. Members of the community even attacked fasting relatives of the Sewol disaster, who lost their young children in the sunken ferry, by eating fried chicken in front of their anti-government hunger strike. Ilbe is an interesting case because the rise of this community can be linked to the rise of neoliberalism which, since the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, has been pushed to extremes by comparison with that in other high-income countries. As argued by Standing (2009), this is the OECD country with the highest proportion of people in precarious jobs. In South Korea, 'more than half of all workers are in temporary, "non-regular" jobs' (Standing 2009: 15). At the same time, it is the country with the least generous welfare system as illustrated by its social expenditure, which is the lowest among OECD (2016) nations. This creates serious insecurities in the lives of young people in this country. But it is also a country that, with its own history of rapid industrialisation, dubbed 'the miracle on Han River', has inflated people's expectations of social advancement to be achieved through education and investment in one's skills. Indeed, 70% of workers aged 25–34 have higher education diplomas (OECD 2015), which is once again the world's highest figure. Yet, only a minority of them will ever be likely to find full-time, stable employment in the highly deregulated labour market. Others are likely to experience a sense of failure.

Moreover, coping with this sense of failure through realising the masculine ideal of the breadwinner in this highly patriarchal society is barely an option. Symptomatically, the young generation of South Koreans of productive age has been referred to as the Sampo Generation (삼포세대) which translates into a generation that has to give up three things due to the precariousness of their existence: courtship, marriage, and childbirth. Indeed, the country has the lowest fertility rates among all OECD countries.

In this context, we have seen the rise of an extreme, far-right, misogynist male community called Ilbe whose members have been widely criticised even by conservative politicians for breaking with any commonly acceptable social norms. What is symptomatic is that these men call each other with a term similar in meaning to social loser, appropriating with a sense of pride this label imposed on them by the society (Kim 2014). This tactic, along with their crossing of widely accepted social norms, resembles the 'reject the rejecters' response identified among the inmate community in the US prison system (McCorkle and Korn 1954), whereby the prisoners rejected the wider society 'by uniting against the prison administration and staff (those immediately responsible for their suffering)' and 'transformed from a group "in itself" into a group "for itself" – that is to say, a group conscious of its situation, interests, and adversaries' (Schwartz 1973: 233). That a sense of shame, and synonymous with it a sense of exclusion, underline the 'politics' of Ilbe is further indicated by the 'certification rush' in which members of this male community uploaded evidence of their employment or studies at the country's most prestigious public institutions and corporations to show that, contrary to the general social perception, they are in fact not social losers (Kim 2014).

Ilbe is a case of an extreme male chauvinist community that was formed from particular tendencies within modern neoliberal capitalism taken to its limits. Therefore, it vividly illustrates the negative outcomes of neoliberal policies. The type of misogynist, anti-immigrant, and anti-minority discourse that Ilbe uses has arguably become more visible in the public sphere in the West as well, as the political debates in the run-up to the 2016 US elections illustrate. Such social developments should raise the alarm among progressively oriented and liberal

policy-makers. The hope is that this observation will contribute to the debates surrounding the ongoing worrisome political trends across Europe and beyond it and that, by identifying social mechanisms underlying these developments, it will also contribute to mitigating them.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1 – Lists of interviewees

Scotland

Name (anonymised)	Age at first interview	Gender	Occupation type at first interview	Year of arriving in destinatio n country	1st interview	2nd interview
Monika	28	Female	Clerical	2005	10.03.14	11.03.15
Tadeusz	34	Male	Cleaner	2006	13.03.14	12.03.15
Irena	31	Female	Cleaner	2006	13.03.14	12.03.15
Agata	28	Female	Professional	2007	10.03.14	24.03.15
Aneta	34	Female	Waitress	2008	14.03.14	20.03.15
Edyta	35	Female	Clerical	2005	05.03.14	21.03.15
Julita	30	Female	Professional	2006	20.03.14	24.03.15
Malgosia	29	Female	Waitress	2006	08.03.14	19.03.15
Romek	35	Male	Security officer	2005	07.03.14	20.03.15
Ewa	33	Female	Clerical	2005	07.03.14	20.03.15
Adrianna	33	Female	Clerical	2006	12.03.14	X
Alicja	31	Female	Clerical	2006	11.03.14	17.03.15
Patryk	29	Male	Clerical	2005	16.03.14	24.03.15
Slawek	43	Male	Craft worker	2007	13.03.14	22.03.15
Janusz	33	Male	Professional	2005	17.03.14	24.03.15
Rafal	35	Male	Professional	2006	20.03.14	20.04.15
Patrycja	31	Female	Waitress	2010	14.03.14	20.03.15

Northern Ireland

Name (anonymised)	Age at first interview	Gender	Occupation type at first interview	Year of arriving in destinatio n country	1st interview	2nd interview
Judyta	36	Female	self-employed professional	2004	07.10.13	12.10.14
Karolina	32	Female	Sales assistant	2006	13.10.13	09.10.14
Iga	29	Female	Hairdresser	2008	11.10.13	12.10.14
Wiktor	31	Male	Driver	2007	11.10.13	12.10.14
Marek	35	Male	Factory worker	2006/2007	08.10.13	06.10.14
Jagoda	52	Female	Farmworker	2002	17.10.13	05.10.14
Ilona	28	Female	self-employed professional	2006	08.10.13	X
Dawid	29	Male	Factory worker	2006	08.10.13	X
Malwina	31	Female	self-employed professional	2004	09.10.13	10.12.14
Daria	28	Female	self-employed professional	2004/2005	14.10.13	04.10.14
Grzegorz	39	Male	Professional	2006	14.10.13	03.10.14
Kaja	28	Female	self-employed professional	2011 (worked in Edinburgh before)	10.10.13	20.10.14
Julia	28	Female	Care worker	2008	15.10.13	13.10.14
Pawel	35	Male	Factory worker	2007	15.10.13	13.10.14

Amanda	30	Female	self-employed professional	2008	10.10.13	03.10.14
Mariusz	31	Male	Professional	2005	12.10.13	06.10.14
Roman	35	Male	Shop assistant	2005	16.10.13	11.10.14
Hania	31	Female	Professional	2006/2007	16.10.13	14.10.14

Poland

Name (anonymised)	Country of Origin	Age at first interview	Gender	Occupation type at first interview	Year of arriving in destination country	Legal status	1st interview	2nd interview
Sveta	Ukraine	34	Female	Small business owner	1996	Polish citizenship	04.01.14	16.12.14
Anna	Ukraine	34	Female	Kitchen assistant	2010	1 year residence permit	04.01.14	18.12.14
Marina	Ukraine	29	Female	Clerical	2007	Polish citizenship	16.01.14	16.12.14
Denis	Ukraine	29	Male	Factory technician	2007	1 year residence permit	24.01.14	22.12.14
Olga	Ukraine	25	Female	Doctoral student	2009	1 year residence permit	03.02.14	18.12.14
Alina	Ukraine	40	Female	Cleaner	2004	1 year residence permit	02.02.14	15.12.14
Maksym	Ukraine	23	Male	Clerical	2008	1 year residence permit	05.02.14	X
Maria	Ukraine	33	Female	University lecturer	2005	Polish citizenship	07.02.14	X
Anton	Ukraine	39	Male	Teacher	1997	Polish citizenship	08.02.14	X
Yana	Ukraine	40	Female	Manager	1997	Polish citizenship	11.02.14	07.01.15

Elena	Ukraine	47	Female	Small business owner	2001	Polish citizenship	25.02.14	16.12.14
Julia	Ukraine	38	Female	Teacher	2002	Polish citizenship	04.01.14	20.12.14
Aliona	Ukraine	44	Female	Unemployed	1999 (but was in Poland on and off)	Long-term residence permit (10 years)	19.12.14	X
Ilona	Belarus	30	Female	Professional	2007	Long-term residence permit (5 years)	28.01.14	18.12.14
Vladimir	Belarus	44	Male	Business owner	1996	Long-term residence permit	03.01.14	X

Appendix 2 – Interview Questions

Main interview (translated from Polish)

Background questions

1. How long have you lived in the country of destination? When did you first arrive here?

2. Could you tell me how you came to live in the country of destination? Please think back in time and tell me your story, reflecting on your life and the decision that might have shaped this story.

Additional questions:

1) When did you first start thinking about going abroad for work?
2) What were your reasons for starting to think about going abroad for work?
3) Why did you decide to come to this particular country/place*?* Did you consider others?

3. What were your first impressions and experiences of living in the new country? How did they differ from your experiences in and impressions of the country of origin?

Work and employment

4. Have you worked in your country of origin before coming here? Please tell me about your work experiences in your country of origin.
5. Please tell me about your work experiences since arriving in the country of destination.
6. How would you compare the two countries in regard to working?
7. To what extent are you satisfied with how your work life/career unfolded in the country of destination? Would you like to change anything in it?
8. What are your plans for the future in terms of employment?
9. Can you tell me about your contacts with other workers in your employment (present and previous), including co-nationals and other workers?

10. Have you ever experienced discrimination in the workplace because of your nationality?

Belonging and settlement

11. Tell me about your contacts and relationships with your local community outside of work, including both co-nationals and others.
12. Have you experienced discrimination or xenophobia outside the workplace?
13. Tell me about your contacts with family and friends in your country of origin.
14. Are you active in your community/society outside of work, either locally, with an organisation, or politically in your country of origin/country of destination?
15. Do you feel part of your local community in the country of destination? What is this community and what does it mean to you?
16. Do you feel part of society in the country of destination? Do you feel that you belong here? What does/does not give you this feeling?
17. Where do you consider your home to be? Why and when did you develop this feeling?
18. What does home mean to you?
19. Have you thought about returning to your country of origin? Why would you say yes or no?
20. What are your plans for the future in terms of where you live?

Concluding question

21. What was/were the most important change(s) for you or in your life that resulted from your migration?

Note: Interviews in Wroclaw included also questions about respondents' residence status.

Follow-up interview (translated from Polish)

1. How has your life changed since the last interview?
2. Can you tell me about your employment experiences/changes since the last interview?
3. Have you experienced discrimination or xenophobia in or outside the workplace?
4. Tell me about your contacts and relationships with your local community outside of work, both co-nationals and others.
5. Tell me about your contacts with family and friends in your country of origin.
6. Are you active in your community/society outside of work, either locally, with an organisation, or politically in your country of origin/country of destination?
7. Do you feel part of your local community in the country of destination? What is this community and what does it mean to you?
8. Do you feel that you are part of society in the country of destination? Do you feel that you belong here? What does/does not give you this feeling?
9. Where do you consider your home to be?
10. Have you thought about returning to your country of origin? Why would you say yes or no?
11. What are your plans for the future in terms of where to live?

Note: Interviews in Wroclaw included also questions about respondents' residence status.