

**THE EXPERIENCES OF POLISH MIGRANT WORKERS
IN THE UK HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY**

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Abstract

Although the hospitality industry has historically relied on migrant workers, the influx of Poles to the UK following EU Enlargement in 2004 resulted in the unprecedented increase in numbers of those taking up jobs in the UK hospitality industry. Poland, being the largest of the new member states, became the largest supplier of labour from Central and Eastern European countries. Despite the sector's poor image of being low-skilled, badly paid, physically demanding and lacking clear career prospects, the industry has attracted many educated Poles who were able to fill problematic vacancies.

The purpose of this research is to examine the experiences of Polish migrant workers in the UK's hospitality industry. It explores who the Polish workers employed in hospitality are as well as looking at the reasons for choosing to work in the sector. On this theme, the migrants' give their views on the UK hospitality sector and what they bring to and learn or gain from working in hospitality. Finally, the research investigates the role that hospitality plays in the adaptation of Polish migrants into life in the UK, which places the research in the wider social context of current migration issues and labour market influences. In order to achieve the research aim, a mixed method approach was employed using an online questionnaire, interviews and netnography – ethnography adapted to study online communities. The online questionnaire was distributed across fora for Poles and it collected 315 usable questionnaires. The choice of these research methods was shaped by the characteristics of the Polish community living in the UK, a mobile community of migrants, who use the internet extensively at various stages of the migration process.

The findings of this research show that Polish migrants in the UK hospitality sector are young, below the age of 30, predominantly female and highly qualified. Despite the latter characteristic, migrants' methods for accessing employment point to a high level of informality; they find work through friends and family or by visiting hotel premises. Furthermore, migrants' views on hospitality as an occupation are diverse; satisfaction is derived from a lively and social environment, flexibility and career progression. Conversely, a 24/7/365 culture, pay rates and poor management are sources of disappointment. It is evident that migrant workers treat working experiences as investments, as 'stepping stones' to a better future. They felt that they acquired a range of new skills; the knowledge of the local labour market and local work experience, interpersonal and social skills and, most importantly: 'language capital'. The findings of this research demonstrate that the hospitality environment facilitates migrants' adaptation to life in the UK, providing social activities and a language- learning environment, allowing migrants to develop relationships with other groups; host nationals, Poles and other migrants.

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List of Abbreviations

A8	Accession Eight countries
AMR	Accession Monitoring Report
BOS	Bristol Online Surveys
CEE	Central and Eastern European countries
GUS	Główny Urząd Statystyczny (General Statistical Office)
NIN	National Insurance Number
NMW	National Minimum Wage
SNS	Social Networking Site
WRS	Working Registration Scheme

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1 Chapter One – Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of Polish migrant workers in the hospitality industry in the UK. Essentially there are three areas to this exploration. The first requirement is to create a profile of the hospitality workforce in terms of age, gender, location of work, work experience and how jobs were obtained. This forms the descriptive part of the research and aims to provide detail on Polish migrants working in the hospitality industry. Secondly, the research explores the reasons for choosing to work in the sector. In this theme are the migrants' views on the UK hospitality sector and what they bring and learn or gain from working in hospitality. This builds on previous research that has attempted to understand the aspirations and motivations of hospitality workers. Finally, the research investigates the role that hospitality plays in the adaptation of Polish migrants into UK life. This places the research in the wider social context of current migration issues and labour market influences.

In pursuit of these three areas, the research requires an inter-disciplinary approach and applies the following theories and concepts: Human Capital Theories (Sjastaad 1962; Williams and Balaz 2008), Network-mediated Theory of migration (Massey *et al.* 1993), the Hofstedian model of cultural dimensions (1991) and Acculturation theories (Kim 1988; Berry 1997). These theories contribute to an understanding of migrant workers' decisions, behaviour and their adaptation process into the life in the UK, and are, therefore, applicable to the second and third research areas in this study.

The study uses both qualitative and quantitative methods to fulfil the research objectives, with three methods of data collection being used; netnography, interviews and an online questionnaire. The high internet usage among Poles, both in their home country and abroad, and specifically those living in the UK (Hitwise 2009; Czapiński and Panek 2007; Garapich and Osipovic 2007) was the main reason for employing the internet as a tool for data collection. Indeed, new forms of data collection methods are warranted by the fast growing use of online interactive media. A great number of fora for those living in the UK provided a rich source of data for the study. Therefore, *netnography* - ethnography adapted to study online communities - was used for the data collection. The term 'netnography' has been coined by Robert Kozinets who originally used it for marketing research (Kozinets 2002). In netnography, publicly available online fora that are downloaded by the researcher are used as data in a study

(Kozinets 2002; Langer and Beckman 2005). More specifically, a number of discussion boards were selected, downloaded and analysed to gain some initial insights into working experiences in the sector.

In addition to the netnographic studies, six interviews conducted with Polish hospitality workers in Bournemouth allowed the researcher to refine and develop variables for the main stage of the data collection, the web-based questionnaire. They also provided more insights on migrants' adaptation process into UK life and supported the survey findings. Although the original purpose of the interviews was to assist in the development of the questionnaire, the qualitative interview data brings the survey findings to life, providing richer pictures of phenomena under study (Miles and Hubermann 1994).

In order to reach a mobile population of Poles who work (or have worked) in the hospitality industry, a web-based questionnaire was designed using the service provided by Bristol Online Surveys (BOS). The questionnaire was distributed on the online fora for Polish migrants. More specifically, messages with a hyperlink to the online survey were posted on 45 regional and general fora across the UK and on two large social networking sites (SNS): Facebook.com and Nasza-klasa.pl (Our class). The former is an international social site with over 67 million users (Facebook Statistics 2008) while the latter is the largest, rapidly growing and most popular social networking platform in Poland with 11 million users (Nasza-klasa.pl 2008). The online questionnaire collected both quantitative and qualitative data.

1.2 The study in context

This study's exploration of Polish hospitality workers' experiences is set within the context of the influx of Polish migrants into the UK and their subsequent dominance of certain occupations in the hospitality labour markets.

The history of migrating Poles is not a new story: *'Poland is undoubtedly one of the most important emigration countries in modern times'* (Cyrus 2006:25). For many years, Poles have been leaving Poland and choosing not only Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy for their destination, but also countries such as Canada, the USA or Brazil. The theme of migration is also significant in Polish literature since the period of *Romanticism* until now and it has been associated with the creation of the greatest Polish artists writing from outside Poland such as Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and Witold Gombrowicz.

Although the migration of Poles to Britain started just after WWII (post war migration) and was called 'forced migration', the date of 1st of May 2004 opened a completely new chapter in the history of Polish migration to Britain. In May 2004, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Estonia, Malta and Cyprus joined the European Union. Apart from the two latter countries, the rest of the new member states have been named the 'Accession Eight' (A8), representing Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Following the EU's Expansion, the new member states were granted free access to the labour market in selected countries from the 'Old Europe'. For thousands of people from Central and Eastern Europe it became possible to work in the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden, the three countries that did not restrict access to their labour markets¹.

Predictions of the scale of immigration to the UK concluded that opening labour markets up would not result in mass migration and that only a small number of migrants would arrive each year following the EU Enlargement (Dustmann, Casanove, Fertig, Preston, and Schmidt 2003; Okólski 2004). These assumptions were based on migration theories and assessment of previous links between particular CEE countries with the old EU states. For example, Germany has always been a popular receiving country among Poles because of its proximity to Poland and its past ties, thus, the pre-accession prognoses estimated that Germany would continue to be the most popular destination for Poles. These predictions, however, proved to be heavily underestimated and, between May 2004 and December 2008, at least 965,000 immigrants from the 'Accession Eight' entered the UK, the majority coming from Poland (Home Office 2009). Poland's unemployment rate of 20%, at the time of EU entry, made the largest country in Central and Eastern Europe with a population of 38 million the dominant country in the Slavic exodus. Since then, the immigration of Poles has become a popular topic within the British media and government context.

When it comes to numbers of new arrivals after 1 May 2004, it is difficult to get an accurate figure of the size of the flows from Poland and other CEE countries to the UK. The data on recent migration numbers from both the sending and receiving countries do not agree. However, the source quoted by most researchers comes from the Working Registration Scheme reported in the regularly published Accession Monitoring Reports by the Home Office. According to these statistics, hotels and catering is one of the top five sectors popular with migrants with 19% of the newcomers from Central and

¹ Since the EU Enlargement in 2004 in total 13 EU countries has opened their labour market for Poles. 1st of May 2004 the United Kingdom, Ireland and Sweden opened their labour markets. In May 2006 Finland, Spain, Greece and Portugal did, and Italy in June. The Netherlands opened their market in May 2007, Luxemburg in November 2007 and France in 2008. In 2009 Belgium and Denmark are meant to do so.

Eastern Europe (A8) working there. In London, however, this number reaches 42%. The total number of Poles working in this sector between May 2004 and December 2008 is estimated as 109,205 (Home Office 2009). The other top sectors for registered workers are the following: administration, business and management (39%), agriculture (10%), manufacturing (7%) and food, fish and meat processing (5%).

The hospitality industry has historically relied on migrant workers (Christensen-Hughes 1992; King 1995; Baum 2006, 2007). Migrants arriving in the UK find jobs in hospitality for a number of reasons which include the wages being higher in this sector than in their countries, they can improve their English skills and employers are willing to employ migrants to fill the jobs unwanted by locals (Wood 1992). In the past, Poles have been recognised as the biggest group of international workers (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b; Evans *et al.* 2007). It has been noticed that employers started using positive stereotypical assumptions about Polish workers, which included having a good work ethic, commitment and acceptance of low wages (McDowell *et al.* 2007; Mathews and Ruhs 2007a; Anderson *et al.* 2006). Finally, it has already been pointed out that businesses started relying on migrant workers in this employment sector and even prefer them to British workers (Mathews and Ruhs 2007a, 2007b). The nature of hospitality, its significant turnover, pay rates and irregular working hours drives the sector to recruit more workers. Those needs coincide with those of foreign workers who benefit from the problems in staffing that the UK hospitality sector needs to resolve.

It is stated that *'for most employees, the hospitality sector is not a career option, but rather a preparation for a career in another section of the economy'* (Riley *et al.* 2002:21) and *'a mere stopover to something better'* (Wildes 2007:7). Hospitality employment is considered to be mostly suitable for young people, students and migrants, since, in most cases, it is a temporary solution that opens the door for different paths in the future. Indeed, recent studies on international hospitality workforces pointed out *'an excellent level of educational attainment among respondents relative to the perceived demands of the job'* (Devine *et al.* 2007a:339). This mismatch between qualifications and the jobs performed might explain migrants' only temporary presence in the sector and this will be explored in later chapters.

Although the significant numbers of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe have been welcomed by the government to fill labour shortages, particularly in low-paid jobs, British society has had diverse views on whether opening the labour market without any restrictions was the right move. This decision and its consequences have proved

controversial in British society and the government responded to these concerns in 2007 in two ways. Firstly, the Prime Minister, Gordon Brown announced the creation of 500,000 'British jobs for British workers'. Secondly, in January 2007, the British labour market became restricted to the new Accession countries: Bulgaria and Romania following the European Commission's recommendations (Home Office 2007b). This means that in contrast to Poland and other countries joining the EU in May 2004, the two newest EU members' states are allowed to work only in designated sectors of the British economy. Therefore, the British labour market became restricted for the new EU members. Finally, a point system for countries outside the EU is being introduced in the UK in order to replace nearly eighty different ways of entering the UK (Home Office 2008c).

The interest in the recent influx of Poles and other Central and Eastern European migrants is shared by academics, policy makers, the media, employers and government. The topic has received a substantial amount of interest at both national and local levels. The major funding bodies (ESRC, Joseph Rowntree Foundation) have focused on a number of issues relating to life, work, legal status and wellbeing (for example, ESRC: 'Recent Polish migrants in London: social networks, transience, settlement' and JRF: 'Fair enough? Central and East European migrants in low-wage employment in the UK' 2006, 'Changing status, changing lives? Methods, participants and lessons learnt', 2006, 'Migrants lives beyond the workplace: The experiences of Central and East European migrants in the UK' 2007) and class (ESRC: Class and Ethnicity: Polish migrants in London 2006).

Many other reports on the A8 newcomers have been funded by local authorities, focusing mainly on what is of prime importance for British society - community cohesion (A8 migrant workers in rural areas 2007; Schneider and Holman 2005; Highlands and Islands Enterprise 2005; Evans *et al.* 2006; Lanz and Gullen 2006). Finally, many Higher Education Institutions have carried out their own research (Brunel University, Centre for Employment Research: University of Westminster). Therefore, this topic area is frequently discussed and debated in the wider political and social arenas, raising questions about new migrants' adaptation into the British life. One of the initiatives of local bodies has been a distribution of 'welcoming packs' for the new migrants to facilitate their arrival in the UK. For example, the Devon Migrant Worker Task Group has produced a welcoming pack for Polish migrant workers in both Polish and English, including information on housing, work and the British way of life (BBC 2008).

The influx of Poles into the UK has become visible in everyday life in Britain through all types of media. The theme of Polish migrant workers has come to British films (*Somers Town*, 2008, directed by Shane Meadows; *It's a free world*, 2007, directed by Ken Loach), theatre (*The Glass Mountain* directed by Emily Grey, 2009), TV series (forthcoming *Londoners*, directed by Greg Zglinski), television (BBC: *Poles are coming*, 2008, Channel 4: *Bobski the Builder*, 2008; programmes on 'Panorama', 'Politics Show') and literature (Marina Lewycka, *Two caravans*, 2008, Rose Tremain, *The road home*, 2007). What is more, one British soap opera, which purposely reflects the everyday life in Britain, has introduced a new character - Viki (Wiktorja) Dankowska appeared in 'Coronation Street' in 2007, acting as a machinist working at Underworld. The show charted her adaptation experiences and her eventual acceptance by the community. All types of media have thus contributed to the process of raising awareness within society.

Furthermore, private and public businesses have adjusted to the needs of Polish migrants living and working in the UK by providing services and call centres in Polish in many institutions such as banks, libraries, medical centres and the police. Additionally, newspapers, radio stations, websites, money transfers, clubs and restaurants have been launched to meet the needs of the newcomers, forming a 'migrant industry' in the UK (Garapich 2008).

The topic of recent migration to the UK is, without a doubt, well covered by the daily press and tabloids that have made it a part of their news' headlines. However, the opinions on Polish migrants arriving after May 2004 are noticeably divided. On the one hand, Poles are seen as those who '*reintroduced manual skills and a work ethic to a British economy*', and '*are as close as you will get to model immigrants*' (The Daily Telegraph 2007b). On the other hand, there are plenty of stories about Poles stretching public services (The Daily Mail 2007a), increasing rents and reducing wages (The Daily Mail 2007b), competing with others for the same jobs (Financial Times 2007) or 'Poles exploiting other Poles' (The Guardian 2004). Poles are often linked to the issues of unemployment among Britons, problems in the NHS, schools, housing, drugs and even rapes.

The division in the press is noticeable, and some press provides more varied perspectives on the issue than others do. For example, The 'Daily Mail' was accused of being racist and 'Anti-Polish' by the Federation of Poles in Great Britain, the largest group representing Poles in Britain, after publishing at least 81 articles during 21 months on Polish arrivals to the UK (The Guardian 2008; The Independent 2008). Their

headlines revealed certain attitudes towards migrants; for example, after publishing a government report on migration in 2007, the Daily Mail's headline was: 'Influx costs every UK household Pounds 350 a year' (The Daily Mail 2007f). In contrast, the same report was also commented on in 'The Independent' under the title: 'Home Office: migrants work harder, earn more and pay more taxes than Britons' (The Independent 2007). Despite complaints, the newspaper still concentrates on Poles providing intensive media coverage. In summary, the frequent presence of this topic in all types of media in the UK reinforces how important the issue of recent migrants is for British Society. In the light of the recession and rising unemployment, the topic is no less important; furthermore, this media coverage not only reflects but also influences public opinion.

1.3 The relevance of the research

The relevance of this research lies in three directions. In its broadest context, the research offers empirical data on an issue currently at the forefront of British Society. Intense media coverage of Polish migrant workers in the hospitality, agricultural and construction industry sectors has pushed the profile of this topic far beyond academic interest and into the mainstream public arena. Although there are blurred notions of truths and myths surrounding the influx of Polish workers into the UK, what is without doubt is that large numbers of workers have arrived into the UK, and UK citizens in many areas of life are feeling their presence. This study does not concentrate on the host community's perspective, but it aims to shed some light on the experience of being a Polish migrant worker in the UK hospitality industry. However, it is acknowledged that host receptivity carries an impact on the migrant experience.

Consequently, the research aims to build on previous research in this area with the aim of adding a new perspective. Whilst previous research has focused on the migrants' demands in the sector and their role in meeting employers' needs for labour and employment practises (Mathews and Ruhs 2007a, 2007b; McDowell *et al.* 2007), this research focuses on the workers themselves and therefore seeks to address the gap in knowledge by taking a different perspective. It explores the experiences of Polish migrants working in the UK's hospitality and catering sector to give insights into their perceptions of jobs, their motivations and expectations.

Furthermore, this research contributes to the ongoing debate on migrants' integration into the workplace and wider society. It adds to the literature on the Accession Eight migrants' work and life integration (Spencer *et al.* 2007) by looking at how the sector

and its features, such as irregular working hours may impact upon migrants' adaptation process into UK life: their accommodation, relationships and their social life. The findings will contribute to the public, academic and policy debates on migrants' integration into life in the UK. In its broader context, it is important to study diverse workforces when the whole of Britain is becoming more and more ethnically diverse (Putman 2007).

Secondly, at a subject level, this research contributes further to an understanding of hospitality labour markets. It adds to the emerging literature on cultural diversity in the hospitality workplace (Devine *et al.* 2007a; Devine *et al.* 2007b; Baum *et al.* 2007) by looking at migrants across the whole country as opposed to previous research focusing on the UK's remote areas or solely on England. It also contributes to the literature on labour mobility (Szivas and Riley 1999; Szivas *et al.* 2003; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007), by looking at migrants' motivations when choosing this sector of employment. Previous research focused on the local labour force only whereas this study explores migrant workers. This research also contributes to the literature on the industry's image and employees' perspectives. Finally, it adds to the literature on workers' career paths in the hospitality industry by looking at migrants' career trajectories.

This further understanding of hospitality labour markets has a practical relevance. Due to the proportional significance of the international workforce in hospitality, insight into recruitment, selection methods and training strategies for the significant numbers of non-British workers would be of benefit to the industry in terms of HR strategies. Although previous studies have focused on working conditions and problems at work (Wright and Pollert 2006; Evans *et al.* 2007), this study will give a broader understanding of migrants' experience in hospitality. To facilitate HR management in the tourism industry, it is vital to study the motivations and expectations of migrant workers. Therefore, this study will provide some insights into educational level, work experience, views on hospitality work and the career plans of migrants working in the hospitality sector in such significant numbers. It also aims to illustrate why migrants may leave the hospitality sector. With this knowledge, HRM could make better informed decisions on recruitment and selection methods for certain departments, which has particular significance for the hospitality industry as many businesses have come to rely on the influx of Polish workers.

Moreover, this research looks at what migrants gain from and bring to working in the sector. This will allow looking at the issue of migrants' knowledge and learning in the hospitality industry and will add empirical findings to the conceptual literature

concerning international migration, its knowledge and learning (Williams 2007a, 2007b).

Finally, the research has relevance for the use of emerging research methods in hospitality. Netnography and online research methods of data collection appear to be particularly applicable to the study of a mobile community that uses the internet, not just for standard everyday functions such as booking flights, making phone calls, and transferring money, but also as social networks and specifically relevant for this research, for communicating with other migrants. The new forms of communication have facilitated a process for gaining insights on peoples' views. By using netnographic studies originally created for marketing research (Kozinets 2002), this research applies a new research method in hospitality and adaptation studies. Furthermore, this research adds new knowledge regarding conducting research in online public spaces and integrating both qualitative and quantitative research methods when collecting the data online. This type of communication is newly emerging and the present research will provide some insights on how the recent forms of communications can enhance data collection techniques.

1.4 Research aim and objectives

The aim of the research is to explore the experiences of Polish migrant workers in the hospitality industry in the UK.

In order to achieve its aim, four specific objectives were established:

1. to provide a profile of a sample of Polish hospitality workers in the UK in terms of demographics; gender, geographical location, education, previous work experience and job search techniques
2. to explore the migrant workers' reasons for choosing to work in the hospitality sector and their views on hospitality as an occupation
3. to ascertain what human capital the Polish migrants bring and what they gain or learn from working in the hospitality sector
4. to investigate the role that hospitality plays in the adaptation experience of Poles into the UK life

The first objective describes certain characteristics of the workforce and provides an insight into the educational level of migrants and the experience they bring to the UK hospitality industry. Objective two explores the reasons for choosing to work in the

hospitality sector and applies frameworks developed in previous research concerning why hospitality occupations are selected and what the employee views of the sector are. Objective three alters the focus of the research by asking the Polish migrants to reflect on their work experience. This aims to discover what human capital the Polish migrants bring to and gain or learn from their work experience in the UK. Objective four takes the research into the wider context through an exploration of adaptation, and aims to ascertain the specific role that hospitality plays in the adaptation process.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

The thesis consists of the following Chapters:

Chapter 1 serves as an Introduction to the research and sets the aim and objectives.

The remainder of the study is divided into 9 further chapters.

Chapter 2 is the first of the literature review chapters and provides an overview of theories of migration and the main features of the new wave of migration from Poland after the 2004 EU expansion, including causes and extent, definitions and typologies of immigrants and the new migrants in the UK, the employment issues and the notion of temporariness.

Chapter 3 outlines the nature of the hospitality sector, its main features, including the concept of mobility and careers in the industry in order to understand why and how migrant workers take up hospitality jobs. In addition, the main issues concerning migrant workers identified in previous studies are outlined.

Chapter 4 provides a literature review on immigrants' adaptation process. Firstly, the literature about cross culture transition including the main concepts such as adaptation is outlined. Secondly, the concept of social capital, virtual networks and the concept of transnationalism are defined with reference to recent literature on Polish migration. Thirdly, features of the Polish community in the UK are presented. At the end of this chapter, a review of British media perceptions of Poles in the UK is outlined.

Chapter 5 discusses the Methodology and the research methods applied to this study. Firstly, methods in previous studies (Hospitality and Migration) are discussed. Secondly, the research strategy, its overview and rationale is presented. Further, procedures (aims, pilot study etc) are explained. The specific research methods

(interviews, questionnaire, netnography) are discussed including sampling and forms of analysis. This chapter closes by identifying the limitations of the methodology.

Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 describe the findings from the data collection presented in the following stages: firstly, the findings that form Objective 1 are described presenting data from the survey (Chapter 6). Secondly, Objective 2 and its findings are shown using data from the survey, that are complemented with interviews and netnography data (Chapter 7). Thirdly, Objective 3 is answered by presenting data from the two open-ended questions from the survey, followed by interview data to complement the survey findings (Chapter 8). Finally, Objective 4 is answered by presenting findings from the survey, followed by insights from interviews and netnography (Chapter 9).

Chapter 10 presents Conclusions and Implications. The summary of findings is provided followed by consideration of contribution to knowledge, the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

1.6 Summary

This chapter has served as an introduction to the thesis and it has shown the relevance of the topic to contemporary hospitality studies and more generally, to British society. The aim and objectives of the research have been stated and it has been demonstrated how the methods used in previous similar studies, as well as high internet usage among Poles, justify the selection of the three research methods. The chapter ends with outlining the structure of the thesis.

2 Chapter Two - Literature Review

The phenomenon of Polish Migration

2.1 Introduction to the Literature Review

The literature relevant to this research is divided into three chapters, with each chapter providing an overview related to a different topic. The literature review begins with the overview of Polish context of the post 2004 EU enlargement, by introducing its estimated figures, possible reasons for migration and previous links between sending and receiving countries. The rationale for placing the contextual material of Polish migration at the beginning of this chapter is justified by the fact that the Polish context explains the choice of theories as well as research methods selected for the study. It has many distinctive features that resulted in choosing relevant migrations theories and research methods that will be discussed in further chapters. The second chapter discusses features of hospitality employment, highlighting the importance of this sector for migrants. The last chapter of the literature review focuses on migrants' adaptation to a different culture and shows the role of hospitality in this process.

2.2 Introduction to Chapter 2

This chapter provides a literature review relating to recent Polish migration to the UK in a broader perspective, outlining the scale, extent and distinctive features of the recent influx through references to statistical data. Firstly, the most relevant theories of migration in relation to the recent Polish migration wave will be outlined. Secondly, information on the scale and extent of Polish migration from available databases will be overviewed, highlighting the significance of recent migration from Poland to the UK. Thirdly, the main characteristics of the new movements will be introduced; the employment issues and the notion of temporariness will be evaluated.

2.3 Polish migration

As previously mentioned (in Chapter 1), the history of migrating Poles to the UK started well before the 2004 EU Enlargement. At least three generations of Poles have shaped the migration history between the two countries. The migration of Poles to Britain started just after WWII (post war migration), when around 15,000 Polish soldiers, combatants and displaced people settled across Britain as a result of so called 'forced migration' (Sword 1996a, 1996b). This resulted in establishing an anti-

communist Polish government in exile and this movement began building what was known as a Polish community.

In the 1980s, thousands of Polish solidarity dissidents emigrated to Britain, as a result of martial laws imposed by General Wojciech Jaruzelski in the winter of 1981 (Garapich 2007). An analysis of police records revealed that, at that time, 800,000 Polish tourists left the country becoming 'illegal emigrants' (Cyrus 2006). A poor quality of life and consumption in Poland due to permanent shortages was a feature of all communist states and was a push factor for Poles to look for an easier life abroad.

The pre-EU migration formed a third generation of Poles who, since the early 1990s, have been allowed entry to the UK; however, their access to the labour market was limited (Cyrus 2006). This period is associated with Poles arriving on student visas and overstaying them (Brown 2003). However, in May 2004, Malta and Cyprus along with the eight Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary and Estonia), joined the European Union. Subsequently, the new member states were granted free access to the labour market without any restriction in Great Britain, Ireland and Sweden.

The four generations of Polish migrants to Britain shaped the understanding of contemporary migration of Poles to the UK. Thus, the influx of Poles needs to be interpreted in the light of migrating history and previous links between the two countries. The economic reasons and theories are important for this influx of Poles, however, non-economic ones emerge as an important element of Polish migration, and these will be discussed later in this chapter.

2.4 Theories of migration

Scholars often agree that there is no general theory of migration that could explain the process of international migration and help us to understand why people move. This is because a range of disciplines has addressed the issues of migration. Thus, sociology, anthropology, political science, demography, economy, law and history, have all looked at migration from various viewpoints, presenting different arguments in order to explain why people move. For instance, sociologists focus on the social and human capital, while anthropologists explore the significance of networks and transnationalism (Bretell and Hollifield 2000). Although each of these and other disciplines interested in migration adds to the discussion on why people move, the result of different

approaches is that there are duplications and miscommunication between researchers from a variety of schools (Massey *et al.* 1994).

Joly (2004) pointed out that the theories of migration do not adequately explain contemporary patterns of international movements. What is more, they have met some criticism for being partial, limited and only applicable to certain types of migration (Arango 2004), as well as being focused on either macro or micro structural issues (Portes 1997). Finally, it has been noticed that many of them are not theories; they are concepts, theoretical frameworks, approaches or typologies (Portes 1997).

Although many have debated the lack of one theory (see Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor 1993; Massey *et al.* 1994; Portes 1997; Joly 2004; Arango 2004), few of them (Brettell and Hollifield 2004) suggested '*talking across disciplines*' and '*bridge building among the disciplines*', as each of these may contribute to the full understanding of contemporary patterns of migration. Recent discussions among scholars highlight the interdisciplinary approach to migration and, as Arango comments, '*[m]igration is too diverse and multifaceted to be explained by a single theory*' (2004:15).

A number of theories of migration may explain the contemporary movements. In this research, theories exploring contemporary migration from the economic point of view such as The Neoclassical approach, Dual Labour Market Theory and World system Theory were considered.

There has been a variety of models trying to explain why international migration begins. Todaro developed *The Neoclassical Approach* (see Todaro 1969). This theory, in its macro-level, is based on the assumption of differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries. The argument evolves around wages – migration occurs because of geographical differences in the demand and supply of the labour market. From a micro-level perspective though, individuals move in order to improve their quality of life. It will be demonstrated in the next section that economic reasons such as a high unemployment rate and a lack of opportunities are important for this migration movement. Nevertheless, according to this theory, migration occurs because of wage differences; however, one of the paradoxes of this theory is why do all people not move. This theory does not explain immobility, which would probably be due to cultural and social issues.

Piore (see Piore 1979) developed *The Dual Labour Market Theory*. According to Piore's theory, the labour market is divided into primary and secondary labour markets. While the former offers better paid and secured jobs, the latter offers low-paid, low-skill, unstable and low prestige jobs - the jobs that local people refuse to take on. Furthermore, immigration is not caused by push factors in the sending countries, but by pull factors in receiving states. Although a number of studies suggest that many of the new immigrants take up jobs in secondary employment in the UK by filling shortages (see Anderson *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2006), this theory would not apply to all migrants. This theory would be more appropriate for the migration phase before 2004. At that time, migrants were forced to choose jobs from the secondary labour market because of their irregular status and limited job opportunities.

The World Systems Theory (Sassen 1988) also focuses on the foreign labour needs in low-paid employment in highly developed countries. Migration is seen as a global labour supply system where migrants find jobs in certain sectors: *'[w]hile the consolidation of the world economic system creates the conditions in which international migrations emerge as a massive labour-supply system, the formation of states creates the conditions for immigrant labor as a distinct category within the overall labor supply'* (Sassen 1988:52). This concept may explain why particular sectors of the British economy have become 'colonised' by new migrants. Nevertheless, this theory is criticised for being an interpretation of history, rather than a theory (Arango 2004).

These three theories explain some aspects of the behaviour of those deciding to move; they emphasise income gaps and unemployment rates between developed and less developed societies. However, while neoclassical theory does not acknowledge return migration and temporary migration, which are important elements for this research, the theories focusing on low-paid employment would be more appropriate to studying migration before the unconditional opening of UK labour markets. For these reasons, it is acknowledged, that these economic theories play an important role in understanding why migration begins; nevertheless, it is believed that non-economic theories are crucial to understanding this particular group of migrants - Poles arriving after the 2004 EU Enlargement - and these are discussed below. The theories considered as important for this research are *the theory of network-mediated migration*, *the concept of transnational communities* and *the human capital theories*. The three concepts that are applicable to the current influx of Polish migration to the UK are presented and discussed in the context of their usefulness.

2.4.1 The theory of network-mediated migration

Douglas Massey and his colleagues (1993) developed the network-mediated theory by employing the notion of social capital (Bourdieu 1986). The theory of network-mediated migration (Massey *et al.* 1993; Boyd 1989) or *social capital formation* (Massey and Espinosa 1997) is useful in trying to explain the scale of migration from Poland to the British Isles and, therefore, has specific relevance for this research, as the following section aims to show. The concept of migration driven by personal networks or ties between people is explained as follows: *'[m]igrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin'* (Massey *et al.* 1993:448). Further, two elements are of importance in this explanation of why people migrate: declining costs and declining risk (Massey and Espinosa 1997). For those who leave first, the migration process is costly, as they do not have social ties; however, after the first migrants have left, the costs of migration are lowered for their friends and relatives. *'Every new migrant reduces the costs of subsequent migration for a set of friends and relatives'* (Massey *et al.* 1993:449). Apart from declining costs, declining risk is also a result of migrants' networks: *'the self-sustaining growth of networks that occurs through the progressive reduction of costs may also be explained theoretically by the progressive reduction of risks'* (p. 449).

The network theory explains a supply side of immigration. This concept can be defined as sets of relations that link migrants with non-migrants: friends or family who are about to move. Through such networks, new migrants are assisted with finding accommodation, employment, finance, job information and contacts (Boyd 1989).

The Network theory may explain the **scale** of influx of Poles to the UK. Given the size of the movement, it can be argued that Polish migration since the EU's expansion in 2004 is a network-driven process. It is most likely that arriving to a country that has previous migration links (established over the last 60 years) and links established through educational exchanges, allows reducing costs and risks involved in moving abroad. Contemporary migration of Poles to the UK is simple in the light of this theory: networks entail a progressively growing number of new migrants.

The concept of the network mediated theory highlights the role of families and households in migration (Boyd 1989). This is also an important theme in Polish migration studies, indicating the dynamics of family relationships, connections and obligations between Poles in the UK (Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara 2009). Thus, this concept contributes to an understanding of the various networks migrants are involved

in between each other, including the significance of personal networks in the labour market. This theory can be expanded to labour supply in the hospitality sector, as networks activate supply of labour in a particular sector of the economy.

Waldinger (1997) suggests how migrants' networks are used on the labour market and how migrants themselves impact on the recruitment process: *'the networks are self-reproducing, since each incumbent recruits friends or relatives from his or her own group (...)'* (p.3). Subsequently, ethnically segmented labour is created; *'the more embedded are ethnic economic actors in dense, many-sided relations, the stronger the mechanisms for excluding outsiders and the greater the motivations for doing so'* (p. 6).

Consequently, network recruitment can lead to ethnic closure as *'[n]etworks efficiently activate the labour supply because employees, so managers claim, always know someone who needs a job'* (Waldinger 1997:8). The question whether these networks will saturate the labour market remains open, and may be investigated further in the future. There are a number of benefits for the employers, arising from ethnic closure in the sector. Time efficiency and low cost of recruitment are just two of many advantages (Waldinger 1997).

Related to the concept of network-mediated migration is the concept of social capital, and its benefits and disadvantages will be discussed further in Chapter 4. Although the opinions on the quality of Polish 'networks' in the UK have been divided, as some perceive it as a threat rather than benefit, the concept has been addressed by many (Brown 2003; Garapich 2006; Górný and Osipovic 2006; Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich 2006; Ryan *et al.* 2009).

The drawback of the network theory is that the theory explains the supply side of migration without focusing on the demand side because the theorists failed to include demand factors. In addition, empirical research shows that the migrant' community gradually becomes disconnected from an original community back home (see Collyer 2005). Despite these flaws, it still has exploratory power; thus, it is applicable to this research.

2.4.2 Transnational communities

The transnational community approach, as suggested by Portes (1997), is another 'theme' for migration research and theory. The idea emerged from the fact that migrants still maintain ties with their origin country, resulted in theorising a concept of

transnationalism. The concept has been applied to those moving and living between two countries.

Basch, Glick-Schiller and Blank-Szanton (1994), who developed the idea, explain *transnationalism* as *'the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call this process 'transnationalism' to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders (...)'* (p.6). According to Portes (1997), *'[t]ransnational communities are dense networks across political borders created by immigrants in their quest for economic advancement and social recognition. Through these networks, an increasing number of people are able to lead dual lives'* (p.812).

Transnationalism usually refers to activities between two countries, such as Mexico and USA, Turkey and Germany or Germany and Poland. This concept, however, has received some attention from researchers in relation to recent Polish migration, becoming a popular notion (see Garapich 2006; Burrell 2006a). Further, the terms used within this concept to describe new Polish migrants included 'stork migration' (Garapich 2006) and Burrell (2006b) suggested the term 'commuters', as opposed to 'settlers', as immigrants often live between two countries, due to cheap flights and phone calls as well as online communication. Indeed, the new sources of the internet, cheap phone calls and transport facilitate blurring the geographic space. On that base, Garapich (2006) claims that, *'[m]igrants will sustain transnational links because they build their migratory social capital in Poland by being in London'* (p.10). In contrast, Duvell and Vogel (2006:284) make a statement that *transnationalism* in the longer term is not an option for Poles, so those living between two worlds will have finally to choose one. In line with this argument, Stodolska and Santos (2006) revealed that links of Mexican migrants living in the US weakened with time as the desire to maintain activities between the two nations decreased.

The concept of transnationalism is a useful concept, but it is not a theory. However, it may contribute to the understanding of network-mediated migration. Transnational activities in the era of global communication and transport will be revisited in Chapter 4 while discussing migrants' relationships.

2.4.3 Human capital, knowledge transfer and learning

The human capital approach (Sjaastad 1962) is a concept applied to contemporary migration that places '*human migration in an investment context*' (p. 92). Potential migrants compare costs and benefits gained from migration before taking a decision to migrate. The private costs of migration are money and non-money costs. The money cost is related to the increase in expenditure for food, lodging and transportation necessitated by migration. Non-money costs include foregone earnings and the 'psychic' costs of changing one's environment. More specifically, a migrant searching for a new job loses earnings and time required to search and to learn a new job. He or she is forced to leave familiar surroundings; family and friends. Sjaastad (1962), apart from the costs, considers returns, which are money returns and private returns such as new skills gained.

This concept emerges as an important one, as it may explain why people move to take up jobs in secondary employment despite high qualifications. Findings from a number of recent studies looking at migration from the new Accession Countries have agreed that, for many, working below qualifications is a form of investment (Eade *et al.* 2006; Garapich 2006; Ruhs *et al.* 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Kosic 2006).

In a recent development, Williams (2008) extends the theoretical framework from human capital to knowledge, arguing that all migrants, both skilled and unskilled, are knowledgeable and may play an important role in the economies of diverse sectors and places. The conceptualisations of knowledge transfer and international migration are discussed mostly by Williams (Balaz and Williams 2004; Williams 2007a; Williams 2007b; Williams and Balaz 2008). Williams and Balaz (2008) argue that '*every migrant is a learner, knowledge carrier and knowledge creator*' (p.15). While past research focused on elite workers, those migrants who are defined as 'skilled' workers in specialisations such as IT, medicine or academia, Williams and Balaz (2008) argue that there is a need to focus on those migrants often classified as 'unskilled' workers.

There are several factors influencing migrants' learning through the process of migration, which depends on the nature of the migration process: whether migrants are registered or unregistered and whether they engage in permanent or temporary migration (Williams and Balaz 2008). On the one hand, international migration, in a form of return migration or repeat circular migration, can be a source of learning benefiting the country of origin. Migration can also constitute 'stepping stones' (Williams 2007b), with gradual climbing to a matching of knowledge and occupational

position. In other words, '*migration may constitute 'significant learning moments' for individuals, whereby they acquire particular forms of knowledge*' (p.374).

A study of return students from Slovakia to the UK (Balaz and Williams 2004) provides an understanding of human capital circulation and reveals that international migration can be a source of learning. Students, who went abroad through EU assisted student mobility schemes such as Socrates-Erasmus, Tempus and Leonardo, acquired a broad range of competences. Next to the most important one, language competence, they also gained self-confidence, ability to deal with challenges and new ideas and approaches. Despite short stays in the UK (6.3 months on average), students' experiences abroad had important implications. Half of them continued education or started higher education in Slovakia and a fifth of them opened their own businesses. Not only did the language help, but also networking facilitated undertaking these steps. Their new competences were then later translated into better wages after they returned to Slovakia.

So far, a number of different terms have been used in this section in relation to learning experiences; skills, abilities and competences. The notion of skills and semi skills will be also discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to skills in hospitality jobs. Although the terms 'skills' and 'competences' have been used interchangeably in the hospitality literature (see Ladkin 1999); in relation to migrant workers, it is important to focus on both skills and competences separately, as suggested by Williams and Balaz (2008) because it leads to different assessment of the contributions of migrant workers. It is necessary to define the terms first.

Kanungo and Misra (1992) provide a discussion of the two terms and try to distinguish them. According to them, competences are transferable, generaliseable and more generic in nature. Skills, on the other hand, are specific to the task, routine and programmed. As will be evident in the following chapters, the perceptions of skills are subjective and relative (Riley *et al.* 2002).

Returning to the concept of knowledge transfer and international migration, Balaz and Williams (2004) analysed the results of their study using the 'starfish model' of competences created by Evans (2002). This model emerges as a useful concept for the current study. The model will be used in order to conceptualise the findings obtained from the study and answer the third objective of the study (see Chapter 8:8.3.5). Evans' model (Figure 2.1) was developed as a basis for investigation of non-formal learning experiences and occupational biographies. The value of the model lays

in the future orientation; the model is shown as an organism with abilities coming together in the centre, capturing abilities that show '*successful change adaptation and personal growth in ways which transcend national boundaries*' (2002: 6).

The model encompasses five clusters of abilities as follows:

Learning abilities - includes adaptability to different learning contexts, ability to improvise and openness to learning experience.

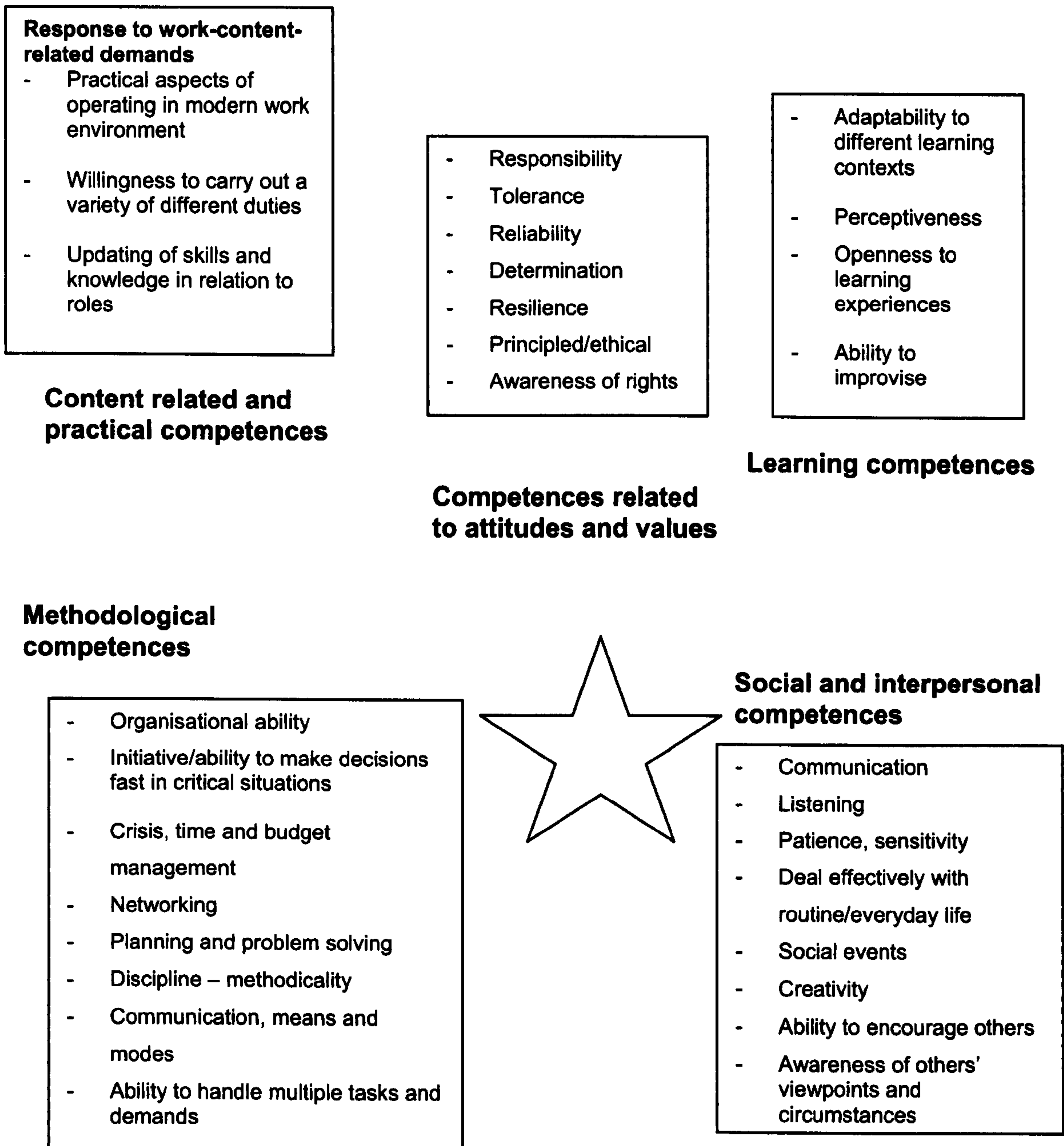
Social and interpersonal abilities – includes communication, patience and creativity, as well as listening, dealing effectively with routine/everyday life, ability to encourage others and awareness of others' viewpoints and circumstances.

Methodological competences - includes organisational ability, problem solving, handling multiple tasks, being able to make decisions fast in critical situations, networking and communication.

Competences related to values and attitudes - includes reliability, tolerance, responsibility, resilience, awareness of rights and determination.

Content related and practical competences – include practical aspects of operating in a modern work environment, willingness to carry out a variety of different duties and updating skills.

**Figure 2.1 A biographical approach: key competences identified through biographical analysis
'Starfish model' (Evans 2002:88)**



So far, positive outcomes of international migration have been outlined, resulting in a successful outcome of international migration. Nevertheless, Williams and Balaz (2008) and Williams (2007b) point out that, in other cases, the skills and knowledge gained through international migration may not lead to a success story, as migrants may remain 'trapped' in their entry jobs. *'While migration can be a stepping stone for some individuals, for others it can lead to labour market entrapment (Williams and Balaz 2008:199).* This may take place when a migrant's knowledge is not fully recognised

and he or she has to undertake a low-skilled job. Subsequently, the skills acquired by migrants may not be valorised. An important conclusion is that, while some migrants acquiring new competences may achieve enhanced career paths abroad or successful futures as return migrants, others may become 'trapped' in a particular job or labour market segment.

The concept of knowledge transfer has been used in relation to the recent migrants in the UK, but no empirical studies have been carried out on how knowledge transfer occurs between migrant workers. Objective 3 of this study (*to ascertain what human capital the Polish migrants bring and what they gain or learn from working in the hospitality sector*) meets a call from Williams (2007a) for the need for empirical research on so called 'unskilled' migrants working in agriculture or tourism and hospitality. Williams poses a question on what types of knowledge migrants acquire. He justifies his call by the fact that all migrants are knowledgeable and they have enormous capacity for learning and for sharing knowledge (Williams 2007a; Williams 2008). This study aims to respond to this call.

2.4.4 Summary of migration theories and concepts

The overview of theories and concepts suggests that, presently, there is no single theory, which could fully explain the phenomenon of the recent Polish migration to the UK and its supply and demand factors. While economic factors are important for understanding why migration began, in order to understand the scale of the contemporary migration, it is worth considering non-economic factors: *the theory of network-mediated migration, the concept of transnationalism and human capital theory*. A summary of the theories relevant for this study is provided in Table 2.1 (p.24). To conclude, a holistic perspective provides a better base for understanding why people move in such high numbers.

**Table 2.1. A summary of three applicable theories and concepts
(Adopted from Fihel, Kaczmarczyk and Okólski 2006:12).**

Theory/ Approach	Summary of Main Ideas
Human capital theory	Migration/mobility is an investment Individual human capital characteristics that increase the probability of employment in the destination will increase the likelihood of international movement.
Network-mediated migration	Networks influence decisions to migrate and allow for reduction of costs and risks. Migrant networks are consequence of migration. People gain access to social capital through participation in networks.
The concept of Transnationalism	Modern communication allows leading dual lives by blurring social and geographical space.

Those who move between geographical spaces and lead dual lives in both countries also keep strong social networks between both the sending and receiving country and these social networks facilitate moving between the two worlds. The next section focuses on the causes and extent of this migration; thus, it will further support the choice of the theory of network-mediated migration. The chosen theories and concepts, as well as the application of them to the adaptation process, will be addressed further in Chapter 4.

2.5 Migration of Poles in a Borderless Europe

2.5.1 Estimating the causes of migration

The predictions from both Polish and British scholars and authorities heavily underestimated the scale of migration from Poland to Britain. Okólski (2004) claimed that high costs of migration and lost opportunities back in Poland as well as much lower earnings in the receiving country than before, would not cause mass migration. Nevertheless, for a number of reasons, a great number of Poles left Poland for the British Isles after opening the EU borders in 2004.

In terms of push factors; high unemployment rates (20% in 2003 and 17.2% in April 2006, [GUS 2009]), poor economic performance of the country, low wages, lack of opportunities for graduates, as well as social reasons have led to the increase in number of migrants. In addition, cuts in the public sector, changes in the health services and reduction in farm subsidies have become other push factors (Hardy and Clark 2005).

It is worth mentioning that demographics come into play and the cause of the large number of migration relates to the high number of births in Poland in the early 80s when they reached their peak in 1983 and then started decreasing. This entailed the sudden rise in the number of graduates and dramatically increased the unemployment rates. Between 2004 and 2005, nearly two million people were studying in Poland (GUS 2008b). Many of those Poles, who have migrated, belong to the abovementioned generation.

Pull factors include the demand for seasonal workers; for example, the number of vacancies in distribution, hotels and restaurants in the summer 2005 and summer 2007 reached 184,000 (ONS 2007), and an already existing migrant community (Sassen 1988). Therefore, the presence of active Polish diaspora in the UK might have encouraged the flow (Sword 1996a, 1996b; Garapich 2006; Drinkwater *et al.* 2006) as well as ready established networks in the UK (Brown 2003).

Although not strictly either a push or pull factor, another important aspect is language competence. Those Poles, now 30 and younger, belonged to the generation of people who had an opportunity to learn modern languages other than Russian, which was compulsory for those 31 years or older. Therefore, those who were born in 1979 were taught German, French or English at school and the latter was the most popular. Thus, some knowledge of English may have facilitated the decision to migrate.

Finally, those who have already been to a destination are prone to return there (Grabowska-Lusińska 2005). This is very likely to be another reason for migration. Polish students have been able to go abroad through the EU assisted student mobility scheme – Socrates Erasmus and non-students could enrol to a language course. Such educational trips made before 2004 might have increased the figure for migration, as familiarity with a destination is likely to encourage a return visit.

2.5.2 Estimating the extent of migration - available databases and its limitations

Soon after opening the borders on the 1st of May 2004, the predicted figure of up to 13,000 people from the A10 countries migrating to the UK each year until 2010 (Dustmann, Casanova, Fertig, Preston and Schmidt 2003) was dramatically exceeded. In the first half of 2007, various sources released different statistics regarding the data; therefore, the numbers of Poles moving to the UK varied from 395,000 (Home Office 2007c), 700,000 (ARC Market and Opinion 2007), to up to 2 million (according to Polish sources) (gazeta.pl 05.07.07). Such significant differences in estimating current

migration, including the number of Poles living and working in the UK, suggests a closer overview is needed to assess the reliability of the available data.

National Insurance Number (NIN) registration is one of the main sources for measuring the current flow of migration to the UK and it covers people performing all types of work. The NIN is required for any foreign national looking to work, claim benefits, or gain tax credits, including those self-employed and students working part time. In order to receive a NIN, an interview is arranged with an applicant. According to this data, between 2006/2007 Poles have received 220,430 of NINs (Department for Work and Pensions 2008). This was the biggest intake of NIN for Polish nationals. The numbers from years before the EU's Enlargement are much lower: 2003/2004 – 11,000 (Department for Work and Pensions 2007). According to the data from NIN, the total number of Polish migrants who registered with NIN between May 2004 and April 2008 exceeded 662,000 registrations.

Poland remained the biggest contributor of registrations in 2007/08, receiving 29% of all registrations. However, the number of Poles receiving NIN has fallen in 2007/ 2008 by 10,000 from the previous year (see Table 2.3).

**Table 2.2. Top ten countries with allocated NIN
(Source: Department for Work and Pension 2008:12)**

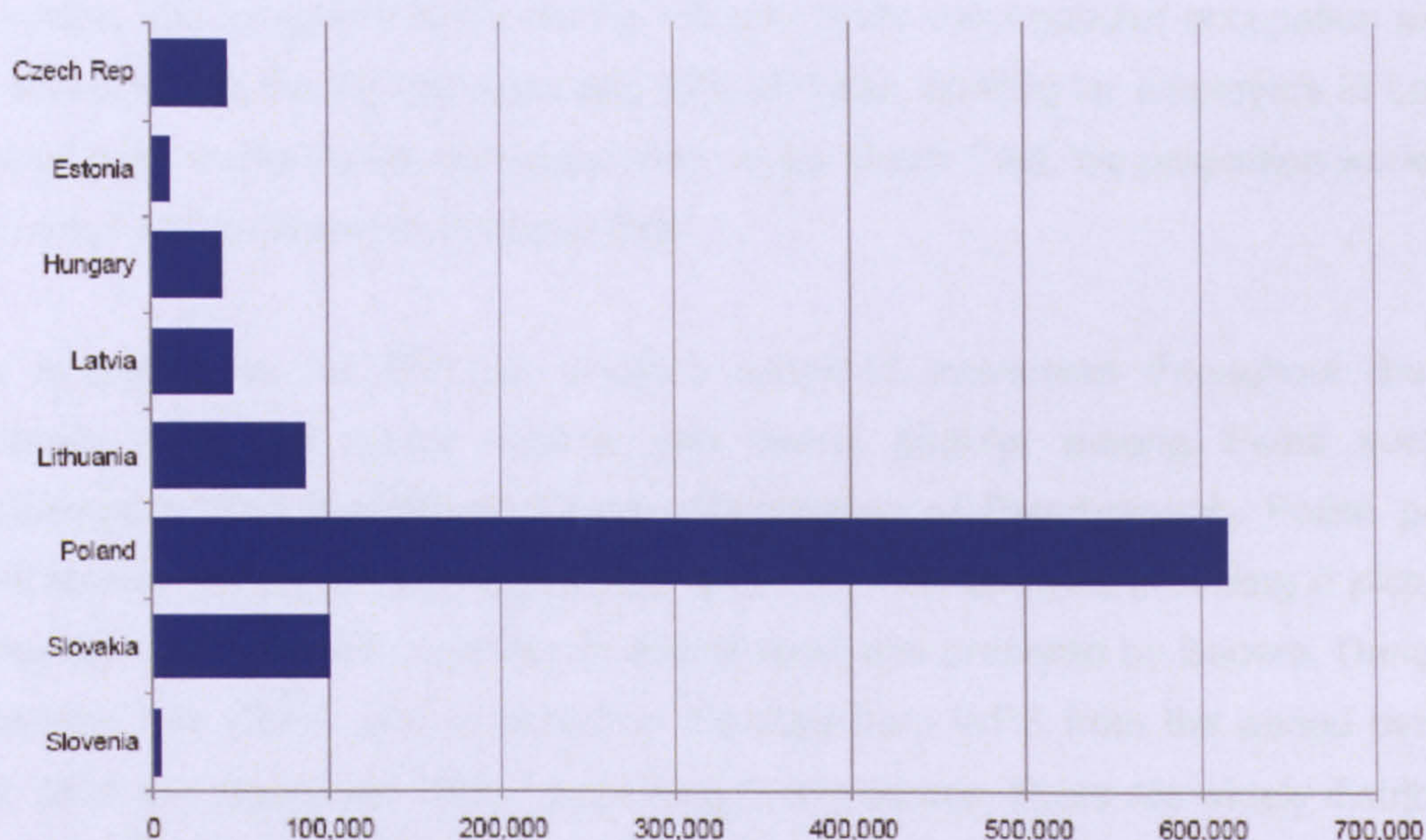
2004/05		2005/06		2006/07		2007/08	
<i>Thousands</i>							
Poland	61.12	Poland	171.08	Poland	220.43	Poland	210.66
India	32.47	India	45.93	India	48.82	India	49.76
Pakistan	20.19	Rep of Lithuania	30.94	Slovak Rep	28.60	Slovak Rep	29.99
South Africa	19.19	Slovak Rep	27.51	Pakistan	25.01	Pakistan	24.83
Australia	16.47	South Africa	24.03	Australia	24.21	Australia	24.10
Rep of Lithuania	15.54	Australia	23.83	Rep of Lithuania	23.92	Romania	22.95
France	13.18	Pakistan	22.29	France	20.01	France	21.77
China Peoples Rep	12.55	France	17.23	South Africa	16.80	Rep of Lithuania	19.03
Portugal	12.20	Rep of Latvia	14.40	Germany	15.07	Germany	15.53
Slovak Rep	11.11	Germany	13.39	China Peoples Rep	13.00	Italy	15.40

Next to National Insurance Number registration, the other very important source of data about recent migration and for monitoring progress of members from the A8 countries is the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS). It aims to represent all of those migrants from Central and Eastern Europe who came to the UK after 1st of May 2004. In reality, however, the scheme is not an entirely trustworthy source, and its limitations will be discussed further in the next section (2.5.3).

These two databases as well as other sources of information, including claims for benefits, applications for housing and homelessness assistance as well as applications for tax credits, are the base for the **Accession Monitoring Report (AMR)**, that is prepared quarterly by the Home Office, Department for Work and Pensions, HM Revenue and Customs and Communities and Local Government.

The records from the AMR (Home Office 2009) show that 965,000 applicants registered to the scheme between 1 May 2004 and 31 December 2008, with the highest (66%) proportion coming from Poland, which makes the number of Polish migrants registered with the scheme more than 600,000. This is followed by Slovakia (11%) and Lithuania (9%). Figure 2.2 illustrates the nationality of registered workers.

Figure 2.2. Nationality of approved applicants between May 2004 and December 2008
(Source: Home Office 2009:10)



Although the number of registered workers was increasing each year, the number of approved applications in 2008 shows a fall of 26% compared to 2007. There has been a fall of 32% in approved applications from Polish nationals.

According to the data of those who applied to the WRS between May 2004 and December 2008, the vast majority are young; 81% of registered workers from A8 countries were aged 18-34 (Home Office 2009). There are slightly more males (53%) than females (47%), and only a small minority of the A8 applicants (8%) stated that they had dependants with them. It is also noticeable that the number of registrations

increases during summer months and it decreases in winter, highlighting the need for seasonal labour and students seeking work during the summer months. The significance of these numbers will be revealed in Chapter 6.

2.5.3 Migrant employment

The top five sectors for registered workers between May 2004 and December 2008 were administration, business and management (40%), hospitality and catering (19%), agriculture (10%), manufacturing (7%) and food, fish and meat processing (5%) (Home Office 2009). In total, 171,940 registered migrants are employed in hospitality and catering and 109,205 of those are of Polish nationality (see Figure 2.3). This number does not include those who work through an employment agency (those are registered as administration, business and management sector) and those who are self-employed.

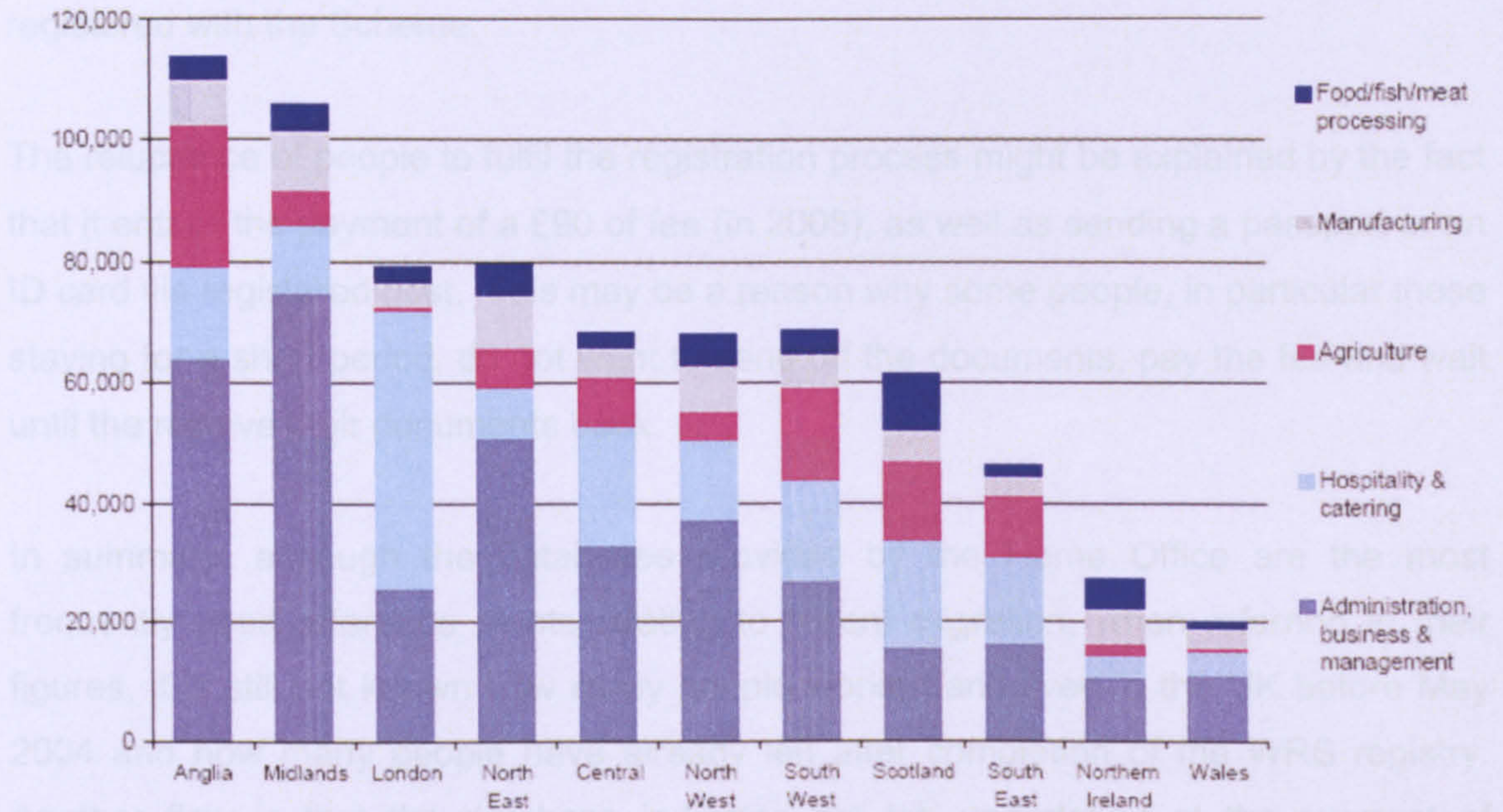
In London, the hospitality and catering industry is the most popular occupation among the workers from the A8 countries and 42% of those working for employers in London were working in this sector of employment. In the South East, the proportion working in this sector was 24% and in Scotland 23%.

The accession to the EU has entailed unlimited movement throughout the UK. Although there are some regions and towns popular among Poles such as Southampton, Slough, Boston, Crewe, Huntingdon or Peterborough, Polish people have spread literally through every part in the UK. An analysis providing a picture of immigration from the A8 countries at a local level was prepared by Bauere, Densham, Miller and Salt (2007) and is based on the data from WRS from the period between May 2004 and December 2006. According to this source, Poles are widely distributed; however, they are dominant in the Scottish border regions and central valley, the industrial North East, much of Wales and part of the South West (apart from western Cornwall). Poles are not present in most of Northern Ireland.

Among those who stated their occupation (71%) in the Working Registration Scheme, jobs such as kitchen and catering assistant, waiter/waitress and maid/room assistant were among the 10 most popular occupations. Further, the majority of registered workers, (68%) who applied in 2008, were earning between £4.50 and £5.99 per hour (Home Office 2009).

Figure 2.3. Geographical distribution of employers of registered workers by sector showing the top five sectors between May 2004 and December 2008

(Source: Home Office, 2009: 21)



The statistical sources presented above differ in their coverage. While the data from the NIN includes all foreign nationals and all types of work including self-employed, Home Office data is not inclusive. A closer overview of the WRS is needed in order to understand the differences in figures.

Firstly, the registration scheme introduced by the Home Office at the date of the Enlargement was designed to monitor the flows of migration to the UK. Although it is stated by the Home Office that, 'From May 1 2004, most nationals of the new member states (except Cyprus and Malta) who wish to work for more than one month for an employer in the UK need to register under the Worker Registration Scheme' (www.workingintheuk.gov.uk), not all of the migrants have to register to the scheme.

Those who had been working in the UK in the 12 months before 1 May 2004, are excluded from the duty to register. Excluded are also the self-employed and those who intend to stay less than one month. Therefore, migrants who were working before the date of the 2004 Enlargement do not appear on the database.

Although it is clearly stated that all migrants should register to the WRS, once they start working in the UK: 'You should apply to register with the Worker Registration Scheme as soon as you start a new job' (www.workingintheuk.gov.uk), many of them still do not know that it is illegal not to do it. What is more, even if they do realise it, the fact that there are no consequences from not being registered means that many of them do not

fulfil the obligation. This has been confirmed by the research commissioned by the BBC Newsnight (CRONEM 2006), that revealed that among 500 Poles, only 64% had registered with the Scheme.

The reluctance of people to fulfil the registration process might be explained by the fact that it entails the payment of a £90 of fee (in 2008), as well as sending a passport or an ID card via registered post. This may be a reason why some people, in particular those staying for a short period, do not want to send off the documents, pay the fee and wait until they receive their documents back.

In summary, although the databases provided by the Home Office are the most frequently used reference points relating to recent migration, when referring to their figures, it is still not known how many people worked and lived in the UK before May 2004 and how many people have already left after completion of the WRS registry. Another flaw is that the database indicates the job undertaken at the moment of registration. Applicants should re-register after changing the employment but they do not do so.

The data on migration from Poland is available from the Central Population Register, the Central Statistical Office and The Quarterly Labour Force Survey. According to the Central Statistical Office (GUS 2008a), at the end of 2007, 690,000 Poles were living in the UK. The second destination of Poles was Germany (490,000) and Ireland (200,000). According to the same source, before the EU's Enlargement in 2002, the UK had 24,000 Polish nationals because, at that time, Germany was the most popular destination.

2.5.4 Migrants or immigrants?

In this study, the terms migration/immigration are used interchangeably, as suggested by other researchers dealing with Polish migration (Triandafyllidou 2006). *Immigration* is defined as '*the entrance into a country of individuals or groups who have left their native country to establish a new place of permanent residence*' (Theodorson and Theodorson 1970:197). *Migration* is considered as '*a relatively permanent movement of a person or population across a political boundary to a new residential area or community*' (Theodorson and Theodorson 1970:257). Migrant workers go to another country with the intention to return, while immigrants intend to settle permanently in a new country. As it is not known whether the current flow is permanent or not, both terms are used.

2.5.5 Typologies of migrants

Anthropology is a discipline that relies on typologies as a way to theorise about what is similar and what is different (Brettell 2000). A number of typologies have been developed in relation to the recent Polish migrants and several are outlined below. As the recent migration pattern differs from previous ones, due to the use of advanced technology, two traditional types of migration: permanent or temporary have been enlarged by other options. The new migration has been labelled as *chain migration*, *repeated migration*, *seasonal*, *circular or temporal* (Garapich 2006) due to the sustained links with the home country.

Duvell and Vogel (2006) have developed a typology of Polish migrants based on intended duration of stay and social ties. The authors selected four groups of migrants that are *return orientated migrants* – intending to come back to their origin country after a while, *emigrants* – orientated towards the new country, *transnational migrants* – living between both sending and receiving and, finally, *global nomads* – ‘open to migrate to more places in the world’ (Duvell and Vogel 2006:273). This typology could be applied to Poles in all European countries, not just the UK.

Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2006), who divided Poles into four groups, developed another typology concerning Polish migrants living in the UK: Storks, Hamsters, Searchers and Stayers. The *storks* are defined as circular migrants who work in low-paid occupations, such as catering. They usually stay between two and six months, and may be, for instance, students. The second category consists of *hamsters*, which are defined as ‘migrants who treat their move as a one-off act to acquire enough capital to invest in Poland’ (p.11). The largest group is made up from *searchers* – those who keep their options open, and are more likely to be young and ambitious, waiting to see where the opportunity arises. The last group consists of those who have been in the UK for some time and intend to stay – named by the authors as *stayers*.

The term ‘*stork migration*’ has often been employed as a common feature of all recent migration. Frequent travels resulted in Burrell calling migrants ‘*commuters rather than settlers*’ (Burrell 2006b). According to Singleton and Jepson (2006), ‘[m]any migrants commute on a weekly or monthly basis, retaining strong links with their homes and they may have no intention to settle permanently in the countries in which they work on a temporary or cyclical basis’ (2006:3).

Although such typologies are useful in order to classify migrants, those on the move change their plans, and it is likely that they shift from one category to another. As has

been noticed by Brettell (2000), movements cannot be defined as one-way and definitive.

2.5.6 Distinctive features of Polish migration

2.5.6.1 Low-paid jobs

Although the number of Poles absorbed the labour shortages in health services, education and finance, Poles in the labour market have a reputation of working in manual jobs, despite high qualifications. The government's figures (Home Office 2009) reveal that the most popular jobs for the new A8 workers are menial jobs that are paid not much above the national minimum wage. Usually, migrants with illegal, unregulated status have to accept the low-paid employment (Sassen 1988). However, Polish migrants in the UK are found to work below their qualifications in low-paid jobs (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Ruhs *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2007; Kosic 2006; Eade *et al.* 2006).

A number of reports funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation have focused on Central and Eastern European migrants in low-paid employment in the UK (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Ruhs *et al.* 2006). Migrants' working experiences in construction, agriculture, hospitality and as an au pair have been investigated. More than 600 migrants and 500 employers were surveyed and interviewed pre and post the EU's Enlargement. The studies examined recruitment strategies, employers' perceptions of migrant workers and migrants' experiences of changing their status. It was revealed that, although the status of workers changed, the majority of them stayed in their jobs (Anderson *et al.* 2006). Migrants were perceived as 'high-quality workers' in low-paid jobs and recognised as having a good work ethic. Finally, despite high qualification, (42% of those employed in hospitality had tertiary education), they tolerated poor working conditions, as it was perceived as temporary.

Evans *et al.* (2005) conducted a study on the sectors that are vital to the functioning of London's economy such as hospitality, home care industry, food processing, construction, and office and London underground cleaning. The study revealed that these low-paid sectors rely on migrants. The research that focused on different ethnic origins revealed that peoples' occupations were influenced by gender and ethnicity. In contrast to office cleaning and cleaning on the underground that was popular with migrants from Ghana or Nigeria, Eastern Europeans dominated hospitality. It was also revealed that the lowest rates of pay are found in this sector of employment.

The reason for taking up low-paid jobs may be explained by the fact that, at the beginning, migrants' qualifications may not be recognised in the receiving country and migrants encounter more obstacles to economic success than natives (Ward *et al.* 2001). Economists have demonstrated that migrants start with low earnings (Chiswick 1978). Furthermore, finding jobs in the 'secondary sector' is quicker and easier than looking for work in 'primary employment'. Okólski (gazeta.pl 2006) points out that a common feature of the migration among the young is that they leave Poland without preparation. Once they cross the borders they look for jobs by checking Polish 'shop windows' – the places where any offer for the qualified will never appear.

The presence of Poles' in low-paid jobs is also evident in films, literature and the media. For example, Poles are featured as those working in low-paid jobs (M. Levycka: *Two caravans* 2008; BBC1: *Poles are coming* 2008; Channel 4: *Bobski the Builder* 2008), such as picking fruits and vegetables or doing construction work. In the British soap, *Coronation Street*, a Pole works in a factory. In addition, a Daily Mail commercial on TV (2009) features a former Polish street dancer cleaning streets in London. This both reflects the nature of employment undertaken by many Polish workers and reinforces stereotypes portrayed in the media.

2.5.6.2 Engaging in low-paid employment as a form of 'sacrifice'

The findings from a number of studies focusing on Poles' low-paid employment interpret the experience of migration in the idea of temporariness. Work in the secondary sectors may be a form of 'sacrifice' (Kosic 2006), a 'capital' (Eade *et al.* 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006) and self-investment (Duvell and Vogel 2006), and it is acceptable, as it entails moving to better things in the future. The importance of capital gained when working below qualification level has been highlighted in previous research.

The studies focusing on the class and ethnicity of Polish migrants in London (Eade *et al.* 2006; Garapich 2006) have revealed that most of the respondents see their current occupation as temporary, either because of their migration strategies (*Storks, Hamsters*) or their potential mobility (*Searchers, Stayers*). Further, migrants' experiencing low-paid employment see it as 'a rite of passage'. Some migrants (*Searchers, Stayers*) want to keep their options open and emphasise the opportunities that the British class system offer. Acquiring a language, becoming more mature, getting to know how to operate in a capitalist labour market, and living in a global city are perceived as capital crucial in meritocratic environment. Because of these

reasons, Eade *et al.* (2006) point out that: *'[i]t may seem paradoxical that migrants mainly employed in low paid jobs see their social class position as having improved'* (p.12).

In a study about Polish migrants conducted prior to EU entry, Kosic (2006) provides a significant assessment of migrants' experiences in low-paid jobs. Her research highlights the role of personal achievement and new experiences as major motivational factors when taking a decision to go abroad. *'They see the experience abroad and contact with other cultures as an opportunity for learning and travelling. Many of them hoped to have a possibility to learn a language, to acquire a new qualification and skills and, for those with a higher level of education, to apply for a course of specialisation in their profession'* (p. 249). In line with this assessment are arguments of Duvell and Vogel (2006) who claim that return orientated migrants treat their jobs in low-paid jobs as a learning experience, which may be learning a language or broadening the horizons and experiencing *'adventure, change and the challenge of living in a foreign culture'* (p.275). Studies mentioned before in this chapter on CEE migrants in low-paid occupations (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Ruhs *et al.* 2006) emphasised English as the biggest non-monetary benefit. Other advantages are equally precious for Poles and were related to self-development; namely, communication skills, broadening the horizons, team working and organisational skills.

Although the argument of postponing the reward for the price of gaining new experiences, linguistic and financial capital may be plausible, researchers in Poland have a rather pessimistic explanation for this situation. They claim that Poles are still not fully recognised on the international labour market and they take jobs that are simply available, the ones on the bottom of the pay scale (gazeta.pl 2006). Soon after taking such a job, both the career prospects and return to Poland might become impossible.

The issue of benefits and costs of migration is also discussed in a Polish publication entitled *'Opportunity or threat?'* (Bos-Karczewska *et al.* 2005). A number of scholars have analysed the benefits and costs of migration. For example, Przybylski (2005) claims that migration is an opportunity for young people; it has an educational function and helps them to be totally independent, which in Poland is seen as a disadvantage when it comes to finding jobs and careers. Further, temporary migration is perceived as an opportunity in terms of education and finance when seasonal migration is seen as a threat (Grabowska-Lusińska 2005). Although migration can enrich, bring experience and knowledge as well as broaden the horizons, it can also change the

values and priorities of a migrant, so return migration is not possible (Bos-Karczewska 2005) and brings lost opportunities in the home country (Okólski 2004). The consequences of working below qualifications may be irreversible and re-entry may be potentially problematic. Such potential difficulty in re-entering was shown in a study of international students (see Brown 2009).

2.6 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature on applicable migration theories and the recent Polish migration to the UK after the 2004 EU Enlargement, outlining migration themes and the ways that the A8 migration and Polish influx is measured, labelled and classified. It is concluded that the means used for measuring Polish migration are not entirely reliable; however, a great proportion of Polish migrants is evident. The next chapter will present the features of hospitality employment and it will outline the issues related to migrant workers in UK hospitality in order to understand why the hospitality sector is attractive to migrant workers.

3 Chapter Three - Literature Review

The nature of tourism and hospitality employment

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored theories of migration, factors that influenced Polish migrants' decision-making and subsequently undertake work in low-paid occupations such as hospitality. The intention of this chapter is to overview the literature on hospitality employment and to recognise the key features of the sector that enable migrant workers to take up hospitality jobs. This research focuses on those jobs that were classified by King (1995) and Lucas (2004) as *hospitality jobs* or jobs in *eating/drinking places* (Choy 1995). Therefore, jobs performed by migrants in hotels, restaurants, cafes, pubs and catering will be examined in this research, as the evidence shows that these places are popular with foreign employees including Polish migrant workers. However, the literature review will include the characteristics of all tourism jobs as this is the term broadly used (see Riley *et al.* 2002; Szivas *et al.* 2003 *etc.*).

Thus, a review of the nature, characteristics and trends of hospitality employment is presented, including the studies on motivations to enter the sector and the sector's careers. This is followed by an outline of the hospitality labour force and a review of current issues concerning migrant workers in the UK hospitality sector.

3.2 Features of jobs in hospitality

Jobs in the hospitality industry have been regularly condemned for their nature, status and conditions. Tourism and hospitality employment is characterised by a number of repeatedly cited features that are summarised by Walmsley (2004) as: low-paid, low skilled, having a negative image, part-time and seasonal, and with poor management and lacking a clear career path. Baum (2006) adds to this list by identifying dirty jobs, hard work, monotonous and boring work, long and difficult hours and a lot of time spent standing. The working time of hospitality labour is usually the time when others have their leisure: thus the demand cycle is anti-social (Baum *et al.* 1997). The jobs themselves involve poor working conditions, are highly pressurised and are often based on split shifts. Such jobs are not conducive to a healthy work/life balance (Wong

and Ko 2009; Karatepe and Uludog 2007) and make workers susceptible to stress (Faulkner and Patiar 1997). In the light of such characteristics, it is not surprising that Lucas (2004) referred to hospitality employment across the globe as 'vulnerable'. Thus, to understand why these jobs often attract migrant workers, a closer examination is needed.

3.2.1 'Cool' and 'uncool' images of tourism and hospitality employment

Although the image of tourism and hospitality employment that is projected may not entirely reflect the reality, the image is vital as it affects recruitment of new and the retention of existing employees (Baum 2006). The image is of significance for those who come from overseas in search of employment. Clearly, the images of tourism employment presented in the literature are split.

On the one hand, there are images associated with low status and tourism and hospitality jobs are described as occupations for *drifters* or *stigmatised people* (Saunders 1981), *marginal people* (Mars, Bryant and Mitchell 1979), or employees with alcohol problems (Wood 1997). Other studies claimed that there is a stigma attached to service work (Wildes 2005, 2007), which is negatively correlated with the intention to stay and to recommend a job in the restaurant industry. Finally, Rowley and Purcell (2001) argued that some false images of hospitality work consequently lead to labour turnover. For example, TV cookery programmes over glamorise the industry and show a certain image of chefs while, in reality, trainee chefs start by washing dishes. In contrast, there are positive images of the industry related to 'the glamorous side' such as people orientation, the use of foreign languages, travel and variety that motivate people to take up jobs (Szivas *et al.* 2003; Riley *et al.* 2002). To conclude, Baum (2007) notices that 'cool' work is associated with style, fashion and consumer branding; related to work in clubs and boutique hotels. However, 'uncool' work includes the work of drudgery in the sector such as jobs in cleaning and what was once 'cool' but not any more: for example, working for low cost airlines.

Researchers are also concerned with tourism and hospitality undergraduate students' attitudes towards the industry. Kuslavan and Kuslavan (2000) found that students in Turkey had a negative image of the industry after they gained practical experience. The nature of work was seen as stressful, exhausting, unstable and with long hours, which contributed to the negative image. Such poor attitudes towards industry jobs result in a failure to recruit and retain qualified graduates. In line with that study, Jenkins (2001) found in his study of Dutch and British students that as the degree progresses,

students' desire to find a job within hospitality diminishes. Finally, Richardson (2008) revealed that students in Australia do not believe that the industry offers them a career. Thus, it was observed that students have an unfavourable image of the industry, and do not regard it as a serious career option.

In contrast to negative perceptions of the sector's employment, the studies carried out by Choy (1995) in Hawaii showed the high level of satisfaction gained from the job in air transportation, the hotel sector and eating and drinking places. The majority of respondents were satisfied with their jobs and the quality of tourism employment was assessed as better than it is usually perceived. High levels of job satisfaction were also found among pub workers (Riley *et al.* 1998). In agreement with the above findings, Riley, Ladkin and Szivas (2002) argue that the growing image of the industry seems to be a magnet force. The staff environment that is usually young, communicative and resourceful may suit many other people. Thus, despite poor working conditions in the industry, satisfaction and attractiveness motivate people to take up industry jobs. Finally, Riley *et al.* (2002) also add that the image of the sector as an employer might differ in certain jobs in hospitality (p.21).

Although opinions on the industry's image seem to be divided, it was noticed that the industry should ensure that potential employees receive positive perceptions of the industry (Richardson 2008; Kusluvan and Kusluvan 2000). The right image of the industry is critical in order to be able to attract and retain the best employees.

3.2.2 Low-paid jobs

One of the commonly repeated features of the tourism and hospitality employment affecting its image is that it is low-paid (Walmsley 2004; Riley *et al.* 1998; Riley *et al.* 2002; Wood 1997; Choy 1995; Lucas 2004). Remuneration is an important element of any job as it is related to worker status; it can affect motivation and commitment to work (Lucas 2004). Indeed, empirical studies found that wages were the most important motivational factor among hospitality employees (Simonz and Enz 1995; Dermody *et al.* 2004; Wildes 2007). Empirical studies also revealed that low pay in hospitality is the most important category contributing to satisfaction (Lam *et al.* 2001) and, subsequently, leads to a decision to leave the sector (Walmsley 2004; Dermody *et al.* 2004). Although there are studies suggesting the opposite, pay satisfaction is isolated from job satisfaction (Choy 1995; Riley *et al.* 1998).

The reward system in hospitality is a frequently discussed feature because it contains both formal and informal elements. Wood (1997) listed that the pay of hotel and restaurant workers includes basic pay, subsidised food and lodging, tips, 'fiddles' and 'knock-offs'. However, as highlighted by Lucas (2004), the implication of this package is an attempt by employers to justify that it is not actually low-paid.

In the UK, the hospitality sector is considered as the lowest paid sector after agriculture (Baum 2007). The introduction of the National Minimum Wage (NMW) in April 1999 in Britain, with a main rate set at £3.60 per hour for workers aged 22 and older, did not bring substantial changes. Before that, there was speculation that the NMW would be a major labour market shock. Brown and Crossman (2000) had argued that the majority of small hotels were likely to be affected by the introduction of the NMW by employers' strategies of cutting costs by greater use of part-time workers, the abolition of paid breaks, charges for meals and increases of room prices. In contrast to such outcomes predicted by Brown and Crossman (2000), Adam-Smith *et al.* (2003) revealed that workers did benefit directly and indirectly from wage rises brought by the introduction of the NMW. However, they also pointed out that staff shortages affected workers who had to work harder to cover for the shortfall; thus, *'the NMW has not so much challenged existing practises in hospitality, as reinforced them'* (p. 44).

In summary, it is evident that workers receive low wages and are affected by employers' strategies to reduce costs. Low pay and problems with pay that are encountered by migrants will be further discussed in this chapter (3.4.2).

3.2.3 A skilled or an unskilled sector?

Many have labeled the hospitality workforce as semi 'skilled', 'unskilled' or 'non-skilled' (Wood 1992; Shaw and Williams 1994; Lucas 2004; Walmsley 2004). Shaw and Williams (2002) noticed that the sector concentrates on 'technical' aspects of the skills and disregards the interpersonal skills, including the knowledge of foreign languages. Such perception of tourism and hospitality employment is inaccurate but also creates a negative image of the industry.

Researchers have raised this issue and many noticed that the perceptions of 'unskilled' labour became a stereotypical model and such views are rather out of date and unjustifiable (Choy 1995; Baum 1996, 2007; Burns 1997; Nickson *et al.* 2005; Warhurst and Nickson 2007). Such understanding of hospitality work *'neglects dimensions of service and communication within hospitality work, arguably today the critical*

component at the international level' (Baum 1996:207). Thus, soft and social attributes including the ability to understand guests' expectations and the ability to communicate in verbal and non-verbal ways has been neglected.

The notion of 'skilled' or 'unskilled' jobs has been discussed by Burns (1997) who argues that: *'[l]abelling the majority of the workforce as 'semi-skilled' or 'unskilled' (as in the case of hospitality) creates something of a myth that diminishes workers' contribution to customer satisfaction and the intended corollary of business profitability'* (p.239). Soft skills like being amicable, responsible, flexible etc. that could be called 'interpersonal skills', are not perceived as 'skills' *per se*. This suits employers who classify the majority of their workforce as 'unskilled'. Finally, Burns (1997) argues that tourism 'skills' are not only rooted historically in the occupational classification as 'low' but are used as a justification for low wages.

A study of the retail and hospitality industries in Glasgow, by Nickson, Warhurst and Dutton (2005) confirms the importance of 'soft skills'. Nickson *et al.* (2005) revealed that employers look for skills which encompass the social, interpersonal and 'aesthetic skills' that are related to appearance. Similarly, personality, attitude and character were found important for employers in a study of labour turnover (Rowley and Purcell 2001). A study focusing on the perspective of front line employees also confirmed these perceptions (Warhurst and Nickson 2007). A research conducted by Hai-yan and Baum (2006), focusing on staff working in front office in four and five star hotels in the major cities in China, agrees with the above studies. It was revealed that when asked about the skills required for working in front offices, oral communication skills as well as professional and ethical standards were rated the most important skills. Other vital skills were team working, leadership qualities, customer care and interpersonal skills.

The relevance of foreign skills was analysed by Aitken and Hall (2000). It was revealed that 'knowledge of foreign business ethics and practices' and 'specific cultural skills' were regarded as significant. These skills were particularly important at the managerial level; thus, it is suggested that skills that migrants possess would not be of value to the industry unless they occupy managerial positions.

The nature of hospitality jobs defined as 'unskilled' has important implications for migrant workers. Such perceptions of skills or semi-skills offer an easy access to hospitality jobs and as pointed out by Riley *et al.* (2002), the industry accommodates those with a great variety of skills, with low skills level or with non-relevant skills (p. 23).

The downside of such perceptions is that it is related to the poor image of the sector and, consequently, to low pay and low status.

3.2.4 Seasonal jobs

Seasonality is another feature of the sector. It is important to look at the seasonal nature of the industry, as it is clear from government statistics that the numbers of A8 migrants arriving in the UK in search of work increase during summer months (see Home Office 2007a, 2008a). Some of them stay for the summer months only.

Seasonality is perceived as a major challenge for the industry (Hinch and Jackson 2000; Ashworth and Thomas 1999; Krakover 2000a; 2000b; Lee-Ross 1999; Duvall 2004; Jolliffe and Farnsworth 2003; Lundtrop *et al.* 1999). It creates a wide variety of complications such as, huge turnover and ebbs and flows of labour that give insufficient time to teach and to learn the skills. Further, it influences the industry employment, leading to seasonal employment, underemployment and unemployment (Jolliffe and Farnsworth 2003). Thus, during slower seasons, staff is unemployed or underutilised. Shaw and Williams (2002:175) noticed that: *'[m]ost localities have a single peak season, flanked by shoulder seasons. The out of season period may be one of reduced activity or total closure'*. Hinch and Jackson (2000) pointed out that the tourism authorities spend considerable time, money and effort modifying these patterns through particular strategies like creating 'all season' destinations or extending the 'shoulder seasons' to tackle seasonality.

However, from the perspective of migrant workers, seasonality may be an attractive feature of the industry. The empirical studies suggest that seasonality may not be considered as problematic for some businesses (Duvall 2004), as well as employees themselves accepting working just a part of the year (Lundtorp *et al.* 1999; Andriotis and Vaughan 2004; Lee-Ross 1999; Lundmark 2006). For example, in Crete, one third of seasonal workers are simply not willing to work during the off-peak season (Andriotis and Vaughan 2004). Thus, they work approximately 6.5 months a year, but *'their income is supplemented with unemployment compensation from the state'* (p. 76). In Swedish mountain municipalities, young people were taking up seasonal employment as it fitted their lifestyles (Lundmark 2006).

Jolliffe and Farnsworth (2003) identified possible business strategies based on a chosen approach to seasonality; either embracing it or challenging it. While firms embracing seasonality should focus on temporary workers (students or casual), firms

regarding seasonality as unwanted should focus on a full-time core workforce supplemented by temporary workers whilst ensuring retention of permanent employees.

It is clear that some workers engaged in the hospitality sector might find it convenient because of seasonality. Shaw and Williams (2002) observed that, in the case of seasonal migrants, the off-season unemployment is 'exported' at the end of the peak period (p.176). Thus, employers consider it is worth taking on migrant workers and, for those workers looking for seasonal work, the hospitality sector may be the obvious target.

3.2.5 'Turnover culture'

Significant staff turnover is another important characteristic of hospitality employment and it explains why migrant workers take up hospitality jobs. The issue of staff turnover has been well-researched (Wood 1997; Hjalager and Andersen 2001; Walmsley 2004; Rowley and Purcell 2001; Lam *et al.* 2001; Lucas 2004; Iverson and Deery 1997). While Wood (1997) reported an average turnover of 70% in UK hotel and catering in 1997, Lucas found in 2004 that turnover was 48%. The hospitality industry is cited as the industry with the highest turnover in Britain (Lucas 2004). A study carried out by Walmsley (2004) in the resort of Torbay indicated that roughly 37% of staff turned over 2.7 times. The main reasons for turnover identified in the study were low pay, lack of career prospects and unpleasant job roles. Turnover is assessed as very high in hotels, and food and drinking places; however, in other sectors of the industry, such as airlines, visitor attractions and government organisations, turnover is lower (Burns 1997).

Iverson and Deery (1997) claimed that there is a '*turnover culture*' in the hospitality industry that determines employee turnover. Young and Lundberg (1996) revealed that turnover occurs within the first few months: therefore, it is important for the management to make newcomers feel welcome, appreciated and cared for. In line with these recommendations Lam *et al.* (2001) suggested that training, family gathering functions and quality mentors are possible solutions for retaining newcomers.

Staff turnover by many employers is seen as inevitable (Lucas 2004; Rowley and Purcell 2001). The consequences for the employees are that high turnover is related to pressure on the remaining staff by extended hours and work intensification (Rowley and Purcell 2001). It also disrupts the productivity and efficiency of existing staff.

However, from the perspective of those seeking temporary employment, turnover issues may not be a concern.

3.2.6 Motivations to enter tourism/labour mobility

As discussed in the previous section, the need for more workers and efforts to retain them is a result of what Inverson and Deery (1997) labelled as a '*turnover culture*' in the hospitality industry. Recruitment and retention of workers has been seen as challenging (Wildes 2007) because the skills in tourism employment are not considered unique; therefore, they are transferable to other industries. There is a view that the most talented people will leave the sector and those who stay do so out of fear of unemployment (Lucas 2004). Further, according to Lucas (2004), poor impressions created by work placements put off tourism and hospitality graduates. This view is supported by empirical studies discussed earlier in this chapter (see 3.2.1).

A study conducted in US restaurants (Dermody *et al.* 2004) found that monetary rewards were the most important factors for choosing to work and remain in the industry. Nevertheless, relationships with co-workers, flexible hours and the atmosphere of restaurants were also important. Good wages were found as the most important motive in a study of hotel workers (Simons and Enz 1995). Wildes (2007) confirmed that money was the main factor for staying in the sector. However, she also indicated that age influences the motivating factors that encourage people to enter and remain in tourism because people of different ages had different reasons for staying in the restaurant sector. Although money was the main factor for all age groups, fun was important for those between 18-25, flexible hours for the age group of 26-35, health benefits for those 36-45, back to fun for 45-55 and health benefits again to those who were 55 and over. Such findings have important implications for HRM because with knowledge of the demographics, employers can aim at the right target.

Previous research has explored the concept of labour mobility into tourism. Firstly, Szivas and Riley (1999) conducted a study during the 90s in Hungary when the country was transforming from communism to capitalism and examined the mobility patterns to tourism. The study revealed that those deciding to enter tourism come from a variety of industries. Szivas and Riley (1999) first claimed that tourism could be '*a refuge sector*' for many, playing the role of '*any port in a storm*', where '*tourism workers appear to come from a wide and unconnected set of occupations*' (p. 748).

Szivas, Riley and Airey (2003) using different settings, replicated the study. The data collected in urban and rural locations in the UK, in Somerset and Coventry, showed that the industry's role as a refuge sector could apply for the younger sample only. The survey showed that people who were forced to change their jobs found work in the tourism industry were attracted by the image of tourism. Their main motives for the mobility into tourism were dealing with people and having business skills that could be used in tourism. Szivas *et al.* claim that: *'[t]ourism is an accommodating industry as it offers a wide range of jobs with diverse human capital requirements'* (2003:66).

Finally, Vaugeois and Rollins (2007) explored the concept of labour mobility once more, in the Canadian context. The findings revealed that most workers join the tourism sector from industries that are not experiencing declines and the satisfaction with tourism employment turned out to be high. These findings do not confirm the previous study and its 'refuge option': although this option was found as an important one, the strongest motivational forces appear to be lifestyle and entrepreneurial.

The three studies on labour mobility used motivational orientations employing the framework of orientations to work developed by Goldthorpe *et al.* (1968). This sociological concept explains attitudes to work and supports the framework of 'orientations to work' (Goldthorpe *et al.* 1968).

The above studies on labour mobility are particularly relevant for this research. Some of the statements will be used in this study in order to identify factors underlying why migrant workers choose to work in the hospitality industry. The results of factor analysis are presented in Chapter 6 (6.5). They show evidence of labour mobility into tourism jobs and suggest different outcomes for the sector.

3.2.7 Careers in hospitality

For many, especially the young, students and migrants, the industry is a temporary option and it opens the door for different paths in the future. Researchers agree that work is often undertaken with the belief that it is a stopover prior to something else (Baum *et al.* 1997; Wildes 2005; Hjalager and Andersen 2001) and a preparation for a career in another section of the economy (Riley *et al.* 2002:21). As discussed before (3.2.1), tourism and hospitality students who were asked about their perceptions of the industry did not see it as a career as their degree progressed (Jenkins 2001; Richardson 2008). Finally, Hjalager and Andersen (2001) argued that: *'the tourist industry does not have its own distinct career system with clear internal career paths:*

staff come to tourism with quite varied backgrounds and obviously irrelevant professional educations and leave it for a range of other economic activities' (p.126).

Despite the amount of critique about career opportunities offered in the industry, the wealth of literature discussing career of hotel managers suggests the opposite; there are common features in the careers of hotel managers. A number of studies of the careers of hotel managers have been used as case studies in the UK (Corcoran and Johnson 1974; Ladkin and Riley 1996), the USA (Nebel *et al.* 1995), Greece (Akrivos *et al.* 2007), Mauritius (Ladkin and Juwaheer 2000), Korea (Kim 1994) and Australia (Ladkin 2002).

Career paths of hotel managers have been studied using the concepts of career theory and labour market dynamics with the work history technique, a technique of data collection either longitudinally or over time. The time taken to reach hotel manager level and the role of mobility was analysed. Ladkin and Riley (1996) revealed that, in the UK, the average time needed to become a hotel manager (measuring from the age of 18) was 11.19 years. Further, managers have seven jobs on average and changed jobs every 3 to 4 years. In Mauritius, the time needed to the first general manager job was longer: 13.1 years and the average length of job was slightly different as well, 2 to 5 years (Ladkin and Juwaheer 2000). In Australia, the average time to reach a managerial position took 14.1 years, with seven jobs on average (Ladkin 2002).

The studies focusing on the careers of hotel managers indicated that there are promotional opportunities in the industry for those who seek to make it a career. Thus, the importance of mobility has been emphasised as well as the role of vocational training and value of skills. Skills useful for hospitality jobs will be returned to later in this research.

3.3 Labour force

The characteristics of hospitality labour differ across countries. While young and female labour is typical for some Western cultures, employing migrant workers is common across the borders. The significance of female labour, young workers and migrant workers, which is typical for the UK hospitality industry, is considered in turn.

3.3.1 Female workers

In most societies, there is strong segregation of occupations in the hospitality industry. Tourism and hospitality employment is known for attracting certain types of workers

and hospitality jobs are traditionally regarded as occupations for females, especially in most developed countries (Purcell 1997; Shaw and Williams 1994; Lucas 2004; Baum 2006). Thus, in countries such as the United States, Australia, Austria and Denmark, women dominate hospitality jobs (Baum 2006). However, the situation is very different in Southern Europe, the Middle East and other parts of Asia.

In the UK, according to the research of People 1st based on Labour Force Survey, 62% of those working in the hospitality, leisure, travel and tourism sectors in the UK are women (2006). Furthermore, within the sector the proportion of women ranges from 79% in the tourist services to 50% working in restaurants. Between 2006 and 2007, 57% of those employed in the hotel industry were female (People 1st 2008).

Tourism offers a wide range of employment opportunities for women because it is assumed that women can do many of the jobs in the sector that need their 'universal' skills. Making up beds, serving meals and cleaning could be considered as typical skills held by women. These are the tasks that replicate some of the roles that women hold in the household (Shaw and Williams 1994). Additionally, the flexible nature of working hours is convenient for people with family obligations (Lucas 2004). However, it was also observed that women tend to earn less, be in part-time employment, are peripheral rather than core workers and form only a minority of managers and supervisors (Shaw and Williams 2002). This may vary across countries; for example, women in Italy experience barriers to re-entering the labour market while, in the UK, the labour market seems to be more flexible; it is easier to re-enter the market and employers have a less stereotyped view of gender (Doherty and Manfredi 2001).

3.3.2 Young people

Apart from women, young people form a significant part of the hospitality labour force (Lucas 2004; Baum 2006). However, the age of the labour workforce again varies across cultures. For example, in Kenyan hotels front office staff is predominantly male and mature and in other countries such as Iran, the challenge of unemployment makes people stay in the same jobs for a very long time (Baum 2006): thus, it is not a young sector.

In contrast, in countries such as Britain, the hotel industry workforce is generally perceived as very young and for many of the workers a job in hospitality is the first job they find during vacations. Young boys work in the kitchen as kitchen porters or kitchen assistants. In the UK, around one third are aged between 16 and 24: however, almost

a quarter are over the age of 50 (People 1st 2008a). Despite changing demographics in western countries and the possibility for more mature workers to take up jobs in the industry, there is availability of low cost and young workers from overseas (Baum 2007).

Lundmark (2006), who looked at the case of the Swedish Mountain Municipalities and analysed whether short-term tourism migration leads to permanent migration of tourism workers, revealed that young people move to the destination and work in tourism related jobs. For them the decision to take up a job in the sector was lifestyle related, as they were flexible and had no family obligations.

Further, the importance of students as a labour force has been addressed in the literature (Lucas and Lammont 1980; Urry 1990; Hjalager and Andersen 2001; Lucas 2004). Students have many skills that are not unimportant for hospitality employers, such as being good at languages, flexible, young and often good looking. Burns (1997) refers to those skills listed by scholars as 'soft skills'. Another reason for employing students is that their availability coincides with busy periods in the sector, as they can work at weekends, during holidays and in the evenings (Hjalager and Andersen 2001).

3.3.3 Migrants

Hospitality has historically relied on migrant labour (Christensen-Hughes 1992; King 1995; Baum 2006, 2007). International workers have traditionally formed a significant part of the hospitality industry workforce. The outcomes of such migratory flows are numerous and include ethnic restaurants, taverns, cafes and ice cream shops in Western countries. In the 1950s, a substantial number of migrants from the Caribbean and South Asia arrived in Britain to help fill labour shortages in health, transport and hospitality (Baum 2006). Further, in 1971 just under half of all London hotel employees were migrants (Harris 1996) and the high concentration of migrant workers has been historically present in major cities (Bianchi 2000). Migrant workers form a major percentage of the hospitality workforce in Switzerland, Germany and Britain (Baum 2006). Thus, a non-local labour workforce is not a new phenomenon for the hospitality industry.

The reasons why foreign workers take up jobs in the hospitality sector have been summarised by Wood (1992). Firstly, the wages in hotel and catering in the UK are higher than in the countries they come from; secondly, they come to learn or improve their English and, finally, employers take on a foreign workforce because locals refuse

to work in these positions. Despite being a dated source, the points made by Wood (1992) seem to be valid today. Choi, Woods and Murnmann (2000) argued that international labour could serve as a solution for labour shortages in the industry with those from the most populous countries becoming a supply for the hotel industry. Williams and Hall (2000) pointed out features that show the importance of migration in the tourism labour market. Apart from filling labour shortages, it reduces labour market pressures (wage inflation) and labour migration contributes to labour market segmentation (racial/ethnic, legal/illegal), which reduces the costs of labour. In contrast to such views, Baum (2007) points out that ready access to migrant workers, both legal and illegal, has the negative consequences for the industry; it permitted many businesses to ignore issues of productivity, skills development and general workplace enhancement. Thus, such a view explains why the hospitality industry's image, status and pay have not improved.

The distribution of workers in the UK varies within the sector as well as in and outside London. In 2007, it was reported that 22% of the sector's workers were born overseas (People 1st 2008b). In some parts of the country, these numbers are much higher. In London, it was found that 63% of hospitality employees in 2007 were from overseas (People 1st 2008b). What is striking is that, the Labour Force Survey 2006/2007 found that 43% of migrant workers in London pubs originate from Poland (People 1st 2008b).

According to King (1994), *'[t]he tourism and hospitality industry is a major source of jobs for immigrants'* (p.177). The lack of qualifications or skills makes it very 'open' to immigrants. The tourism industry is popular with different types of migrants. For example, one group of workers comprises of students who take foreign 'working holidays' and go abroad to work in the tourism industry. According to King (1995), these migrants, usually from Eastern Europe, experience a sample of life in 'Western Europe' but also are able to earn some money to support their studies back in their home countries.

Some of these workers may fit into the category of *'migrant tourism workers'* defined by Bianchi (2000) and Uriely (2001), i.e. those who go abroad in order to make a living but also to have some fun: they make a fascinating version of the interaction between work and tourism. Migrant tourism workers combine work with a casual lifestyle by engaging in seasonal employment in tourism. According to Bianchi (2000), they tend to be EU citizens and work in Mediterranean resorts, clubs and boats.

An ethnographic study of Adler and Adler (1999) described the lives of resort workers in a luxury hotel in a Hawaiian Islands. The study revealed that new immigrants coming from Korea, Vietnam, Philippines and Thailand occupied the lowest positions, '*the most menial positions*' (p.372). Their lack of good English and no local education limited their opportunities to jobs in housekeeping, landscaping and stewarding; jobs that Americans were refusing to take up. They also preferred being put together to work in enclaves so they were able to speak in their own language with each other. Comparing those workers to other types of resort migrants in a Hawaiian hotel, locals, 'seekers' and management, and new migrants represented a stable workforce, although they had few chances to move up an occupational ladder. Consequently, they brought with them strong values of hard work and were admired for their performance (Adler and Adler 1999).

Hospitality employment is often associated as an informal economy (Riley *et al.* 2002, King 1995; Lazaridis and Wickens 1999; Andriotis and Vaughan 2004; Bianchi 2000). One way of accessing employment is by arriving on a student visa (to learn English) and to overstay it. Many of these tourist related jobs in the informal sector are gender and nationality specific: for example, cleaners in Italy and Spain come from the Philippines while some Latin Americans are widespread in hotels and apartment complexes (King 1995).

Indeed, the presence of migrants employed in tourism and hospitality have been associated with illegal work or unregulated status. In Crete, the existence of a black tourism economy is evident in the considerable number of undeclared, unlicensed units and rooms, known as 'parahoteleria' that offer potential for exploitation (Andriotis and Vaughan 2004). The study conducted in Greece by Lazaridis and Wickens (1999) shows evidence for such exploitation. The case of Albanians who enter the country illegally and tourists-guests workers from the EU have been examined (Lazaridis and Wickens 1999). Although both groups have been working in low-paid employment, Albanians were often exploited working in the bottom positions in hospitality. They were forced to take up low-paid jobs in order to escape from impossible conditions, while tourists-workers looked for 'the good life', including warmer climate and good food in Greece. These two types of migrant workers in the Greek tourism industry resulted in division of labour, as Albanians were accepting bad conditions and lack of opportunities while tourists were welcomed and treated more favourably.

Although dated, there is some research on return migrants showing the role the migrants play in developing tourism industries (King *et al.* 1984, Mendonsa 1982,

Kenna 1993). King (1995) argues that '*[a]lthough some returning migrants were 'failures', others returned with foreign work experience, capital accumulated while abroad, and certain skills and attitudes such language abilities and a broadened cultural horizon. All of these, could be argued, are assets with potential for the development of tourism in these countries'* (p.186)'. In other words, financial and human capitals have been obtained while working abroad (Williams and Hall 2000).

3.4 Migrant workers in the UK hospitality

It was mentioned in the previous section (3.2.3) that the presence of a migrant workforce in sheer numbers is not a new phenomenon for the hospitality industry. The evidence from previous research indicated that the opportunity for mobility eased by the EU's expansion has become an important employment seeking strategy, which is enabling Europeans to take up jobs in Portugal and Italy and the tourist islands of Spain and Greece (Bianchi 2000; Lazaridis and Wickens 1999).

Although a strategy of seeking employment following EU entry is not a novelty: nevertheless, the scale of the influx of Polish and other CEE members has received some academic attention. At the time of commencing this research in October 2006, there was a striking gap in the literature focusing on the significant numbers of migrant workers in the UK hospitality sector. By the beginning of 2009, this area had been investigated by a number of different bodies. These include COMPAS (Mathews and Ruhs 2007a, 2007b), Working Lives Research Institute (Wright and Pollert, 2005, 2006; Wright 2007), University of Oxford (McDowell *et al.* 2007, 2008), the ESRC project on Global Cities and Work (Evans *et al.* 2007) and other collaborating researchers (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b).

Such sudden interest in this area is related to the growing numbers of workers in the last few years from the new Accession Countries and their presence in the low-paid sectors, including an increasing number of international migrants working in the UK hospitality sector. Consequently, current studies look at migrant workers from these two perspectives; firstly, from that of general low-paid employment and, secondly, from the hospitality sector point of view.

In addition, the studies focused on the employees' perspective (Baum *et al.* 2007; Evans *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a; Wright and Polert 2006, 2007; Wright 2007) as well as the employers' point of view (Mathews and Ruhs 2007a, 2007b; Devine *et al.* 2007b; McDowell *et al.* 2007; 2008). Regarding location, the focus of these studies is

England. More specifically, McDowell *et al.* (2007) and Evans *et al.* (2007) investigated the case of London while Brighton was a focus for Mathews and Ruhs (2007a, 2007b). Wright and Pollert (2006, 2007) conducted their study in London, West Midlands and the South West while Baum *et al.* (2007) and Devine *et al.* (2007a, 2007b) focused on the UK's remote areas i.e. Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Lake District.

What follows is an overview of these studies. The discussion begins with an outline of the workers' perspective, showing a profile of international workers and the problems experienced by migrants. This is followed by the studies reporting the employers' perspectives, the management of employees and their migrants' stereotypes.

3.4.1 Migrant workers – who are they?

Baum, Dutton, Karimi, Kokkranikal, Devine and Hearn (2007) have revealed a profile of the migrant workforce in the hospitality industry. Their study focused on peripheral locations in the UK i.e. Northern Ireland, Scotland and the Lake District with data collected from migrant workers using in-depth surveys and focus groups discussions. The research investigated issues such as a profile of workers, including background, skills and qualifications, the nature of the work, perceptions, working conditions, migrants' integration and their plans.

The findings of this study revealed a number of important issues. Firstly, the research indicated that, in all three locations, Polish workers comprised 42% of the total sample, although the research was undertaken to include all international workers. This confirms the significant numbers of Poles in the UK hospitality industry. The general profile of the workers reveals that the majority of the respondents are below 30 years of age without family responsibilities and that there were slightly more women (54%) than men. Further, the results revealed the over qualification of many workers with as many as 46.8% of international workers holding a Bachelor's or Master's degree. Scholars from other disciplines (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Ruhs *et al.* 2006) have confirmed such a high level of tertiary education. Being referred by family and friends and the use of employment agencies are the popular means of finding jobs in the sector. Regarding future career plans, staying in the hotel industry and moving out of the sector are equally divided, which is related to the fact that promotion opportunities seem to be limited. Finally, most migrants work in the locations less than twelve months.

The study conducted by Devine, Baum, Hearn and Devine (2007a) focused on Northern Ireland only and investigated the issues raised in the study discussed above

(Baum *et al.* 2007). The data was collected via a survey of employees and management, followed by focus groups in 9 hotels in Northern Ireland over the summer of 2005. Focus groups involved 82 employees from 17 countries working in both rural and urban areas.

The demographic profile of migrants in Northern Ireland indicates that the majority of them were between 21-28 years old, unmarried and that there were slightly more men (55%) than women (45%). The finding revealing gender is different compared to other locations of the Lake District and Scotland (Baum *et al.* 2007). A substantial number of migrant workers have a good level of educational attainment and a quarter of migrants were studying hospitality. Furthermore, the study indicated that English has been recognised as an obstacle, with Poles (along with Filipinos) with the lowest fluency, in spite of the fact that foreign staff could speak few other languages. That might be an explanation of migrants' jobs positions: the most popular were jobs as chefs, kitchen porters and waiters.

In terms of the migrants' integration, this study showed that the majority of the workers felt well settled and welcomed in Northern Ireland. Although they were socialising with local and international staff, there was a lack of inter-cultural events organised by their workplace. Language barriers, harassment experience, training opportunities and food had a low satisfaction level from the respondents. In contrast, customer experience and staff acceptance were rated as very positive. As opposed to these findings, the media reported that racial attacks have recently taken place in Northern Ireland - a Romanian community was targeted and forced to go back home (see The Daily Telegraph 17.06.09).

Although the studies have focused on remote areas only, which are distinctive in many ways and might not necessary be representative for the whole country, the studies are highly relevant to this research and they show the emerging issues related to the hospitality migrant workforce.

3.4.2 Problems at work

The problems at work experienced by the hospitality workforce have been mentioned in this chapter and they were related to exhausting working conditions, stress and work-life balance. It was also indicated that some migrants experience more trouble than other employees do; for example, Albanian workers in Greece are not welcomed by their hosts as much as other European migrants are (Lazaridis and Wickens 1999).

Recent studies on migrant workers in the UK have focused on problems that migrant workers face at work. Research carried out by the Working Lives Institute (Wright and Pollert 2005, 2006; Wright 2007) was conducted in London, the West Midlands and South West using qualitative methods. Interviews with employees and key informants took place between March 2004 and May 2006.

The sample of this study differs from those discussed previously (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a). Bangladeshi and Pakistani workers comprise a quarter of the sample (26%) while Chinese and other Asians are a fifth and 18% of the sample comes from the CEE members. In contrast, the study conducted in the remote areas (Baum *et al.* 2007) comprises two thirds from CEE countries and only 24.5% were from outside Europe. There have been a number of concerns revealed in the study by Wright and Pollert (2006) regarding working conditions such as cash in hand, long hours, lack of training and no written contracts, which were identified as common elements among the respondents. The problems that have been identified were related to lack of opportunities for promotion, especially for those in non-front of house jobs, and bullying and verbal abuse. In addition, *'there was a high degree of acceptance of the poor working conditions in the sector among interviewees'* (2006:2), as the workers perceive it as 'the nature of work' rather than 'problems'. It was also revealed that there was a preference for white staff or a 'balance'.

In a follow up study, Wright (2007) discussed the problems raised before and conceptualised the strategies of migrant workers. Her typology of workers' motivations included 'career progression', 'broadening horizons', 'stepping stones', 'pragmatic acceptance' and 'no alternative'. Eastern European nationals were classified into the first two categories while Asians represented the last category and most related to the often-illegal status of migrants. Although this typology represents valid steps in progressing in hospitality, the sample size as well as the low number of Eastern European nationals renders it unreliable. Further, classifying migrants from CEE countries as those who pursue a career in hospitality is not in line with previous studies (Baum *et al.* 2007) indicating limited promotion opportunities.

Evans *et al.* (2007) also studied the problems experienced at work. The focus of this study was on agency staff in a London hotel. Research was carried out as a part of a wider project focusing on work and life experiences of migrant workers in low-paid sectors vital for London's economy using a small sample of 58 respondents. Women and the young dominate the sample with the majority of workers being aged 34 and below. The comparison between migrants working full-time and agency workers

revealed that employers use agencies in order to cut down on labour costs, which results in worsening agency staff terms and conditions of employment. Finally, Evans *et al.* (2007) revealed some negative outcomes such as piece-rate pay resulting in low pay, heavy workload and restricted access to social benefits.

3.4.3 Management of cultural diversity

In order to benefit from ethnic diversity, it is important for the management to understand cultural differences and be flexible (Christensen-Hughes 1992). This management of a culturally diverse workforce was one of the themes that has occupied researchers. One of the studies conducted in remote areas has focused on opportunities and challenges when managing international labour in the hospitality sector (Devine, Baum, Hearn and Devine 2007b). In-depth interviews with hoteliers carried out in the summer of 2005 in Northern Ireland highlighted the potential of foreign workers in times of growth for tourism. The most important issues coming from the study are that international workers were offered mainly low-skilled work despite high qualifications and their presence was, in most cases, temporary. The fact that workers did not intend to stay longer than one year may be a reason why they did not climb the occupation ladder. Another cause may have been insufficient fluency in English.

The findings revealed that *'[i]n the majority of cases international staff were viewed as 'loyal, committed, and always willing to work hard' (2007b:129)*. Additionally, it has been noticed that a few of those hotels were highly dependent on Central and Eastern European countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Latvia and Lithuania. Some elements of good practice have been identified among hoteliers such as staff and local integration. Devine *et al.* (2007b) made recommendations in recruiting procedures, helping after arrival, and improving language and cross-cultural skills. Finally, the results from this study suggest that international staff was essential in the industry.

Many of the issues brought up by studies carried out in Northern Ireland are common to those raised by scholars in other disciplines dealing with the recent flows of migration to Britain. Devine *et al.* (2007b:121) made a point that *'[i]mmigrants may be highly skilled and potentially in demand from a wide range of industries, but there is a tendency for them to enter the labour market via the hotel and construction sectors'*.

The language skills of migrant workers and the implications for this on hospitality employees and the migrants themselves is an area of much debate. Although the level of English among Polish hospitality employees was not the aim of past research, it has been raised in previous studies.

Devine *et al.* (2007a), in a study conducted in Northern Ireland, revealed that Poles and Filipinos working in hotels had a lower fluency of English compared to respondents from other countries. Spencer *et al.* (2007), in a study conducted across four sectors i.e. construction, au pairs, agriculture and hospitality, revealed that among migrants who self-reported their English fluency, more than a third of Poles spoke only basic English. McDowell *et al.* (2007) pointed out that Poles and other CEE workers had limited English.

The lack of good English skills among migrants had its consequences. Wright and Pollert (2006) revealed that problems of bad working conditions were related to migrants' limited English language skills and, subsequently, insufficient knowledge of English was a barrier to promotion. Further, it was an obstacle to work outside one's own ethnic group. Spencer *et al.* (2007) concluded that lack of language skills limited getting information or support. This topic will be revisited in the next chapter.

3.4.4 Demand of workers and employers' stereotypes

It is evident from the studies discussed above that migrant workers are in demand by hospitality employers. A research project undertaken by COMPAS in 2006 (Ruhs and Mathews 2007a, 2007b) has focused on explaining why employers in the hospitality industry demand migrant workers. The analysis of interviews with 30 hospitality employers of hotels and restaurants in Brighton, together with some initial data from a survey across the UK, highlighted some important points.

Firstly, there is a preference for immigrant workers in the sector rather than to employ British workers who are not willing to take up jobs that seem undesirable and low-paid. Secondly, employers point out the importance of 'good attitude' rather than specific skills or experience when recruiting. Finally, candidates are assessed according to their nationality and employers often use their stereotyped perceptions.

Mathews and Ruhs (2007b) pointed out that migrants from the CEE are perceived by employers as the most suitable and hardworking staff and Poles have been identified as renowned for their work ethic and appreciation of low wages. Recruitment methods

used by the employers included the use of agencies and the majority of employers were using migrant networks as a reliable strategy.

Finally, McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer (2007) conducted a study concerned with migrant workers in the UK hospitality industry in a London hotel. The researchers, who looked at the migrant workforce working both for NHS and hospitality, pointed out that the NHS workforce was not influenced by the EU Enlargement whereas the hospitality sector's workforce changed due to the EU expansion in 2004 (see McDowell *et al.* 2008). In other words, migrants from CEE countries rapidly established themselves in hotel employment. Their research revealed how employers and managers use stereotypical assumptions about the embodied attributes of workers. The study was conducted in a London hotel that employs almost 30 nationalities and only 10% of the employees are British born. Interviews were carried out in 2005 and 2006 with employees and managers employed both directly and through staffing agencies.

The study reveals that personal connection to existing staff was a popular and successful method of direct recruitment. However, the current policy of the hotel was to reduce such methods as it led to ethnic concentration in certain departments. It also showed a distinctively segmented labour force where the hotel's departments were divided by nationality, associated language skills, and gender as well as skin colour. These findings point to the role of networks and the consequences of the labour market, as discussed previously (see Chapter 2: 2.3.1). McDowell *et al.* (2007) pointed out that managers of the hotel created certain stereotypical assumptions. Poles were regarded as hard working, but also more aggressive than Vietnamese who were working in housekeeping before the 2004 EU Enlargement and who were later replaced with Polish staff. Polish women room attendants were seen as hostile towards Indians.

3.5 Summary

An overview of the literature about hospitality employment indicates that migrant workers have formed a substantial part of the hospitality workforce in many societies (see Christensen-Hughes 1992; King 1995; Adler and Adler 1999; Andriotis and Vaughan 2004; Baum 2007). The reason for this is the sector's nature and conditions, and its accessibility and broad understanding of skills/or lack of it, which makes migrant workers take up hospitality jobs. Further, it was shown that mobility related to the expansion of the EU, which resulted in people taking the opportunity to travel across

Europe and engage in hospitality jobs (Lazaridis and Wickens 1999; Bianchi 2000; Uriely 2001).

Thus, although the presence of a migrant workforce in hospitality is not a novelty, the literature highlighted the significance of Polish employees in the sector (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b; McDowell *et al.* 2007). However, despite the emergence of new studies in this area, there is scope for further research; for example, migrants' views on the industry's image and their lives outside workplaces have not been explored yet. There is a need to investigate migrants' motivations for choosing to work in the hospitality sector and if they consider it as a career. In addition, past studies have focused on specific locations rather than considering the UK as a whole, which precludes forming a picture of the whole country.

The next chapter will outline the themes from literature on cross-cultural transition and their application to this study. It will also discuss migrants' economic integration and relationships with others.

4 Chapter Four – Literature Review

Migration, Adaptation and Polish Migrants

4.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts: adaptation and social relationships. The concept of culture will be presented first, followed by an overview of acculturation outcomes. Thus, Geert Hofstede's cultural dimensions will be discussed in order to understand cultural differences that exist between societies. John Berry's acculturation model and Kim's conceptualisations of culture change of strangers will be presented next, as they contribute to the understanding of migrants' acculturation outcomes. The place of language and employment will be also discussed.

The second part of this chapter will focus on the concepts of social capital, weak ties, transnational activities and the place of the internet. These concepts will help to understand migrants' relationships with others, as it is an important part of migrants' adaptation process. It will also contribute to an understanding of migrants' ways of accessing employment and their choice of certain occupations. This is followed by an overview of past literature on Polish migrants. Finally, an outline of media perceptions will be provided.

4.2 Adapting to a new culture: process and outcomes

A number of theories discussed below are applied in this study, in order to understand migrants' experiences in the country of settlement. Therefore, Hofstede's cultural dimensions of Uncertainty Avoidance (UA) and Power Distance (PD) and their implications in the workplace are used to understand migrants' views on working conditions and relationships with others at work. Further, the factors arising during acculturation listed by Berry (1997), such as learning a language, employment, housing and relationships with others will be discussed. These factors are also known to be related to *socio-cultural adaptation* that will be outlined (Ward *et al.* 2001). Finally, Kim's conceptualisation of the process of dynamic stress – adaptation - growth (1988, 2008) is used to understand migrants' experiences with others.

4.2.1 Cultural differences

International migrants face substantial challenges when moving to a new place. Cross-cultural research is concerned with what happens to individuals from one cultural context who decide to settle in another (Berry 1997). Immigrants, refugees and sojourners experience great cultural change and must respond to the challenges of functioning in a new environment (Gudykunst and Kim 2003). Their original culture affects their communication with strangers and influences the process of cross-cultural adaptation. In order to discuss culture and culture change, it is necessary to define what culture is.

The word '*Culture*' is derived from the Latin *cultura*, stemming from *colere*, and it means 'to cultivate'. Hofstede explains culture as '*the collective programming of mind, which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another*' (1991:5). The term includes art, science and technology, as well as values, norms, institutions and social practices (Lustig and Koester 2006). Culture in a simple way is also what people believe in, the language they speak, the way they dress and eat.

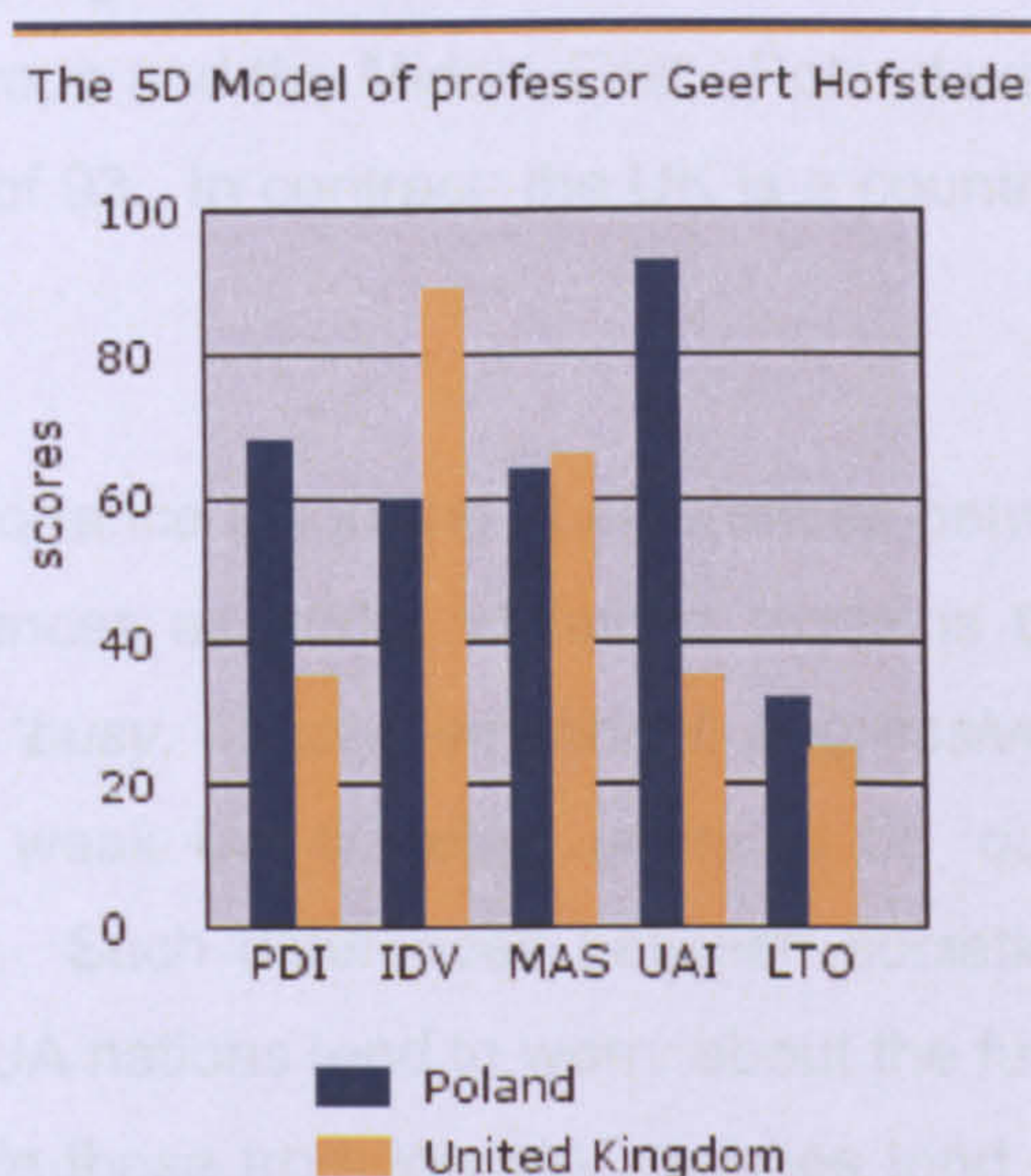
The most influential study of cultural differences is that of Geert Hofstede (1991, 2001, 2005). His cultural dimensions will be reviewed because an understanding of cultural differences will help to identify the experiences of migrants in a new culture. Hofstede's study was conducted first in 1968, and then in 1972 in seventy two countries and in one multinational organisation (IBM); it covered issues related to values and resulted in more than 116,000 questionnaires. From these results, using statistical analysis, Hofstede developed four dimensions on which countries differ. These dimensions are as follows:

- power distance (PD)
- uncertainty avoidance (UA)
- individualism versus collectivism
- masculinity versus femininity

Later, he added the fifth one - long term versus short-term orientation. Hofstede indicates the consequences of the dimensions for family life, workplaces, school, organisation, the state and the development of ideas. Finally, he points to the practical implications of these differences, which include culture shock, stereotyping, and differences in humour and language.

Poland was not included in the original study carried out by Hofstede; however, Hofstede and his colleagues (Kolman, Noorderhaven, Hofstede and Dienes, 2003) later conducted a follow up study on CEE countries, which included Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. Despite the limitations of the study (scores being based on estimations, as not included in the original IBM study and using students as the population instead of IBM employees), it is now possible to place Poland on the cultural map with its index score (see Figure 4.1). Hofstedian dimensions can be used to understand differences between cultures and its implications for managing a hospitality multicultural workforce and these are presented below.

Figure 4.1 Hofstede's cultural dimensions for the United Kingdom and Poland illustrating Power Distance Index (PDI), Individualism (IDV), Masculinity (MAS), Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI) and Long Term Orientation (LTO)
(Source: Hofstede 2009)



PDI	Power Distance Index
IDV	Individualism
MAS	Masculinity
UAI	Uncertainty Avoidance Index
LTO	Long-Term Orientation

The first dimension, **power distance** (PD), is defined as 'the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organisations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally' (1991:28). Higher PD countries include autocratic and paternalistic management, where inequalities between people are expected. In northern European countries, PD was found small (the UK scored 35). In such countries, the hierarchical system is established for convenience and roles may change. In contrast, Poland was found to have a relatively high PD score (68). Implications for work are that, in high PD countries, there is a distance between a

superior and subordinates and the latter are expected to be told what to do. In contrast, in lower PD situations, subordinates and superiors consider each other as existentially equal. Kolman *et al.* (2003) added that '*Poles attach much value to having a good working relationship with their direct superior, and to being consulted by him or her*' (p.82).

The second dimension, ***uncertainty avoidance*** (UA) refers to the fear of the unknown and a desire to avoid it. Three elements decide the level of this dimension and they are job stress, rule orientation and short/long term career orientation. Thus, in a society, more people feel under stress at work, they also want rules to be respected and more people want to have a long-term career (Hofstede 1991). Low UA societies include Northern countries such as the UK, Ireland and the Netherlands. These countries are also more pragmatic and action-focused at work. Countries with high UA are Japan, Southern Europe and the Middle East. Poland was found as a country with high UA, with the score of 93. In contrast, the UK is a country with low UA and scored 35.

This dimension is of importance in looking at differences between Poles and the British and it has its consequences at work. Hofstede explains that in high UA societies, people come across as '*busy, fidgety, emotional, aggressive, active*' (1991:115). On the contrary, people in weak UA societies seem to be '*quiet, easy-going, indolent, controlled, lazy*' (p.115). Such differences between societies are related to anxiety. Thus, people from high UA nations tend to worry about the future; they are anxious and resistant to change, while those from low UA societies tend to live day to day and are more willing to accept changes and undertake risk.

Hofstede (1991) outlines what the implications of these differences are at the workplace. Firstly, in strong UA societies, there are many formal or informal laws controlling the lives of employees and employers, which are mostly based on emotions and psycho-logic. Poland belongs to this group of societies. Such a need for rules in strong UA can be turned into an ability for precision or punctuality. In contrast, the UK is categorised as a society with weak UA, where many problems can be solved without introducing rules.

Secondly, weak UA societies stand for low anxiety. While '*in strong UA societies people like to work hard or at least to be always busy*' (p.121), in weak UA societies such as the UK, people are not driven by the need to occupy themselves, they are not watching time and they like to relax. Kolman *et al.* (2003) adds that Poles do feel

nervous and tense at work. This particular dimension is of importance for the study and it will be used in Chapter 8, as such differences in behaviour at work will be noticeable between the two cultures.

The third dimension listed by Hofstede is ***individualism versus collectivism***. The members of individualistic societies such as the UK, USA and Australia are expected to take care of themselves. In contrast, collectivist societies such as Greece and Portugal reflect close family units. The UK was found as a strong individualistic country, with the score of 89, which is much higher than Poland having a score of 60. In collectivist countries, individual responsibility is often avoided, and strong collectivistic values are important in building relationships along with eating and drinking. Implications for work are that hiring and promotion decisions in countries such as UK are supposed to be based on skills and rules only, and appraisals are conducted periodically; however, in collectivist countries, such decisions consider employees' in-group. Additionally, management is management of individuals while, in collectivist countries, it is the opposite; it is about managing groups.

Masculinity and femininity is the fourth dimension. Masculine societies such as Southern Europe and the UK are associated with competitiveness, strength and action focus. In contrast, feminine societies (Scandinavian countries, Portugal) are related to more female attributes such as cooperation and warm relationships. Poland scored 64 on its index showing that it is a masculine culture (Kolman *et al.* 2003:86). The UK is not very different in this dimension (66). Hofstede indicates that in the workplace, managers of masculine countries are expected to be decisive and assertive.

Finally, ***long-term orientation***, the dimension developed by Hofstede later on, is related to goal achievement and was added after the intervention by Michael Bond, who developed the 'Chinese value survey' and asked his respondents about basic values for Chinese people (Hofstede 1991:161). Countries with long-term orientation are prepared to invest over time to achieve goals (Asian culture, Southern Europe), and they stand for virtues related to the past and present, respect for tradition and preservation of face. Short-term objectives are values in Northern Europe and Northern America. Poland scored 32 and the UK scored 25.

Hofstede's dimensions are valuable to this study, helping to understand the cultural difference between Poland and the UK, and its possible implications in working places and outside work. The overview of Hofstede's dimensions revealed that Polish and British cultures differ in power distance, individualism/collectivism and, most

importantly, in uncertainty avoidance. This is of importance because it supports the understanding of Polish migrants' experiences in terms of their views and adaptation process. It helps in interpreting perceptions and behaviours of Poles at their workplaces and their everyday interactions with host nationals.

Hofstede's work has been questioned and challenged on a number of issues. The criticism of over reliance on his model has been launched (Bhimani 1999; Harrison and McKinnon 1999; Redding 1994). McSweeney (2002) questioned the administration of questionnaires in IBM workplaces, small numbers of responses in some countries and exclusion of blue-collar workers; *'the data used by Hofstede to construct national cultural comparisons was largely limited to responses from marketing-plus-sales employees'* (p.7). He also questioned Hofstede's dimensions stressing that they were based on flawed assumptions and promoted in an antagonistic way. Additionally, the fifth dimension received a critique by Fang (2003). Fang listed the main flaws of the last dimension, including a philosophical flaw based on incorrect use of Yin Yang philosophy, inconsistency in using terms and methodological errors (a population of students was used in this dimension, in contrast to IBM employees in the previous ones).

Despite the great number of Hofstede's model critics, the first four dimensions have received an enormous amount of discussions and citations among scholars, and have been used overwhelmingly in studies of adaptation by western and non-western scholars. The Hofstedian model is used in this research, as it proved to be a useful tool with which to interpret the cultural differences between the two countries; the model explains migrants' self-assessment of what they think they bring to the industry, what they gain and migrants' behaviour (see Chapter 8). It is acknowledged that, firstly, the fifth dimension is not entirely reliable; secondly, Poland was added later on; its scores were adjusted and the methodology and its sampling was drawn from a single company, including only two professions; however, the model is still a valid instrument with which to compare cultural differences between Poles and the British.

4.2.2 The process of adaptation

Kim (1988) noticed that the use of concepts in the field of cross-cultural adaptation is inconsistent. Indeed, a variety of terms are used in the literature relating to cross-cultural studies, sociology and policy to describe the same phenomenon; for example, *acculturation, adaptation, assimilation, adjustment and integration*. The broad term *'adaptation'* will be used in this chapter when reviewing the literature on cross-cultural

adaptation of immigrants because the term '*has the advantage of not involving a priori value judgements concerning desirable outcomes*' (Goldlust and Richmond 1974:195). The term '*adaptation*' is defined by Kim (1988:9) as '*internal transformation of an individual challenged by a new cultural environment in the direction of increasing fitness and compatibility in that environment*'. Kim's definition of adaptation accommodates other terms used in various disciplines such as *acculturation*, *assimilation* and *adjustment*.

Acculturation was defined by Kim (1988:199) as '*the process of cognitive, attitude and behavioural adaptation to the new cultural system*'. In other words, when strangers move into a new and unfamiliar culture, they interact with it, and gradually become acquainted with a host culture and adopt some of its norms and values (Gudykunst and Kim 2003). Kim and Gudykunst (2003) add that, as acculturation takes place, some unlearning of old cultural patterns occurs and this unlearning is called *deculturation*. Finally, the term '*assimilation*' will be introduced further in this chapter, and the definition will be used according to the concept of Berry's model of acculturation strategies (Berry 1997).

Although research on immigrants' adaptation shares its concepts with the literature on sojourners, tourists and refugees, it has some distinctive features (Ward *et al.* 2001). Unlike refugees, migrants are 'pulled' towards a new country, not forcibly 'pushed'. The length of stay of immigrants is different from tourists and sojourners because immigrants relocate to another country with the intention to stay either long term or permanently (Ward *et al.* 2001).

Ward and her colleagues tried to simplify the phenomenon of culture contact by dividing it into three distinct types of outcomes: psychological, socio-cultural and economic (2001). *Psychological adaptation* refers to emotional well-being and satisfaction during cross-cultural transition. Psychological adaptation is predicted by co-ethnic support, loneliness and perceived discrimination. While social support is associated with increased psychological well-being, loneliness and discrimination is linked to decrements in life satisfaction. *Socio-cultural adaptation* is related to the ability to 'fit in' or execute effective interactions in a new cultural milieu. It includes education, income, language fluency and contacts with host nationals. Finally, *economic adaptation* might be a long process, as it is also widely recognised that '*migrants encounter more obstacles to economic success than natives*' (Ward *et al.* 2001:207). It is also related to the difficulty of recognition of qualifications and

occupational experience. Migrants' place of employment will be discussed further in this chapter.

4.2.3 Stress - adaptation - growth

The outcomes of cultural contact have been discussed in the literature. According to Gudykunst and Kim (2003), *'the core of cross-cultural adaptation is change'* (p.359). In this research, Kim's conceptualisation on adaptation outcomes have been applied. Kim's (1988) studies of adaptation focused on the individual rather than the group: *'[a]ll individuals in a changing and changed cultural environment share common adaptation experience'* (p.6). They all are 'strangers' to their new society and must cope with a certain level of unfamiliarity and uncertainty. Gradually they become acquainted with the daily aspects of living in a host culture, from basic survival needs to working, developing relationships and enjoying leisure time.

Such a process of acculturation; acquiring the elements of a host culture, is conceptualised by Kim as a process of *dynamic stress- adaptation- growth* interplay (1988, 2008). It shows that strangers experience initial stress, which is inevitable; they may become more aggressive or hostile towards the new country, attacking its values, climate and food. *'Stress, then, is responsible not only for suffering, frustration, and anxiety, but also for providing the impetus for adaptive personal transformation and growth – the learning and creative responses to manage new cultural circumstances'* (1988:56). Therefore, *'without experiencing stress, no adaptation is believed to occur'* (p.73). According to Kim, in order to cope with the host environment, strangers go through many emotional 'lows'; they try to escape from stressful situations, but eventually they acquire the elements of the host culture. In other words, this conceptualisation demonstrates unity of stress and change in the adapting process; they occur together. Hofstede (1991) compares the situation of a visitor in a foreign culture to *'the mental state of an infant'* (p.209), in which he or she has to learn the simplest things. This period is associated with feelings of helplessness, distress and hostility.

In addition, Kim (1988) claims that newly arrived migrants seek relationships with their co-nationals. They tend to rely on ethnic support and earlier arrivals help the newer arrivals find housing, jobs and other necessities. It provides migrants with stress-free communication, and it is natural at the beginning of the sojourn. Over the years, this pattern changes and migrants participate more in host society activities. Further, Kim (1988) states that strangers become successfully adapted if they enhance their

communication competence. *'Through trial and error, with frequently accompanying stress and despair, they are able to gradually transform their personal communication patterns and achieve an increasing level of host communication competence'* (p. 61). In such a way, migrants are becoming more mature, less reliant on others and achieve a greater sense of belonging to the host society. Knowing the host language is the most salient aspect of such communication, and many phrases can only be learnt through personal exposure to situations, in which the phrases are actually used. Similarly, much non-verbal behaviour can be acquired through direct observation and participation in communication activities with the hosts over an extended period. Finally, according to Kim (1988), stress from communication is a pre-requisite to learning.

4.2.4 The strategies of adaptation: Berry's model of acculturation

A number of models of acculturation strategies have been developed, including a multivariate model of immigrant adaptation developed by Golhust and Richmond (1974) and Berry's (1997) model of acculturation. In this research, Berry's model is discussed and applied for the study. The decision is justified by widespread use of the model in other research and its simplicity comparing to others.

A significant contribution to the acculturation research is largely based on the work of John Berry (1997), who developed acculturation strategies that may be apparent among immigrants. There are two dimensions of acculturation that recognise two aspects of acculturation, which are maintenance of identity (the extent that cultural identity and characteristics are considered to be important) and maintenance of relationships with others (the extent they should become involved in other cultural groups or remain among themselves). Berry suggested the two questions as a means to identify the strategies; firstly, whether it is of value to maintain someone's cultural identity and characteristics and; secondly, whether it is of value to have a positive relationship with the larger society (1997). Responses of 'Yes' or 'No' to these questions allowed the creation of a model that defines strategies of adaptation: integration, assimilation, rejection and marginality.

Thus, *integration* is defined when there are both positive replies to the two questions, and *marginality* appears when there are two negative answers to the questions. In other words, when individuals value both maintenance of their identity and a positive relationship with other groups, they adopt an *integration* approach. In contrast, when they reject both their own heritage culture and the other group's culture, they are said

to be *marginalised*. Further, *assimilation* is defined when someone gives a positive response to the second question (relationship with the group) and a negative response to the first one (maintenance of identity). Reverse answers describe *separation* (rejection).

According to Berry (1997), the features of the two societies i.e. that of origin and that of settlement, influence these strategies, as some societies accept and support cultural pluralism, while others seek to eliminate diversity. Literature shows that the integration approach is the most popular one. However, it can only be chosen and successfully adopted when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity; *'thus mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different people'* (p.10). Societies that are multicultural have a relatively low level of prejudice and positive attitudes towards migrants are likely to develop an integration strategy. Furthermore, those physical features set them apart from the society of settlement that may experience prejudice and discrimination (Berry 1997).

These four approaches are related to other features of the acculturation process that influence migrants' adaptation in a new society. Berry (1997) distinguishes between factors existing prior to acculturation (cultural distance, age, gender and education) and those that arise during the acculturation (language fluency, housing, employment, social relationships). Individuals begin the acculturation process with a number of their own personal features that are demographic and social. For example, it is believed that when the acculturation process starts early (prior to entry into primary school), the process is smooth. Regarding gender, it is said that women may be at more risk from problems. Further, education is important and higher education is perceived of lower stress, as it is correlated with income, status and networks. An individuals' place in the economic world is another feature. Migrants' 'entry status' usually differs from their 'departure status', which may be related to real differences in qualifications, but may also be from ignorance or prejudice in the society of settlement. Further, according to Berry, *'the greater cultural differences, the less positive is the adaptation'* (1997:23). Finally, personal factors such as introversion/extroversion and self-efficacy influence the process of acculturation. The importance of individual factors is also in line with Kim's arguments related to personal predispositions (see this Chapter 4.2.3).

Apart from these factors, Berry argues that factors arising during acculturation are also important and can be measured by considering specific experiences of learning a

language, obtaining employment, housing and developing relationships along with recreational opportunities.

Although Berry and his colleagues' studies have been widely accepted, there has been a claim made for thinking 'outside the Berry boxes' (Ward 2008). Ward (2008) pointed out that the process elements have been overlooked in Berry's model and suggested new ways of conceptualising the field of acculturation research, including tourists and tourism in the acculturation research. Further on, in both Berry's model and the Hofstedian model, the acculturation is measured in a quantitative way. That may be a methodological weakness, as some aspects of migrants' acculturation may only be understood through using more qualitative approaches. Despite critique, Berry's model was chosen for this research. More specifically, the factors arising during acculturation (learning a language, employment, housing and relationships) will be explored in this study (see Chapter 9).

4.2.5 The outcome of adaptation

Cross-cultural researchers agree that change is an inevitable result of extended contact with a new culture (Ting-Toomy 1999; Kim 1988; Bennett 1998; Gudykunst and Kim 2003). Such change has many forms. For example, it was shown before in this chapter, that stress is perceived as an inevitable element of migrants' adaptation (Kim 1988, 2008; Hofstede 1991); consequently, stress leads to growth, learning and creativity (Kim 1988). Being able to see a situation 'with new eyes' and obtain a greater internal capacity to cope with varied environmental conditions is an outcome of adaptation (Kim 1988). Furthermore, those exposed to another culture also acquire self-awareness and cultural empathy (Bennett 1998). A stranger's identity gradually becomes increasingly flexible, the original identity begins to lose its definiteness and the emergent identity shows an increasing '*interculturalness*' (Kim 1988) or '*intercultural competence*' (Lustig and Koester 2006). Consequently, through intercultural communication experience, a new intercultural identity emerges, as a migrant undergoes a gradual process of intercultural evolution, he or she is becoming '*an open-ended, adaptive, and transformative self-other orientation*' (Kim 2008:364).

Exploring foreign cultures facilitates discovering own identity (Madison 2006, 2007; Hayes 2007). According to Madison (2006), '*[m]oving to a foreign place fosters flexibility to develop oneself according to an 'inner call'*'. Thus, migrants are discovering themselves, as they are displaced from their home place. Another outcome is enhanced openness to experiences of difference and foreignness. Hayes

(2007) argues that migration offers an opportunity to explore aspects of the self and the world, which are not available in the home country. Being away from family and community offers a freedom of choices that are not influenced by significant others.

4.2.6 The place of language in the adaptation process

Various bodies of literature recognised that acquiring the host country language is seen as an indicator of integration into a new society. Many cross-culture researchers have highlighted the importance of linguistic competence in the adaptation process of migrants in a new society (Goldlust and Richmond 1974; Kim 1988; Hofstede 1991; Berry 1997; Gudykunst 1998; Ward *et al.* 2001). Language is highly important to the adaptation success in Berry's model of acculturation (1997). In the longitudinal model conceptualised by Goldlust and Richmond (1974), the acculturation of migrants is measured by the host language fluency and its usage.

In Britain, the role of language ability has been included in some political and policy debates, highlighting that English is a tool for the successful integration of Britain's diverse communities (Home Office 2004; Alexander *et al.* 2007). In 2007, the government introduced a new point system for migrant skilled workers with tougher English language requirements. The Commission of Integration and Cohesion, underlined in their Interim Statement that a shared language is fundamental to integration and cohesion. While translation services should be reduced, employers should offer English classes for new migrants (Commission of Integration and Cohesion 2007). Finally, the language is found as a strong driver of both employment and earnings (Dustmann and Fabbri 2003).

The consideration of language is an important element of this research, as there are a number of problems related to English, which have been identified by public media and local institutions across the UK. They revealed that English fluency is a problem for newly arrived migrants from CEE. As will be presented at the end of this chapter (4.5.), public media emphasised the issue of the lack of English among Polish migrants that led to additional costs of services. Some regions have introduced new road signs in Polish, translating services were organised in many local authorities, in the police, NHS and schools.

The need to organise English courses (ESOL) and translating services in public places, most needed by Poles, has been stressed by many regional authorities (Schneider and Holman 2005; Highlands and Islands Enterprise 2005; A8 migrant in rural areas 2007).

As discussed in the previous chapter (see Chapter 3.4.1), past research on hospitality employment also highlighted the issues with English and the need for specific language training for international hospitality staff.

4.2.7 The place of employment in migrants' adaptation

Economic success of migrants has been analysed by both cross-cultural researchers and theorists who tried to explain why people move and to understand their behaviour on the labour market. As summarised in Chapter 2, some theories of migration such as Piore's *Dual Labor Market Theory* and Sassen's (1988) *World System Theory*, defined migrants as a labour supply for low-paid jobs in the secondary labour market. Meanwhile, Piore argued that the labour market is divided into primary and secondary labour markets and migrants find jobs that are less stable, less prestigious, and low-paid and low skilled. Sassen postulated that migrants go to highly developed countries as a global labour supply. It is also widely accepted that migrants' networks facilitate obtaining employment (Ward *et al.* 2001; Boyd 1989; Massey *et al.* 1994; Waldinger 1997). However, this is associated with low-paid jobs and may lead to migrants' 'social closure' (Waldinger 1997). From these points of view, migrants' position on the labour market is associated with low status jobs.

Literature on cross-cultural studies explores migrants' place in the economic world in their country of settlement. As mentioned before in this chapter (4.2.3), Ward *et al.* (2001) recognise *economic adaptation* as one type of migrants' adaptation into a country of settlement. Although economic motives are often very important motivation for migrants, for various reasons, migrants encounter more obstacles to economic success than the locals (Ward *et al.* 2001). Such a situation is related to the difficulty of recognition of qualifications and occupational experience as well as insufficient language abilities. Berry (1997) adds to the list real differences in qualifications or ignorance and/or prejudice in the society of settlement, which leads to loss of status and risk of stress.

Economic aspects of immigrant adaptation were examined in terms of income, occupational status and social mobility in a longitudinal study on migrants' adaptation in Toronto conducted by Goldlust and Richmond (1974). Their study revealed that, although there were differences between the income of those born in Canada and of migrants, they were fully explained by the combined factors of father's occupation, education, present occupation, age and the length of residence in Toronto. However,

there was found a small unexplained effect of ethnicity on income; the Slavic, Greek, Portuguese, Black and Asian populations tend to earn less than would be expected.

Aycaan and Berry (1996) found in their study of Turkish migrants in Canada, that inability to integrate fully into the labour market was attributed to a lack of competences in both official languages, difficulty in getting qualifications recognised in Canada and, finally, a lack of Canadian employment experience. Consequently, loss of status, unemployment and underemployment resulted in bad psychological well-being and overall adaptation difficulties. In line with these findings is a study conducted by Krahn *et al.* (2000). Their study revealed that refugees who had professional and managerial positions in their countries of origin experienced higher rates of unemployment, and part-time and temporary employment than did Canadian-born employees. Further, the majority of them took on blue-collar jobs on arrival in Canada. It was concluded that a lack of recognition and Canadian references, English language difficulties and employer discrimination were barriers to re-entering former occupations.

The overview of literature on cross-cultural studies suggests that migrants encounter obstacles to their economic success, suffer loss of status and are underemployed. Subsequently, it affects their psychological wellbeing.

4.3 Migrants' online and offline social relationships

Important to migrants' adaptation process are various concepts of social capital, weak ties and transnational activities that influence migrants' decisions and assist in the pre-migration phase and actual migration. In addition, the significant place of the internet in the development of social capital is also explored. These concepts are vital for this research, as they contribute to an understanding of migrants' relationships with other co-workers and the way in which migrants' access employment.

4.3.1 Strong and weak ties of migrants

Many have discussed the concept of social capital and its role for migrants and have concluded that social capital has been an important part of community lives. However, Portes (1998) argues that, nowadays, this term has become '*something of a cure-all for the maladies affecting society at home and abroad*' (p.2), as it has become extended to everyday language, and has subsequently started losing its meaning. What is more, this popular concept has been interpreted differently, depending on academic discipline.

The origins of the definition are in Pierre Bourdieu's study in 1980, which analysed the three basic forms of capital; cultural, social and economical. However, early thinkers of social capital date back to Adam Smith, Rousseau, Marx and Engels, and Weber (Pawar 2006). Bourdieu focused on benefits of social capital and participating in social networks. The concept was then defined by Coleman in 1988, and then redefined by Putman in 1993, 1995 and 2000. Definitions however, widely differ.

An original definition of Bourdieu states social capital as *'the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively – owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word'* (1986:248). According to Bourdieu, social capital is composed of the relationships that allow participants to access resources, and the amount and quality of those resources. Bourdieu argues that social capital also depends on the size of the network of 'connections' and the size of other capitals (economic, cultural and symbolic) possessed by each of those to whom she/he is connected. Such a network of relationships is a product of investment strategies and it aims at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are usable for its members in a short or long-term. Furthermore, through the introduction of new members, such a group with its identity and boundaries is exposed to redefinition and alteration. Finally, through social capital, we not only access economic resources, but also increase our cultural capital, using contacts with experts or institutions that confer valued credentials.

Coleman (1988) defines social capital, as not a single entity, but a variety of identities that *'all consist of some aspects of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors'* (p. S98). Thus, our jobs, income and health benefits are affected by our social ties. For Putman, on the other hand, social capital means *'features of social organisations, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit'* (Putnam 1993:35). Thus, in Putman's understanding, social capital involves networks, trustworthiness, social norms and communities and these networks have value to people who are in the networks (Putman 2007).

Although the idea of social capital has been associated with dense networks (Coleman 1988) that are important in order to profit from participating in groups, Granovetter introduced the concept of weak ties (see Granovetter 1983). He argues that *'individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the*

social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends' (p.202). In other words, Granovetter claims that we benefit more from the relationships with our acquaintances than from our close friends. This is because, through weak ties (acquaintances), one can also access information from their close friends who come from different networks. Thus, through weak ties we can access new knowledge and resources. It will be shown throughout this study, that migrants use both dense ties as well as weak ties.

Although social capital has played an important role for groups and individuals, things emerging from social capital, as noticed by Portes (1998), can also be less desirable. Apart from benefits arising from participating in social networks, there are costs involved in them. Exclusion of outsiders and restrictions on individual's freedom are the main negative consequences of social capital (Portes 1998). As discussed previously (see Chapter 2.3.1), social capital may lead to social closure, resulting in conflict and cleavage (Waldinger 1997). It was reported in this chapter (see 4.2.4) that this might happen, as migrants after arrival tend to be attached to their own ethnic group (Kim 1988). In addition, it will be demonstrated further in this chapter that past research about Polish migrants have identified such problems (see 4.4.).

The concept of social capital has received some critique and has been questioned by a number of authors. For example, Pawar (2006) analysed the phrase 'social capital', looked at the origins of the concept and developed some arguments against its use, and made policy recommendations. In addition, Portes (1997) argued that current enthusiasm for the concept is partially exaggerated, as the term is overused. Nevertheless, the notion of social capital is of importance for this study, as the presence of Poles in literally every region of Britain entails creating specific networks between the migrants. Social capital is related to the concept of network-mediated migration (see Chapter 2.4.1) and it contributes further to an understanding of the extent of migration, migrants' methods for accessing employment and migrants' adaptation process. There are no so-called Polish districts, as Poles are spread out in many areas all over the country; however, the existence of Polish delis, clubs, churches, bakeries, garages and Polish-speaking customer services in many of the cities and towns indicate the presence of new immigrants. That may be a result of complex networks of migrants.

4.3.2 Living dual lives – transnational activities

The concept of transnationalism was introduced in Chapter 2 (2.4.2), as it emerges as an important concept for understanding migration of Poles to the UK. Additionally, a number of typologies, introduced in Chapter 2 (2.5.5), indicated the importance of transnational activities that take place between migrants.

Transnationalism among Poles is seen in activities such as frequent visits, regular phone calls and media-orientated activities; for example, subscribing to national Polish television, *TV Polonia* (Brunell 2006) and satellite TV (*cyfra+* and *Cyfrowy Polsat*). The strong links between the two countries may result in so-called 'stork migration' (Garapich 2006), based on frequent travels between the two countries. Migrants travelling between two countries have been named by Burrell (2006b) as 'commuters' rather than settlers because of the frequent visits to the home country, unstable work and the irregularity of stay or work in the host country. Finally, the close links with Poland entail chain migration because those who have moved help others to move (Garapich 2006).

The new sources of the internet, telecommunications and cheap transport have facilitated blurring the geographic space. Based on that, Garapich (2006:10) claims that: *'[m]igrants will sustain transnational links because they build their migratory social capital in Poland by being in London'*. The opposite view is held by Duvell and Vogel (2006:284) who argue that *transnationalism*, in the longer term, is not an option so those living between two worlds will have to finally choose one. Such transnational activities have some implications to migrants' adaptation; the more durable the links to the home culture are, the slower the adaptation. Thus, as a result, it may facilitate migrants' segregation.

4.3.3 Living in the global village: the role of the internet in migrants' lives

An important tool for creating and sustaining networks is the internet. Marshall McLuhan coined the term '*global village*' in his books (*The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, 1962 and *Understanding Media*, 1964). The term is used as a metaphor to describe the consequences of mass media communication; the internet and World Wide Web have resulted in 'shrinking the world'. In addition to this view, Wittel (2001) declares the rise of network sociality. Network sociality is a technological sociality, embedded in communication and transport technology (p.53). Thus, it is based on the use of cars, buses, trains and the underground, of taxis, hotels,

telephones, faxes, answering machines, voicemail, videoconferencing, mobiles, emails, chat rooms, discussion fora, mailing lists and websites.

The internet has become a vital communication channel for Polish migrants in Britain (Garapich and Osipovic 2007), as it serves as a source of information at all stages of the migration process. The internet allows not only maintaining the ties with a home country but also constructing new ones with migrants living in the same place and sharing a similar experience (Hiller and Franz 2004).

The importance of the virtual space for migrants has been shown previously (Hiller and Franz 2004; Gonzalez and Castro 2007). It was indicated that online participation is an important means to increase social capital (Hiller and Franz 2004); *'virtual community provides a variety of forms of social capital, both online and offline, which assists in the migration transition (p.749).*

Since the 2004 EU Enlargement, a great number of internet sites, designated to those living in the UK, have been launched. Apart from the sites relating to general information about life in the UK (*britaintown.com, networkpl.com, goniec.com*), there are sites related to a particular county, district or town. The virtual community created by Polish migrants in the UK has become so active that the traffic on Polish language and community websites has increased nine-fold (805%) between January 2006 and January 2008 (Hitwise UK 2009).

Polish migrants in the UK participate in both real and virtual networks that sustain the migration flows between the countries. As pointed out by Hiller and Franz (2004), *'[v]irtual social capital means that there are offline advantages, which contacts online give to a virtual community participant'* (p.749). Indeed, a wealth of information can be found on online fora and websites, which facilitate migrants' daily lives in the UK. Garapich (2008) argues that new Polish migrant media has been launched and, through discussion fora and websites, migrants can communicate quickly.

In summary, the concepts discussed in this section, such as social capital, weak ties, transnational activities and the internet resource influence migrants' adaptation. These concepts will be used in this study to understand migrants' relationships with others and their employment experiences; their job seeking methods and their decisions-making process.

4.4 'White migrants': Past research on Polish migrants

Past research on Polish migrants living in the UK has focused on migrants' class and ethnicity (Eade *et al.* 2006; Garapich 2006) as well as migrants' community lives and their integration (Brown 2003; Burrell 2006a; Spencer *et al.* 2007). Interestingly, migrants' 'whiteness' has been highlighted in previous studies. Brown (2003) emphasised the importance of being white by entitling her work about the Polish community in London: *'White immigrants'*. She made a point that *'[t]he Poles are white immigrants, definitely white, and therefore, they should not be subject to the consequences of direct and indirect racial discrimination, which is considered one of the biggest barriers to settling in'* (p.18). Despite this statement, pre-EU entry migrants encountered some obstacles in the labour market.

Studies of Garapich (2006) and Eade *et al.* (2006), who focused on class and ethnicity, revealed that Poles see whiteness as an asset. Poles see themselves as 'white' in a classless Britain. As a result, *'emphasising their whiteness/Europeanness puts them into a strong position within this hierarchy'* (Eade *et al.* 2006:17).

The nature of the Polish community was also a focus of past research. Brown (2003), who looked at the Polish London community, pointed out that Poles have ambivalent relationships with other Poles. The generation of Poles arriving pre-EU Enlargement did not integrate well with previous post-war migrants. Brown (2003) revealed that Poles were rather suspicious of and did not enjoy the company of other compatriots and did not like to work for them.

In line with these findings are studies conducted after the EU entry; Eade *et al.* (2006) revealed that criticism of fellow Poles was one of the most striking findings from their qualitative research. Although the majority of Poles, both in Poland and the UK, were embedded within Polish networks, they still were ashamed of some Poles 'staining' the reputation of other Poles and would not like to work for Polish employers. Thus, Eade *et al.* (2006) assessed ethnicity as a resource for accessing capital, network and information and a source of disappointment, vulnerability and social class transgression.

The newsagent next to the Polish Cultural Centre in Hammersmith is an example of less desirable social networks discussed previously in this chapter. Poles have named the spot the 'wailing wall', as it has become a meeting place for many Poles looking for work there, many not finding it. 'Wailing wall' has had a bad reputation not only because of the number of unemployed Poles gathering at the spot, but also because it

has been a base for engaging in exploitative networks, involving both employment as well as housing.

As raised by a number of scholars (Brown 2003; Górný and Osipovic 2006; Garapich 2006, 2007), this ambivalent relationship between Poles includes antipathy between generations. The old generation express the fear that *'the newcomers will ruin the reputation we have worked on for decades'* (Garapich 2007:14). The news about the Polish gangs operating in the Slough area, arranging nonexistent jobs at Tesco for money, explains those fears (see The Guardian 2007).

Brown (2003) noticed that Polish migrants did not have strong attachment to the country; however, Polish traditions and customs formed an important part of their lives. Putman (2007) highlighted the role of religious institutions in incorporating new migrants, especially the Catholic Church. The cross-culture literature points out that ethnic organisation in the new society facilitate migrants' adaptation, particularly at the beginning of their sojourn (Kim 1988).

Burrell (2006a) has discussed the noteworthy role of church, as a centre of community for Poles, in her comparative studies of Poles, Greeks and Italians in the UK. The Polish church in Leicester has played an enormous role, mainly for the generation who experienced forced migration. A number of clubs were established in the church, such as an ex-servicemen's club, junior and senior choirs, a dance group, scouts and guides, a football club, elderly care day meetings and a Saturday school. It is evident from that long list of activities that the church played a vital role in reinforcing community. Apart from these events, weddings, christenings and funerals were also taking place in church, which was bringing the community together (Burrell 2006a). As it was in the past, the church still plays an important role in integrating the community and responding to its needs; new migrants can learn about jobs, accommodation, taxes and other important things (Brown 2003). The role of church will be further discussed in the findings (see Chapter 9).

With a few exceptions (Brown 2003; Burrell 2006a; Spencer *et al.* 2007), there is little research on new Polish communities living and working in the UK. Brown (2003), in her research on the Polish community in London pre-EU Enlargement, revealed a few important things. One of the findings indicated that the contact that migrants had with British nationals was limited; *'social contacts on an equal footing are unlikely to develop on this basis'* (p.18). Before the accession, Poles very likely worked in places with other migrants rather than with the British and often in the hidden economy, restricted

to work they would not do in Poland. For such reasons, Polish migrants tended to socialise more with other migrants from Spain, Morocco and Italy, rather than with the host nationals. Furthermore, the English character was found hard to understand by Polish migrants (Brown 2003).

Brown's study also revealed that women and men differed in their integration process. While women spoke better English, enrolled on language courses and were better educated, men did not pay attention to English or to their living conditions. Patterns of living by migrants were found different from non-migrants, as they lived in crowded accommodation in council properties. Finally, Brown (2003) pointed out that, 'ready made social networks' already established in London facilitated new migrants' arrivals.

Although Brown's study showed a picture of Polish community before May 2004, many of the features of migration after Poland's EU entry remain unchanged. The report published by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Spencer *et al.* 2007) provides an insight into the experiences of Poles and other newcomers. The study analysed the issues related to social integration and community cohesion between the new Eastern and Central Europeans into British society.

The findings revealed that, although migrants have successfully found employment, long hours at work influenced their social lives and their integration, not allowing improving their English or socialising with British people. This finding is in line with the previous study (Brown 2003). Further, less than half of migrants had received information on arrival, including legal rights at work and information on how to access health care. Finally, the recommendations in the report state there is a need to include migrants in social and community cohesion strategies by ensuring that all new migrants have access to the practical information they need, and that there should be affordable housing, access to English classes and relationships between migrants and other members of the public. Social relationships with others will be further investigated in the findings (see Chapter 9).

4.5 Media perceptions of Poles

Cross-cultural studies stress that it is important to include the features of the country of origin and country of settlement in order to understand migrants' acculturation process (Berry 1997). For that reason, media perceptions of Polish migrants are presented, as the media represents the attitudes of society.

The topic of recent CEE migration to the UK is without doubt well covered by daily press and tabloids, so stories of 'new arrivals' from Central and Eastern Europe became an everyday part of the news headlines in the UK. However, opinions on Polish migrants arriving after May 2004 are noticeably divided and Poles seem to be given much more media attention than the rest of the A8 countries. It is common to refer to the new migration as '*Poles and other Central and Eastern Europeans*' (Financial Times 2007); probably because of the dominance of the Polish nation among the other new members of the EU.

4.5.1 Poles as 'model migrants'

Poles are seen as those who '*reintroduced manual skills and a work ethic to a British economy*' and '*they are as close as you will get to model immigrants*' (The Daily Telegraph, 2007b). This is because Poles filled labour shortages by taking on jobs unwanted by the locals. There have been reports from Scotland on Poles '*boosting the local economy*' in the under-populated Highlands (The Independent 2006). It was also reported that Poles have contributed to economic growth and held down inflation and interest rates (The Sunday Times 2006a).

Furthermore, the media have indicated that migrants provided an attractive market for the financial services industry in the UK. Thus, special accounts for CEE workers were created to enable sending money home; marketing materials were translated in Polish and Polish speakers recruited for many branches. Banks also targeted Polish entrepreneurs with businesses in building, construction and food industry (Financial Times 2009). A branch of Barclays in London has been reported as having 90% of its custom from Polish nationals (The Mail on Sunday 2007). Despite research suggesting that there are no ethnic districts for Poles, this may indicate that, in this particular area, a Polish community exists.

4.5.2 Poles stealing jobs and living in 'shanty towns'

Apart from positive images, there has been increasing press coverage of some places that have been 'flooded' by Poles. Media has reported towns such as Peterborough, Handsworth (near Birmingham), Crewe (Cheshire) and Boston (Lincolnshire) having been affected by Poles. The latter example is a town, which now has a population increased by 10% because of the large number of Poles (The Daily Mail 2007b). A similar story has been reported in Crewe (The Daily Telegraph 2007a) and Llanelli in Wales (The Sun 2007). In the Welsh town, racial attitudes have been evident from graffiti in town, expressing the unwelcoming attitude of locals towards Poles.

Such 'news' about the number of Poles in certain areas across the UK has entailed some debates. The case of introducing road signs in Polish has been investigated. This and other examples of putting pressure on public services, mainly in Scotland, has been indicated by *The Express* (2006), as Polish migrants stopped native Scots accessing council services.

The Daily Mail is one of the newspapers concentrating on Poles by providing intensive media coverage. However, the mostly negative coverage led the 'Daily Mail' to be accused of being racist and 'Anti-Polish' by the Federation of Poles in Great Britain, the largest group representing Poles in Britain, after it published at least 81 articles in 21 months concerning Polish arrivals to the UK (*The Guardian* 2008, *The Independent* 2008). Their headlines revealed negative attitudes towards migrants, as the following titles indicate:

Warning signs go up to stop Poles stealing river fish for Christmas dinner (2007e).

Immigration influx from Eastern Europe is driving down wages (2007g).

British workers denied jobs because they can't speak Polish (2007d).

The superloo where Polish migrants are fighting to spend the night for 20p (2007c).

'Influx costs every UK household Pounds 350 a year' (*The Daily Mail* 2007f). In contrast, the same topic was commented on in 'The Independent' with the following title: *'Home Office: migrants work harder, earn more and pay more taxes than Britons'* (*The Independent* 2007).

Furthermore, in all the media, there are plenty of stories about Poles stretching services such as of GPs (*The Daily Mail* 2007a), creating teacher shortages in schools (*The Times* 2008), competing with others for the same jobs (*Financial Times* 2007) and 'Poles exploiting other Poles' (*The Guardian* 2004). The review of the press indicates that Poles are linked to the issues of unemployment among Britons, and problems in the NHS, schools, and housing, as well as drugs and even rapes.

Other issues that attracted media attention are stories of exploitation and humiliation. Poverty, depression and suicides were reported as problems of migrants (*The Independent on Sunday* 2008). Meanwhile, in 2006, *The Daily Mail* (2006) reported 3,000 homeless Poles and, with the beginning of recession, Poles were found living in tents during winter, as they lost their jobs, were not eligible for benefits and their passports had expired (*The Daily Mail* 2009). Thus, while migrants arrive in Britain in search of better lives, some fail to find it and end up living on the streets.

4.5.3 The impact of Poles – Polski shop and Polish beer

Apart from dramatic stories in the media, a press review would also show that the influx of Poles has been read from another perspective. There is an influence from Poles on British life, with religion seeming to be the obvious one. Poles, coming from a Roman-Catholic country, continue their Christian traditions and celebrations when living in the UK. Churches attract thousands of Poles every Sunday and there are places where there are seven masses in Polish each Sunday (The Guardian 2006b).

Another element that is influencing British life is the presence of traditional Polish food and drinks. In 2006, there were 30 Polish delis in London and main supermarkets have started introducing some Polish specialities as well (The Daily Telegraph 2006). Therefore, Tesco, Asda and Sainsbury's introduced a stock of Polish specialities. Bars and restaurants have been opened and many of the British pubs (Wetherspoon) now sell traditional Polish bottled beer. Scottish and Polish businesspersons set up a Polish Bakery Company (Scotland on Sunday 2007).

This high number of Polish migrants in certain towns was involved in creating businesses and providing services. In Birmingham, many businesses have opened, including a Polish garage, driving schools in the Polish language, painters, gardeners, a Polish bakery, etc. (Mail [Birmingham] 2007). Restaurants and hairdressing salons are other examples (The Times 2008).

4.5.4 Poles serving food

The media has also paid attention to the presence of Poles in hotels and restaurants across the UK. Their presence in the hospitality sector is already anecdotal: *'You go into restaurants and all the staff are Polish'. These are educated people with degrees who are willing to come here and work as waiters'* (The Daily Mail 2007b). In addition, some stories were reported in the Times (2007) about Poles taking on jobs in pubs and cafes before, moving on to better things by setting up their own businesses and becoming successful².

The opinions in the press on whether it is good or bad to have Polish workers in the industry are again split. One year after the 2004 enlargement, newspapers claimed that the Polish workforce *'is propping up the hospitality industry in the Capital'*

² A similar story is portrayed in 'The Road Home' by Rose Tremain published in 2007. The main character, Lev, from an Eastern European country works in London's restaurants, gains experience and after returning home he opens a successful restaurant.

(Edinburgh Evening News 2005), as Poles came to Scotland to fill labour shortages, they performed excellent jobs and the sector would struggle without them. Later on, however, there were stories about top chefs' complaints over the poor English of Polish waiters (The Guardian 2006a). Finally, there have been reports of racial abuse, exploitation and humiliation of Polish hotel female workers in Scotland (The Times 2007) while some London hotels have been accused by migrants of bullying and poor working conditions (The Guardian 2006a).

While some of the stories reported in the media are exaggerated, the almost uncountable amount of coverage in daily newspapers highlights the fact that the presence of Polish migrant workers is of importance for British society.

4.6 Summary

This chapter presented the themes related to migrants' adaptation and relationships with others and was the last chapter of the literature review. Relevant models and theories related to culture, migrants' acculturation and the use of social capital among migrants were presented and the application of relevant theories to this study was justified. In addition, past research and an overview of media perceptions were presented. Overall, the literature review, divided into three chapters, focused on the three areas of Polish migration and its context, hospitality employment and adaptation. The usefulness of the literature covered in each chapter was demonstrated. The next chapter will focus on the methodology chosen for this study in which the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods will be justified, and each research method will be outlined.

5 Chapter Five – Methodology

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the qualitative and quantitative approaches chosen to achieve the study's aim and objectives are presented. This chapter begins with the review of research methods used in past research followed by the presentation of this study's research strategy. As suggested by researchers when using both approaches in a single study, the order needs to be considered along with the weighting and the stage of integration. The second part of this chapter consists of the presentation of the data collection and data analysis of netnography, interviews and online survey including sampling procedures, pilot study and questionnaire design. Finally, the limitations of each of the methods are described, issues of validity and reliability are examined and researcher reflexivity is provided.

5.1.1 Research aim and objectives

The overall aim of the research is to explore the experiences of Polish migrant workers in the hospitality industry in the UK.

In order to achieve its aim, four specific objectives were established:

1. to provide a profile of a sample of Polish hospitality workers in the UK in terms of demographics; gender, geographical location, education, previous work experience and job search techniques
2. to explore the migrant workers' reasons for choosing to work in the hospitality sector and their views on hospitality as an occupation
3. to ascertain what human capital the Polish migrants bring and what they gain or learn from working in the hospitality sector
4. to investigate the role that hospitality plays in the adaptation experience of Poles into the UK life

5.2 Previous studies

At the beginning of his/her study, the researcher is faced with a question of choosing the most suitable research approach. Punch (2005) claims that past literature

becomes an input during planning and analysis. This chapter begins with reviewing the research methods used in past studies.

5.2.1 Tourism and Hospitality

The studies most relevant to this research explored the international workforce in hospitality in three peripheral areas in the UK: Northern Ireland, Scotland and the Lake District (Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b; Baum *et al.* 2007). The purpose of their study was to explore the profile of migrant workers, the nature of work, the work perceptions, working conditions, issues of integration and aspirations for the future (see Chapter 3, 3.4.1 and 3.4.3). In order to address the research questions both qualitative and quantitative research methods were employed: focus groups, interviews and a questionnaire. The choice of location in Northern Ireland was opportunistic and the participation was granted as a result of established contacts from one of the researchers (Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b). The details of each study are presented below in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Previous studies on international workforce in UK hospitality and the labour mobility

AUTHOR	DATE	LOCATION	SURVEY TYPE	N	RESPONSE RATE	ANALYSIS
Devine <i>et al.</i>	2007a	N. Ireland	Questionnaire + focus groups	82	n/a	-
Devine <i>et al.</i>	2007b	N. Ireland	In-depth Interviews	8	n/a	-
Baum <i>et al.</i>	2007	N. Ireland, Scotland, the Lake District	questionnaires + focus groups	184	n/a	-
Szivas and Riley	1999	Hungary	Questionnaire	351	58.5%	Factor analysis
Szivas <i>et al.</i>	2003	UK: Somerset / Coventry	Questionnaire	151 Somerset 158 Coventry	15.1 % 15.8%	Factor analysis
Vaugeois and Rollins	2007	Canada	Questionnaire	341	27%	Factor analysis

Other relevant studies have explored the concept of labour mobility. As outlined before (see Chapter 3.2.6), the first study was conducted in Hungary by Szivas and Riley (1999), and then replicated in the UK (Szivas *et al.* 2003) and Canada (Vaugeois and Rollins 2007). The research method used for these studies was designed to collect work biographies.

They used a self-completed questionnaire covering 10 years of tourism employees who entered tourism employment from other sectors. The surveys included a list of 30 statements and used a 5 point Likert scale that was aimed to describe possible motives for taking jobs in tourism using a factor analysis. The first two studies used a random sampling of tourism workers and the last one applied a systematic sampling method. Details of the studies are summarised in Table 5.1.

While studies on labour mobility employed a quantitative method (Szivas and Riley, 1999; Szivas *et al.*, 2003; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007), recent studies on international workers used both qualitative and quantitative methods to obtain both numerical data and to gain some insights on employees' perceptions (Devine *et al.* 2007a; 2007b; Baum *et al.* 2007).

5.2.2 Migration

The dominant methods used in the research into the recent migration influx are a combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation funded a substantial number of reports and they have focused on the socio-economic impact of the EU Enlargement on low wage migrant workers in the UK (Ruhs *et al.* 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2007). Researchers carried out two waves of data collection (pre and post the 2004 EU Enlargement), using quantitative (surveys) and qualitative methods (interviews and diaries). The sampling in the research was not representative; migrants were accessed through community groups and other gatekeepers. Interviewers, who were mainly students, had contacts with people from their own nationalities and used the snowballing sampling technique. Given the purposive sampling methods, these data are not representative of the wider population of migrants. Nonetheless, researchers acknowledge that, and they believe that, the results serve as an indication of potential patterns and relationships.

Table 5.2. Relevant studies on international workforce in the UK hospitality or Polish migrants

AUTHOR	DATE	LOCATION	SURVEY TYPE	N	RESPONSE RATE	ANALYSIS
Wright and Pollert	2006	London, Midlands, South West	Interviews	55	n/a	-
Matthews and Ruhs	2007	Brighton UK	Interviews Questionnaires	30 243	n/a 5%	- in progress
McDowell et al.	2007	London	Case study in a large London hotel Interviews	60	n/a	-
Evans et al.	2007	London	A survey questionnaire + in-depth interviews	58 11	?	-
Goodwin et al.	2007 - 2009	UK	Interviews Focus groups Online survey	In progress	In progress	In progress

Research carried out by Matthews and Ruhs (2007a, 2007b) used the data from the projects described above funded by JR Foundation and focuses on the demand for migrant workers in the hospitality sector. The research methods used for the research were interviews with hospitality employers in Brighton and some initial data from a survey across the UK. Interviews were conducted with hotel and restaurant employers, who were either managers or others dealing with recruitment. The survey was conducted across the UK in a non-random way: using contacts provided by Work Permits UK and British hospitality organisations. A total of 5,000 questionnaires were sent out and resulted in a 5% of response rate.

Evans *et al.* (2007) who focused on the London hotels employed a survey questionnaire and followed up interviews with hotel employees. The research is a part of the wider project focusing on migrants working in low-paid jobs in London. Access to workers was gained through trade unions, snowballing and random workplace 'cold calling'. The researchers do not claim representativeness because of the sampling methods used as well as a sample size (58 respondents of the questionnaire and 11 interviews).

The experience of ethnic minority workers in the UK hospitality industry has been investigated in a study of the Working Lives Institute (Wright and Pollert 2006; Wright 2007). Qualitative methods such as interviews with employees and key informants were used for the study. Research was carried out in London, the West Midlands and the South West. McDowell *et al.* (2007) who also investigated a hotel in London

employed a case study; interviews were conducted with employees of various departments and employers in a London hotel as well as recruitment agencies.

Finally, a project launched in 2007 exploring the acculturation of Polish immigrants into British society (Goodwin, Allotey and Bardi 2007) has employed a longitudinal analysis and was due to be published in May 2009. The data collection includes interviews with Polish community representatives, followed by focus groups. Interviews are to be carried out with Polish workers twice. The main research method is an online survey for those Poles who have recently come to the UK and the questionnaires are to be repeated twice more at 9 month intervals. Details of the studies are summarised in Table 5.2.

5.2.3 The implications of previous studies

The implications from the previous studies are as follows. Firstly, the most popular research strategy applied is a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. The majority of recent studies have applied both qualitative and quantitative methods, often using more than two research methods. Secondly, the research started in 2007 by Goodwin *et al.* has employed an online survey and has successfully collected the data. The collection of 400 questionnaires confirmed the efficiency of this research method with the Polish population in the UK. Thirdly, the overview of past research focusing on new migration points out that the scholars are aware of the limitations of their research in terms of representativeness. The sampling strategy is purposive rather than random, as they access migrant workers through various organisations because of the difficulty in accessing workers through more formal gates. Unreliable statistics about migrant figures concerning A8 migrants may be another reason. Finally, an attempt to carry out a mail survey of hospitality employers across the UK by Mathews and Ruhs (2007b) resulted in a very low response rate. The 5,000 questionnaires distributed obtained 243 responses, which represent a 5 percent response rate.

Having considered research methods used in past studies, this research employs both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Netnography and interviews were used in order to develop the survey and support its findings, while the online survey was used to help build a more general workers' profile. Furthermore, factor analysis and the list of statements on motivations similar to those in previous studies on labour mobility are applied to this research. Finally, netnography is employed as an original method in this subject area: it has not been used before.

5.2.4 Research strategy

This research employs both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The decision to combine the two approaches is guided by past literature and the research objectives. Although the implementation of both approaches, qualitative and quantitative, in a single study has grown rapidly, there are different stances with regard to its combination and numerous terminologies in use. Thus, the terms used by researchers to describe the combination of approaches varies, as qualitative and quantitative data can be integrated, combined, blended or mixed.

For example, Miles and Huberman (1994) use the term '*linkage*' of qualitative and quantitative approaches, Bryman (1988) uses the term '*blending*' rather than '*mixing*' that is presently used by the growing number of researchers (Creswell 2009; Tashakkori and Teddle 2003; Brannen 2005; Mason 2006; Denscombe 2008; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson *et al.* 2007). In this research, the term '*linking*' rather than '*mixing*' is used following the types of linking qualitative and quantitative approaches described by Miles and Huberman (1994).

There are a number of advantages from using the two approaches rather than one. Creswell (2009) claims that the use of both approaches has gained popularity '*because research methodology continues to evolve and develop, and mixed methods is another step forward, utilizing the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research*' (p.203). The strength of using both qualitative and quantitative approaches are summarised in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. The strengths of using qualitative and quantitative approaches in a study
(Source: Johnson *et al.* 2007; Creswell 2009)

The strength of using qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the strengths of additional methods can be used to overcome the weaknesses of the other -numbers can be used to add precision to words -broader and more complete ranges of research questions can be answered -their combined use provides an expanded understanding of research problems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -can add insights and understanding that might be missed when only a single method is used -produces more complete knowledge necessary to inform theory and practise -stronger conclusion is reached through convergence and corroboration of findings

As previously stated, this research uses both qualitative and quantitative approaches and adopts one of the designs developed by Miles and Huberman (1994). According to Miles and Huberman, one of the four ways qualitative and quantitative methods can be linked is that exploratory fieldwork leads to the development of a quantitative instrument such as a questionnaire and then the questionnaire's findings can be deepened (or tested) with the next round of qualitative data. The illustrative design of Miles and Huberman (1994) is presented below.

Figure 5.1. Illustrative designs linking Qualitative and Quantitative Data
(Source: Miles and Huberman 1994, p.41)



Following the designs of Miles and Huberman (1994), this study (see Figure 5.2) begins with **exploratory fieldwork**, using netnography (Kozinets 2002; Langer and Beckman 2005), followed by a small number of interviews conducted with present and former hospitality workers in Bournemouth leading to the **development of a quantitative instrument**. An online survey was designed and distributed on the migrants' online fora across the UK and social networking sites. The next round of qualitative data obtained through netnography further **deepened** the questionnaire's findings. Each method was informed by the findings of the former. The stages of this research are illustrated below:

**Figure 5.2. Illustrative design of the research linking qualitative and quantitative data
(Source: Author)**

Gathering qualitative data – <i>netnography</i>	exploratory phase
Analysing the data	
Gathering qualitative data – <i>interviews</i>	facilitating quant. research
Analysing the data	
Administering an <i>online survey</i>	
Analysing the data	
Gathering more qualitative data – <i>netnography</i>	deepening findings
Analysing the data	

Academic researchers agree that when a researcher uses both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study, he/she needs to consider **time order** of the approaches (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Punch 2005; Johnson *et al.* 2007; Brannen 2005; Creswell 2009). More specifically, planning the procedure for combining qualitative and quantitative approaches should state whether it will be in phases (*sequentially*) or gathered at the same time (concurrently/simultaneously).

In this research, the qualitative and quantitative approaches are applied in **sequential exploratory design** (Creswell *et al.* 2003; Creswell 2009). This design is characterised by an initial phase of qualitative data collection and analysis, followed by a phase of quantitative data collection and analysis. It is an extremely useful tactic when existing instruments are inadequate or not available (Creswell 2009) or when a researcher needs to develop or test an instrument as it helps to identify and narrow the forms of the possible variables (Creswell *et al.* 2003). This is the case for this study, as interviews facilitated the design of a survey. This approach to conduct qualitative research in order to facilitate the development of a quantitative instrument is well-justified (Bryman 1988; Brannen 2005; Punch 2005).

The advantages of using *sequential exploratory design* are listed by Creswell *et al.* (2003) and are as follows:

- useful to a researcher who wants to explore a phenomenon but also wants to expand on the qualitative findings
- useful in building a new instrument

Secondly, when combining qualitative and quantitative approaches, apart from the timing, it is important to consider whether the two approaches are given an equal way

or **equal/dominant status** (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson *et al.* 2007; Brannen 2005; Creswell 2009). Creswell (2009) states that affording priority for one type depends on the interests of the researcher and what needs to be emphasised in the study. In this study, priority is given to the quantitative method, as the survey gathered the data across the UK. In terms of understanding, the three research methods are equally valid.

Finally, the need to state the stage of **the integration of qualitative and quantitative approaches** in the study has been emphasised by researchers (Miles and Huberman 1994; Creswell *et al.* 2003; Punch 2005; Johnson *et al.* 2007; Creswell 2009). In other words, the researcher needs to consider when and where in the design a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches is carried out. Punch (2005) makes a distinction between combining methods, combining data and combining findings. Miles and Huberman (1994) stress that one of the approaches can help the another during design, data collection and analysis, while Creswell *et al.* (2003) use the term 'integration' that may occur within the research question, data collection, data analysis or within data interpretation. In this study, the integration of the approaches occurs on the following levels:

- *Integration within design* (each method was informed by the previous one, qualitative component of the study helped in the instrument development)
- *Integration within data collection* (open-ended questions and space for comments or stories were included in the quantitative survey)
- *Integration in an interpretation stage* (qualitative and quantitative results were examined together)

Using qualitative and quantitative methods: purpose statement

The purpose of linking qualitative and quantitative methods sequentially in this study was to first explore migrants' views and generate themes about migrant workers' lives using netnographic study. This phase obtained the following themes: status, expectations, job seeking methods, spreading the message about work, the importance of English, the notion of temporariness and importance of networks.

After an initial analysis of the netnographic findings, the next stage of the research was the preparation of the online survey. Before the implementation of the instrument, interviews were carried out to confirm the themes and variables.

Then, based on the themes obtained from both qualitative methods (interviews and netnography) and literature, an online survey was developed. After analysis of the survey results, the last stage of the research was to collect more data using netnography to better understand and expand on some findings obtained from the survey. This included migrants' stories on problems at work obtained from netnography (problems with pay, the attitude towards British co-workers, warnings against hotels). The list of themes that emerged from each data collection is summarised in Table 5.4.

The rationale for using both qualitative and quantitative approaches was that a useful survey could best be developed only after a preliminary exploration of the migrants' experiences through qualitative methods. Secondly, at the analysis stage, the findings from all three methods are used to complement each other, to clarify findings or to illustrate. Finally, qualitative and quantitative research methods are used to better understand a research problem by combining numeric trends with qualitative detail.

To sum up, previous studies support the approach that has been described above and they have shown that combining different research methods can provide a more comprehensive picture of the migrant workers.

Research Method	Netnography	Interviews	Survey	Netnography
Development of Themes	<u>First themes to emerge</u>	<u>Topics for the interviews:</u>	Getting a job in H&C	
	Hospitality – temporary solution Job seeking methods	Getting a job Job seeking methods Reasons for choosing the sector The role of hospitality in adaptation The impact of work in life: living conditions and leisure time What do you think you can offer the industry? What do you think you can gain from working in H&C?	Job seeking methods Reasons for choosing the sector Experiences of working in the sector Work and life adaptation Job satisfaction What do you think you can offer the industry? What do you think you can gain from working in the industry?	
	The importance of English	Job scope Careers paths Plans/ reasons for leaving	Job Profile Number of jobs Duration First and current job Prior working experience Your plans Next career move Reasons for leaving Demographics	<u>New themes</u> Working conditions (problems with pay, warnings against hotels) Attitude towards local staff
	The importance of networks	+ Emergent themes Challenges faced by workers Expectations: The accumulation of human capital The importance of networks The temporal dimension Perceptions of jobs Lack of previous experience	+ Emergent themes The importance of English Bad working conditions in H&C Management misbehaviours	
	Status			
	Expectations			
	Spreading the message about work			

Table 5.4. The development of themes in each research method

5.2.5 Rationale for using the internet for data collection

The choice of research methods was shaped by the characteristics of the Polish community in the UK. Thus, the principal reason for choosing netnography and a web-based questionnaire is the high internet usage among Poles, both at home and abroad. Poles are the highest registered groups of Skype users after Americans and Chinese (Bendyk 2007), and are also the fourth largest language group involved in blogging (Trammell *et al.* 2006). In addition, the most popular social networking site in Poland (*nasza-klasa.pl*, [our class]) reached 11 million registered users in 2008, which again confirms the high internet usage among Poles.

UK user traffic on Polish websites since the 2004 EU Enlargement has increased twelve times (Bendyk 2007). This only happened in the UK and Ireland, as opposed to other destinations popular among Poles such as Germany or the Netherlands, which shows that there is higher internet usage among Polish migrants in the UK and Ireland than those in mainland Europe.

These figures are also reflected in the growing number of new websites and online fora for Poles across the UK. Apart from the sites providing general information about life in the UK (*britaintown.com*, *networkpl.com*, *goniec.com*), there are sites related to a particular county, district or town (e.g. Crewe, Torquay, Southampton, Leamington Spa) many reaching traffic in hundreds of thousands of posts. The virtual community created by Polish migrants in the UK has become so active that the traffic on Polish language and community websites increased nine fold (805%) between January 2006 and January 2008 (Hitwise UK 2009).

Technological literacy and internet usage have an important relationship with migration. '*Computer provides a resource to migrants that was previously unavailable*' (Hiller and Franz 2004:747). The internet has become a public sphere where new and experienced migrants exchange advice and resources about a destination, weather, dominant industries, job vacancies, skills required and housing. From such discussion fora, Poles in the UK and potential migrants can find out job-specific information for example, about NIN, tax returns, child benefits, and the level of language required for a job as well as other information related to accommodation, local events, education or British attitudes towards Poles. Surely, providing a wealth of information in public sphere facilitates the migration process.

The role of new media and the significance of such discussion fora and websites among Poles in the UK were best expressed by the march organised after the death of John Paul II in 2005. Around 30,000 Polish migrants gathered in Westminster to express their religious identity on that occasion after having learnt about it from the migrants' fora and websites (Garapich 2008).

Clearly, the internet has become a significant channel of communication among Poles living in the UK. The survey conducted across the UK in September 2007, just before the Polish elections, revealed that the internet is the most popular medium for Poles in the UK with 52% of the respondents using it everyday or a few times a week (Garapich and Osipovic 2007).

By using the internet in the data collection for this research, it became possible to conduct exploratory research using netnography. It further allowed access to migrants across all regions of the UK through an online survey together with those migrants who are no longer working in the hospitality sector and would not be accessed otherwise.

5.3 The Research Methods

5.3.1 Consideration of qualitative and quantitative methods

As previously outlined, the research methods used for the study are netnography, interviews and an online survey. The table below (Table 5.5) shows the link between each objective and research method.

Table 5.5. Linking objectives with Research Methods

Objective	Research Method
to provide a profile of a sample of Polish hospitality workers in the UK in terms of demographics; gender, geographical location, education, previous work experience and job search techniques	Questionnaire Q. 10,11,12,13, 18 Questionnaire Q. 1,2, netnography
Reasons for choosing the sector Views on the sector: - satisfaction to work in hospitality - plans - reasons for leaving	Questionnaire, Q.3. Netnography and : Questionnaire Q7. Questionnaire Q 14, 15 Questionnaire Q. 16 Comments from questionnaires
what human capital Polish migrants bring and what they gain or learn from working in the hospitality sector	Questionnaire, Open-ended Q.8, Q.9. , interviews, netnography
to investigate the role that hospitality plays in adaptation experience	Questionnaire, Q. 4,5,6 + comments from questionnaire. + interviews

5.3.1.1 Qualitative research methods

At the beginning of the research, from December 2006 until April 2007, a netnographic study was carried out in order to recognise general views on the experiences in the hospitality sector among Polish employees. Taking into account the awareness of the researcher (due to her nationality) of the high usage of discussion fora among Polish migrants living in the UK, it was decided to use this method as the first research method by which to collect initial data on the topic. The emerging themes were established and this data was presented at a conference (*Three Years On: The 2004 EU Enlargement and European Migration to the UK and Ireland*, Leicester, April 2007). Later on the data from netnography, along with interviews data served as a basis for the development of the survey's variables (see Table 5.4, p.94).

The rationale for employing interviews in the research was the following:

- to support the findings from netnographic study
- to inform a survey instrument by defining variables and to check the validity of the questions asked in the survey
- to gain more insights regarding the adaptation process of migrants in order to support the survey findings
- to illustrate, explain and corroborate the quantitative findings obtained from the survey during the analysis

Therefore, interviews included specific questions from the survey as well as broader questions regarding migrants' adaptation process and overall work experiences. Interviews allowed for specifying the variables for several questions (i.e. reasons for choosing work in hospitality). Finally, additional information from both interviews and netnography was used in the interpretation and analysis of the data.

5.3.1.2 Quantitative research methods

In order to achieve Objective 1 and create a profile of a sample of workers using some descriptive data, a quantitative research method was employed. As in previous research on migrant workers (see Baum *et al.* 2007), a questionnaire was used in order to draw a profile of hospitality employees and collect the data on job scopes. Further, to find the reasons for choosing the sector (Objective 2) and to compare the findings with previous study on labour mobility, the questionnaire was used as the appropriate instrument to do so. Moreover, in order to collect some descriptive data on migrants' adaptation process, a few questions were used in the questionnaire. Finally, two open-ended questions were added in the questionnaire to achieve Objective 3 and to ask the respondents to reflect on their working experience.

Another argument for employing a quantitative research method was financial and time constraints. For that reason, it seemed appropriate to employ an online survey to collect the data quickly and inexpensively from across the UK.

5.3.2 Netnography

This research uses *netnography* (Kozinets 2002), created originally for marketing research, as a new method to analyse hospitality workforce experiences. The term coined by Robert Kozinets is ethnography, adapted to study of online communities and cultures, which uses original downloads from publicly available online fora.

Among the many advantages of using netnography, the major ones include obtaining data that has naturally occurred and that is '*not fabricated*' (Kozinets 2002:3). A researcher does not direct the topics discussed by migrants; therefore, there is no impact of a third person as is in case of interviewing. The data is collected in a manner that is entirely unobtrusive, convenient, accessible and economical (Kozinets 2002). Fora consist of large amounts of rich data, and as they are anonymous, they are more informal than other methods (Dholakia and Zhang 2004; Kozinets 2002). Additionally, there is no need to transcribe responses as the data is ready to download in its existing

form. The researcher is also able to return to the original data whenever necessary, as the rich source remain available (O'Reilly *et al.* 2007).

The disadvantage of undertaking research online is that the identity of the informant cannot be identified and the accuracy of information that relies on the informant's trustworthiness (Wittel 2000). There is also the difficulty in deciding what to include and what to exclude from the wealth of information (Wittel 2000). Finally, in practice it is extremely difficult to measure how many distinct participants are involved (Kozinets 2002).

The fora chosen for the study included the most popular, publicly available sites for Poles both in the UK and in Poland. The discussion fora were selected following Kozinets's (2002) and Langer and Beckman's (2005) guidance of netnographic studies, which includes: entrée, data collection, analysis and interpretation as well as ethics and member feedback.

Entrée

Firstly, as suggested by Kozinets (2002), the research questions were identified. The purpose of the study was to gain some insights from Polish migrant workers on their attitudes, perceptions and feelings towards their experience in the hospitality sector.

Data collection

A number of popular sites discussing life both in the UK and in Poland were chosen for analysis such as *ang.pl* (dedicated to those who learn English), *gazeta.pl*, *mojawyspa.pl*, *forumglasgow24.pl* and *jersey.info.pl*. Secondly, relevant message boards were found by examining headings or by using the search engines in those sites and searching for words related to hospitality work. As suggested by Kozinets (2002), the highest amount of traffic (the number of messages) posted daily can be an indicator of the websites' popularity among internet users. All the posts used in this research are written in Polish.

Table 5.6. Examples of the original titles of threads and English translation

Original Threads	Threads translated into English	Discussion forum
Dlaczego wykształceni Polacy zmywają gary w UK??	Why are educated Poles washing pots in the UK??	<i>gazeta.pl</i>
kelnerka?ciężko?	Being a waitress? Is it hard?	<i>ang.pl</i>
Machester-kelner-kilka pytań :)	Manchester-waiter-a few questions :)	<i>mojawyspa.co.uk</i>
Zwroty-restauracja, bar , sklep	Phrases-restaurant, bar, shop	<i>ang.pl</i>
Praca jako kitchen porter	Work as a kitchen porter	<i>forum.glasgow24.pl</i>
Angielski w wielkiej brytanii	English in Great Britain	<i>gazeta.pl</i>
Nie wyjeżdżajcie! BRAK jakiegokolwiek roboty !!!	Don't leave! NO work at all !!	<i>gazeta.pl</i>
Pracujesz w hotelu? Podyskutuj!	Working in a hotel? Discuss it!	<i>gazeta.pl</i>
Wybiera się ktoś do Bournemouth?	Anyone going to Bournemouth?	<i>ang.pl</i>
Waterside Restauracja-czy ktoś wyjeżdża?	Waterside Restaurant-anyone going there?	<i>gazeta.pl</i>
cv na kelnerkę, mógłby ktoś sprawdzić ?	CV for a waitress, can somebody check it?	<i>ang.pl</i>
Guernsey - Praca w hotelu * * * * dla kelnerów	Guernsey – work in a hotel * * * * for waiters	<i>jersey.info.pl</i>
kelner w Angli	A waiter in England	<i>ang.pl</i>
Interview- waitress-w piątek pomóżcie mi!!!	Interview-waitress-on Friday help me!!!	<i>ang.pl</i>

The threads (*hierarchically organised collection of notes in which all notes are written as 'replies' to earlier note*, [Hewitt, 2005:568]) chosen for the research discuss various topics. These include job seeking and applying for jobs, hotel work and particular jobs in hospitality such as being a housekeeper, a waiter or a kitchen porter and the level of language required for a particular job. The examples of threads are listed in Table 5.6. The threads analysed in this research were launched between 2004 and 2008 and lasted between a few days and/or until 2008. The investigation was limited to approximately 100 existing threads that were downloaded, printed and analysed. These threads were chosen for their rich content, relevant topic matter and active participation (Kozinets 2002).

Analysis and interpretation

Threads relevant to the study were extracted from the material, and copied and printed according to the recommendations of Langer and Beckman (2005). Common themes have been recognised taking into account the name of the thread. The length of the debates varied, some of them had more than 100 postings. The participants of the fora

have been identified and they can be divided into three groups of people; those who have been working in the UK, those who used to work there and those about to leave for the UK. The exchanges of information often take place between the new and experienced migrants.

Ethics

The last steps of Kozinets' (2002) guidance for conducting netnographic studies concern the full disclosure of the researcher who should seek permission from the members of community sites. This part of the methodological procedures has been modified by Langer and Beckman (2005) who argue that it is worth contacting members of fora when collecting the data on those sites that are not entirely public (Langer and Beckman 2005:194). Thus, obtaining consent for publicly available fora is not necessary and this view is shared by other internet researchers (Ess and The AoIR Ethics Working Committee 2002; Madge 2006; Beaven and Laws 2007).

In this research, the modified guidance was followed. It was decided not to inform the participants or ask for their permission because the discussion fora used for the netnographic study are publicly available. Further suggestions of Kozinets (2002) include ensuring confidentiality and anonymity of informants. Thus, the names of participants have been deleted; their emails and phone numbers that the internet users were displaying have also been removed from the quotations.

Sampling

Finally, sampling issues are not discussed in detail in netnography. Kozinets (2002) points out that sampling includes '*carefully chosen message threads*' (p.12) and is similar to purposive sampling. Further, according to Kozinets, the sample does not have to be representative (p.12). Given that the Polish hospitality workforce represents 'a hard to reach' population, the purposive sampling strategy has been employed to access the respondents.

5.3.3 Interviews

Johnson and Turner (2003:308) state that the strength of interviews are that they are useful for exploration and confirmation, they can provide good in-depth information and they allow probing by the interviewer. Miles and Huberman (1994) add that qualitative data is the best strategy for exploring a new area and it is useful when one needs to supplement, validate, illuminate or reinterpret quantitative data.

Interviews with hospitality workers (present and former) were conducted in October 2007. Respondents were approached via the contacts with Poles at the Polish community centre at the Roman Catholic Church in Bournemouth, the best known centre among Poles locally. A number of events for Poles took place on the church premises including Sunday service and refreshments afterwards where potential interviewees were recognised and approached.

The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide following interview etiquette and using Berg's (2004:110) 'commandments of interviewing' (Jennings 2001; Denscombe 1998; Berg 2004). This included question order, content and style as well as the researcher's appearance, attitude and choosing comfortable places. All the interviews were conducted in public places in Bournemouth such as cafes and hotel ateliers. Appointments were arranged at convenient times and places for interviewees.

The number of interviews was six. Patton (2002) claims that: 'qualitative inquiry typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, even single cases (N=1), selected *purposefully*' (p.230). Kuzel (1999), on the other hand, suggests that the sample size in qualitative methods varies from five to twenty. In this study, it was decided to conduct six interviews, which provided sufficient information for the study. It was found that this number of interviews to inform a survey instrument was also used in other tourism literature (Pansiri 2006) when combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

The length of the interviews was between 35 and 100 minutes. The protocol of interviews was designed around four headings so that during the course of the interview respondents were asked about their reasons to enter the sector, career paths, adaptation and overall experiences of working in the sector. (The details of the headings are described in Table 5.4, p.94). The questions asked during the interviews served as a base for the development of the pilot questionnaire (Miles and Huberman 1994; Bryman 1988, 2008; Brannen 2005; Creswell *et al.* 2003).

All the interviews were recorded to improve the accuracy of the data and notes were taken to support the recordings. All the participants agreed to be recorded. Each interview was different, depending on the expressiveness of an interviewee. Immediate transcription of each interview helped to prepare for a subsequent one. More specifically, it helped to avoid interviewer's mistakes during the subsequent interview; for example more probes were needed.

Probing questions (probes), according to Berg (2004), provide interviewers with a way to draw out stories that are more complete. Their purpose is to elicit more information about what has been said, asking to elaborate on what have been already addressed in response to a given question, *'Could you tell me more about that:'*, *'What happened next?'*. The interviewer can also probe an interviewee for clarity (Johnson and Turner 2003). Thus, more probes were used after the first interview. The initial analysis was completed on the Polish transcriptions and the quotes used for the analysis were then translated into English. The names of participants were changed to ensure anonymity. The details of qualitative data analysis are presented later in this chapter (5.4.1).

5.3.4 On line questionnaire

There are three types of surveys that can be conducted on the internet: an email survey, a questionnaire sent as an attachment and a web-based questionnaire (Denscombe 2007). In order to reach a mobile population of Poles who work (or have worked) in the hospitality industry, an online survey was designed. The service used by Bournemouth University, Bristol Online Surveys (BOS), which allows for development and analysis of online surveys was employed because of the researcher's lack of knowledge and resources to launch her own website. This form of survey is defined as a survey that *'is designed as a web page and located on a host site where visitors to the site can access it'* (Denscombe 2007:160).

The web-based questionnaire used for this research was designed and implemented according to the set of recommendations provided by researchers (Schonlau *et al.* 2002; Hewson 2002) and tested thoroughly before it was launched. More specifically, it was recommended to list only a few questions per screen, ensuring respondents' privacy, and to provide some indication of the progress in completing the questionnaire (Schonlau *et al.* 2002). Some other tips could be implemented depending on the facilities provided by the BOS service. For instance, allowing respondents to interrupt and finish the survey later was possible in this survey. Additionally, the use of the graphics was limited as recommended by others (Schonlau *et al.* 2002).

5.3.4.1 Sampling / Representativeness

In the absence of reliable population frames for Polish hospitality workers the sample used in this research is necessarily purposive. Such non-probability sampling is common for internet surveys (Schonlau *et al.* 2002; Sue and Ritter 2007). As stressed by Hewson: *'[t]he main concern with the Web-based procedure is non-response bias and lack of a sampling frame'* (2000:82).

The choice of purposive sampling to study Polish hospitality workers is justified by past research as a range of nonprobability samplings were widely used. These included 'opportunistic' choice of locations (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b), 'snowball' sampling (Ruhs *et al.* 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2007), 'snowballing and 'cold calling' (Evans *et al.* 2007). The sampling chosen for this research is similar to Volunteer opt-in Panels as '*[i]ndividuals are recruited via some form of advertising (usually Web based)*' (Sue and Ritter 2007:32). In other words, internet surveys employ self-selection into the sample (Schonlau *et al.* 2002).

5.3.4.2 Procedures

Identifying/ selecting fora

The first step was to identify relevant websites for Poles living in the UK and other popular fora from Poland. In total, 80 different websites were found using different methods for searching such as search engines or studying online adverts. At the end of this stage 59 websites were chosen for the study. During the process of identifying fora and piloting, a few of them were removed. In total, 45 websites were used for the research (see Table 5.8).

Pilot questionnaire

In order to validate the survey instrument, a pilot study was carried out. Other aims of the pilot study were to assess:

- the mode of distribution
- the length of the questionnaire
- the feasibility of conducting a survey online
(response rate, drop-out rate and perception of the survey)
- the access to fora

The pilot survey was conducted in November/December 2007. Six websites were chosen with an average traffic of about 2,000-7,000 posts (see Table 5.7). The messages with a hyperlink were posted on the fora for Poles in order to find current and former Polish hospitality workers. From the pilot study, 26 questionnaires were returned and 13 of them had been fully completed. In addition, an email was received agreeing to partake in an interview. This confirmed the feasibility of the online survey and the mode of distribution.

Table 5.7. Fora used for pilot study in November/December 2007

Forum	Town	Traffic (number of posts)
Londynek.net	London	3,400
Polski-bristol.net	Bristol	6,000
Polskibelfast.pl	Belfast	7,500
forum.glasgow24.pl	Glasgow	3,900
Liverpool.one.pl	Liverpool	4,000
Southampton.info.pl	Southampton	2,300

One of the areas to be explored in a pilot study concerns understanding of the questions as initially phrased (Sapsford and Jupp 1996). The pilot questionnaire proved that the language used in some of them needed changing and some minor amendments were required to the wording of a few questions. As suggested by Oppenheim (1992), the results from the pilot survey allow eliminating and rephrasing questions, which produce undesirable outcomes. Therefore, following the pilot, some changes were made such as altering the questions and changing the layout of the questions.

In addition, substantial changes were required in the section asking about adaptation. For example, question 4 asked about the adaptation process giving a choice of particular statements that was not clear. It was decided that the question should be divided into two segments. Those who reply 'Yes' to any of the list of questions (about learning English, using Polish and other languages at work, working on split shifts, going out with British, Polish and other co-workers) will be asked to answer a separate question, investigating whether respondents think it helped them to adapt to UK life.

In addition, the part entitled 'Job Scope' seemed to be the most time-consuming one. The analysis of incomplete questionnaires showed that many respondents gave up filling in the rest of the questionnaire while answering this part. The questions about the post held, town and dates were later replaced with questions asking about the number of jobs in hospitality, total number of months working in this sector, and first and last or current jobs.

Finally, two other questions were altered. Firstly, in question 2, regarding the way of finding jobs in hospitality, two other variables were added to the list: '*a job centre*' and '*by asking for a job*'. To the question regarding the highest level of schooling, the following option was added: '*secondary but I am studying*', which would consider those who are still students. These new variables in the two questions were added after the analysis of the comments added by respondents.

Distribution of the questionnaire

Once this pilot stage was completed and corrections had been made to the questionnaire, it was distributed online. Messages with a hyperlink to the online survey were posted on 45 regional and general fora across the UK and on two large social networking sites: Facebook.com and Nasza-klasa.pl (Our class). The former is the largest international social site with over 67 million users (Facebook Statistics 2008). The latter is the largest and most popular social networking platform in Poland with 11 million users (Nasza-klasa.pl 2008) (On social networking sites see: Boyd and Ellison 2008; Ellison, Steinfield, Lampe 2007; Hargittai 2008; Vie 2007).

More specifically, new *threads* were started on the discussion fora. The new thread always appeared at the top of the page so it was visible for the fora users. Those launched on the fora varied but typically contained a question in a title and a message asking for help in the research by completing the survey (see examples of fora: Figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6). The messages also contained a hyperlink to the external site with the online survey on the BOS website (<http://www.survey.bris.ac.uk/bournemouth/hjanta>). An example of such a post is shown in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3. An example of a translated post on the online fora with a hyperlink to the survey

Title of the new thread: anyone working in a hotel, cafe or restaurant in the UK?

Message: Hi, my name is Hania and I'm doing a PhD at Bournemouth University on migrants working in hotels, bars, pubs, cafes and restaurants in the UK. If you have ever worked or you are still working in the UK in these places, would you please complete the questionnaire? The survey is not too long; it should not take more than 5-8 minutes. I would be grateful if you could help with my studies. Here is the link:

<http://www.survey.bris.ac.uk/bournemouth/hjanta>

I will answer any questions. Your comments will be of great help as well! ;) Thanks!

Figure 5.4. An example of a forum for Poles in Southampton with a message posted by haniaj. The message appears at the top of the page. Number '2' indicates replies to the thread that are displayed underneath. The other number '184' indicates the number of viewings this thread by users.

Witamy na forum serwisu southampton.info.pl

Szukanie zaawansowane Szukaj

masz 0 wiadomości 0 nowych.
Czas zalogowania w sumie: 1 godz. 56 min.
Pokaż wiadomości od ostatniej wizyty.
Pokaż nowe odpowiedzi na twoje wątki.

Strona główna Szukaj Profil Moje Wiadomości Użytkownicy Pomoc Czat Powrót do serwisu Wyloguj się

Forum Polonii w Hampshire (Anglia) ► PO PROSTU ANGLIA... ► Dyskusje ogólne

Strony: [1] 2 3 ... 5 Do dołu

Zaznacz wszystkie jako przeczytane Powiadamiam o odpowiedziach Rozpocznij nowy temat

Temat	Zacząty przez	Odpowiedzi	Wyświetleń	Ostatnia wiadomość
Jesli pracujecie w hotelach lub barach w UK...	haniaj.	2	184	11 Luty 2008; 12:57 wysłane przez haniaj.
BBC jedzie do Polski NOWY	bicz	0	189	27 Styczeń 2008; 12:54 wysłane przez bicz
szukam transportu rzeczy do polski NOWY	sana	3	236	27 Styczeń 2008; 11:41 wysłane przez piter
Polski Klub NOWY	bicz	2	177	27 Styczeń 2008; 11:39 wysłane przez piter
paczki do polski jak?? NOWY « 1 2 »	pacalycha	16	2583	26 Styczeń 2008; 14:07 wysłane przez bicz
prawo jazdy w uk NOWY	galganeK	0	160	20 Styczeń 2008; 22:57 wysłane przez galganeK
"Migrate Then Come Back" - "Wjazd i powroty" NOWY	bicz	1	235	14 Styczeń 2008; 16:17 wysłane przez bicz

Figure 5.5. An example of a profile for Poles in Newport (Wales) on *nasza-klasa.pl* with a message about the survey posted by Hania and accompanied by the BU logo.

Profil tej osoby jest częściowo ukryty, więc możesz nie zobaczyć niektórych informacji.

newport.com.pl
Polacy w Newport
newport, nprt, njuport,
niuport, walia, UK

Kim jest newport.com.pl Polacy w Newport

Podstawowe informacje

Imię	newport.com.pl	Miejscowość	newport, nprt, njuport, niuport, walia, UK
Nazwisko	Polacy w Newport	Lat	6
Pseudonim szkolny		Płeć	Męczyzna
Telefon	ukryty	Gadu-gadu	ukryty
		Skype	ukryty

NAJDMI (ostatnich 4 dodanych)

Stawomir Frydryszewski Włodawek, Dąbie Kujawskie, Newport Gwent (57)

Agata Mills (Krupa) Szczytno(Newport) (15)

Marlena Marszałek (Dudek) Bieruń/Newport (60)

Aleksandra Mąka Lubrza/Opole/Newport (270)

SZKOŁY I KLASY

użytkownik nie jest zapisany do żadnej szkoły

FORA UŻYTKOWNIKA

użytkownik nie jest zapisany do żadnego forum dyskusyjnego

KOMENTARZE DO PROFILU

KTO PRACOWAŁ W HOTELE W UK? wez udział w badaniach dzisiaj 11:20

BU
Bournemouth University

Witam wszystkich z Newport! Jeśli są tutaj jakieś osoby, które pracują bądź pracowały w w hotelach, pubach, restauracjach lub kawiarniach w W.Brytanii, to zapraszam do wypełnienia 5-minutowej ankiety. Kto ma czas, proszę o pomoc.

Oto link: <http://www.survey.bris.ac.uk/bournemouth/hjanita>
Dzięki wielkie. Hania

When a post is displayed on the discussion forum, certain elements are visible on the website. These include *Topic title* (i.e., anyone working in a hotel, café or restaurant?),

Replies - the number of messages replying to the thread, *Topic starter* - the nickname of the user who started the topic, *Views* - the number of viewings; in other words, traffic on the website and *Last Action* - the last message displayed underneath the post. (See Figure 5.6: PolishPlanet.com).

Figure 5.6. An example of forum PolishPlanet.com. Each message contains Topic title, Replies, Topic starter, Views and Last Action.

The screenshot shows the PolishPlanet.com forum interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with 'Home', 'REGULAMIN / TERMS & RULES', 'Search', 'Blogs', 'Gallery', 'Live Chat', 'Calendar', and 'Members'. Below this, a 'Welcome Guest' message is displayed. The main content area shows a forum topic titled 'pomozecie? pomozemy! | HELP NEEDED'. The forum topics are listed in a table with the following columns: Topic Title, Replies, Topic Starter, Views, and Last Action.

Topic Title	Replies	Topic Starter	Views	Last Action
Pinned: Jakie telefonowanie z Anglii do Polski?	47	happy	5684	20th November 2007 - 02:03 PM Last post by: Hielz
Pinned: Wasze rady na temat dobrego CV	155	gawzarn	12759	08th October 2006 - 09:27 AM Last post by: las
oddam w dobre ręce Vodafone VBH-300 Bluetooth Headset	5	matuliusz	70	3rd March 2008 - 11:46 PM Last post by: Anna
nowy samochód jaki za 80?	15	ewag	692	3rd March 2008 - 09:36 PM Last post by: ewag
Ankieta baśniowa	6	stewia	73	3rd March 2008 - 03:56 PM Last post by: beata
Ankieta prosze kto ma czas niech wypelni :)	7	siska..	199	2nd March 2008 - 02:42 PM Last post by: lunaflyt
wasze opinie o pracach w hotelach, barach itp w UK wiednomo, ankieta :)	16	hanaj	423	18th February 2008 - 04:42 PM Last post by: elfornado

Once the message was posted on a forum, its users on each discussion forum reacted in various ways. The reactions from the users could be divided into three types:

- users offering their help and replying that they had filled in the survey and/or giving some other positive comments
- users not participating in the discussion – these fora had no replies
- users expressing their dissatisfaction with the topic or particular questions in the survey

For example, sometimes replies appeared below the thread with comments such as 'Done', 'I have done it and it took me less than 7 minutes'. Other comments included some recommendations and a hyperlink to another website that could be used for the research.

Those dissatisfied with the topic or the questionnaire itself criticised the design of the survey or Question 6a (Did working in hospitality stop you from going to a Polish church?).

Table 5.8. Database of fora chosen for the distribution of the online survey showing the traffic as of April 2008

Forum	Location	Traffic
Londynek.net	London	6,800
Zmywak.pl	General	4,200
Polskibelfast.pl	Belfast	7,500
Bham.pl	Birmingham	32,000
Mybrighton.org	Brighton	200
mojbristol.co.uk	Bristol	5,300
Polski-bristol.net	Bristol	6,800
Carlisle.pl	Cumbria	2,100
Exeter.pl	Exeter	650
infolinia.org/forum/	General	8,030
Mojawyspa.co.uk	General	91,000
Gbritain.net	General	18,300
Forum.gazeta.pl	General	126,000
forum.glasgow24.pl	Glasgow	4,030
Plinuk.net	Hampshire	5,800
Leeds.pl	Leeds	45,000
Opinia.co.uk	Leicester	4,100
Liverpool.one.pl	Liverpool, Wirral, Merseyside	3,100
ncl.to.pl	Newcastle	22,400
Polskachata.co.uk	Newcastle, North East	1,700
ulsterforum.com	Northern Ireland	2,300
Southampton.info.pl	Southampton	2,600
Halifax.pl	Yorkshire	4,170
Szkocja2006.fora.net	Scotland	10,600
Reading.net.pl	Reading	8,600
York.net.pl	York	700
Mkforum.org.uk	Milton Keynes	5,400
Polishplanet.uk	general	46,000
Forum.doncarski.co.uk	Doncaster	500
Anglus.pl	General	830
Miecio.pl	Anglia	2,100
Records.webd.pl/sheffield	Sheffield	670
polskiecrewe.net	Crewe	950
Ang.pl	General	1,000,000+
Polkadot.com	Polish girls in the UK	Significant traffic
Leamington.pl	Leamington	?
Blackpool24.com	Blackpool	?
Nowich.pl	Norwich	6,200
Dorset.fora.pl	Dorset	?
Szkocja.net	Scotland	1,000,000
Darlington.to.pl	Darlington	180
Middlesborough.to.pl	Middlesborough	530
Peterborough.pl.com	Peterborough	2000

Forum	Location	Traffic
sunderland.to.pl/	Sunderland	138
birmingham.org.pl	Birmingham	80

Table 5.9. Profiles on *Nasza-klasa.pl* used for posting a message with a link to the online survey

Profiles from <i>Nasza-klasa.pl</i> used for sending messages with a link to the online survey	
Anglia Polska	Polonia – Derby UK
Bo wszyscy Polacy to jedna rodzina	Polonia angielska
Devon Devon	Polonia Aylesbury
Klan ludzi mieszkajacych w UK	Polonia in United K.
London Londyn	Polonia Kirkcaldy (forum)
London UK	Polonia Leicester
Luton laczcie sie	Polonia Manchester
Moja wyspa	Polonia Nottingham
Newport.com.pl	Polonia Reading
Petersfield, Liss...	Polonia Slough
Polacy w Anglii	Polonia UK
Polacy w Bedford	Polonia w Cheltenham (forum)
Polacy w Brystolu (forum)	Polonia w Southampton
Polacy w Cambridge	Polonia w Swindon
Polacy w Cardiff	Polonia Wielka Brytania
Polacy w Chester	Polonia Worksop
Polacy w Hull	Polska spolecznosc Dorset
Polacy w Ipswich	Polski sklep (St.Ives)
Polacy w Kidderminster	Polskie radio Manchester
Polacy w Lisburn	Portal ogloszeniowy w UK
Polacy w Magherafelt laczcie sie	Portsmouth UK
Polacy w Mansfield	Preston UK
Polacy w Scunthrope	Rod Polakow w Reading
Polacy w Stoke-on-Trent	Szkocja (polscy emigranci)
Polacy w Szkocji	Szkocja SCOTLAND
Polacy w UK	Torquay united
Polacy w Winchester (forum)	Walia – Polacy
Polacywuk.pl	Wielka Brytania (Polacy na wyspach)
Polak w Edingburgh	Wszyscy Polacy mieszkajacych w Londynie
Polacy w Bournemouth	Wszyscy Polacy mieszkajacy w Rochester
Polacy w Stanford	

Table 5.10. Facebook groups used for the distribution of messages with a link to the online survey

Groups on Facebook.com used for posting messages with a link to the online survey on discussion boards or walls	
UK Polacy	Polish Global student Network UK
Working in *5 hotel made me insane	Poland Network

The survey was launched in February 2008 and opened for a period of 7 weeks. 417 questionnaires were returned of which 1/3 (102) were uncompleted, representing 'dropouts' (Sue and Ritter 2007) and 315 were usable.

Access issues and role of the researcher

Firstly, the community moderator may delete an unwanted post with a hyperlink to the online survey (Wright 2005), which occurred in one case, (hull.pl) whilst, in another case, the link to the survey was deleted (southampton.pl). When this happens, the researcher usually is not able to repost a message on the same website.

Secondly, the distribution of the questionnaires in public fora may result in the researcher losing control over how the study is perceived by internet users and the researcher may even become the target of abusive comments (Wright 2005). Such messages posted by other users may turn into *flaming*. Flaming is defined as hostile, abusive or insulting comments that can be of different degrees of hostility (Thompson and Foulger 1996).

In the survey on one of the fora used in this study (Polishplanet.com), the first internet user made a negative comment about the question related to attending services in a Polish church (Question 6a), which was followed by many other community members joining the discussion. All of them were criticising that particular question (a nominal question with possible answers Yes/No) as well as the question construction. This researcher felt that the comments were unfriendly and that the community members would not help with the study. After the experience with this particular website, the researcher became more aware of the possible responses from internet users. The researcher mitigated certain comments added by others that could result in bringing up an offensive discussion.

Reposting - Increasing response rate

According to Hewson (2002:82), *'[s]ince a newsgroup posting will move down the list of postings fairly quickly, and will eventually expire, re-posting the request is essential in order to increase response rates. However, care should be taken not to bombard newsgroups with persistent repeated postings, and to avoid 'spamming'.* This approach was taken and postings were resent after a week or two with a 'thank you' message for taking part in the survey and reminding viewers that the survey was still open.

5.3.4.3 Advantages of online surveys

There is a common agreement among researchers that an internet survey when compared to postal surveys, face-to-face surveys and telephone surveys is considered as cheaper, quicker and easier to conduct (Schonlau *et al.* 2002; Sue and Ritter 2007;

Denscombe 2007). One of the major advantages of this type of internet survey is that the responses can be seen automatically and they can be exported to SPSS or Excel, which also increases the accuracy of the data. Other advantages include efficiency and access to individuals in distant locations (Schonlau *et al.* 2002; Wright 2005; Sue and Ritter 2007; Denscombe 2007). Bryman (2008) adds some other qualities such as: better response to open questions and fewer unanswered questions. What is more, the use of the software allows quicker responding because the respondents type responses. Finally, respondents are able to start filling the survey, then stop and come back again when it is convenient for them.

5.3.4.4 Disadvantages of online surveys

The disadvantages of using web-based questionnaire include coverage bias, lack of knowledge of who is responding to the questions and reliance on software (Sue and Ritter 2007). The latter element did have its drawbacks. For example, the template of BOS software was in English only and it was not possible to use the Polish alphabet or replace some specific jargon (for example *please specify*) because of the incompatibility of the software.

The control and selection of the sample remains a challenge as does the exclusion of individuals who do not use the internet or electronic forms of communication. Self-selection bias and non-response bias is a limitation of online surveys (Wright 2005; Hewson 2002). In addition, distributing messages on online fora can create concerns (Wright 2005). Firstly, moderators might delete messages with a hyperlink or just a hyperlink to deny access to their groups because they treat it as a 'spam', a situation that happened during the data collection. Secondly, the information posted by the researcher can be misinterpreted or perceived in an unfriendly way, which can cause hostility towards the researcher in the community. This researcher also experienced this while distributing messages. Finally, Bryman (2008) adds another concern about new websites appearing quickly while others are disappearing. More specifically, the database of fora created for the purpose of this study can quickly be out-of-date.

5.3.4.5 Questionnaire design and research variables

A four-page questionnaire was first designed in Microsoft Word (Appendix 1). The first version was written in English and then back-translated into Polish by the researcher. The translation of the questionnaire was not difficult because questions and wording used for the purpose of the survey avoided complicated expressions or technical language.

Once the password to Bristol Online Survey (BOS) was received in November 2007, the questionnaire was then designed online. The wording and layout of the questions and instructions were pre-tested among other Poles (met during interviews and friends). The university logo was used on the website after gaining an appropriate permission to use it.

The questionnaire was divided into five parts, namely:

- getting a job in hospitality and catering in the UK
- experience of working in the sector (adaptation, work-life)
- jobs scope
- plans/or reasons for leaving the industry
- demographic questions

Three types of measurement are used in the questionnaires: nominal, ordinal and interval/ratio (Sarantakos 2005; Finn *et al.* 2000; Jenkins 2001). In this study, all three types were employed. An ordinal variable commonly used in questionnaires is a Likert scale. *'A Likert scale requires respondents to indicate a degree of agreement or disagreement with a set of statements concerning a particular object'* (Finn *et al.* 2000:95). In this research, a five-point scale has been employed, from 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'undecided', 'disagree' to 'strongly disagree', following the suggestions of Finn *et al.* (2000).

The questions for the survey were designed according to the list of basic rules developed by Ryan (1995), Oppenheim (1992) and Finn *et al.* (2000). In addition, to that, the six criteria for effective questioning suggested by Witt and Moutinho (1995) were also considered when designing the questions. These are that questions should be relevant, brief, clear, inoffensive, unbiased and specific. Furthermore, the design also took into account the layout of the questions, instructions and ethical considerations (Sarantakos 2005).

Many closed questions have been selected for the study as they are quicker to answer, which means more questions can be asked during the same amount of time (Oppenheim 1992). This is relevant to a study using a web-based questionnaire. The previous phases of data collection, interviews and the analysis of netnography allowed closed questions to be phrased.

In addition, two open-ended questions were added to explore what respondents think they bring to and gain from working in the industry. The open-ended questions were chosen in this case because *'they offer information in areas that might not have been foreseen by the researcher'* (Sarantakos 2005:245). The researcher was interested in gaining responses written in the migrants' own way and in their own words.

As mentioned before, the survey was divided into five parts (see Appendix 1). The details of each part are given below.

The first part of the questionnaire consisted of questions asking about the methods used for finding jobs. Question 1 asked whether the jobs were found in Poland or in the UK. Question 2 asked the question in more detail, giving an option of multiple choices about the way the first job was found. The variables were developed after the analysis of interviews, netnography and pilot study.

Some of the questions were adopted from the previous studies to allow for a degree of comparison. Reasons for entering the tourism industry (Question 3) were previously used in other research on labour mobility (Szivas and Riley 1999; Szivas *et al.* 2003; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007). The set of statements/choices using a 5-point Likert scale (strongly agree – strongly disagree) aimed at describing possible motives for taking jobs in tourism were partially extracted from previous studies in order to compare the situation with the study of employees in Hungary, UK and Canada. In total 11 statements were listed.

One major component of the survey was to examine what role hospitality plays in the adaptation process into life in the UK of those who work in this sector. Therefore, the second part of the questionnaire contained the questions regarding the process of adaptation (Questions 4,5) and work and life adaptation (Question 6). Three statements regarding job satisfaction (satisfaction with jobs in the sector, with career opportunities and with their previous perception of the work) using 5-point Likert scale were employed in Question 7.

The final two questions in this section were open-ended questions. The first one asked what the employees think they can offer the industry (Question 8) and the second one asked what they think they gained from working in this sector of employment (Question 9). These two questions were the only two that were not obligatory to fill in.

The third part of the questionnaire was concerned with the job scope. Questions included the number of jobs in the sector (Question 10), the duration of working in the sector (Question 12) and the respondent's occupation prior to joining the hospitality

sector (Question 13). Another set of questions in this section included more detail about the first and the last (or current) job in the sector and its place, position and location (Question 11).

The fourth section investigated the respondents' plans. Those who left the sector were asked why they had left the sector (Question 16) and current employees were asked about their plans, the country they are going to be in when they make their next career step (Question 14) and their next career move (Question 15). The latter one on career move was extracted from the relevant literature (Hai-yan and Baum 2006:514; Devine *et al.* 2007a:341). The respondents were asked to choose what their next career move would be from the following statements: promotion in my current job, move elsewhere in this working place, move to another hospitality place and move out of the hospitality sector.

The last part of the questionnaire consisted of demographic questions including age, gender and qualifications (Questions 17-19). At the end of the questionnaire respondents were invited to write their own comments and provide feedback.

To sum up, the final questionnaire was a result of the analysis of earlier questionnaires, the analysis of interview data, development of new questions related to the research objectives and analysis of the pilot work. The revised questionnaire is presented in Appendix 1.

5.4 Data analysis

5.4.1 Qualitative data analysis

For the purpose of the research, qualitative research methods, both netnography and interviews were analysed using *thematic analysis*. Braun and Clarke (2006) define the term '*thematic analysis*' as '*a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data*' (p. 79). It includes searching for themes across a data set to find repeated patterns of meaning and a constant moving back and forward across the entire data set.

Although this technique is often associated with grounded theory, Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that *thematic analysis* is a flexible approach and can be used in a way similar to grounded theory where it is data-driven; using the inductive approach, but it can also be driven by the researchers' interests. The guide developed by Braun and

Clarke (2006) that describes steps for using thematic analysis was followed in this study. The steps are described below.

The data analysis starts with ***familiarising of the researcher with the data*** through transcribing, reading and rereading the entire data. Transcribing by the researcher is recommended as it brings thorough understanding of the data (Braun and Clarke 2006).

The next step in analysing the data thematically is ***generating initial codes***. Coding of the data can be done in a variety of ways and, in this study, codes were developed using margins of documents and colour highlighting chunks of texts. Later on, codes were collated together in a separate Word document.

Searching for themes is the next step of thematic data analysis. It concerns considering how different codes may be combined to form an overarching theme. For example, codes such as '*temporal treatment of job*', '*promotion under a condition*', '*coincidence in progressing*' formed a theme called '*CAREER*'. Other codes such as '*satisfaction with working in international environment*', and '*meeting co-nationals at work*' formed a theme called '*RELATIONSHIPS*'. Additionally, relationships between codes should be considered at this stage.

Reviewing themes that follows includes refinement of themes, reading all the collated extracts for each theme and considering whether they appear to form a coherent pattern. In other words, this stage of analysis ensures extracts and themes fit.

The last stage of data analysis is ***defining and naming themes***. For example, some initial themes could be changed at this stage. In this analysis, the initial theme of '*status*' became a final theme of '*JOB PERCEPTIONS*' and '*expectations*' became a theme called: '*CAPITAL*'.

Two open-ended questions from the survey (Questions 8 and 9) and additional data gained from the respondents' comments written at the end of the survey were analysed in a qualitative way. In total, 159 respondents answered Question 9 concerning what they gained from the sector, 89 respondents provided responses to Question 8 and 64 survey respondents wrote additional comments.

The data from each question were copied to a Word document, and theme analysed and grouped. For example, the responses obtained from Question 8: *What do you think*

you can gain from working in the industry? were divided into the themes entitled English, promotion, developing relationships, experience, personal development skills and income. These themes became subheadings in Chapter 8. Some of these themes were also used in Chapter 9, which looked at migrants' adaptation. For example, the theme of developing relationships was presented in Chapter 9. In contrast, the theme of improving English skills was discussed in Chapter 8 but it is also relevant to migrants' adaptation.

The comments written by the respondents at the end of the survey were first divided into 'positive', 'negative', 'irrelevant' and 'other' categories. The table with initial categories is presented below (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11. The analysis of comments provided at the end of the survey

Analysing comments provided at the end of the questionnaire			
<i>positive</i>	<i>negative</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>irrelevant</i>
People	Workload	Stories on finding employment	Correcting mistakes written in the survey
Promotion	Irregular hours	Comparing Polish and British staff	Providing email address
Flexibility	Pay/Problems with pay	Warnings to avoid a particular hotel	
	Discrimination		

The major categories received from the comments became relevant in Chapter 7; 'positive' and 'negative' views became headings of Chapter 7. The data that was coded into subcategories became subheadings for the relevant subchapter (for example 'pay/problems with pay' became a subheading of 'negative views'). The findings obtained from the comments as well as from the two open-ended questions do not show the frequency of the items, but they demonstrate a broad range of issues brought up by the respondents.

5.4.2 Quantitative data analysis

5.4.2.1 Data cleansing

Some data cleansing was required to correct obvious mistakes made by the respondents when filling in the online questionnaire. When it was possible to see a respondent's intentions but a mistake had been made by ticking two boxes instead of one or ticking a wrong box, the answer was coded as if the correct box had been ticked. For example, those who had left the sector were asked to tick one of the boxes

identifying reason for leaving, while those who are still working were asked to tick another set of choices, concerning their plans. On a few occasions, the respondents answered both questions; therefore, a verification of all the responses of an individual was needed to understand which answer the respondent should have chosen.

Secondly, an extra category of current/former workers was defined during the data input. Finally, duration of work in hospitality was re-typed to make sure it included numbers only.

5.4.2.2 Survey data analysis

In order to analyse the survey data, the questions were first imported to Excel and coded. Coded versions of the questions were then exported from Excel to the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), Version 16 – the most commonly used in social science research (Punch 2005). The first stage of data analysis used descriptive statistics conducted on all the variables. Most of the data was categorical data; therefore the Chi-square test was used. In order to find out workers' motivations towards accessing hospitality employment factor analysis was carried out.

Factor analysis – is a technique used for data reduction. It reduces the number of variables without losing the information initially provided (Punch 2005). The technique helps to reduce the number of variables by finding correlation between them. Factor analysis was conducted on the list of statements describing the reasons for choosing the hospitality sector and to compare the extracted factors with those in previous studies (Szivas and Riley 1999; Szivas *et al.* 2003; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007).

Chi-square test – is a nominal level test of significance (Sarantakos 2005) and is considered the most appropriate method for testing differences because the responses involved categorical data. The significant levels were chosen as 0.05 (95%), 0.01 (99%) and 0.005 (99.5%). In this research, Chi-square test was used for example, to find differences between the length of working in hospitality and respondents' demographics (see Chapter 6).

Coefficient Correlation is a test performed on continuous variables (Punch 2005). In this research it is used to demonstrate the correlation between the age of the respondents and the duration of work (see Chapter 6.6).

5.5 Validity and Reliability

Validity is understood as: *'the property of the research instrument that measures its relevance, precision and accuracy'* (Sarantakos 2005:83). There is often a distinction between 'internal' and 'external' validity (Finn *et al.* 2000; Sarantakos 2005; Punch 2005).

External validity is concerned with the extent to which the findings from the research can be generalised (Sarantakos 2005). The sampling should be the first thing to consider. Although the sampling in this research was not random because of the lack of a sampling frame, the researcher believes that it can serve as an indication of potential patterns and relationship. Validity of this approach is confirmed by many other studies focusing on UK Polish migrant workers or hospitality international workers that employed '*opportunistic*' choice of locations (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b), '*snowball*' sampling (Ruhs *et al.* 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2007) and *snowballing and 'cold calling'* (Evans *et al.* 2007). Previous research methods validate the research approach taken in this study.

Internal validity refers to the internal logic and consistency of the research (Punch 2005) and the extent to which the research design impacts on the research outcomes (Sarantakos 2005). In this research, validation of the questionnaire has been ensured by two other qualitative research methods that helped to design the survey instrument.

The validity of netnography as a research method lies in its naturally occurring data as it is not influenced by a researcher. Validity of interviews was ensured by checking the transcripts for potential mistakes and checking codes and themes, as recommended by Gibbs (2007).

To validate the questionnaire, the instrument was checked back with other Polish migrants for ambiguities, misunderstandings, unclear language or instructions. Finally, the final version of the questionnaire was a result of analysis of the two qualitative methods, pilot study and previous research. That was completed following piloting with Polish migrants and redesigning the questionnaire.

Its *content validity* defined whether the full content of a conceptual definition is represented in the measure (Punch 2005), and is justified by providing the space for the comments at the end of the questionnaire. From these notes, other themes emerged that were not considered at the beginning of the study (i.e. bad working

conditions). Apart from the space provided for comments, the respondents were able to reply to the thread where the link to the survey was located.

Furthermore, cross-validating of findings with other parts of the data increases the validity of the research (Punch 2005) and that took place in the stage of interpretations of findings where the data from all three research methods was combined.

Reliability refers to the extent to which the same results can be produced when study is repeated (Sarantakos 2005) and to consistency of the results (Finn *et al.* 2000; Sarantakos 2005; Punch 2005). In other words, it represents how accurate the chosen research methods and techniques are. The questionnaire used for the study was designed in a way to avoid bias. According to Finn *et al.* (2000), '*[a] reliable question will be a simple, clearly worded question that will yield the same results on different occasions*' (p.28). In this research, the testing, piloting and redesigning of this survey that took place during 6 months increases reliability of the survey instrument. Secondly, all the decisions made and steps undertaken in the design and distribution of the questionnaire are provided as an audit trail in this research, which also adds to its reliability.

5.6 Limitations of the research methods

Despite carefully selected methods, there are certain limitations that are considered below.

5.6.1 Language

One of the limitations of this research is that the three research methods: interviews, online survey and online exchanges among Poles, are conducted in Polish, which requires translation and may result in the distortion of the data as the researcher is not a trained translator. Having said that, the topic of the research deals with everyday language, so no technical language is used in the research, which should reduce the potential limitation of translation.

5.6.2 Netnography

Firstly, ethical issues in Netnographic studies can be a potential limitation of conducting a research online as the monitoring of internet fora raises a number of ethical questions concerning privacy and informed consent. Kozinets (2002) recommends seeking permission from the forum users. However, this was not followed in this study because, according to other internet researchers (Langer and Beckman 2005; Ess and The AoIR Ethics Working Committee 2002; Madge 2006; Beaven and Laws 2007), the public

domain can be researched when access for observation of the fora' discussions is not restricted by password.

Secondly, a disadvantage of employing netnography is not being able to direct online exchanges although it may be appealing when a researcher would like to clarify something or ask about a detail. Netnography that is based upon observation did not allow this. Thirdly, for the purpose of netnographic study around 100 threads were selected and analysed using popular search engines. Yet, in the light of the growing number of discussion fora and threads among Polish internet users, this is still a limited number of threads.

5.6.3 Online survey

First and foremost, a principal limitation of this study, as with all internet surveys, is the difficulty in claiming the representativeness of the sample. Given the lack of a population frame, it is not possible to know the extent to which the sample is representative of current and former hospitality workers.

Thus, the main limitation of the online surveys and this survey is that it excluded those who do not have access to the internet. Furthermore, internet users could have chosen whether they wanted to take part in the study or not, which makes self-selection bias another limitation. Finally, one third of the respondents started filling in the survey but did not complete it. It is acknowledged that bias occurs on these three levels.

Although all care was taken to ensure that the database of fora used for the distribution of the questionnaire was up to date, it is possible that some online fora, as well as groups on SNS, were accidentally omitted. However, as websites and fora are quickly appearing and disappearing, it is difficult to control it.

In addition, as reported before (5.3.4.2), distributing the posts with a link to the survey has met some challenges. For example, the researcher faced a rejection by the moderator, as the message was deleted after a few hours after posting it, but also the message posted became a target of *flaming* leading to hostility toward the researcher in the online community. On a few occasions the message posted on online fora has brought unfriendly comments that could have stopped others from filling the online survey.

Further, one of the limitations is the incomplete data obtained from respondents about the position they have held in hospitality. In order to save time filling the survey, the

respondents were asked to choose one of the options from the list of choices. As many as 9% of the respondents chose the option 'other' in their last or current job, which means the title of their job is not known. This limitation is partially compensated by the data received from the respondents about the department in which they work/worked.

While designing the survey, it was decided to make many of the questions obligatory, which required respondents to answer them before going to the next page of the questionnaire. Eventually, such design was criticised by some of the online users who did not want to answer one of the questions (regarding attending services in a Polish church).

Finally, dependence on software is a limitation of this research. Using the BOS software, limited the survey to an English template; thus, the Polish alphabet was not used in the internet survey because of the incompatibility of the software, which may have had a negative affect on the professional image of the survey.

5.6.4 Interviews

The sampling used to recruit the respondents for interviews represents non-probability sampling. The contacts were made through one organisation, a church community. It was decided to conduct six interviews in order to gain further insights and precede the development of the on-line survey. Thus, the small number of interviews may be a potential limitation.

5.7 Researcher reflexivity

This research focuses on a particular ethnic group, Polish migrants in the UK, and this researcher is of Polish origin, which is likely to have an influence on conducting the research and interpreting its findings. For that reason, *reflexivity* needs to be considered.

The term '*reflexivity*' is understood as awareness of the researcher's contribution throughout the research process and an awareness of the researcher's involvement with a study (Nightingale and Cromby 1999:228). The influence of the researcher's nationality in this research lies in a few directions.

Firstly, as recommended in the literature (see Temple and Young 2004), there is a need to consider translation issues, the element that is often missing in cross-cultural social science research. A Polish native speaker when translating data from Polish into

English will always be able to explain the rules of communication and the cultural, social and political meanings that lie behind the words. There is evidence in this research that, on many occasions, the cultural insights, linguistic expressions in Polish and local knowledge helped in interpreting the findings. In addition, when one of the respondents added some further reflections to the questionnaire by comparing herself to a character from Polish literature; the researcher was able to understand the meaning.

While grammar and syntax are relatively easy to translate, achieving an equivalent meaning in translating idiomatic expressions from an original source is difficult (Su and Parham 2002). Indeed, this part of the translation process proved to be the most challenging. In such texts, the original meaning was left in brackets in order not to lose the semantic context. Further, the translation was checked with appropriate sources such as Polish-English dictionaries or with other bi-lingual Poles. Moreover, certain expressions used in Polish to describe some activities relevant to the study were introduced with its original meaning (for example, finding a job via someone's connections = '*praca po znajomosci*' or working at the sink = '*praca na zmywaku*'). These were the strategies used in order to reduce possible bias and accidental errors. In sum, although the researcher is not a trained translator, having experience of working and living across languages, she tried to ensure that the texts possess the same meaning and function as the source version.

This example justifies Berg's (2004:112) call of *know your audience*, as he emphasises how important it is to understand the culture of the research subject. The importance of researchers being the same nationality as a studied group and thereby understanding their culture and past experience has been previously noticed by Easterby-Smith and Malina (1999): '*[t]he problem for researchers from one culture or context to conduct research on another culture is that the outsiders' past experiences will not have equipped them to make sense of events in the same way that insiders would*' (p. 84).

Secondly, being Polish has undoubtedly been an advantage in terms of accessing the Polish community in the UK through both the virtual and real world of migrants. The study was not reliant on any official gatekeepers (for example, employers) that may have resulted in different findings. The insider's knowledge of community in the UK and the lack of a sampling frame influenced the choice of research methods. Moreover, being Polish facilitated accessing sources available in the Polish press, television and relevant publications that helped in understanding migration from the two countries points of view.

On another level, although the data collection proved to be successful and resulted in obtaining a good sample size, interacting with internet users proved to be a challenging and learning journey. This period of data collection was a learning path about the Polish group as well as the internet community. Some of these experiences, for example, expressing joint aggression or hostility may serve as a basis for future research exploring how internet users articulate collective identities.

Thirdly, some personal attributes of being a part of the generation born during the demographic peak in Poland and later left the country, allows a better understanding of the case. Additionally, some experience of living in the UK (prior and post Poland's EU entry) both studying as an exchange student at Dartington College of Arts in 2002-2003 and working in the UK hospitality sector between 2004 and 2005, helped the researcher to understand better certain aspects of being a Polish migrant in the UK. Despite the potential of being subjective, it is believed that this possible subjectivity was reduced to the minimum.

5.8 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated how the aim and objectives of this research determined the research methods employed for the study. Methods used in previous studies as well as high internet usage among Poles served as a justification for the selection of the three research methods. The dynamic, mobile and transnational population of Poles shapes the choice of research methods and the limitations of the research methods used for this study are in line with other, similar studies due to the lack of database from which a random sample could be selected. The researcher believes that the data from this research can serve as an indication of potential patterns and relationships although the generalisations should be treated with caution. The following four chapters present the findings from all stages of the study.

6 Chapter Six - A profile of Polish hospitality workers

6.1 An introduction to the findings

Chapter 6 is the first of four findings chapters. In chapters 6 - 9 results from all three research methods are presented and discussed following the four objectives of the research. This is just one of the ways to present the data and the results could have been presented differently. Another way to do this would be to report the data from netnography, interviews and survey chronologically, in the order in which the research methods were carried out. This way of data presentation could have shown the findings in the order that the themes emerged, beginning with the findings from netnography, followed by interviews and survey (see Chapter 5, Table 5.4, p.94).

However, it was decided to present the data according to the four objectives of the study, which will provide a better argument in terms of the presentation of the findings. Chapter 6 begins data that is more descriptive about Polish migrants obtained from the survey (Chapter 6) and Chapter 7 reports on the open-ended questions. This is followed by a presentation and discussion of more analytical concepts (Chapter 8 and 9): migrants' experiences supported by the concept of human capital (Sjastaad 1962; Williams and Balaz 2008) and adaptation theories (Berry 1997; Hofstede 1991; Kim 1988).

6.2 Introduction to Chapter 6

This chapter begins with the presentation of demographic data obtained from the survey study and is supported by the qualitative data. This is followed by a discussion of the findings and a comparison with other relevant sources on Polish migrants in the UK and foreign hospitality workers. This forms the first objective of the research: *to provide a profile of a sample of Polish hospitality workers in the UK in terms of demographics; gender, geographical location, education, previous work experience and job search techniques.*

The second part of this chapter is concerned with the reasons for entering the sector. In order to discover the reasons for entering this sector of employment, factor analysis is carried out on several statements. Its results are presented and orientations towards

work are discussed. This forms one part of the second objective: *To explore the migrant workers' reasons for choosing to work in the hospitality sector.*

6.3 Demographic characteristics of the sample

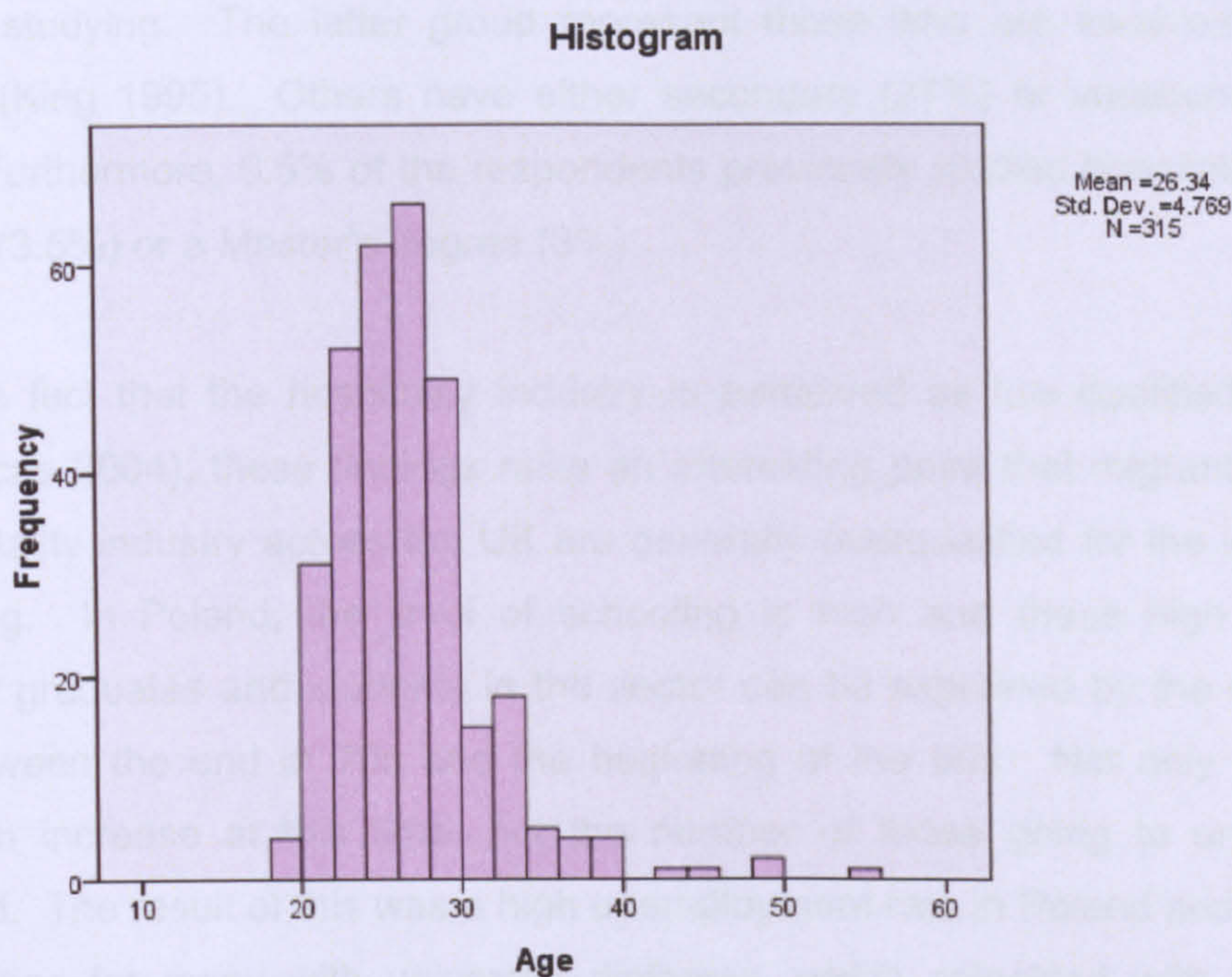
The online survey was carried out in order to obtain data from a large number of current and former Polish hospitality workers. The total number of completed questionnaires was 315 and there were 105 uncompleted surveys, which were not used for the data analysis. Both current and former hospitality workers were asked to fill out the online survey. 55% of the respondents are current hospitality workers while the remaining 45% have left the sector. The profile of the Polish hospitality workforce revealed by this sample is detailed in the paragraphs that follow.

6.3.1 Gender and age

Hospitality jobs are traditionally regarded as occupations for women, especially in certain countries (Purcell 1997; Shaw and Williams 1994; Lucas 2004; Baum 2006). In this study, nearly three-quarters (71%) of the respondents were female and 29% were male. The figures from People 1st reveal that there is a large proportion of women in the UK hospitality industry. According to their research, based on Labour Force Survey, 62% of those working in the hospitality, leisure, travel and tourism sectors in the UK are women (People 1st 2006). Furthermore, the proportion of women within the sector ranges from 79% in tourist services to 50% working in restaurants. A similar gender spread, with a large proportion of women, was found in a study on migrant workers in London's hotel sector (Evans *et al.* 2007).

The ages of the respondents ranged from 18 to 55 years old (see Figure 6.1). The vast majority of them were under 30 and fell within the age brackets 19-22 (20%), 23-26 (40%) and 27-29 (24%). The remaining 16% were between 30 and 55 years. The mean age is 26. In this research, the vast majority (84%) are below 30 and 80% of the respondents are between 21-29 years old (Figure 6.1). The findings from the survey regarding employees' ages correspond with those from research conducted previously (see Baum *et al.* 2007). In their study, 81% of respondents were below 30 years old. This is also in line with government data indicating that the vast majority of new arrivals from CEE states after May 2004 are under 34 years old (Home Office 2008b). In contrast, Wright and Pollert (2006) found that the majority of employees were between 21-30 and 31-40.

Figure 6.1. The age of the respondents (Histogram)



6.3.2 Education

The high level of qualification among Polish migrants working in low-paid jobs as well as international staff in hospitality and catering in the UK has received much attention from scholars. Research on migrant workers conducted in remote areas in the UK's hospitality industry pointed out the surprisingly high level of educational attainment (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b), with 46.8% of the respondents holding either a Bachelor's or Master's degree. The educational mismatch of Poles seems to be an issue. The former study included staff from 27 countries but as many as 42% of the employees were Polish (Baum *et al.* 2007). In addition, McDowell *et al.* (2007) revealed that East Europeans in a London hotel were significantly better educated than migrants from elsewhere were.

Furthermore, studies focusing on Polish and other CEE migrant workers in low-paid employment concluded that there is a mismatch between education and the jobs performed among the new arrivals. Anderson *et al.* (2006) noticed that 42% of the new migrants performing low-paid jobs in the hospitality sector had received tertiary education. Among the four low-paid sectors of agriculture, construction, au pairs, and the hospitality industry, hospitality had the biggest proportion of those highly educated.

The educational background of the respondents in this research represents high qualification with the majority of them being either university students or university

graduates. The average educational level of the respondents is surprisingly high, with nearly half of them having either a Bachelor's or Master's degree (47%) and another 18% still studying. The latter group represent those who are involved in 'working holidays' (King 1995). Others have either secondary (27%) or vocational education (3.5%). Furthermore, 6.5% of the respondents previously studied hospitality, for either a degree (3.5%) or a Master's degree (3%).

Given the fact that the hospitality industry is perceived as low qualified (People 1st 2006; Lucas 2004), these findings raise an interesting point that migrants working in the hospitality industry across the UK are generally overqualified for the jobs they are performing. In Poland, the level of schooling is high and these high numbers of university graduates and students in the sector can be explained by the demographic peak between the end of 70s and the beginning of the 80s. Not only did Poland's population increase at this time, but the number of those going to university also expanded. The result of this was a high unemployment rate in Poland and a lack of job opportunities for many with university diplomas, which coincided with Poland's EU accession. It appears that the UK hospitality industry may be benefiting from an over-qualified migrant workforce.

6.3.3 Location of migrants

Regarding location, past studies carried out on migrant workers in the sector have focused mostly on England. More specifically, research was carried out in Brighton (Mathews and Ruhs 2007a, 2007b), London (McDowell *et al.* 2007; Evans *et al.* 2007) and London, the West Midlands and the South West (Wright and Poller 2006; Wright 2007). Apart from the focus on England, there was little attempt to look at other areas, although Baum and others carried out their research in remote areas in the UK including the Lake District, Northern Ireland and Scotland (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b).

In this study, the respondents were asked the name of the place in which they first worked in the sector and the name of the place they last worked in or still are working. The names of the locations were later coded into the following variables: London, England (excluding London), Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and other. 17% of the respondents changed their job location between the first and last job. The list of all the locations is attached in Appendix 2.

The findings show that the respondents first worked in the hospitality sector in England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and other remote places (Jersey, The Highlands). They were not equally spread; 14% had their first hospitality job in London, as many as 58% worked first in England (excluding London), another 20% in Scotland, and 3.5% in Northern Ireland. 2.5% of the respondents were working in Wales and the remaining 2% had their first jobs on the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Shetlands Islands and Rathlin Island. Last or current job of the respondents shows similar spread: 14% were/are working in London, a substantial 57% in England, 21% in Scotland, 4% in Wales and another 4% in Northern Ireland. The remaining 1% were/are in Jersey.

By using the online survey, the respondents came from across the whole of the UK, in contrast to previous research. Nevertheless, England is a dominant location for migrants. Regarding the regional distribution of migrant workers, government data (Table 6.1) indicate that those working in hospitality are located in London (27%), Central England (10%), Scotland (10%) and the South West (10%). The data, however, do not show specific locations.

Table 6.1. Geographical distribution of employers of registered workers in top 10 sectors between May 2004-June 2008, Home Office (2008b)

Sector	Number of registered workers											Total (2)
	Anglia	Midlands	London	North East	Central	North West	South West	Scotland	South East	Northern Ireland	Wales	
Administration, business & management(3)	57,530	68,160	23,550	46,595	30,425	34,285	24,445	14,200	14,700	9,840	10,350	335,525
Hospitality & catering	13,860	10,210	42,460	7,695	18,195	12,650	15,680	16,370	13,655	3,320	3,770	159,035
Agriculture	21,835	5,275	770	6,370	7,435	4,440	14,135	12,145	9,605	2,030	630	85,205
Manufacturing	7,020	9,015	3,620	8,125	4,650	7,115	5,040	4,630	2,960	5,665	3,170	61,325
Food/fish/meat processing	3,570	4,430	2,340	4,565	2,270	4,595	3,890	8,210	1,495	4,465	925	40,985
Retail	5,730	3,605	8,180	2,470	3,775	3,385	2,370	2,270	2,920	1,345	640	37,000
Health & medical	5,005	2,790	3,785	2,970	5,785	2,745	3,885	2,600	3,805	1,340	1,215	36,150
Construction & land	2,980	3,035	4,530	2,570	4,030	3,730	1,890	5,060	2,215	3,590	730	34,565
Transport	3,755	3,305	1,850	2,065	1,925	2,765	1,590	1,885	1,745	845	400	22,280
Entertainment & leisure	1,370	1,070	2,075	825	1,585	1,605	1,605	875	1,055	125	495	12,790
Total in top 10 sectors	122,650	110,895	93,165	84,260	80,085	77,320	74,535	68,245	54,150	32,560	22,330	824,860
Others / not stated	3,280	2,465	8,070	1,815	3,640	1,900	1,680	2,145	2,505	800	470	28,985

In this study, the biggest proportion of the respondents was working in hospitality in different places across England (57%). Respondents working in London represented 14%, which is less than the official data indicates. The differences between the data from the Home Office and the findings could be in the nationality of the employees.

The government data shows the sectoral distribution for all the CEE states, while this study is focusing on Polish workers whose choice of location might have been much influenced by their networks.

6.3.4 Previous occupation

The research findings indicate that before joining the industry, the majority of the respondents were either studying (43%) or at school (11%). Of the remainder, 35% were working and 11% were unemployed. Overall, for as many as 54% of the respondents, the sector must have been their first taste of work as they were in full-time education before joining the sector. Chapter 7 reveals the specific qualifications of the workers who have left the sector. A small number of people changed their unemployment status for employment; thus, hospitality provided a chance to return to the labour market. The summary of all the demographic data including age, gender, education, location and previous occupation is presented below (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. Demographics of the sample

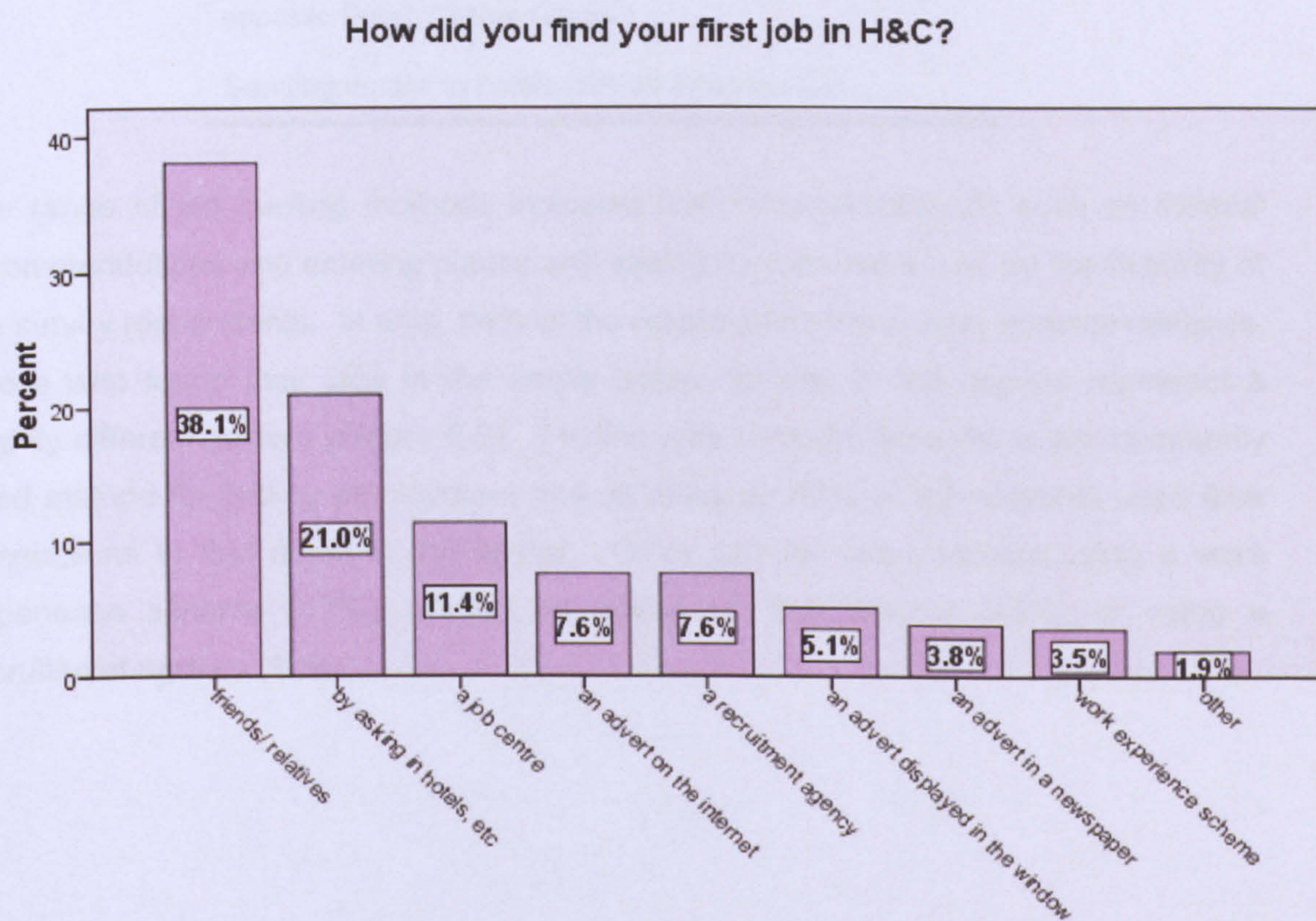
Demographics	Frequency	Percent	
		First	Last/current
Workers			
Former workers	141		44.8%
Current workers	173		54.9%
Missing	1		0.3%
Gender			
Female	225		71.4 %
Male	90		28.6%
Age			
19-22	62		19.7%
23-26	125		39.7%
27-29	77		24.4%
30-55	51		16.2%
Previous Occupation			
Studying	136		43.2%
At school	34		10.8%
Employed	109		34.6%
Unemployed	36		11.4%
Education			
Secondary	84		26.7%
Degree non-hospitality	59		18.7%
Secondary/still studying	58		18.4%
Master's degree	68		21.6%
Vocational	11		3.5%
Degree in hospitality	11		3.5%
MSc Hospitality/Tourism	9		2.9%
Other	13		4.1%
Location			
London		14.3	13.7%
England (excluding London)		57.8	57.5%
Scotland		20.3	20.6%
Wales		2.5	3.8%
N. Ireland		3.5	3.8%
Other		1.6	.6%

6.4 Methods for accessing employment

Objective 1 of the study is also concerned with methods for accessing employment. The first of the two questions in the survey asked if the job was found in Poland. The second question used variables identified during interviews and netnographic study and was concerned with specific methods for finding a job.

The findings from the study show that the majority of the respondents (79%) found out about the work after arriving in the UK. Therefore, for the remaining 21% of the respondents, their jobs in the UK hospitality industry were organised for them before arriving in the country.

Figure 6.2. Frequency of responses on job search techniques



As a whole, migrants employ varied mechanisms as job searching methods. Figure 6.2 shows that a substantial number of the respondents (38%) found their first jobs in this sector through some kind of network; a family or a friend recommended the job to them. Another group of respondents (21%), found their jobs by entering the premises and asking about work in hotels, restaurants and other hospitality places. These two groups of people were using informal recruitment methods.

The third group represents those who found their job via a job centre (11%). Another 8% of the respondents responded to an advert on the internet to find work and the same number of respondents found their jobs via a recruitment agency.

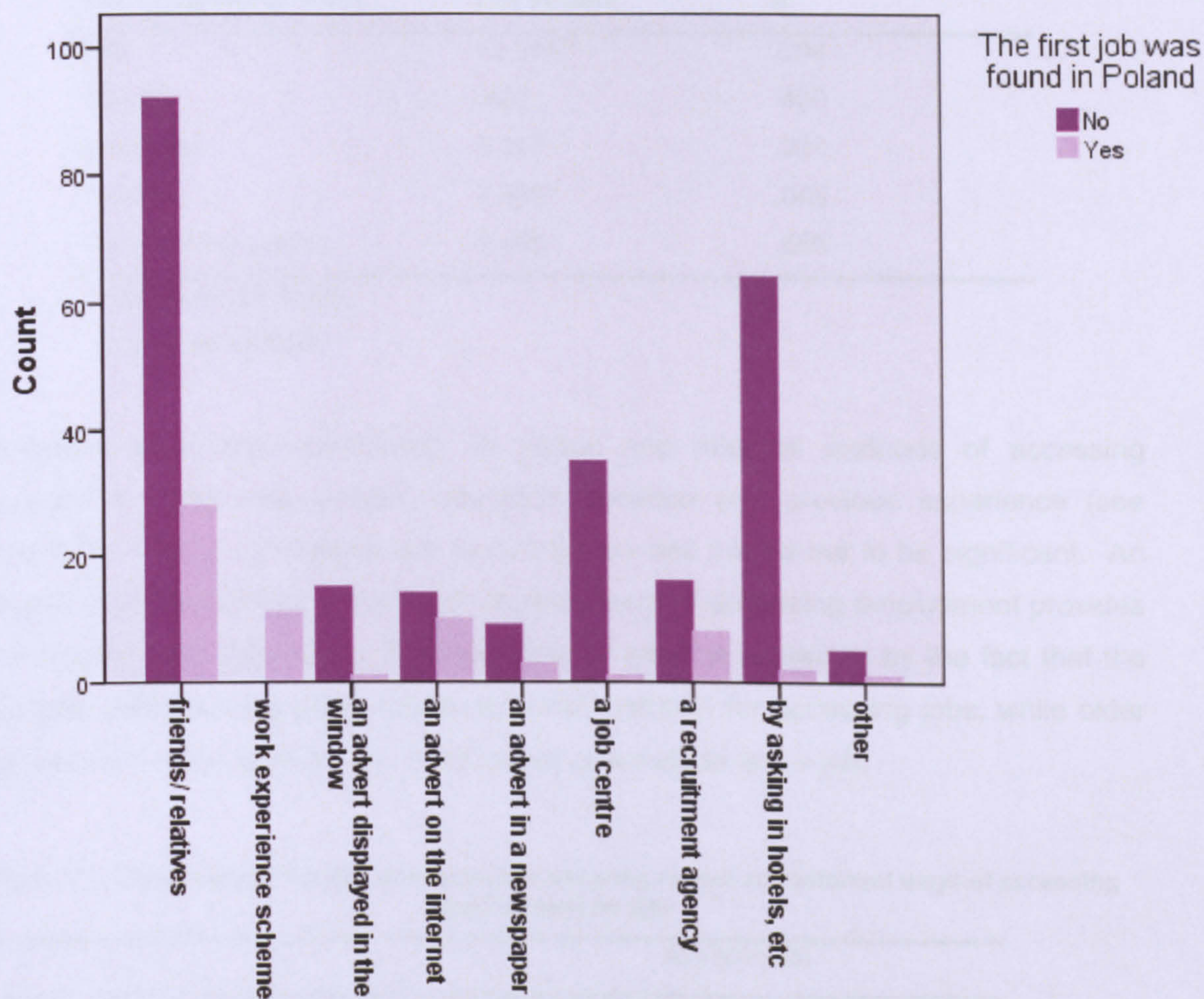
Furthermore, 5% found their jobs after seeing an advert displayed in the window of the hospitality establishments while 4% used advertising in a newspaper. A work experience scheme resulted in a job for 3.5% of the respondents. The remaining 2% found their jobs using different methods such as sending CVs via email to hotels or taking their CVs to a particular hotel (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3. Other methods of job hunting

Other methods of job hunting
Distributing CVs in hotels
Finding adverts on 'Wailing wall' in London (Newsagents opposite Polish Culture Centre)
Sending emails to hotels with an attached CV

The range of job hunting methods indicates that informal methods such as friends' recommendations and entering places and asking for jobs are in use by the majority of the survey respondents. In total, 64% of the respondents have used informal methods. Those who found their jobs in the sector before arriving in the country represent a slightly different pattern (Figure 6.3). Finding jobs through networks is the commonly used method for finding employment and as many as 43% of the migrants used their connections to find a job in the sector. Other popular ways include using a work experience scheme (17%), finding an advert on the internet (15%) or using a recruitment agency (12%).

Figure 6.3. Ways of accessing employment in the UK from Poland and after arriving in the UK



Those who did not have their jobs organised before arriving in the UK represent nearly 80% of the survey respondents. For those who found their jobs after arriving in the UK, the pattern was similar with respondents using networks as the most popular way of accessing jobs, although the proportion is slightly smaller (37%). The second popular method is asking about jobs in premises (26%), and the third one is via a job centre (14%). The methods chosen by those who found their jobs after arriving in the UK are consistent with those of all the respondents.

Further analysis using Chi-square test and cross tabulations was carried out in order to find out whether there are significant differences between those who found their jobs using different methods of employment; formal or informal. Demographic variables such as gender, education, job location, previous occupation and age were used for the analysis.

Table 6.4. Chi-square statistics comparing formal/informal ways of accessing employment with demographics

Formal/informal ways	Chi square	p
Age	13.304**	.004
Gender	.498	.480
Education	9.187	.057
Location	7.989*	.046
Previous occupation	1.486	.686

**significant at 0.005

*significant at 0.05

Chi-square tests were performed on formal and informal methods of accessing employment using age, gender, education, location and previous experience (see Table 6.4). Firstly, Chi-square test performed on age turned out to be significant. An analysis of frequencies of formal and informal ways of accessing employment provides more details (see Table 6.5). This significance may be explained by the fact that the youngest workers were using mostly informal methods for accessing jobs, while older workers were more likely to use more formal channels to find a job.

Table 6.5. Observed and expected frequencies showing formal and informal ways of accessing employment by age

			Age (Binned)				
			19-22	23-26	27-29	30-55	Total
formal and informal methods	Informal	Count	45	88	41	28	202
		Expected Count	39.8	80.2	49.4	32.7	202.0
	formal	Count	17	37	36	23	113
		Expected Count	22.2	44.8	27.6	18.3	113.0
Total		Count	62	125	77	51	315
		Expected Count	62.0	125.0	77.0	51.0	315.0

An analysis of all methods for accessing employment provides more details on these differences (see Table 6.6). It demonstrates that there is a significant proportion of the respondents aged 23-26 who accessed employment by asking about jobs in the premises. In contrast, older workers were less likely to use this method of job hunting. One explanation for it may be that this group age includes students who arrived in the UK for their 'working holidays' (King 1995), and looked for jobs by going from one hotel to another one.

Table 6.6. Observed and expected frequencies showing ways of accessing employment by age

How did you find your first job in H&C?		Age (Binned)				
		19-22	23-26	27-29	30-55	Total
friends/ relatives	Count	28	47	26	19	120
	Expected Count	23.6	47.6	29.3	19.4	120.0
work experience scheme	Count	2	4	5	0	11
	Expected Count	2.2	4.4	2.7	1.8	11.0
an advert displayed in the window	Count	4	5	3	4	16
	Expected Count	3.1	6.3	3.9	2.6	16.0
an advert on the internet	Count	5	5	9	5	24
	Expected Count	4.7	9.5	5.9	3.9	24.0
an advert in a newspaper	Count	1	5	4	2	12
	Expected Count	2.4	4.8	2.9	1.9	12.0
a job centre	Count	5	15	8	8	36
	Expected Count	7.1	14.3	8.8	5.8	36.0
a recruitment agency	Count	3	7	7	7	24
	Expected Count	4.7	9.5	5.9	3.9	24.0
by asking in hotels, etc	Count	13	36	12	5	66
	Expected Count	13.0	26.2	16.1	10.7	66.0
other	Count	1	1	3	1	6
	Expected Count	1.2	2.4	1.5	1.0	6.0
Total	Count	62	125	77	51	315
	Expected Count	62.0	125.0	77.0	51.0	315.0

Chi-square tests do not reveal statistical differences between respondents' qualifications and their ways of accessing employment, however the overview of frequencies of formal and informal methods (see Table 6.7) suggests that those with relevant qualifications, not surprisingly, were more likely to use formal routes to find employment.

Table 6.7. Observed and expected value showing formal and informal ways of accessing employment by qualifications

		Qualifications					Total
		Second	Highly educated	Vocat.	Hospitality qualif	Other	
Informal	Count	58	120	7	7	10	202
	Expected Count	53.9	119.9	7.1	12.8	8.3	202.0
formal	Count	26	67	4	13	3	113
	Expected Count	30.1	67.1	3.9	7.2	4.7	113.0
Total	Count	84	187	11	20	13	315
	Expected Count	84.0	187.0	11.0	20.0	13.0	315.0

Further, an analysis of all the methods for accessing employment revealed more (see Table 6.8). Those with secondary education were more likely to access employment

through friends and relatives. In contrast, those with high educational attainment were likely to find employment by asking in premises and less likely to find jobs through friends. One explanation for this may be that those who were studying at university had a better level of English and could find jobs in a more independent way. Thus, it is possible that they did not have to rely on others to find jobs.

Table 6.8. Observed and expected frequencies showing specific ways of accessing employment by qualifications

How did you find your first job in H&C?		Qualifications					Total
		Second	Highly educated	Vocat.	Hospitality qualif	Other	
friends/ relatives	Count	42	61	6	5	6	120
	Expected Count	32.0	71.2	4.2	7.6	5.0	120.0
work experience scheme	Count	1	7	0	3	0	11
	Expected Count	2.9	6.5	.4	.7	.5	11.0
an advert displayed in the window	Count	4	11	0	0	1	16
	Expected Count	4.3	9.5	.6	1.0	.7	16.0
an advert on the internet	Count	7	14	1	2	0	24
	Expected Count	6.4	14.2	.8	1.5	1.0	24.0
an advert in a newspaper	Count	2	9	0	1	0	12
	Expected Count	3.2	7.1	.4	.8	.5	12.0
a job centre	Count	7	22	2	3	2	36
	Expected Count	9.6	21.4	1.3	2.3	1.5	36.0
a recruitment agency	Count	7	12	1	3	1	24
	Expected Count	6.4	14.2	.8	1.5	1.0	24.0
by asking in hotels, etc	Count	12	48	1	2	3	66
	Expected Count	17.6	39.2	2.3	4.2	2.7	66.0
other	Count	2	3	0	1	0	6
	Expected Count	1.6	3.6	.2	.4	.2	6.0
Total	Count	84	187	11	20	13	315
	Expected Count	84.0	187.0	11.0	20.0	13.0	315.0

Moreover, the analysis of migrants' location revealed some significant differences in terms of the ways used to access employment. The analysis of frequencies presented in Table 6.9 gives more insights into the nature of these differences.

Table 6.9. Observed and expected frequencies showing formal and Informal ways of accessing employment by location

		First Job Location				Total
		London	England	Scotland	other	
Informal	Count	33	121	38	10	202
	Expected	28.9	116.7	41.0	15.4	202.0
formal	Count	12	61	26	14	113
	Expected	16.1	65.3	23.0	8.6	113.0
Total	Count	45	182	64	24	315
	Expected	45.0	182.0	64.0	24.0	315.0

The analysis suggests that migrants in Wales, Northern Ireland, Jersey and the Isle of Wight were using formal methods for accessing employment. This may be explained by the fact that migrants themselves would target cities first in order to look for a job, unless they have family or friends in other, more remote places. Chi-square tests performed on previous occupation and gender did not reveal any differences.

6.4.1 Personal connections

This study reveals that the most popular way to access employment is by using some kind of personal connection. Networks are used in finding a job in the sector and, subsequently, migrants advise others, including friends, family members and strangers about job vacancies. Data from interviews explain this further and the following quote from an ex-hotel worker illustrates it:

At that time no one expected that after 6 months my cousin would start working there, then my other cousin, then after 18 months my sister, then my second sister, this is how it was... If someone was reliable he/she could recommend family members or other people.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

Artur, who found a job in a hotel via a work experience scheme back in Poland, was able to organise jobs in the same hotel for many of his family members. This supports the claim by Ryan *et al.* (2009) that cousins and siblings play an important role in Polish migrants' networks. Those who found their jobs via job centres may still have heard about potential work before going to the job centres. One interviewee specifies how she found a job:

First, I went to a job centre (...). (and) there was an advert saying that staff was needed, so I printed it out, I rung them, (and) I found out that they were still looking for staff, so I left my application form and the following day a manager rang me back. My sister-in-

law also recommended this job to me, because she had also left her application form earlier on.

(Magda, hotel worker)

Another example of accessing employment through personal connections was provided at the end of the online survey:

'My girlfriend had worked there first, she took me there (wciagnela mnie) and later on we suggested this job to one of our friends'. (Respondent 93)

Previous studies on the international workforce in hospitality found that networks were a popular method for finding employment (Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b; McDowell *et al.* 2007). From the perspective of employers, using personal connections from existing staff was beneficial as it provided a cheap form of advertising and brought trust to the team.

6.4.2 The internet

Apart from strong ties such as family or friend ties discussed above, networks with acquaintances facilitate findings jobs. Using the internet is another way of looking for jobs in hospitality. Hiller and Franz (2004) demonstrated that migrants use the internet in different stages of their migrating lives as well as in the pre-migration phase when they look for jobs, accommodation and general information. Netnographic studies explain further how the internet can be used in obtaining employment. Firstly, Polish jobseekers post messages on online fora, and those who are looking for staff do the same. The users may not be a part of the online community but they still benefit from participating in online exchanges as it leads to accessing new knowledge and resources.

The overview of internet fora shows that the internet is often used for job adverts publicising many from basic operational positions to managerial ones. The use of language used in these adverts varies from being very informal (using emoticons and chatty style), to formal, professional language. For example, a job for a Kitchen Porter was advertised on the Glasgow forum (*forum.glasgow24.pl*):

Work as kitchen porter.

Unfortunately, I'm taking applications today only, later on a colleague from the restaurant will be asking among her acquaintances. Requested is info on the level of English + whatever may be relevant, unfortunately, you will have to commute to braesden...my email:@googlemail.com.

Greetings. ☺

(forum.glasgow24.pl, 18.04.2007, thread: work for KP from now)

Jobs for those with more experienced are publicised on the internet fora as well:

I'm looking for an experienced person to work as Restaurant Assistant in a four-star hotel in central Manchester.

(mojawyspa.pl, 01.24.2006)

Once this advert appeared on the forum, it received an immediate reply from Artur, who was interested in the position:

Hi. My name is Artur. Currently working in a hotel in Northampton as a restaurant supervisor. Could I ask more information? My email:.....@interia.pl.

Warm Greetings

(mojawyspa.pl, 01.25.2006)

Finally, jobs that are advertised in a more professional way, similar to newspaper advertising, may also appear on internet fora:

Job for a Restaurant Manager - £23,000 annually

We are looking for a Restaurant Manager to work in a beautiful 4 hotel in South of England. If you have a minimum two years experience in a similar position and speak English, you are very welcome to send a CV on: bristol@.....co.uk or 004.....*

(gazeta.pl, 26.06.2006)

Such examples from internet discussion sites indicate that, next to personal connections such as ties with family or friends, loose ties between members of a virtual community can serve as a source of knowledge and advice in job seeking. The internet proves to be a popular tool for both migrants and employers, and it can be used formally/informally, and for a range of positions within the sector.

6.4.3 A work experience scheme

Using a work experience scheme was one of the less popular methods among survey respondents, although a convenient way of finding one. This method however, guaranteed a job and a place to stay before arriving in the UK. The findings from interviews give some more explanation about the procedure:

I came (to the UK) 3 years ago to a language school. It was supposed to be school, work and accommodation, and it was supposed to last 3 months (laugh)... It was arranged in Poland through a recruitment agency.

(Asia, hotel receptionist)

Often language classes were provided within the scheme, and an agency may have worked with a local language school:

There was another programme called 'work experience', and both of them were run by the school, English 2000. They were closely working with the Royal Bath Hotel.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

Those who choose this type of job searching technique with their jobs being organised by a company before leaving Poland had to be aware of the cost of the 'work and learn experience' scheme. In fact, a high cost of such programme is an important element of the whole experience of going to work in the UK hospitality sector, which is highlighted by the respondents:

I had a choice to take part in this programme and organise money which wasn't cheap; it cost £500 or £600.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

There were classes twice a week for 3 months and the cost was £500...

(Asia, hotel receptionist)

The fee paid for the programme may also cover language classes. A work experience scheme was a popular method for accessing employment before the 2004 EU Enlargement. Despite high cost, the scheme guaranteed a job with accommodation, reducing risks involved in looking for a job independently.

6.5 Reasons for entering the sector

The reasons for the significant number of Polish migrants arriving in the UK hospitality sector were explained. The respondents were asked to rate the degree of agreement or disagreement with 11 statements on a 5-point Likert scale, giving possible motives for taking a job in the hospitality sector in the UK. Several statements were extracted from the literature on tourism mobility (Szivas and Riley 1999; Szivas *et al.* 2003; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007), as they seemed to be relevant for the Polish employees. The situation in the Hungarian labour market (see Szivas and Riley 1999) at the end of the 80s could be comparable with the situation of Poles looking for a job outside Poland in 2004. In both countries, individuals were separated from their education and experience due to political change and unemployment. Other statements used for this research were identified during the analysis of qualitative data from netnography and interviews.

In order to present the importance of particular statements, the responses on a scale such as 'strongly agree' and 'agree' were combined into 'agree' responses. The findings show that the top of the list was taken by 82% of respondents who chose to work because they wanted to use foreign languages. This is without doubt one of the reasons reflecting a positive image of the industry. Equally important for the respondents was that they could start working as soon as possible, with 81% agreeing that it was important to them. Further, 60% wanted to gain some work experience and another 51% agreed that receiving benefits such as tips or food was an important motive.

On the low end of the scale, few agreed that they have qualifications in hospitality (15%) and 20% stated that they did not know how to look for work in the UK. 44% of the respondents were looking for a temporary job, while 30% of the respondents needed to find a summer job. On the other hand, nearly half of the respondents disagreed with the latter statement; for 50% of the respondents, finding a temporary job was not a reason for choosing this sector of employment, which indicates that, at the time of looking for work, they were not seeking a temporary solution only.

Regarding the reasons for looking for a job requiring no qualifications, the respondents were divided; 42% of them agreed or strongly agreed that it was their motivation, while 45% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement. The respondents who took a job in hospitality because it was easy to find represent 45%, while 40% disagreed with the statement. This is one way of ranking the importance of the statements. Another way of doing so is to rank the statements by their mean scores. In order to examine

the importance of every statement, the possible motives were ranked by their mean scores. When interpreting the scores, lower means indicate disagreement, while higher scores imply agreement (strongly agree = 5, strongly disagree = 1). The means and standard deviations for the 11 statements are shown in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10. Means and Standard Deviation for the statement list

Statement	Mean	SD
I wanted to use foreign languages	4.23	1.14
I could start as soon as possible	4.12	1.21
I wanted to gain work experience	3.40	1.39
I receive other benefits (food, tips etc)	3.18	1.44
I heard it was easy to find a job in this sector	3.01	1.34
I needed a job which did not require any particular qualification	2.91	1.42
I needed a temporary job	2.81	1.62
I could not find a job elsewhere	2.61	1.41
I needed a summer job	2.30	1.66
I did not know how to look for a job	2.23	1.29
I have qualifications in hospitality	1.66	1.34

This analysis illustrates positive attitudes towards taking up jobs in the sector. The statement with the strongest agreement was '*I wanted to use foreign languages*'. The popularity of this statement suggests that the respondents see the interpersonal contacts and interactions with foreign people as attractive. The second statement with the strongest support was '*I could start working as soon as possible*'. This suggests that migrants wanted to enter the labour market at the earliest opportunity, and it supports the argument that Poles may not be well prepared for job searching abroad (see gazeta.pl 2006). The third strongest statement indicates the positive image of hospitality employment: '*I wanted to gain some work experience*'. Getting some initial experience in the British labour market is important, as it may increase the chances of finding another job. The first and third statements suggest that this work environment would allow gaining certain skills, and it further suggests the value of interpersonal contact in this working environment. The statement with the lowest agreement was '*I have qualifications in tourism*' and suggests many of the respondents have been trained in other areas. It was revealed earlier in this chapter that only a small proportion of the respondents have qualifications in hospitality.

Factor analysis was carried out in order to explore further the reasons for entering the hospitality industry and to compare against previous research on employees' motivations. More specifically, the rationale for the factors derives from the literature review on labour mobility into tourism. In the first study conducted in Hungary (Szivas

and Riley 1999), the factor analysis resulted in 9 factors that were later reduced to 5 orientations to work. The most frequently used motivational orientation was *the refugee*, followed by *the positive* and *the wanderer* orientation. Another two orientations were *the instrumental utility* and *the entrepreneurial*. The second study by Szivas *et al.* (2003) resulted in 8 factors that were combined to form 5 orientations using the same labels as in the previous study but the researchers did not decide on any dominant orientation. The last study conducted in Canada (Vaugeois and Rollins 2007) found 8 factors and reduced them to five orientations with 'lifestyle' and 'entrepreneurial' being the strongest motivational drivers. Consequently, these orientations represent positive attributes of the industry.

Factor analysis, a technique used for data reduction, can be conducted in several ways (Punch 2005). This study has used Principal Component Analysis (PCA) to reduce the data and extract the factors. Prior to performing PCA, the suitability of data for factor analysis was assessed as recommended (Pallant 2007). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value of 0.614 exceeded the recommended value of 0.6 (Pallant 2007), and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance (.000) (Table 6.11).

Table 6.11. KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.614
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	465.110
	df	55
	Sig.	.000

Principal component analysis was used in the research using SPSS version 16. The PCA revealed the presence of four components with eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 20%, 16%, 12% and 10% of the variance respectively (Table 6.12). The factor solution satisfies the Kaiser's criterion of selecting only those with a minimum eigenvalue of 1 and extracted factors account for 59% of the variance. It was decided to keep the four components for further analysis as the scree plot has not revealed any clear breaks between the components.

Table 6.12. The four components from a principal component analysis (PCA) of reasons for entering the hospitality sector.

PC	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative
1	2.220	20.179	20.179
2	1.774	16.125	36.304
3	1.379	12.541	48.845
4	1.113	10.117	58.962

To make interpretation of the components easier, it was decided to perform a rotation. The factor rotation applied was Orthogonal (Varimax). The analysis resulted in a 4-factor solution with eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 16%, 14%, 14% and 13% of the variance respectively (Table 6.14). The factor solution satisfies the Kaiser's criterion for selecting only those with a minimum eigenvalue of 1 and that extracted factors account for 59% of the variance. The bold items that loaded on each factor were between 0.609 and 0.862. Of the bold factor loadings, all but one is positive. The only negative loading is carried by variable 4 on factor 2. The factor loading matrix shown in Table 6.13 was used so that variables with high loadings appeared together on the scale.

Table 6.13. Factor loadings following Varimax Rotation

Rotated Component Matrix^a				
	1	2	3	4
I wanted to use foreign languages	.788			
I wanted to gain work experience	.765			
I receive other benefits	.609			
I have qualifications in H&C		-.731		
I needed a job without qualifications		.718		
I heard it was easy to find a job in this sector		.636		.393
I needed a summer job			.862	
I needed a temporary job			.856	
I did not know how to look for a job				.698
I could start as soon as possible				.631
I could not find a job elsewhere	-.363			.612

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation.

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

The resulting factors in this research were named after analysing similarities between the statements in each factor loaded and past studies facilitated the choice of names. As outlined in Chapter 3.2.6, the use of the term 'orientation' was applied to the previous studies on labour mobility in Hungary, the UK and Canada (Szivas and Riley 1999; Szivas *et al.* 2003; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007).

The factors generated (Table 6.14) were labelled as follows:

Factor 1 (16% of variability) has high loadings on items related to positive image of the industry. Labelled: *Positive Orientation*

Factor 2 (14% of variability) has high loadings on items related to accessible image of the industry. Labelled: *Convenience Orientation*

Factor 3 (14% of variability) has high loadings on items related to time aspect. Labelled: *Short-term Orientation*

Factor 4 (12% of variability) has high loadings on items related to the negative image of the industry. Labelled: *Refuge Orientation*

Table 6.14. The four factor solution from a principal component analysis (PCA) of reasons for entering the hospitality sector.

Factor	Factor name	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative
Factor 1	Positive Orientation	1.797	16.339	16.339
Factor 2	Convenience Orientation	1.601	14.558	30.898
Factor 3	Short-term Orientation	1.580	14.361	45.259
Factor 4	Refuge Orientation	1.570	13.703	58.962

The statements loaded on the first factor represent the highest level of variance and include the following statements loaded: '*I wanted to use foreign languages*', '*I wanted to gain work experience*' and '*I receive other benefits*'. It indicates that **the positive image of the industry was a motivating factor to take up jobs in the UK hospitality industry.**

Those loaded on the second factor are the statements concerning motives such as '*easy to find*', '*without a particular qualification*' and '*having qualifications in tourism*'. The last statement is the only negative loading and it works in the opposite direction, meaning that the respondents did not have qualifications in tourism. The three statements indicate that **the motivating drivers to working in the sector were a lack of other options in the labour market and accessibility of the sector.**

The third factor is loaded with two statements related to time i.e. taking jobs because of the need for a summer period or a temporary position. These two statements grouped together refer to **the temporal dimensions and treat the working experience in the sector as a short-term solution.**

Those loading on the fourth factor took three statements concerned with not being able to find a job elsewhere, needing a job quickly and not knowing how to look for a job. These statements indicate **a lack of abilities and skills to find a job somewhere else and are related to a negative image of the industry associated with a refuge option.**

The portrait that emerges from the study is that the main reasons for entering the industry is its positive image – migrants want to use foreign languages, gain work experience and receive benefits that the industry provides. The second important factor confirms the negative perceptions of the industry, its low skilled perceptions and accessibility. According to Szivas *et al.* (2003), '*accessibility offers opportunity but simultaneously devalues the occupation by lowering its social and economic status*' (p.66). Thus, it is possible that migrants want to get into the labour market at the earliest opportunity and the hospitality sector facilitates it.

The importance of the first two factors: *Positive Orientation* and *Convenience Orientation* is in line with the study conducted in the UK by Szivas *et al.* (2003), and it supports the positive image obtained from the study conducted in Canada (Vaugeois and Rollins 2007). In the latter study, lifestyle and entrepreneurial were the dominant orientations towards tourism employment. The third factor that has emerged from this study is related to the time aspect, which is a new feature in these studies, and it suggests that hospitality employment is treated as a short-term solution. Time aspects and the idea of temporariness is indeed an important element of the immigrants' experience and will be revisited (Chapter 7.4.1).

The aim of conducting factor analysis was to find the reasons for accessing the hospitality employment and to compare it with other studies on labour mobility. The test revealed that the positive image of the industry was a slightly dominating factor. Therefore, it does not support the first study indicating the importance of the sector as 'a refuge' (Szivas and Riley 1999). However, it also indicates the importance of the time aspects. It is likely that migrants see the accessibility of hospitality employment as a chance to familiarise themselves with the labour market and to look for jobs

elsewhere. The factor analysis revealed migrants' views on the industry, which will form a more detailed discussion on the industry's image supported by the qualitative findings in Chapter 7.

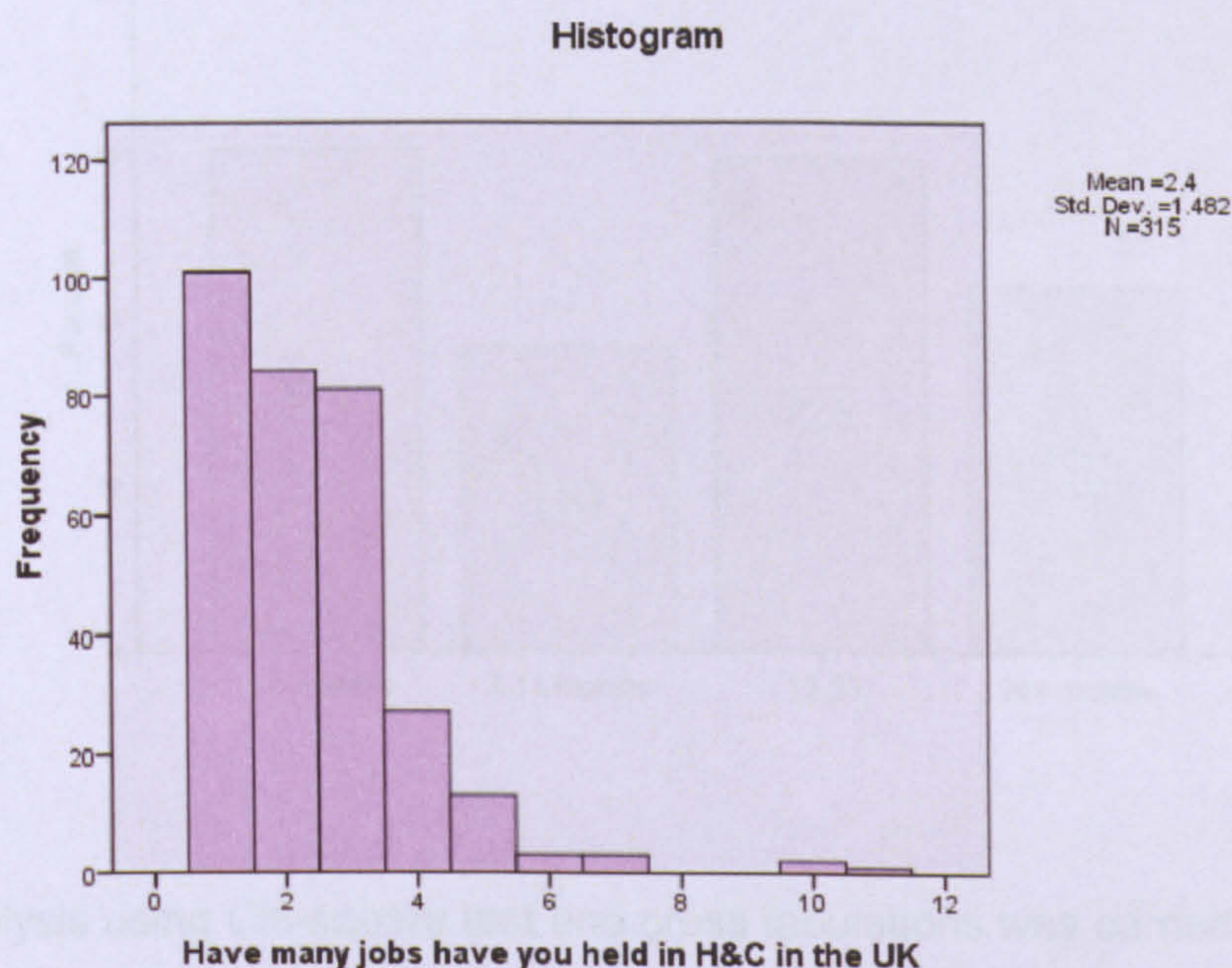
6.6 Work experience

The survey respondents were asked about their work experience in the UK hospitality industry. The theme included questions about their first job and last or current job in the sector, the number of jobs in hospitality and the duration of work experience.

Number of jobs

The findings from the study show that the majority of the respondents have held up to three positions while working in the hospitality industry in the UK. More specifically, 32% of respondents have had one post, another 27% have had two jobs, and 26% have had three jobs in the industry (Figure 6.4). Next, 9% of Polish workers have had four jobs and another 4% have had five jobs. Six and seven jobs have had been held by 1%. The remaining 0.9% has had ten or eleven positions within the sector.

Figure 6.4. The number of jobs performed by migrants in the UK hospitality sector (histogram)



These results revealed that respondents change positions frequently. In the following chapter, the interview findings will provide more detail on how job mobility can contribute to career progression (see Chapter 7.4). On the other hand, such frequent changes of positions may explain the high turnover in the industry.

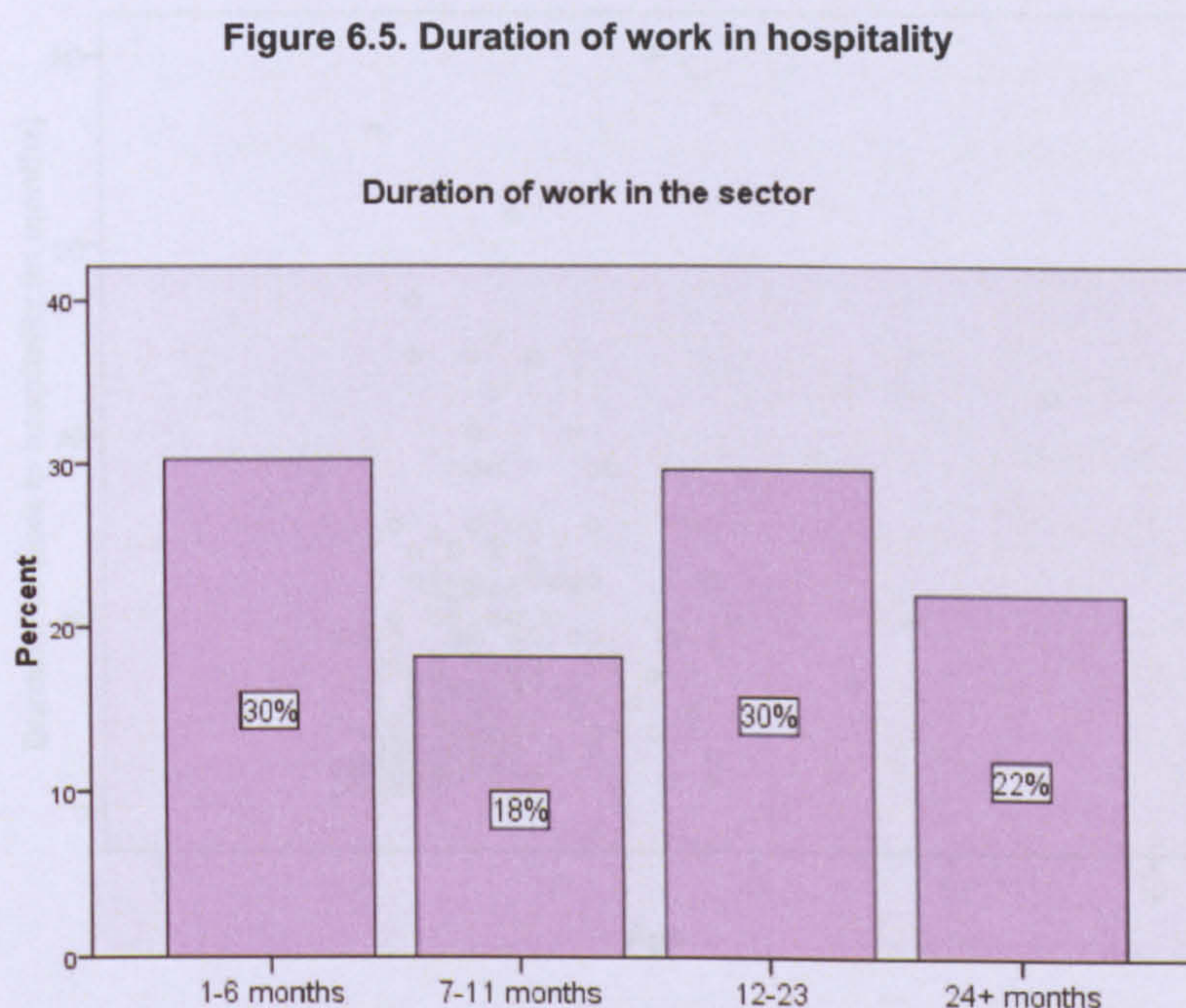
Table 6.15. Chi-square statistics comparing the length of working in hospitality with demographics

Duration of work in hospitality

The vast majority of respondents, comprising 85%, has been working (or worked) for less than two years (see Figure 6.5). A substantial number of people (30%) worked less than 6 months whilst the same percentage of the respondents has been working between 12 and 23 months. 18% of them have spent between 7 and 11 months in the sector. Finally, 22% have been engaged in the sector for more than 2 years.

The mean for duration of work in the sector is 14.96 and the longest individual stay has been 80 months (more than 6 years). Previous studies (Devine *et al.* 2007b) revealed that migrants in hotels often stayed between 8 and 12 months. The study findings indicate that migrants have not been working long. Thus, the sector's influence on migrants' adaptation process, as portrayed in the following chapters, must be in its early stages.

Figure 6.5. Scatter showing the correlation between the age and duration of work



The diagram demonstrates that the older respondents tend to stay longer in the sector.

Further analysis using Chi-square test and cross tabulations was carried out in order to find out whether there are significant differences in terms of the respondents' demographics and the length of period remaining in the sector. Demographic variables such as gender, education, job location, previous occupation and age were used for the analysis.

Another set of questions included in the questionnaire concerned information on first and preferred job and a specific hospitality sector. The findings indicate that 65% of

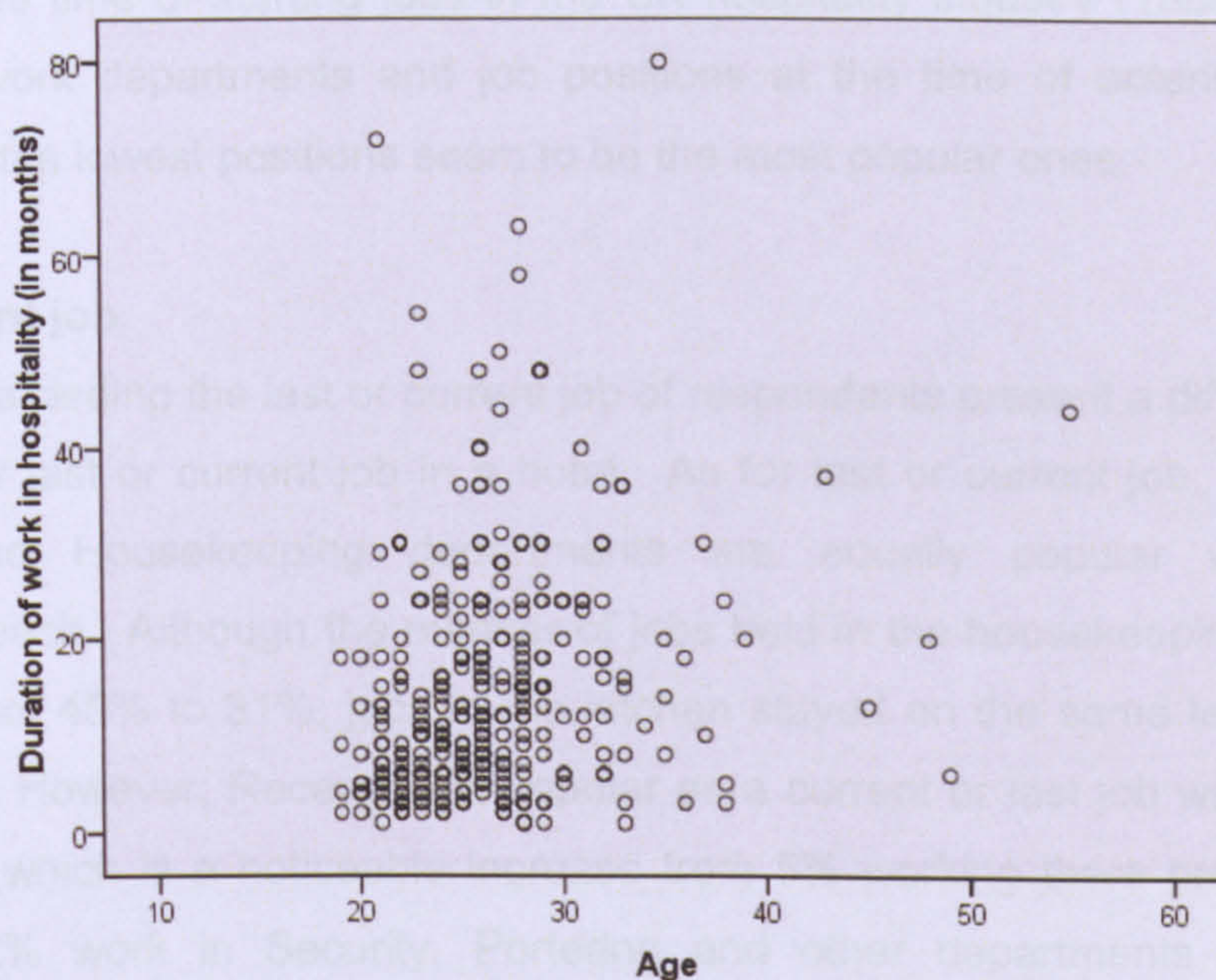
Table 6.15. Chi-square statistics comparing the length of working in hospitality with demographics

Duration	Chi square	p
Age	29.582*	.001
Gender	4.716	.194
Education	13.941	.304
Location	13.117	.157
Previous occupation	5.373	.801

*significant at 0.05

The Chi-square analysis performed on age, gender, education, location and previous occupation turned out to be significant in relation to age only. Spearman's correlation coefficient test revealed significance. The diagram presented below (Figure 6.6) shows a weak positive relationship between the respondents' age and the length of time they have worked in the industry ($r_s = 0.284$, $N=314$, $p<0.001$).

Figure 6.6. Scatter showing the correlation between the age and duration of work



The diagram demonstrates that the older respondents tend to stay longer in the sector. This may be because younger migrants go abroad for the summer months only, and then return to their country to continue to study. On the other hand, older workers may be less mobile and more likely to stay in their workplace.

First job

Another set of questions included in the questionnaire contained information on first and last/current job and a specific hospitality sector. The findings indicate that 58% of

the respondents worked in a hotel and the remaining 42% worked in other hospitality places such as pubs, restaurants, cafes or catering outlets.

For those employed in hotels (N=183), the most common department in which to work is Housekeeping (45%), followed by Food and Beverage (33%), and Kitchen (12%) (see Table 6.16). The remainder were employed in Reception (5%), Porterage (2%) and other hotel departments (3%). Among those who had their first job in places other than a hotel (N=132), 51.5% worked in a restaurant, 14% in a bar and 11% in a pub. Café was a first workplace for 9% of the respondents, and 14% did some catering work (Table 6.17).

In terms of job position, a third of respondents started their jobs as waiters or waitresses and the second biggest group was represented by housekeepers (26%). 14% were working as Kitchen Porters and 11% as bar persons. Among the supervisory positions, 2% were team leaders, 1% were restaurant supervisors and 1% were assistant managers. In total, 5% of respondents were working in supervisory positions at the time of starting jobs in the UK hospitality industry (Table 6.18). The overview of work departments and job positions at the time of entering the sector suggests that the lowest positions seem to be the most popular ones.

Last or current job

The findings regarding the last or current job of respondents present a different pattern. 58% had their last or current job in a hotel. As for last or current job, the Food and Beverage and Housekeeping departments are equally popular with 31% of respondents each. Although the number of jobs held in the housekeeping department decreased from 45% to 31%, jobs in the kitchen stayed on the same level: with 12% (Table 6.18). However, Reception is popular as a current or last job with 14% of the respondents, which is a noticeable increase from 5% working there previously. The remaining 12% work in Security, Porterage and other departments within hotels. Among those who work in places other than hotels, a restaurant is again the most popular place (55%). Bar and catering work are workplaces for 14% of the respondents and pubs and cafés for another 9% respectively. Catering work is performed by 12% of the respondents (Table 6.17).

The pattern of working positions has slightly changed (see Table 6.18). There is still a big proportion of respondents employed as waiters or waitresses (26%) but numbers have decreased from their first job. There are fewer housekeepers with 17% compared with 26% who started in these positions. Bar persons again represent 10%,

receptionists have doubled from 3% to 6% and there are fewer Kitchen Porters (7%) and more Chefs (7%).

Compared with the first job, 18% of staff now works in supervisory positions of which 5% are team leaders while assistant managers represent the biggest proportion at 6%. Another 4% are now restaurant supervisors, 2% are deputy managers and 1% are general managers. The percentage of staff in supervisory positions has more than tripled.

Table 6.16. The frequency of those working in hotel departments representing first and last/current job

Hotel Departments	First job			Last/ current job		
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Bar	13	4.1	7.1	15	4.8	8.6
Restaurant	46	14.6	25.1	38	12.1	21.7
Cafe	1	.3	.5	1	.3	.6
Reception	9	2.9	4.9	24	7.6	13.7
Kitchen	22	7.0	12.0	21	6.7	12.0
Housekeeping	82	26.0	44.8	54	17.1	30.9
Security	0	0	0	2	.6	1.1
Portering	4	1.3	2.2	3	1.0	1.7
Other hotel dep.	6	1.9	3.3	17	5.4	9.7
Total	183	58.1	100.0	175	55.6	100.0
Total	315	100		315	100.0	

Table 6.17. The frequency of respondents' workplaces other than hotels or B&B showing their first and current/last job

Jobs in other than Hotel or B&B	First job			Last/ current job		
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Restaurant	68	21.6	51.5	76	24.1	55.1
Bar	18	5.7	13.6	19	6.0	13.8
Pub	15	4.8	11.4	13	4.1	9.4
Cafe	12	3.8	9.1	13	4.1	9.4
Catering work	19	6.0	14.4	17	5.4	12.3
Total	132	41.9	100.0	138	43.8	100.0
	315	100.0		315	100.0	

Table 6.18. Jobs performed by the respondents as their first and last/current job

Positions	First Job		Last/current job	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
water/waitress	103	32.7	82	26.0
bar person	34	10.8	31	9.8
receptionist	10	3.2	20	6.3
kitchen porter	45	14.3	21	6.7
chef	15	4.8	23	7.3
housekeeper	81	25.7	54	17.1
team leader	6	1.9	17	5.4
hall/conference porter	2	.6	4	1.3
restaurant supervisor	4	1.3	12	3.8
assistant manager	3	1.0	20	6.3
deputy manager	1	.3	5	1.6
general manager	2	.6	3	1.0
other	9	2.9	23	7.3
Total	315	100.0	315	100.0

There is an interesting pattern seen in the job scope of respondents. Firstly, it is evident that many workers enter the hospitality sector through entry-level jobs such as kitchen porter and housekeeper. However, they gradually change their jobs and move up. If they stay in the sector, many of them change their positions to more challenging, more skilled positions such as receptionists or chefs. Another interesting point is that, when comparing with the first jobs performed by respondents, in their further jobs they are more likely to take up supervisory positions. The percentage of staff in supervisory positions has more than tripled; thus, the aggregate number is evidence of career progression. Another important message is the dominance of the hotel sector among respondents with more than half of them currently or formerly engaged on work in hotels.

Past research on international hospitality employees revealed working department or positions; however, it is not known whether these are migrants' first jobs in the hospitality sector or not. Devine *et al.* (2007a) revealed that international staff working in Northern Ireland were mostly employed as waiters/waitresses (33%), kitchen porters (22%), chefs (18%) and housekeepers (13%). In this study, there is a similar proportion of waiters and waitresses, a smaller percentage of kitchen porters and chefs, but a bigger proportion of housekeepers.

In a study conducted in remote areas (Baum *et al.* 2007), the two most popular departments were Food and Beverage (40%) and Kitchen (25.5%). In this research,

the two most popular departments for the last or current job was also Food and Beverage and Housekeeping (31% each), with Housekeeping having replaced Kitchen, as reported in past studies. A larger proportion of women in this sample, as women are more likely to work in housekeeping can explain the difference. Further, Baum *et al.* (2007) noticed that 9% of foreign employees were working in managerial or supervisory positions. In contrast, this research reveals as many as 18% of respondents took up supervisory posts in their current or last job. McDowell *et al.* (2007), in a study conducted in a London hotel, did not reveal the division of working positions but indicated that Polish workers were employed in the front-office team, catering and housekeeping.

Previous research conducted in Northern Ireland (Devine *et al.* 2007b) highlighted that migrant workers were treated as a short-term solution, a 'quick fix' to problems. For this reason, they were not given responsibilities by management and offered mainly entry-level positions with a majority in the kitchen and housekeeping departments. This study cannot comment on the specific increase in the number of employees being promoted, instead it shows a pattern suggesting some evidence of career progression. Finally, this study confirms previous research indicating the importance of the Food and Beverage department in career progression (Ladkin and Juwaheer 2000; Ladkin 2000; 2002). This particular department was central to the career of hotel managers.

6.7 Educated migrants but passive jobseekers – discussion

The profile obtained from the data gathered in the online survey shares several characteristics with government data on CEE workers (Home Office 2008b). 82% of registered workers from CCE countries between May 2004 and June 2008 were under 34 years old. However, gender segregation is specific to the industry, as the data from the Home Office suggest that there is slightly more men (57%) than women. Regarding regional distribution, government data indicate that, for those working in hospitality, the most popular areas are London (27%), Central England (10%), Scotland (10%) and the South West (10%). In this study, the biggest proportion of respondents was working in hospitality across England (57%). The discrepancies between data obtained in this study and the official data can be explained by the fact that the official data represents all the nationals of CEE states. Secondly, those working in hospitality probably differ from those working in sectors such as construction, which is predominantly male populated.

Overall, as for demographics, this study suggests that Polish employees who obtained employment in the hospitality sector in the UK are relatively young, with the vast majority below 30 years old, predominantly female, and well educated (65% of the Polish workers having a Bachelor's degree, master's degree or studying towards one). Their experience as students explains the lack of experience on the labour market.

The concept of networks and network-mediated migration (Massey *et al.* 1993; Boyd 1989) has a specific relevance for this research. It is vital not only when trying to explain the scale of migration from Poland to the British Isles but also the scale of the Polish workforce in the hospitality sector. The concept first emerged while conducting the interviews. In the further stage, the survey respondents were asked about job searching methods and this concept continued to be important because many indicated using personal connections to access employment.

Ryan *et al.* (2009) revealed that Polish migrants may arrive in Britain alone, but they are involved in complex networks in both Britain and back home. Cousins and siblings are key facilitators in migration strategies, as they are joined or been joined by their families. This is in line with findings from the interviews as well as data obtained from the online discussions. Previous research has noticed the importance of networks while accessing employment in the hospitality sector (McDowell *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b). A study conducted in Northern Ireland revealed that the use of employment agencies to recruit international staff had stopped because employers could rely on contacts from own staff (Devine *et al.* 2007b). Furthermore, Mathews and Ruhs (2007b) added that the high use of migrant networks by employers in the sector offers an opportunity to reduce the risk and costs of advertising. The most recent studies of international migrants in the hospitality sector, in common with this research, indicate that networks for accessing employment are widely used by immigrants.

It is striking that, despite their qualifications, migrants find jobs in the UK in low-paid sectors such as the hospitality industry by using informal methods. As was reported in a study conducted in Canada (see Krahn *et al.* 2000), credential recognition could be a potential explanatory factor. However, the difficulty of having educational and occupational credentials recognised has not been reported in this research or past studies concerning CEE migrants. It has not been reported either that migrants face discrimination and do not find jobs because of their race. Thus, the explanation for it must be somewhere else. There are three possible explanations for this identified in this research.

The most likely reason is that migrants do not possess sufficient English skills, as this is a frequent subject on migrants' fora. However, other factors are important. Another reason for this may be that migrants do not possess the necessary knowledge about local institutions and labour practices that would allow them to choose channels that are more appropriate for finding jobs. According to Okólski (gazeta.pl 2006), Poles leave without preparation and check job offers in 'shop windows' rather than formal places. This would involve a longer job searching process than getting a job through personal connections.

Another explanation may be that Poles behave on the British labour market like they do in Poland, where they use personal connections to find jobs as opposed to independent searching. This is an indication of a lack of trust in the public and private sectors in Poland. The high level of unemployment in the last years before EU accession forced Poles to look for jobs using personal connections. There is an expression in the Polish language about finding jobs this way: '*praca po znajomości*' - a job gained through someone's connections.

Finally, Poles' behaviour on the British labour market may also point to the incompatibility of the Polish educational system, which leaves graduates lacking the ability to search for jobs. However, this study will also indicate that migrants feel that they would gain experience and knowledge of the British working environment while working in the hospitality industry (see Chapter 8).

Using personal connections in recruitment has important implications for HRM recruitment strategies. Employing the friends and relatives of existing staff can be beneficial for employers in terms of marketing that is cheaper and more efficient than advertising in a newspaper or a Job Centre, and cheaper than employing via a recruitment agency. Further elements that can be considered as beneficial for employers are trustworthiness that is brought to the company while recruiting via networking. Moreover, as suggested by Wildes (2007), in the longer term the use of networks in recruitment and word-of-mouth advertising can serve as a solution to retention of workers.

Although there are a number of benefits arising from the use of networks by immigrants and employers while accessing employment in the hospitality industry, other issues should be addressed. A study conducted in the US by Waldinger (1997) concluded that recruiting workers using networks from existing staff may result in taking up only

people from the same national background and lead to 'social closure'. McDowell *et al.* (2007) found that a London hotel and its managers have recognised that and it was shown that Poles in this particular sector started building forms of 'cliques'. Working alongside co-nationals allowed them to use their own language in a way to evade disciplinary control. As a result, the use of personal connections to existing staff in this hotel was replaced by using agencies.

6.8 Summary

This chapter aimed to present and discuss the findings obtained from all the three research methods in relation to the first objective of this study: *to provide a profile of a sample of Polish hospitality workers in the UK in terms of demographics; gender, geographical location, education, previous work experience and job search techniques.* It also presented the findings in relation to migrants' reasons for entering the sector, which forms a part of Objective 2.

The profile of Polish hospitality workers emerging from this study indicates that those who work or worked in the UK hospitality industry are predominantly young, female, highly qualified and lacking in previous working experience. The job searching methods are mostly informal, which can be assessed as weak methods. Finally, migrants work in various hospitality departments and an important pattern shows that more migrants work in supervisory and in-front positions during their last or current jobs in comparison with their first job.

With regard to the reasons for entering hospitality employment, a positive image of the industry with ability to use foreign languages was found as the first reason for choosing the sector. The next chapter will continue exploring migrants' views on the sector by presenting findings obtained from the survey, interviews and netnography. Thus, it will discuss in more detail what motivates migrants to work in hospitality and what their image of the sector is.

7 Chapter Seven - Migrants' views on working in the UK hospitality sector

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with migrants' views on working in the hospitality sector and it forms a part of Objective 2 of the study: *to explore the migrant workers' reasons for choosing to work in the hospitality sector and their views on hospitality as an occupation*. It discusses positive and negative perceptions of work, assessment of careers and plans or reasons for leaving the sector.

The questions in the online survey included a section on satisfaction (see Appendix 4) but also provided space at the end of the questionnaire for migrants' own comments about their work experiences in the hospitality sector. One third of respondents wrote additional comments. The presentation of these findings shows a broad range of issues that were listed rather than the frequency of each of them. These views are also supported by the opinions of online fora users and interviewees.

7.2 Positive image of working in hospitality

Respondents' comments could be divided into two themes. Firstly, observations related to the positive aspects of working in the sector and, secondly, their negative views concerning working conditions and managements' poor behaviours. The original quotes translated into English are presented below. Positive remarks provided by the respondents about working in the hospitality sector could be classified by terms such as 'good to start with', 'promotion and recognition', 'people and atmosphere', 'flexibility', 'income' and 'not factory work'. This section will discuss some of the themes while opinions on the sector offering promotion and opportunity will be included in Chapter 8 (8.3.2). The reason for this is that when asked about what migrants gained from working in the hospitality sector, some mentioned their career progression.

7.2.1 Good to start with

Researchers agree that, for many, work in hospitality is their first job (Riley *et al.* 2002; Choi *et al.* 2000). Several respondents stated that jobs in the hospitality sector are a good starting point:

I think that it is a good job at the beginning of the stay in the UK, because it gives contact with people on a daily basis, which helps to improve language skills, meeting other cultures, mentalities... (Respondent 260)

It is 'a school of life' for those taking their first steps in the UK. After the initial shock, you get over it and you realise your own abilities and merits. (Respondent 74)

I think that working in hospitality is very good for a beginning, especially if one doesn't speak good English. But it is worth finding a hotel, restaurant, bar or another place where one can find additional bonuses (for example accommodation, meals, tips) and where there is a nice atmosphere. For those who want to improve their English, it is important not to speak Polish at work. (Respondent 203)

(It is) an excellent experience but for a short term. (Respondent 82)

Given that the nature of hospitality is an opportunity to work with people, this type of employment gives people a chance to improve language skills and learn about their own merits. It is also assessed as 'a school of life' for those who have just arrived in the UK and have to learn quickly about the new environment as well as themselves. Thus, this initial phase helps migrants be more independent. The time aspect has been highlighted as well:

Time to organise necessary documents. (Respondent 50)

Time to get to know the culture and local language. (Respondent 173)

It gave me the chance to survive the first year and to find a better job. (Respondent 10)

Overall, hospitality jobs are seen as temporary and as starter jobs. This theme will be revisited later in this chapter.

7.2.2 People and atmosphere

Developing relationships is a theme that has emerged throughout this study and it will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9 (9.3). These short statements given by the survey respondents reveal that Poles see the opportunity to meet other co-nationals, host

nationals, non-Europeans and non-white people from all over the world and they treat it as an advantage:

I have met many wonderful people from Poland and other countries (also non-Europeans). (Respondent 255)

(It is) an opportunity to meet interesting people (and) a partner. (Respondent 82)

Superb atmosphere (for the first time I have worked for an African woman and with people from other continents and countries). (Respondent 101)

Through contacts at work, I met many people including my next employer from a marketing company. (Respondent 173)

Both restaurants I worked for belonged to Italian owners, so they had their own specific atmosphere. (Respondent 272)

Dealing with people is without doubt one of the most important features of the hospitality industry that provides the 'glamour' side of hospitality work (Riley *et al.* 2002). A study of pub workers revealed that the chance to interact with other people was a source of job satisfaction (Riley *et al.* 1998). In line with this study, others observed that dealing with people was one of the most commonly mentioned motives among those who moved to tourism jobs (Szivas *et al.* 2003; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007). Lucas (2004) found that employees derived most satisfaction from social relationships. In contrast to the findings from this research, Wright and Pollert (2006) reported that, for many migrant workers, relationships with colleagues of different nationalities were a source of problems. This study, however, shows the opposite; migrants enjoyed working with people from all over the world. Such interactions are of significant importance for migrants' adaptation (Kim 1988) and Chapter 9 will discuss further the relationships that migrants developed while working in hospitality.

7.2.3 Flexibility in the sector

The sector's flexibility was also raised by the survey respondents, who mentioned flexible working hours that helped them to do other things simultaneously.

(It gave me) a relatively good and quick start in the UK, (and) quick money to cover basic needs. Work in gastronomy is a good base for looking further jobs, i.e. in someone's field (days off during the week, a chance to swap rota with other co-workers etc. It favours when going to a job agency and job interviews. (Respondent 279)

Ironically, the sector's flexibility is a merit as it gives an opportunity to look for a job outside the sector. Flexibility helps to keep a balance between work and personal life; being able to swap shifts with colleagues allowed migrants going for a job interview, studying or even going back to Poland to continue studying:

Most importantly (it gave me) flexible working hours, which was salient because, at the same time, I was studying full-time. (Respondent 126)

Being able to fit work in with studies is good. (Respondent 276)

In my case (it was) flexible working hours and the many unpaid holidays, which I have needed for studying in Poland. (Respondent 212)

The latter is an example of *transnationalism*. On the one hand, flexible working hours in hospitality, on the other hand, cheap flights facilitate transnational activities between migrants' destination and home country. This also points to the notion of 'migrant industry' (Garapich 2008). Air companies have adapted to the new environment and the needs of clients by providing many air links between Polish and British cities. In doing so, they have facilitated migrants leading 'dual lives'.

During an online discussion under the heading: *Has anyone ever succeeded in Great Britain?*, an internet user described how she studies and works in hospitality at the same time:

It's not easy to say that I have succeeded; but I am pleased at having been here for a few months now. (...) I am studying full-time doing a postgraduate course related to my profession, which is translations (I graduated from English studies in Poland). Apart from that, I am working in a nice restaurant as a supervisor (I started as a waitress) (...). Generally, I can't complain and I am trying to stay positive :) I hope that one day I will be able to work in my profession but, for now, I am improving my accent and the language.

(gazeta.pl, 01.01.07)

The flexible nature of hospitality suits students who can work and study (Lucas 2004; Hjalager and Andersen 2001). Although, for many, the sector's flexibility may be the reason for taking up jobs in the sector, some negative comments about working in hospitality concerning irregular hours will be presented further in Chapter 9. Split shifts and unsociable working hours may be complicating peoples' lives.

7.2.4 Income

Often, low pay in the industry contributes to the poor reputation of hospitality employment (Wood 1995; Choy 1995; Lukas 2004). This research asked what migrants gained from working in hospitality and several respondents mentioned their financial benefits.

It helped me to pay for school and living expenses. (Respondent 244)

Sometimes there are good tips. (Respondent 266)

Savings let me go back quickly to Poland. (Respondent 193)

Cash for visiting England in my spare time. (Respondent 272)

They explained that the money helped them to pay for schooling, tickets to Poland or for sightseeing in England. This is also related to becoming self-reliant. An isolated comment concerned extra benefits from working in the hospitality industry, tips. Migrants saw this element of receiving extra benefits as one of the top reasons for taking up employment (see Chapter 6, Table 6.10). The issue of wages will be further discussed in the same chapters. In contrast to the above opinions, migrants criticised their poor wages and problems with being paid (see Chapter 7.3.2).

7.2.5 'Negative pleasure'

Finally, there are a number of comments regarding general positive aspects of working in hospitality:

Little stress in the job and lots of free time. (Respondent 60)

Very pleasant. (Respondent 226)

It was my best job. (Respondent 277)

An easy job and money. (Respondent 57)

There is also a view of what Riley *et al.* (2002:64) call 'negative pleasure':

Fairly pleasant job compared to those in factories, farms etc. (Respondent 276)

Employees gain satisfaction from not doing something worse and value the attributes of jobs that are absent in factories, such as dealing with people, lack of close supervision and irregular flow of work (Riley *et al.* 2002, p.23 and p.64). Thus, when compared to monotonous and mechanical work in agriculture or food processing, hospitality jobs offer the alternative and may appear to be the least of the worst.

Finally, an isolated example shows that taking up a job in hospitality matched his lifestyle.

I treated this job as a yearlong episode that provided me with the money for spending my free time surfing (Jersey inland). (Respondent 67)

This example points to the type of 'migrant tourist worker' described by Bianchi (2000) and Uriely (2001). In line with the previous studies, it is clear that EU mobility gives potential to those who choose working in hospitality for their lifestyle rather than for economic reasons.

7.3 Negative comments on working in the sector

An analysis of comments given by respondents indicated that a substantial number of them consist of negative observations concerning views on working in hospitality. They included well-known features of hospitality jobs such as hard, physical work, long hours, working on rotas, low pay, discrimination and management's poor behaviour.

7.3.1 Exhausting long hours culture

For many of the respondents, the nature of hospitality work is described as exhausting. Many of the complaints portrayed that jobs are 'hard', 'very hard' and 'too hard'.

Horrible, hard work - typical work 'for the start'. (Respondent 222)

Hard work mainly at weekends, changing working times. (Respondent 105)

*Hard, very hard work, exploitive (work), which I am getting away from 😊
(Respondent 314)*

I don't recommend working in a hotel as a housekeeper, work is too hard and wages (are) poor. (Respondent 249)

*Work is usually hard. All day long on foot + getting up early or going to bed late.
(Respondent 34)*

*After work, one is all but dead on their feet and is not even able to move.
(Respondent 61)*

Such features like tiredness from long hours and work overload are related to health and safety issues. Physical tiredness, which is a part of this experience is expressed

using linguistic expressions such as: 'not being able to move', wanting to 'swear it all off', 'crying from tiredness', 'crying from pain' and 'dead on feet'. Performing this kind of physical work was also compared to a character from the Polish literature of a modernist period - *female athlete* (*Siłaczka*, written by Stefan Żeromski, 1891):

Very hard work, particularly as the hotel is not a small one. I think of myself as a hard working person, but I now recall that sometimes I could feel that it was beyond my strengths, and (I recall) that sometimes I cried from the pain, from tiredness, but it seems like I am 'Siłaczka' (female athlete), I like to go all out. (Respondent 255)

The character represents a hard working woman and the respondent made a comparison between her and herself. Regardless of the exhaustive nature of the work, the female employee was still performing her job as Żeromski's character did. These findings are in line with past studies exploring work-life balance (Karatepe and Uludog 2007; Wong and Ko 2009). Frontline employees in Northern Cyprus experienced emotional exhaustion because of irregular and long hours as well as heavy workloads (Karatepe and Uludog 2007). As a result, they were not able to balance their family and social responsibilities.

Some other health and safety concerns among the respondents included back pain:

Before starting working as a Kitchen Porter, I haven't known that the back can hurt so much, I am 193 cm in height. (Respondent 153)

Similar problems related to pain are reported elsewhere (see Wright and Pollert 2006). Further, working time and its uncertainty is seen as a drawback:

Rota is written on the last days of the week – you can never plan anything because they might need you and call you (zero free weekends!!!). (Respondent 34)

Changing working times depending on the volume of customers in the hotel. (Respondent 15)

As stated by one of the respondents, the volume of customers influences employees' working hours. Another disadvantage is that the employees are always needed at weekends. One of the respondents describes her working week this way:

It is pleasant to work from Sunday to Thursday, but Friday and Saturday are killing me off, and I feel like swearing it off, but this is the only drawback. (Respondent 257)

As the working week progresses, it gets harder and more tiring for the employee. These comments conflict with the comments regarding flexibility in the sector that were mentioned earlier. Thus, the sector's flexibility has been perceived in different ways.

7.3.2 Pay and problems with pay

Low pay is a feature of hospitality work that is repeatedly cited (Walmsley 2004; Riley *et al.* 1998; Riley *et al.* 2002; Wood 1997; Choy 1995; Lucas 2004). Not surprisingly, wages and problems with pay were criticised by employees.

Your wages depend on the level of business, so if the business goes badly, you earn less!! (Respondent 34)

For such hard work, the wages were poor and our working hours were lowered. (Respondent 232)

Little wages, even cheating on working hours. (Respondent 233)

Low wages in most of the departments are one of the downsides. (Respondent 208)

Low wages is a great downside of the work in hospitality. (Respondent 26)

The problems raised by the respondents include issues with getting irregular wages that depend on how busy a workplace is. A respondent mentioned receiving a bonus for so called 'outstanding attitude' and felt humiliated.

Downgrading bonuses, (I got £10 bonus for outstanding attitude – hotel Hilton). I would rather not get anything. (Respondent 129)

This example suggests that an attempt to reward a good employee in a chain hotel had a reverse effect; a small amount of cash did not feel like a reward for the employee. Problems related to wages in hospitality appear also on the internet fora in the form of a warning: *A warning against a hotel* (ang.pl, 06.06.2007). A female user gives some more details about what she has experienced in a Bournemouth hotel and warns potential Polish jobseekers against getting a job there:

The summer is approaching and many people will surely go to England to work. I would like to warn those people against a hotel in Bournemouth. The name of this hotel is (IN CAPITAL LETTERS), and it is located by the seaside next to West Cliff Road. A married couple runs the hotel. They are both really mean and unfair. They pay per day, not per hour. It is £25 per day and you have to stay there literally all day long. (...) He is not fair. He says one thing and then doesn't keep his word. He is not willing to employ legally. (...) My brother worked there for two days and that was enough. After the two days, he gave up and had problems getting his money. (ang.pl, 6.06.2007)

This quote reveals some more details of the problems related to wages such as being paid for a working day (£25), instead of being paid hourly and having problems with receiving wages. This is not an isolated case, McDowell *et al.* (2007) reported that in a London hotel, housekeepers' payments were based on the number of rooms cleaned in a specific time period; for example, 16 rooms during a shift, allowing 20-30min per room. Problems with being paid the correct amount have been also mentioned in this study. Wright and Pollert (2006) and Wright (2007) reported some incidents of not being paid at all, which was related to the legal/informal status of migrant workers. Delayed payments of wages and paying less than the NMW was found in London's top hotels (see The Guardian 2006a).

Remuneration is important in any job, and some studies indicated that it affects motivation and overall satisfaction (see Lam *et al.* 2001), and may lead to a decision to leave (Walmsley 2004; Dermody *et al.* 2004). Wages in hospitality are considered as a source of dissatisfaction and this topic will be re-visited when discussing the reasons to leave. It will be indicated that low wages are one of the reasons for leaving the sector.

7.3.3 Discrimination

Respondents when expressing views on working in the sector brought up discrimination and racism. Several of them gave examples, often comparing themselves to the local staff and stating the problem.

It would be nice if the English and Polish working in the same positions were treated equally. (Respondent 109)

Poles working in hotels and restaurants are required to do 'miracles' in a quick time so, after work, one is all but dead on their feet, and is not even able to move, while the locals work slowly and burden the foreigners with their duties. (Respondent 61)

Poles as well as other nationals are very often cheated and exploited by English employers; the signs of discrimination are often noticeable. (Respondent 29)

Poles are appreciated at work; however, they are not rewarded as much as their English (mother tongue) colleagues are. (Respondent 244)

First, I worked in a hotel (it was a job with 'study and work'), then (I worked) in a bar, where I found the job by myself and in both case there was exploitation, Poles were treated worse than the English were. (Respondent 233)

In England, there are many 'pseudo' restaurants managed by foreigners, and people working there are exploited and put down. (Respondent 234)

These examples demonstrate that Poles find themselves treated worse than their British co-workers are; they are reprimanded more frequently than the British are, or even paid less than local staff. It seems that the respondents believe that they are expected to work harder than others do. Discrimination in wages while attempting to progress in jobs was also reported by the respondents (see this Chapter 7.4).

Baum (2006) observes that discrimination, either implicit or explicit, is unacceptable in the industry; however, it does happen. Wright and Pollert (2006) reported similar issues related to discrimination, racial abuse by restaurant customers and bullying from the staff. In this study, mistreatment from customers has not been reported; however, the management was criticised for racial abuse and exploitation. Some media reported racial abuse and exploitation among Polish hospitality workers in Scotland (The Times 2007), while London's top hotels were accused of bullying, racial harassment and discrimination (The Guardian 2006a). In addition, *The Observer* reported anti-Polish hate-crime across England (2007). Chapter 8 will develop the theme of discrimination further; it will be demonstrated that migrants felt that they were working much harder than the local staff, which can indicate imposed discrimination.

7.3.4 Management poor behaviour

The findings from this study demonstrate that management was criticised for abusing their position:

If you ever experienced being put down/lack of respect from co-workers or an employer, you don't have to be afraid but face it (from the beginning). If not, then you have to leave, because work in this sector is easy to find. This is what I did, a London hotel was a nightmare and, in Reading, I assigned my place from the start. (Respondent 201)

It is not worth being humiliated for the sake of a few pounds; if an employer doesn't respect an employee, it is not worth staying in such a place. (Respondent 203)

Our team leader was a Muslim – alcoholic, and often came drunk to work (which means he was coming sober sometimes); because of that, we did more work and, in fact, we held everything together. (Respondent 93)

The complaints towards management including drinking at work or not showing enough respect to workers point to illegal work practises. Poulson (2008a) also reported disrespectful treatment of workers and problems with drinking among managerial staff in a study in New Zealand.

Lack of appreciation from employers was also mentioned.

The employer did not appreciate our work, and this is sad because you need some motivation, even when working as a housekeeper :) (Respondent 106)

As assessed by the respondent, working as a housekeeper also requires motivation that should be encouraged by the employer. Yong and Lundberg (1996) identified being appreciated, welcomed and cared for by employers as important to minimise staff turnover that mostly occurs within the first few months.

Finally, the qualifications of the managements were also a subject of disappointment.

Generally, the English working in hospitality haven't got a clue what they do, their qualifications are embarrassingly low. (Respondent 47)

My position in the hotel didn't reflect my qualifications. Those working in managerial positions had no qualifications, while very often those working as waiters/waitresses from different nations had a master's degree. (Respondent 170)

In contrast to migrants themselves, those in managerial posts have low or no qualifications. As shown previously in this study (Chapter 6) and reported elsewhere (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b; Home Office 2008b), the level of schooling of migrants themselves is very high, which may result in disappointment and disbelief that those who manage them may not have any formal qualifications. This may also impact on their well-being.

7.3.5 Disappointment with quality of services

Several respondents expressed their disappointment with the quality of services in the UK hospitality places they worked.

In the UK, a 4-star hotel would equate to a 3-star substandard one in Poland. In the UK, I came across total work disorganisation and a total lack of professionalism and I worked in 'good hotels', like Swallow, Marriot. (Respondent 184)

I am very disappointed with the quality of services provided in UK gastronomy. (Respondent 136)

Very often, there was a lack of equipment, cleaning products, vacuum cleaners were faulty and no one cared about it. (Respondent 232)

If it were my hotel, half of the people would be fired because of their laziness ;) (Respondent 106)

A lack of basic equipment such as vacuum cleaners or cleaning products was mentioned, as well as lack of professionalism or work disorganisation. In this case, a comparison with Polish working conditions and services was emphasised by the respondents. Another issue that emerged from the comments concerned hygiene.

I will never go to a restaurant in the UK, (there is) a total lack of meeting any health and safety regulations, in Poland that would be treated as a scandal. (Respondent 214)

Surprisingly low level of services and hygiene in the UK. (Respondent 263)

What surprised me first, was that in a hotel in Scotland, while working with food they don't require a 'health book'/medical tests book. (Respondent 228)

I have learnt that I prefer sleeping in my own car when I visit the UK, rather than staying in an English hotel. And when I use a bathroom, first I clean it myself. (Respondent 61)

The reason for expressing such extreme opinions is in expectations - services in the UK were expected to be of a high standard and surely higher than those in Poland. Some believed that what they have seen is worse than standards back in their home country, where before taking up any job in any food places, a medical test and certificate is needed. Such opinions also demonstrate patriotism that is likely to increase when abroad (Ward et al. 2001). Food hygiene problems in hospitality have been noticed previously in a study conducted in New Zealand (Poulson 2008b). They

were recognised as one of the six main issues including staff turnover, poor training, employee theft, unfair dismissals and sexual harassment.

Some of the complaints expressed by respondents were repeated again in the survey as the reasons for leaving the sector to work somewhere else (7.6.2). Again, racism, lack of tolerance or mistreatment from management were listed as reasons for giving up hospitality jobs. In addition, low pay and problems with pay reappeared. This raises a concern as these elements not only cause turnover in the industry, but also contributes to the negative image of the sector.

7.4 Careers in the hospitality sector – the importance of coincidence

Previous research outlined in the literature pointed out that employment in the tourism and hospitality sector does not offer future career prospects (Choy 1995; Hjalager and Andersen 2001; Walmsley 2004). Moreover, the tourism industry is a not a career option but a temporary solution (Hjalager and Andersen 2001; Riley *et al.* 2002). Surprisingly, it was observed that tourism and hospitality students are not in favour of a career in the industry either (Kusluvan and Kusluvan 2000; Jenkins 2001; Richardson 2008).

In this research, pursuing a career within the sector has been brought up by respondents who classified it as an advantage of working in hospitality. The discussion is provided in Chapter 9. In contrast to the view of good career opportunities, the analysis of interviews revealed challenges faced by those trying to progress in their jobs. To start with, changing positions from being a kitchen porter to a waiter or from waiter to being a receptionist were considered as either tough or impossible. One of the interviewees explained:

I decided to find another job - I didn't want to work as a KP any more. The prospects of working as a waiter were difficult because it wasn't easy to change an opinion about oneself. It was hard to imagine that a KP can suddenly become a waiter. In particular, I had no previous experience in waiting.

(Artur, ex hotel worker)

His experience demonstrates how difficult it was to change his position from being a KP, and how the perceptions of KP troubled his plans. After a while, he became a waiter but not without time and effort:

At that time, there was a lucky coincidence in this hotel, and I could work as a waiter. The restaurant manager was leaving at the end of April, and his two assistants replaced him. One of them was on holiday, (...) (and) this American (the assistant) agreed for me to work over breakfasts. She gave me this opportunity, so I started working over breakfasts. (...) Later on, there was a new manager (...), and that manager was afraid of letting me become a fully-fledged waiter, but somehow I showed my good side. They thought it over for one week, two weeks, (and) then they let me move jobs under a condition that they would pay me as much as now. I was paid £4.95, while waiters were paid £5.30.

(Artur, ex hotel worker)

The experience of climbing up the ladder was challenging and his example indicates how much determination one needs in order to progress from the bottom jobs. The former KP highlighted that peoples' perceptions of KPs are hard to change; therefore; he had to be persistent and patient. Berry (1997) points to the importance of status in the adaptation process; status loss may be due to prejudice and limited status mobility; it is also related to increased stress. The status attached to KP jobs is evident in the literature (see Saunders 1981). Eventually promotion was achieved but it was conditional and Artur was paid less than other waiters. Although the interviewee does not point it out directly, this incident is an evidence of discrimination in wages. A similar incident involving a Filipino worker was reported elsewhere (Devine *et al.* 2007a). In this case, a foreign worker was promoted but his wages remained unchanged. In this research, Artur was not only rewarded less than the others were, but he also had to keep proving that he could do his new job:

In June, I started working full time. I was seen as a KP, and they all kept me at arm's length. Let's say that I had to prove all the time that I could learn fast. They were afraid of giving me duties that were more responsible, letting me be in charge for taking orders, for running the station. I had always been the second waiter because I was helping someone.

(Artur, ex hotel worker)

Marek, currently working as an assistant manager, was promoted from a porter to assistant manager but, again, coincidence helped him do so.

I worked as a porter for nearly 2 years. The manager who was leaving for another hotel took me with him from here, (as) I talked to him about progressing and he offered me a job there. There was no interview. And I agreed. (...) During this one month, the owner of this restaurant (the first one) rang me and asked me whether I would like to come back, I said I could come back for this and that post. So I did.

(Marek, assistant manager)

The quoted stories demonstrate that the career path in the hospitality sector is not a straightforward one. A coincidence decides employees' progression rather than their achievements.

Another shift that is considered to be difficult to come through is a shift from waiting to working in reception. Asia, a receptionist, was able to gain experience in a small hotel run by a friendly couple first before she applied for a job in a bigger hotel:

I did everything because it was a small hotel. These people were teaching me everything slowly, a little bit of a bar work, a little bit of restaurant work, a little bit of housekeeping work. I was helping them a little bit at the reception and later on I was working at the reception only.

(Asia, receptionist)

Magda, a waitress, finds climbing up the ladder too difficult for her:

It is very difficult to stand out. Maybe because of the department I am working in now (coffee shop). It is hard to be promoted in this hotel and if someone is stuck somewhere in some way, he/she has no chance to progress.

(Magda, hotel worker)

This pattern confirms that career paths in the sector are not easy. For others, simply, pursuing a career in this sector of employment is just not their aim or the salary is not rewarding.

I think that promotion in this job doesn't go with pay rise: more responsibilities, proportionally little money.

(Jakub, ex restaurant worker)

Respondents claim that career opportunities in hotels are generally limited and promotion is often achieved through luck and coincidence rather than merit. Tourism and hospitality employment has been condemned for lacking a straight career path and these issues are also raised in most recent studies on international workers (Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b; Wright and Pollert 2006, 2007). Opposite views will be presented in Chapter 9 - where respondents believed that engaging in hospitality work resulted in promotion and recognition.

7.4.1 Temporary experience

The notion of temporariness among A8 migrants has been brought up in previous studies (Eade *et al.* 2006; Kosic 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006). Often, improving language skills is the reason to engage in hospitality employment. Once this is achieved, migrants intend to find jobs in other sectors of the economy. This issue will be revisited in Chapter 9.

Jobs in tourism and hospitality are seen as temporary and the jobs serve as a preparation to a career in another sector of economy, different to tourism (Riley *et al.* 2002; Wildes 2005). The findings from the interviews support this view and suggest that the duration of jobs in the hospitality sector are envisaged to be short, before finding a job that one wants to follow as a long-term career:

This is good for a couple of years, for a temporary period. To stay there until retirement? No!

(Magda, hotel worker)

For me this is only to hang in there.

(Asia, receptionist)

An example of netnographic studies reinforces the perception of work in hospitality as short-term.

'I am currently living in the UK and have been leaning over backwards trying to find a job. At the moment, I am living by doing waitressing in a café and I have sent a few CV's; we will see how it goes, but fingers crossed'.

(gazeta.pl, 13.02.07)

At the moment, I don't see myself anywhere else, so I will have to work as a waiter, once I have brushed my English and orientated myself, I will want to work in my profession, as a dental assistant ☺.

(mojawyspa.co.uk, 04.03.2007)

The last quote indicates that Poles may be qualified (dental assistant) but enter the labour market through low-skilled sectors. Such behaviour by this internet user is justified by lack of sufficient English skills and knowledge of the labour market. Despite these statements made by respondents, the reality of migrants' lives seems to

contradict. Instead of moving to other sectors, as the interviewees planned beforehand, they stay where they are.

'I came here 3 years ago to a language school, and it was supposed to be school, work and accommodation, and it was supposed to last 3 months...' (laughs)
(Asia, receptionist)

'My plan was to come for a year. I wanted to earn some money, and that is it - no career, nothing like that, but later on, I decided that, as I am working here in a restaurant and I can stay one more year, I thought I would try to become a wine waiter.'
(Marek, assistant manager)

Although the employees did not intend to stay longer in these jobs, the actual duration of the job was long-term rather than short-term. The interviewees did not move to other sectors as they had planned. It points to Williams and Balaz's (2008) conceptualisations of being trapped in jobs without prospects instead of treating them as stepping-stones. However, as the last quote indicates, turning a temporary job into a permanent position was due to the choice of pursuing a career in the sector.

7.5 Perceptions of the jobs

Perceptions of the jobs in hospitality are widely discussed on internet fora. Discussions related to jobs for kitchen porters are one of the popular themes. The interviewees also had some strong views on certain job positions and perceptions of KP jobs and waiters. These are presented and discussed below.

7.5.1 Working as a Kitchen Porter

Working as a kitchen porter (KP) carries a particular meaning and social stigma (Saunders 1981). Discussions involving kitchen porters or references to such work appear frequently on internet fora. The KP post has become a symbol of the most unpleasant job, often being the first job available there. Poles have labelled this as 'working at the sink' (*na zmywaku*). One of the topics launched on *gazeta.pl* provoked a discussion under the title: *Why are qualified Poles washing pots in the UK?* (02.08.06). The user's opinion is that highly qualified migrants are coming from other countries such as Germany, France, America, Brazil and India and, in contrast to Poles, take up jobs according to their qualifications.

In a discussion under the title: *'are you planning to go back to Poland?'*, the KP job appears as the job on the very bottom of the employment level:

*'Among my friends, nobody works 'at the sink', each does what he/she likes'.
(gazeta.pl, 14.01.2007)*

When examining the situation on the labour market between those who are about to arrive and those who have been in the UK (under the thread: *'don't come! No work here!'*), the lack of jobs is discussed using a KP job position in the following way:

*'Only those who have worked in the UK before and those who speak English well will find a job – even such as 'on the sink' – this is what it looks like now!'
(gazeta.pl, 30.01.2007)*

Despite the suggestion that not all hospitality jobs have a bad image (Riley *et al.* 2002), a job that includes washing dishes in the kitchen is the one that has stigma attached. The jobs found in hotels, other hospitality places, especially those in the kitchen, are perceived as temporary, and those who discuss them have other ambitions.

*'If you don't respect yourself, don't expect others to respect you. One can wash pots or 'run with a mop', but only as long as it takes to find a job that is appropriate for you'.
(gazeta.pl, 19.01.07)*

These perceptions of working in the kitchen 'at the sink' are very common among Poles. Jobs for KPs have become a synonym of the very bottom of the employment scale jobs and a representation of simple work that anyone could get. Artur, a University graduate, who arrived in the UK and took up a job as a kitchen porter, recalled his first days in a kitchen.

*Somehow I survived my first day at work there, and then I started thinking; 'damn it, what have I done? I worked in a bank a week ago and I came here, I got a KP position... But I can't give it up because if I do, I will get into trouble.'
(Artur, ex-hotel worker)*

The first days were difficult for a Pole with a master's degree in law, the change in his life entailed reflection and self-assessment:

Working as a KP was below my qualification; it was a job abusing my qualification (laugh)... but I realised that I prefer a downgrading job for decent money, than a good job for downgrading money, which I had had back in Poland.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

Saunders (1981) reported the perceptions of performing this kind of job as downgrading and depressing, and the interviewee perceived it in a similar way. In his assessment, there is unhappiness expressed about the mismatch between his qualification and job performed, but also the awareness of the reasons for taking up work in hospitality. He tried to convince himself that the decision to migrate was correct. Despite the significant decrease in his status, he treats this movement as necessity. As mentioned before in this chapter, loss of status is not uncommon for those moving to a new country of settlement (Berry 1997) and results in stress. Although there are such negative perceptions of KP jobs, the data obtained from the survey showed that 14% of respondents worked as a KP in their first jobs in hospitality, while the number decreased to 7% in their last or current job. These perceptions of the kitchen porter job are negatively linked to opportunities for progression. Chapter 8 will revisit the topic of working as a KP; it will show that improving English skills in a stress free environment is the advantage of this kind of job.

7.5.2 The value of working as a waiter/waitress

While perceptions of performing kitchen porter jobs have stigma attached, being a waiter or a waitress is assessed in a positive light. It is clear that waiting jobs provide an opportunity to improve the language skills through intense contacts with co-workers and customers. Working as a waiter has the advantages of dealing directly with customers; therefore, it requires daily communication using the host country's language. This is what differentiates the hospitality sector from other low-paid industries. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Another feature of a waiting job is dealing with certain, sometimes unpredictable, situations.

While working in a hotel you come across different situations. Sometimes you have to overcome very embarrassing situations because either you failed or someone else did, your colleague, manager or kitchen staff. You have to pacify a customer in a variety of ways. If you spend at least a few months in a place like this, you will gain some personality traits, skills that you wouldn't have gained otherwise. Not in a factory...
(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

Artur was encountering different situations in a busy hotel or restaurant and had to deal with them daily. As a result, he gained more confidence in dealing with a variety of situations. Again, he compared this with working in a factory. Although the positive industry image among employees can be summed up in two words 'not factory' (Riley *et al.* 2002), the last quotation emphasises that this proverbial 'not factory work' does have values other than just 'satisfaction in not doing something worse' as named by Riley *et al.* (2002). The benefits of working as a waiter/waitress are perceived as more valuable than those who lack customer contact. This concept will be revisited while discussing respondents' reflections on what they gain from working experiences in the sector (Chapter 8).

7.6 Migrants' retention

7.6.1 Future plans

The current hospitality workers (N=173) were asked in the survey about their plans and the country in which they want to be. Those who had already left the sector were asked about the reasons for giving up their jobs (N=141).

Regarding their next career move, most respondents' future steps involve moving out of the hospitality sector (60%) (see Figure 7.1). In total, 36% are planning to stay within this sector of employment. More specifically, 17% of the respondents aim to get a promotion in their current job, and another 16% aim to move to another hospitality workplace. The remaining 3% are planning to move elsewhere in their workplace. In contrast, the study conducted in the remote areas of the UK (Baum *et al.* 2007), revealed that respondents were equally divided in plans to stay in the hotel industry and moving out of the industry. These findings again point to the fact that many see work in the industry as temporary.

Figure 7.1. Future career plans of current hospitality employees

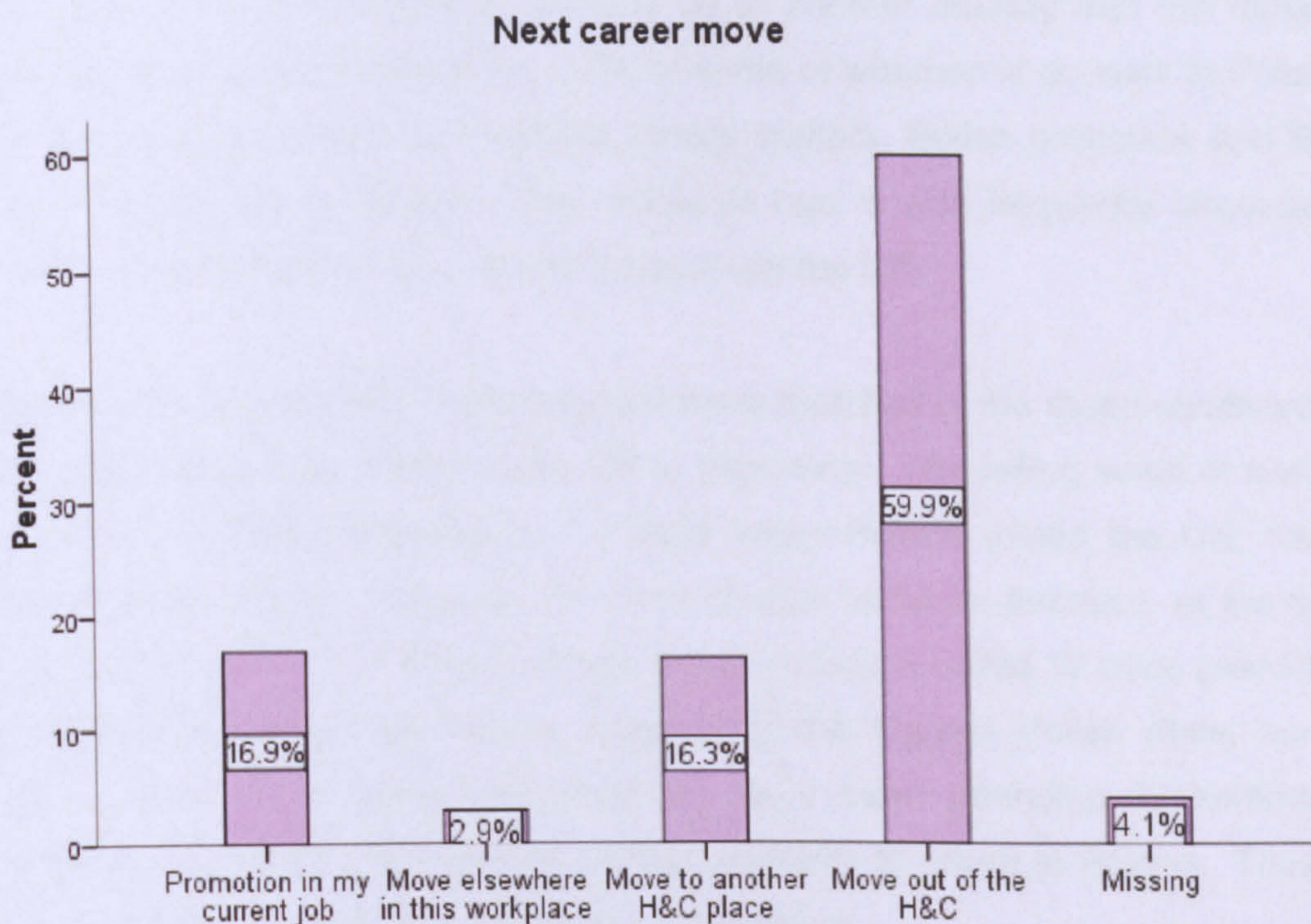
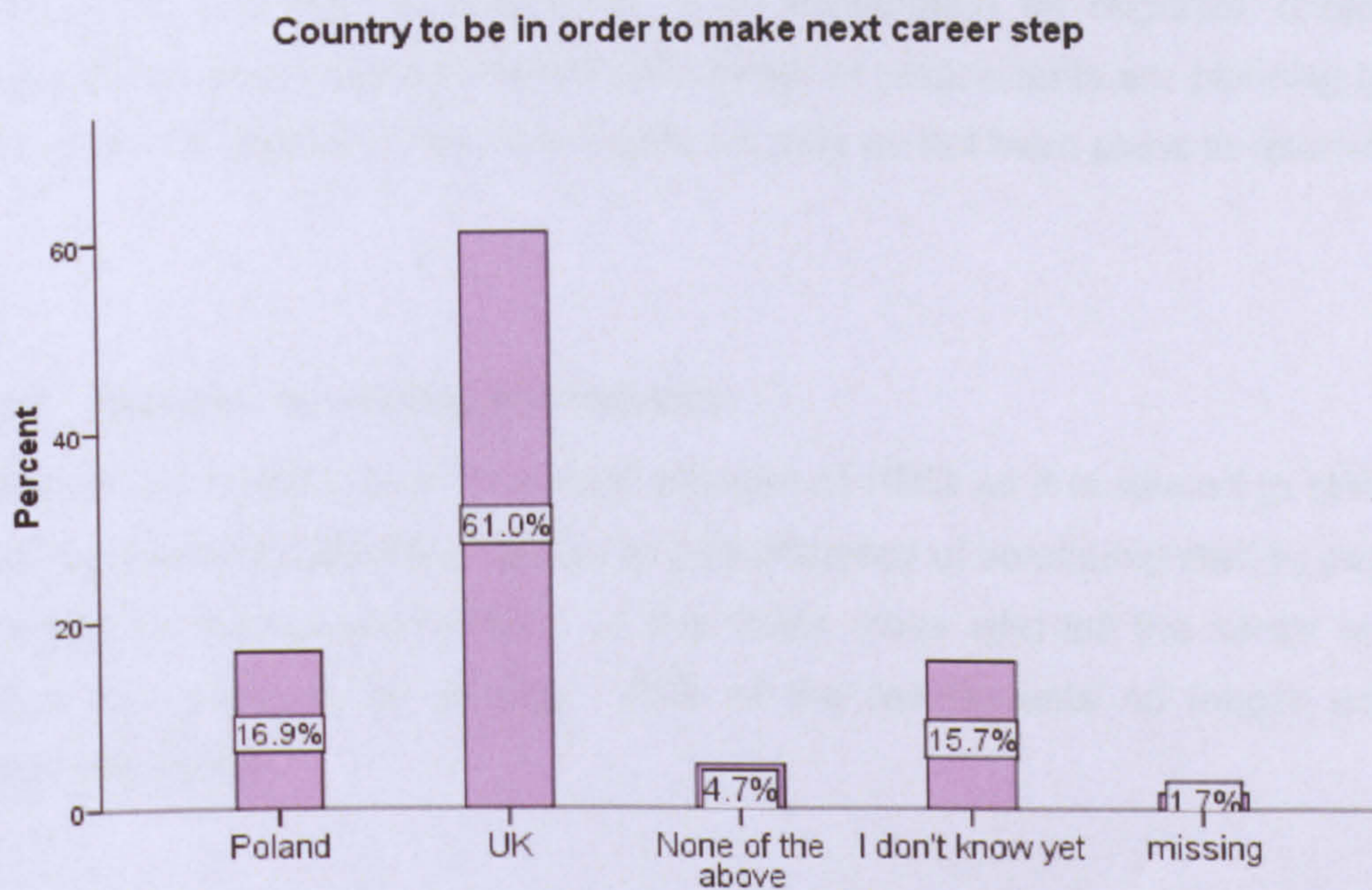


Figure 7.2. Future plans regarding the country of current hospitality employees



With regard to the location of employment (see Figure 7.2), 61% are planning to take the next step in their careers in the UK; while another 17% would like to go back to Poland. 5% of respondents have plans to go to another country and the remaining 16% are not sure where they will be. The dilemma of whether to go back to Poland or stay in the UK is a concern for migrants, policy makers, Polish politicians and British society. The dilemma of 'should I stay or should I go' is also frequently discussed on migrants' fora and public media, in both Poland and the UK.

The finding from this research indicating that more than half of the respondents working in hospitality have plans to stay in the UK is surprising. The falling value of a pound, worth 4 zloty in 2008 compared to 7.2 zloty when Poland joined the UE, has not affected migrants' plans. However, this may change in future because, at the end of 2008, a Polish organisation, Poland Street, set up a project called 12 cities (see Project of 12 cities 2009³). Representatives (mayors) of the biggest Polish cities, such as Warszawa, Gdańsk, Wrocław and Szczecin, have been attending 12 seminars in London to promote their cities and encourage migrants to return to Poland. Thus, this initiative may influence migrants' decisions in the future.

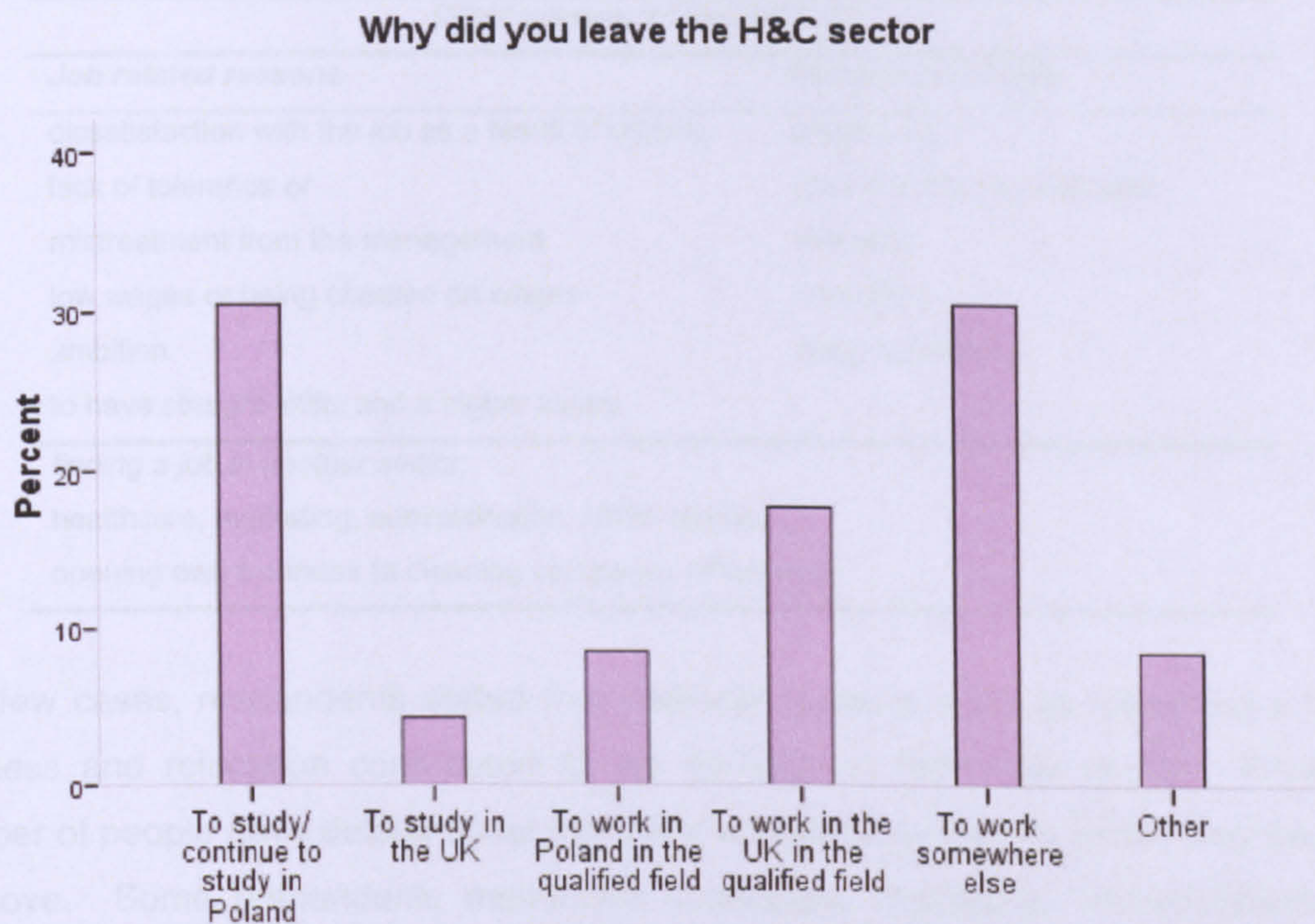
A possible explanation for the desire to stay in the UK may be that the standard of life in the UK is much higher and the relation between wages and costs are more proportional than back in Poland. Perhaps the argument of living an easier life, despite being apart from their original roots, is an explanation for migrants' choices. This research indicates that only a small percentage of respondents are planning to go back to Poland. As peoples' lives have improved, they do not have plans to return home.

7.6.2 Reasons for leaving the industry

Retention of workers is an important element of HRM as it is related to staff turnover and, consequently, affects productivity and efficiency of continuing staff by putting more pressure on them (Lucas 2004). In this study, those who left the sector were asked about their reasons for leaving. 45% of the respondents no longer work in the hospitality sector.

³ The project called '12 cities – returning home? But where to? (12 miast – Wracać? ale dokąd?) was launched by Poland Street with the aim to organise monthly meetings in London in 2009 with mayors of the biggest cities in Poland to encourage migrants to return to work in Poland.

Figure 7.3. The reasons for leaving the sector



The study revealed that a substantial number of the respondents gave up their jobs in order to study in Poland (30.5%) or in the UK (4%). 18% left the sector in order to do jobs in accordance with their qualification in the UK. Another 8.5% returned to Poland to do jobs in line with their qualifications. 33% of the respondents moved to work somewhere else (Figure 7.3) while the remaining 8.5% of respondents who left the sector explained their reasons for leaving. Dissatisfaction with the job because of racism, mistreatment from the management or just low pay was some of the reasons given (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Other reasons for leaving a job

Other reasons for leaving a job	
<i>Job related reasons</i>	<i>Personal reasons</i>
dissatisfaction with the job as a result of racism, lack of tolerance or mistreatment from the management low wages or being cheated on wages ambition to have straight shifts and a higher salary	pregnancy, having a baby to look after sickness relocation living conditions
<i>finding a job in another sector:</i>	
healthcare, marketing, administration, HRM, fitness, opening own business (a cleaning company), office work	

In a few cases, respondents stated that personal reasons such as expecting a baby, sickness and relocation contributed to the decision to leave the sector. Finally, a number of people gave details about the other economic sectors to which they decided to move. Some respondents mentioned healthcare, marketing, administration and HRM while others included opening their own business (a cleaning company), working as a driver or doing office work.

It is striking that many of the respondents left the sector in order to work in another sector of the economy. An important message for hospitality practitioners is that many of the reasons given by the respondents for leaving the sector are directly related to the nature of hospitality and its bad image. Although these findings do not reveal the frequency of the issues, they do signal the issues raised. Thus, low wages or problems with being paid, racism and long working hours do result in a decision to leave. This finding supports studies indicating that low pay was the most important factor for both employees and employers (Walmsley 2004; Simonz and Enz 1995; Dermody *et al.* 2004). A new finding is that respondents mentioned that issues such as lack of tolerance, racism and discrimination resulted in leaving the sector. This is a vital message for HR decision makers and it should be further investigated.

7.7 The complex image of the industry

An overview of the findings suggests that migrants have a number of positive perceptions associated with the industry, with opportunities to meet people and work in a fun environment being central. This supports previous studies (Riley *et al.* 1998; Szivas *et al.* 2003; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007). Other features raised by respondents include the flexibility of the sector, which was important, mainly for students, as it suits

peoples' lifestyles, as well as allowing quick promotion and recognition at work. A previous study (Wildes 2007) revealed that a fun working environment was identified as a motivating factor to retain in a job for the youngest employees of the restaurant industry, while those in their late 20s and 30s appreciated the flexibility that the sector offers.

Not surprisingly, there have been a number of negative aspects related to hospitality working conditions identified by the respondents. This study reveals that the industry's image of being low-paid and physically demanding is still very strong. Baum (2006) listed the popular perceptions of work in tourism and hospitality such as long difficult hours, dirty jobs, hard work, monotonous and boring work and a lot of time spent standing. While some of these drawbacks were mentioned by the Polish employees (long hours, hard work and on feet), the perception of work as being boring and dirty did not appear in this study. Instead, problems with discrimination, managements' misbehaviour, quality of service and hygiene were reported. The study also supports Saunders' study of perceptions of KP jobs in hospitality as stigmatised (1981). Interestingly, this image has not changed; however, the findings also indicate that a negative image of hospitality jobs is only present in certain occupations (Riley *et al.* 2002). Thus, jobs for waiters did not receive the same perceptions; instead, they were given a lot of credit.

Low pay is a known feature of hospitality employment (Walmsley 2004; Choy 1995; Lucas 2004; Riley *et al.* 1998; Riley *et al.* 2002; Wood 1997) and it leads to job dissatisfaction and a decision to leave the sector (Walmsley 2004; Dermody *et al.* 2004). In this study, wages were found disproportional to the workload of the jobs. Not only that but also problems with pay have been reported. They included being paid irregularly or being paid incorrect amounts. Problems with pay were also related to migrant discrimination; migrants may be promoted but their wages do not necessarily change.

Issues such as low pay, discrimination and barriers to promotion have been identified in past empirical studies of international migrants by Wright and Pollert (2006) and Wright (2007). However, these problems were linked to the illegal or informal status of the international staff. Moreover, Wright (2007) claimed that there was some evidence of employers expressing preferences for white staff from the CEE States for front of the house positions over other international workers. In contrast to the above statement, this study reveals similar problems at work experienced by CEE workers. Discrimination, barriers to promotion, problems with pay and poor management

behaviour has been reported in this study, despite the legal status and the 'whiteness' of Polish migrants. Increased workload, low pay and lack of access to full social benefits were problems experienced by agency staff, as raised by Evans *et al.* (2007). Apart from the latter one, other problems at work raised in this study are identical. This raises a question as to whether the immigrant status and type of contract influences the bad experiences or it is normal practice in the UK's hospitality sector.

The view on careers in the tourism industry received some negative assessment in the past (Choy 1995; Hjalager and Andersen 2001; Walmsley 2004). In this study, careers in hospitality received diverse opinions. While some migrants indicated that opportunity does exist for fast promotion (see Chapter 8), others felt they were experiencing barriers to promotion. This study suggests a new way of looking at the career paths in the sector. The employees' experiences can be seen as a rite of passage into better, prestigious job positions, and status that is more respectable. The way to achieving better things costs them their time, effort and determination. For some, it may also mean putting up with discrimination in wages and continuously proving that he/she can do the new job. These stages seem to be necessary in climbing up the ladder.

Further, the lack of promotional prospects and the challenges that employees face may be considered as too difficult to overcome. Subsequently, the reasons contribute to the decision to move out of the sector, contributing to high staff turnover in the industry.

In the light of these findings, there are some practical implications for the recruitment and retention of migrant workers. The findings from this study suggest that current practices in the sector are a clear obstacle for long-term commitment. This study supports the perceptions of jobs performed in tourism and hospitality as temporary (Riley *et al.* 2002; Wildes 2005). When asked about their plans, more than half of the respondents indicated the intention to find jobs outside the sector. The opinions on the sector's flexibility and jobs 'good to start with' point to the fact that this is treated as short term only. The notion of temporariness is dominant in a number of recent studies concerned with the migration from the new member states to the UK (Eade *et al.* 2006; Kosic 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2007). In this context, working below someone's qualification is acceptable as long as it is for a short period (Eade *et al.* 2006). In other words, migrants tolerate low skilled work and poor working conditions because they improve their English and expect to move into better jobs (Anderson *et al.* 2006). The findings from this research suggest that respondents perceive working

in the hospitality sector as a temporary option before finding a job that they want to follow as a long-term career.

To conclude, this study reveals that respondents' views on hospitality work include positive perceptions associated with an exciting image of the industry. However, many negative aspects of hospitality employment have been raised. Numerous problems raised in this research are not new, although the findings show that they are common for more employees than was previously noted. It was shown that the conditions of hospitality employment contribute to the decision to leave the sector.

7.8 Summary

This chapter presented and discussed the findings obtained from all three research methods in relation to migrants' views on working in hospitality. The study reveals that Polish employees' views on working in hospitality are very diverse. Although the respondents were not directly asked about working conditions in the sector, they raised themselves a number of issues related to them. There have been positive opinions expressed about working in the sector related to the opportunities of working with people in a multicultural environment, having flexible working hours and being able to pursue a career in the sector.

Bad working environment, deviant managerial behaviour and discrimination at work were issues that have been brought up by respondents at the end of the online survey. Migrants were concerned, frustrated or disappointed with these issues. Similar bad practices reported in the literature focused on the working conditions of international staff in the sector (Wright and Pollert 2006; Wright 2007) and agency staff (Evans *et al.* 2007). The studies highlighted that the illegal status of migrants caused their bad working conditions. In contrast, this study points that, regardless of the legal status of employees, they were still experiencing numerous bad working conditions.

Pursuit of a career in the sector has been assessed as difficult to progress, despite some respondents' identifying fast promotion as an advantage of working in this sector of employment. The next chapter will continue exploring migrants' views on the sector focusing on their contribution to the sector and their learning process.

8 Chapter Eight – Migrants’ contribution to the hospitality sector and their learning process

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed migrants’ reasons for entering the hospitality sector and their views concerning the sector. This chapter aims to discuss migrants’ contribution to the workplace and learning and it forms Objective 3: *to ascertain what human capital the Polish migrants bring and what they gain or learn from working in the hospitality sector.*

The chapter is divided into two parts - the first is concerned with migrants’ assessment of their contribution to the sector based on the findings from qualitative data gained from the questionnaire. In order to help with interpretation of findings, Hofstede’s cultural dimensions (1991, 2005) will be used to support migrants’ self-assessment. This is followed by discussion of findings from the qualitative data gained from the questionnaire showing what migrants think they gained from their working experiences. This is also supported by findings from netnography and interviews. Finally, Evans’ (2002) ‘starfish model’ will be applied to discuss the array of skills and knowledge acquired by migrants.

8.2 Migrants’ contribution to the hospitality sector

The human capital theory developed by Sjastaad (1962) explains migration in an investment context. Migrants decide to migrate because they hope to acquire certain skills and knowledge abroad. Previous studies have shown how employers perceive foreign workers in the hospitality sector (Anderson *et al.* 2006; McDowell *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007b; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b) but there is no evidence on what migrants themselves feel about their own contribution to their workplace. Moreover, migrants’ actual learning experiences and their skills and knowledge in the hospitality industry have not been addressed. This study will explore these two elements.

One of migrants’ main characteristics to be explored with regard to the objectives was the use of human capital in the context of hospitality employment. In this research, two open-ended questions were included in the questionnaire namely, ‘*what do you think you can offer the industry?*’ and ‘*what do you think you gained from working in the*

industry? It was not obligatory to answer the questions but many respondents took the opportunity to reflect on the topic and replied to the questions. These questions were also asked during the interviews. The main data discussed in this chapter consists of the open-ended questions. Some data from interviews and netnography are also used to illustrate and develop further the survey findings.

The first open-ended question asked respondents to reflect on what they bring to the industry, which produced 'hard work' (work commitment), 'creativity', 'experience' and 'different types of knowledge', 'soft skills' and 'own culture' as the emerging themes.

8.2.1 'Model migrants'

Respondents themselves have evaluated the contribution Polish workers make to the UK workplace. The most frequent item brought up by respondents was the theme of work ethic described as solid, reliable and committed attitude to work. The respondents defined hard work in the following ways:

Fair and reliable work, not only pretending to do, which is what the most of my Scottish female colleagues do. (Respondent 187)

Hard work with a smile on my face. (Respondent 217)

Hard work (much more than those of British [origin] or people from South Africa). (Respondent 82)

More work commitment than the English personnel have. (Respondent 160)

This self-assessment can be interpreted using Hofstede's dimensions (1991). As introduced in Chapter 4 (4.2.1), Hofstede looked at people's values and beliefs and developed five dimensions on which cultures differ. The UK and Poland differ in the three following dimensions: power distance (PD), individualism and uncertainty avoidance (UA). The latter one is particularly striking when analysing Poles' interpretations of their work experiences, and this will be discussed below.

The findings indicated that respondents are comparing their own performance to work of local staff or other migrants. Further, the notion of work ethic has been specified in certain attributes concerning the quality of work performed by migrants. These included doing work quickly, efficiently and precisely. One of the respondents wrote that she is contributing to work by performing her duties '*meticulously*'. They name

solidity, reliability, honesty, punctuality, effectiveness, flexibility, professionalism and cleanliness as the usual values of performing their jobs.

Such attributes related to work ethic were also mentioned during the interviews. Marek, who was asked what he thinks he gives to the industry, highlighted the following characteristics:

Diligency, because I was noticed through my work and they all kept saying that I have been doing a good job. Punctuality, I was late twice during my 3 years work. I believe that if there are some rules, one has to stick to them. Even if I don't like them, I have to follow them. Even if they told me to wear pink trousers because this was the policy of the company, I would have to obey, regardless of whether I liked it or not. I guess, getting to know people easily, because I got on well with everyone, fast.

(Marek, assistant manager)

The expression of 'wearing pink trousers' if required, as Marek described, stresses the interviewee's attitude towards a workplace. Such an approach, including the importance of formal/informal rules controlling the rights and duties of an employee and an employer, is typical for high uncertainty avoidance (UA) societies (Hofstede 1991), such as Poland. In contrast, the UK is categorised as a society with weak UA, where many problems can be solved without introducing rules. Additionally, in strong UA societies there are many rules controlling rights and duties, so if there was one in his workplace, the interviewee would follow it. As a result, the interviewee's impeccable work ethic, professional attitude and commitment to the work, may have contributed to his fast progression in the hotel, as he was noticed at work by the management. A need for rules in strong UA societies can be turned into the ability for precision or punctuality. Furthermore, qualities such as punctuality or precision, which were listed by survey respondents, come naturally to people from strong UA societies such as Poland. Furthermore, Marek's attitude towards supervision and respect for authority points to another dimension – that of power distance (PD). In high PD societies, inequalities are expected; thus, the interviewee expects and accepts to be told what to do. A study conducted on CEE countries (see Kolman *et al.* 2003), noticed that Poles value having a good relationship with their supervisors and to being consulted by him or her.

Apart from the need for rules, '*in strong UA societies people like to work hard or at least to be always busy*' (Hofstede 1991:121). Such opinions of Polish migrants themselves are in line with past studies that found Poles hardworking and committed

(Anderson *et al.* 2006; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b; Devine *et al.* 2007b). A study conducted in a London hotel revealed the stereotyped perceptions of Polish cleaning staff as hardworking and paying attention to cleanliness (McDowell *et al.* 2007). Furthermore, Mathews and Ruhs (2007b) found that employers name Polish staff as hardworking and reliable. In line with these findings are perceptions of Poles in British media that describe Polish workers as having a work ethic that makes them 'model workers' (The Daily Telegraph 2007b).

Criticising others

The general notion of hard work was one of the keywords brought up frequently by survey respondents. However, migrants often compared their hard working nature to a different nature either local staff (English, Scottish) or other migrants (South Africans). Poles highlighted their own 'real' work commitment and were critical about others, who in their eyes, were 'just pretending to work'.

This criticism towards others can be further understood by using Hofstede's studies on cultural dimensions. Hofstede stated that '*at the workplace, the anxiety component of uncertainty avoidance leads to noticeable differences between strong and weak uncertainty avoidance societies*' (2005:183). Hofstede explains that in strong UA societies people work hard, keep busy, and have a sense of detail and punctuality. This is indeed a trait of Polish workers assessed by both the workers themselves and the employers. In contrast, in weak UA societies such as the UK, people are not driven by the need to occupy themselves, they are not watching time and they like to relax. This dimension particularly explains the contribution of Polish workers into British workplaces and the criticism of Poles towards others (British and non-British), who do not have a similar work ethic.

(It is) ...hard work, a dozen hours on foot, you have to put up with the grumpiness of unsatisfied customers (...). The English staff will always find an excuse to go for a cigarette break, while you are working. Oh well ... and many more little things like that. A good side of the coin is that you practice English and get some money.
(ang.pl, 11.06.2006)

At that time, my wife and I were working in a small hotel/B&B, in which housekeepers were slacking. I just couldn't believe that they were doing practically nothing; their everyday tasks involved changing the bedding, while dirt and dust were cleaned up after a few months... more than half the time, those girls were gossiping:-)
(gazeta.pl, 05.01.08)

Frequent breaks for a cigarette or just avoiding work and chatting is criticised by Poles who, according to Hofstede's theory (2005), like being occupied. A female online user explains such differences between work ethics in the following way:

So far, I have noticed that while we are told off from time to time, the local staffs is untouchable. They can be late for work, go for a cigarette break every five minutes, do crappy work, and avoid the less interesting tasks at work. I used to work in a bar where a manager said to the local staff: 'leave it to the guys' – he meant washing glasses and 'guys' was us, Poles. How nice. Somehow, I understand managers. It is difficult to get some English staff, so once they have such a girl graduated from a primary school who understands the local accent and is willing to pour some drinks, she has to be snuggled, hasn't she?

(gazeta.pl, 31.10.07)

According to migrant workers (strong UA society), the local staff (weak UA society), instead of actual *doing*, were avoiding work by finding excuses, such as going for a cigarette break, talking or choosing more pleasant tasks. Such behaviour of host nationals is also related to a lack of fear for authority (weak PD society). In a workplace, in which the two societies work together, the differences in UA may lead to a conflict (Hofstede 1991, 2005). This is because, in strong UA societies, people come across as fidgety, aggressive and active, while those from weak UA societies give the impression of being lazy, controlled, quiet and easy going (Hofstede 1991, 2005). Such criticisms of 'laziness' and lack of commitment from local staff have been previously reported in a study in Northern Ireland (Devine *et al.* 2007a).

The work ethic of Polish workers, in particular, has become a stereotype in the press, television and literature. The work ethic of Poles in the hospitality sector has also been noticed in recent studies (McDowell *et al.* 2007; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b). Poles have been stereotyped by British employers as hard working and appreciative of British wages (Anderson *et al.* 2006; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b). The latter study also showed that this work ethic was reflected in examples of effort, reliability and a defensive strategy when others covered workers in cases of sickness.

8.2.2 Attitude and appearance - migrants' 'soft skills'

The importance of soft skills of hospitality employees has been addressed by Burns (1997). In contrast to hard, technical skills, soft skills concentrate on social and interpersonal skills and are related to attitude and emotions. In addition, Nickson,

Warhurst and Dutton (2005) conducted a study of the retail and hospitality industries in Glasgow and found that employers place significant importance on employee's appearance, and their self-presentational and aesthetics skills. These elements, that manifest 'a can do attitude' or the right attitude, were also emphasised by the respondents.

(An appropriate) approach towards the customer and openness in the work's approach.

(Respondent 209)

Smile, a nice appearance, attention focused on the customer. (Respondent 23)

Smiley face:) (Respondent 15)

Friendly attitude towards other people. (Respondent 109)

A responsible approach, a positive atmosphere at work due to my smile and good temper. (Respondent 212)

A high level of customer service. (Respondent 210)

Calmness and sense of humour :) (Respondent 257)

Being smiley, open, calm and friendly to customers and other staff are perceived as their traits by respondents. Other characteristics listed by them included qualities such as *enthusiasm, energy, passion* and *ambition* and could be a part of 'soft skills' in tourism employment (Burns 1997; Nickson *et al.* 2005). Such skills were also found vital in a study conducted by McDowell *et al.* (2007), which revealed that appearance was assessed as very important in high cost hotels. Not only front line staff needed to have an appropriate outlook but also room attendants needed to remain fresh, well groomed and fragrant.

Although in this research the respondents perceived themselves as being open and friendly, a previous study (McDowell *et al.* 2007) pointed out that Eastern Europeans were assessed as being serious rather than smiley and was the reason given for their failure to be recruited. This view could be supported by the Hofstedian model (1991, 2005), who argues that people from high UA societies like Poland are tense and anxious at work. That may explain why, in the eyes of British managers, Poles give the first impression of being too serious in contrast to chatty personalities that are sought for hospitality. In contrast to that view, Poles perceived themselves as having a pleasant nature.

8.2.3 Creativity

Next to work ethic, the respondents included creativity and better work organisation as their contribution to workplaces. Migrants believe that they bring with them:

New ideas on how to organise the restaurant. (Respondent 248)

A different perspective (often a better one). (Respondent 241)

Sense of aesthetics. (Respondent 257)

Forms of creativity were also mentioned during the interviews. Asia stated that being creative is due to her qualification.

In my opinion, a person with a master's degree is more creative, shows some initiative (...)

(Asia, hotel receptionist)

Indeed, creativity has been perceived as enhancing migration and diversity (Putman 2007); however, throughout history, it has been associated with highly-skilled migrants who bring scientific and cultural discoveries to the country of settlement. Another interviewee explained how such creativity could be used at hospitality work:

New ideas; some suggestions that could be implemented in our team in order to avoid conflicts between us or some silly things like refurbishment in our department that could look better visually.

(Magda, hotel worker)

Being creative can help not only in interpersonal communication between the members of staff but also can have a practical use in everyday activities performed in hospitality places. Creativity is recognised as an important element in knowledge transactions between migrants at all levels of the firm and in 'unskilled' jobs as well (Williams 2006); however, it may not be used in routine jobs and the extent of creativity may be limited. On the other hand, difference in opinions may lead to a conflict too.

8.2.4 Being proud of own culture

The respondents' own culture was mentioned in the comments. As much as migrants themselves were learning to become 'intercultural persons' (Gudykunst and Kim 2003), they believed that the hosts were encountering a similar learning process. British staff were also experiencing a level of interculturalness by being open towards Poles.

Sharing their own culture was described in the following way:

I was able to introduce Polish culture to my co-workers, not just Poles' behaviour, but also the cuisine. This made some people inspired, (and) they started preparing new dishes ;) (Respondent 299)

For example, in gastronomy – widening the assortment of dishes by adding unknown ones in here. (Respondent 228)

A touch of Polish history. (Respondent 82)

I am a foreigner and I can help linguistically in certain situations, and then the others can get to know my culture. (Respondent 315)

Poles' perceive their culture as valuable for others in a number of ways. Firstly, introducing new Polish dishes or inspiring the existing cuisine is one of elements of sharing their culture with others. This points to the impact of Polish culture on the British culture that was noticed by the media: Polish restaurants and bakeries were opened and Polish alcoholic drinks were introduced in pubs (see The Daily Telegraph 2006).

Secondly, the respondents also mentioned sharing stories about the history, culture and traditions. These examples reveal that Poles are proud of their traditions and history.

A client approaches and asks how to say 'good morning' in Polish, (so) they can learn something about Polish culture or politics...

(Magda, hotel worker)

Such positive comments and pride of being Polish contrast with findings from Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2006) on class and ethnicity. It was found that Poles in London were unsatisfied with being associated with Poles, which could imply a wrong social class; instead, they emphasised their belongingness to Europe and their 'whiteness'. Migrants' responses in this study point to their patriotism and pride of being Polish, which is also found in a study by Brown that stated sojourners become ambassadors for their country when they move abroad (Brown in press).

8.2.5 Experience and knowledge

Finally, experience and knowledge were other elements that the respondents emphasised. This included general experience gained previously either in Poland or in

other countries, such as France or the USA, or specific experience from a certain department, events, management or reception:

Experience from Poland in events. (Respondent 56)

Experience gained earlier in hotels in the USA. (Respondent 206)

Managerial experience. (Respondent 153)

My work experience in this sector, as I worked in France for two years as a receptionist. (Respondent 201)

Because of my experience, I can do every task correctly. (Respondent 101)

More than 15 years of international experience. (Respondent 263)

Apart from experience, a broad theme of migrants bringing knowledge and foreign language skills emerged from the data.

Foreign languages - I worked as a receptionist in France for two years.

(Respondent 201)

Knowledge of four languages. (Respondent 263)

Qualification in this sector because I'm studying (this) in Poland. (Respondent 289)

General knowledge gained in Polish schools. (Respondent 279)

Some marketing skills. (Respondent 47)

Such examples indicate that, not only a positive attitude and work ethic, but Poles also brought some tangible skills such as linguistic or marketing skills to the industry. It was noticed previously (Devine *et al.* 2007b, 2007a) that the number of foreign languages spoken by international staff in hospitality in Northern Ireland exceeded that of the native workers. Migrant workers, on average, spoke three or more foreign languages including their mother tongue (Devine *et al.* 2007b).

Although migrants believe that their knowledge of foreign languages or skills was useful to the workplace, a study conducted in New Zealand on the perceived relevance of foreign skills in tourism (Aitken and Hall 2000) revealed that such skills possessed by migrants were unimportant to tourism industries. Thus, foreign languages, contacts with foreign cultures, specific cultural knowledge, studies in foreign countries and knowledge of foreign business and practices were not found particularly important for the industry unless held at senior management level. Thus, experience and knowledge of migrants may not be used in less skilled positions.

8.2.6 Stereotypes and workers' perceptions

As previously stated, many have labelled the hospitality workforce as semi 'skilled' or 'unskilled'/'non-skilled' (Wood 1992; Riley 1991; Shaw and Williams 1994; Lucas 2004; Walmsley 2004). This perception of tourism employment is inaccurate and creates negative images of the industry. This has been changing, and many have noticed that perceptions of 'unskilled' labour are rather out of date (Choy 1995; Baum 1996; Burns 1997).

According to Burns (1997:241), '*soft skills are not recognised at all, but are rather part of the natural order of things*', which suits employers who classify the majority of their workforce as 'unskilled'. Subsequently, employing an 'unskilled' workforce is reflected in the poor wages and working conditions.

The findings from this study confirm the new perceptions of 'skills' in the hospitality workforce. When Polish migrants were asked to reflect on their skills, abilities and competences, they emphasised their hard working nature including scrupulousness, solidity, reliability, punctuality, honesty, and effectiveness as well as skills such as ability to speak foreign languages or the benefits arising from their cultural differences. While they were aware of their own work ethic, they were critical of local staff's work ethic, which echoes Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance and power distance dimensions (1991, 2005).

In this study, migrants listed a number of components associated with a good attitude, such as energy, passion and enthusiasm. Moreover, they think they do their jobs looking smiley, friendly, being open, calm and with a sense of humour. These elements listed by respondents create 'a right attitude'. It has been shown that this is what is sought by employers in this sector (Mathews and Ruhs 2007b; Nickson *et al.* 2003).

Polish migrants' work ethic has already become a positive stereotype addressed in past studies (McDowell *et al.* 2007; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b) and the media. A study conducted in a London hotel revealed the stereotyped perceptions of Polish cleaning staff as hardworking and paying attention to cleanliness (McDowell *et al.* 2007). As a result, Vietnamese staff from an agency were replaced with Polish staff. Mathews and Ruhs (2007b) also found that employers regard Polish staff as hardworking, and the evidence showed that they are reliable.

Some other stereotypes from past studies named Polish staff as hostile towards Indians and aggressive (McDowell *et al.* 2007), as well as appreciative of wages in the UK (Mathews and Ruhs 2007b). Although this study cannot comment on whether Poles are aggressive or hostile towards others, as reported previously (Chapter 7), the findings from this study reveal that Poles do not appreciate the wages they are offered while working in hospitality. Their perceptions of low wages (low bonuses, lowering number of hours) are very strong and, subsequently, they add to the decision to leave the sector.

Apart from Poles' culture, its values, behaviours and beliefs that are brought to workplaces, migrants bring something else. According to Williams (2007a), *'[m]igrants do bring their positionality and their social identities into the work place, and these mediate knowledge transactions'* (p. 42). In addition, this study reveals that, from the migrants' perspective, Poles bring a number of values that subsequently can be categorised as cultural values (such as work ethic, commitment and culture), and individual ones related to someone's work and personal experience (work experience, skills, foreign languages). In other words, the first type of skills and knowledge is related to the cultural heritage of a society, and can be interpreted by Hofstede's cultural dimensions, while the second type is related to individual biographies.

This study cannot comment further on how these knowledge transactions are commodified or on which level of the company they occur. These findings only indicate that migrants felt that they contribute to their workplaces as well as acquire new knowledge and skills.

To sum up, tourism employment relies on a workforce with highly developed interpersonal skills and the right attitude (Burns 1997; Nickson *et al.* 2005). The UK employers seek Polish migrants, as they meet the employers' demand. One of the implications of the findings is that it has been shown that UK employers value the stereotype of Polish work ethic and commitment but Poles' work ethic and attitude to work is prone to discrimination. More specifically, employers may perceive Poles' work performances as their hard working nature, while Poles themselves might assess this as unfair work allocation between them and other members of staff. Subsequently, they may perceive it as a sign of discrimination. Regardless of the ongoing debates, the hospitality industry clearly benefits from the migrants.

8.3 Working in hospitality as an investment – migrants' learning experiences

The second open-ended question required respondents to reflect on what they think they gained or learnt from their experiences in the UK hospitality industry. Migration plays an important role in the development of human capital. The decision to migrate may be read in an investment context in which migrants estimate opportunities and losses. The set of experiences or competences gained while migrating can be utilised or mobilised in the future according to Sjastaad's theory of human capital (1962). This theory was introduced in Chapter 2.

The themes that emerged from the analysis of the survey questions can be divided into the categories of English language, work practices, recognition at work, skills development, financial benefits, flexibility and adaptation. The latter theme of adaptation, including relationships, will be presented in Chapter 9, along with other issues related to the overall adaptation process.

8.3.1 Improving English – a primary objective

Developing linguistic skills is an important outcome of migration and, for many undertaking a job in hospitality, presents an opportunity to achieve it. The role of language ability has been included in some political and policy debates in Britain, highlighting that English is a tool for the successful integration of Britain's diverse communities (Home Office 2004; Alexander *et al.* 2007), and a strong driver of both employment and earnings (Portes and French 2005).

The importance of linguistic competence in the adaptation process in a new society has been highlighted by many (Goldlust and Richmond 1974; Kim 1988; Hofstede 1991; Berry 1997; Gudykunst 1998; Ward *et al.* 2001). Becoming more mature, less reliant on others and feeling a greater sense of belonging is a result of acquiring host communication competence (Kim 1988). Migrants are overcoming stress from cross-cultural communication and they are able to better function in a new society. Without knowing a language, it is likely a migrant would remain an outsider (Hofstede 1991).

This research reveals that the value of English was emphasised and discussed by the respondents on many occasions. When the survey respondents were asked what they think they gained from working in the sector, the vast majority of them reported that they learnt English. In addition, the level of English and its relevance to the work position has been discussed frequently on the migrants' online fora. Similarly,

interviewees repeatedly stressed how they were improving their language skills at work.

8.3.1.1 English language – the reason for engaging in hospitality employment

The data suggests that improving English language skills was one of the dominant reasons for Polish workers to engage in hospitality employment. As these postings from online fora illustrate, individuals engage in dialogue about their working experiences in the “pre-migration stage” of migration (Hiller and Franz 2004), and discuss their expectations from hospitality employment.

'Hello, I am planning to go to England for the summer. I would like to brush up my English and also earn some money. I have realised that the best idea is to get a job as a waiter.

(ang.pl, 25.11.04)

'Hi, I'm also interested in working in a hotel. In Poland, I worked in a few hotels (...). I would like to go abroad in order to brush up my English because it is bad, do I have a chance?'

(ang.pl, 24.10.06)

At the moment, I don't see myself anywhere else, so I will have to work as a waiter; once I have brushed my English and get orientated myself, I will want to work in my profession, as a dental assistant ☺.

(mojawyspa.co.uk, 04.03.2007)

These comments indicate that migrant workers recognise that the jobs undertaken are temporary and a means to a better end. Choosing to work in low-paid sectors in order to acquire some form of capital such as language skills has been reported before (Eade *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2007; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Kosic 2006). Migrants may tolerate working far below their qualification because of the language capital they acquire. This is a temporary situation and Polish migrants may choose to seek alternative employment when their language skills have been developed.

8.3.1.2 Learning English in virtual spaces

A second emergent theme related to English is the way the hospitality employment and learning is mediated through virtual networks. For example, the level of English needed for a particular job, basic vocabulary at work and questions asked during job interviews are only a few of the topics discussed on the internet fora. Among many

websites, *ang.pl* is dedicated to those who learn English, and its users actively exchange queries concerning the level of language needed in hospitality jobs. Potential migrants can lay out their problem and others respond with advice and suggestions (Hiller and Franz 2004).

For example, a female user with some basic English started a new topic, to get some help with typical English phrases needed for a job interview: "Interview – waitress – on Friday help me!!!" (*ang.pl*, 27.05.2008). As a reply to her query, a message was posted with twenty examples of questions that may be asked during a job interview such as '*What do you like about waitressing? Are you good at multi-tasking? Are you physically fit? What's the longest amount of time you've spent on your feet? How do you learn new things?*'

Those who had already obtained employment in the UK also turned to online users for help. Another female user of *ang.pl* asked for help on useful formal and informal vocabulary needed at a job in a bar and restaurant (04.04.2006). Some detailed replies are given by others suggesting that she may need to use phrases such as '*What can I get you? What would you like? Can I take your order? Are you ready to order yet?*' (05.04.2006). Another user adds *I'll be here with you in a minute. Is everything okay so far?* (05.04.2006), and advises further that, if there is an empty plate on the table, one can say '*Are you done with it, please?*' These examples provide internet users with insights on behaviours and customs that occur in food and drinking places.

Online fora were transformed into virtual spaces for learning, where new and experienced migrants could exchange practical advice. It became a valuable learning space in its own right. Potential migrants can gain some knowledge of English phrases that are necessary in front line positions, but they also learn about customer service in the UK.

8.3.1.3 Learning from local co-workers

The survey respondents agreed that learning English, through interaction with hosts, was the main benefit of engaging in hospitality work. The following quotes illustrate that confidence in speaking was acquired through work:

I have now more courage to speak English and not to care that I cannot speak perfect English. (Respondent 293)

Customer contact meant that I stopped being afraid of using a foreign language.

(Respondent 71)

(It) helped me to break the language barrier for sure because of the constant contact with people. (Respondent 217)

The respondents mentioned not only gaining confidence, but also brushing up existing languages skills.

It helped me to understand the local accent. (Respondent 153)

I have brushed up my English. (Respondent 34)

I had a chance to brush up my English through the contacts with English people. (Respondent 124)

An opportunity to speak English with people from different countries. (Respondent 188)

In addition, it was clear from the online fora and interviews that one of the advantages of working in the hospitality sector was to learn English from other employees. Often, as in the case below, back-of-house jobs provided the environment to learn English without any pressure:

This job [as a KP] was very useful to me in the situation I was in at that time because I didn't have to speak English, a good command of English wasn't required from me but I could listen. I was learning all the time, but I wasn't responsible for my bad English. I was going to school and I was slowly learning the language. I was also learning from chefs and other KPs and I was trying to take advantage from it as much as I could.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

The quote suggested that working as a Kitchen Porter was seen as less stressful and involving a slower, more passive mode of language attainment. Not only participation, but also observation of communication activities helps in acquiring a host country language (Kim 1988). Through working at the back of the kitchen, a Polish KP was able to learn English at his own pace. More importantly, he was learning without pressure from either management or customers, taking advantage of his native co-workers.

Another interviewee had similar feelings about the advantages of learning English at work and recognised host contact as beneficial:

The fact that I have learnt the language, I mean, I have improved my language, this is due to the hotel for sure, because it was my only job. (...). There was a head waiter who was correcting my English; what I say wrong, how I should say it (...), and I told

him: 'yes, this is exactly what I want you to do for me, keep correcting me!' Even now, when I speak to some Englishmen, those who I have a good contact with, I say, 'look, if I say something wrong, please do correct me'.

(Marek, assistant manager)

Some phrases can only be learnt through personal exposure to host nationals in real situations (Kim 1988). Marek took the initiative and asked local staff for help in improving his language skills. According to Kim (1988), ability to use slang, idioms, humour and metaphors is only acquired through such contact. These comments show that the respondents were taking advantage from the situation they found themselves. They were able to get used to the language and improve it with the help of host co-workers. The use of hospitality jobs as a route to learning language is a good alternative.

8.3.1.4 Learning through experimentation

In contrast to previous experiences, hospitality employment for many others represented more intensive, pressured learning environments. Learning through experimentation is an inevitable part of trying to achieve language competence. The beginning, however, may be truly stressful as described by an internet user.

I was working behind the bar for 5 months and during the first week I could not understand a single word they were speaking to me. Before I left, I had been thinking that I knew English so well. I had been learning it for so many years, (I passed) A-Level and exams. As someone mentioned earlier – Englishmen speak so unclearly, with such a high accent that sometimes there is no way to understand them. After a while it gets easier and better, you understand them better and better and later on you speak like they do. It is true that they are understanding.

(ang.pl, 15.12.04)

The above quote illustrates that the first days at work behind a bar may be extremely tough, especially as everyday communication in English, in reality, is very different from the knowledge gained in Poland. However, once time passes, it gets easier to communicate.

Another internet user described other experiences with the use of English at work.

I have been working in a restaurant for 2 months and it has been great. I haven't worked as a waitress before and I was afraid of that, mainly that my English is not brilliant ;) but people are seriously nice (both the girls I work with and customers). I have never come across a bad reaction, even when they have to repeat the same thing

four times. Recently, a customer asked me for some pepper and I misunderstood it as some wine (similar names :)) and later on, when I brought her some wine, instead of pepper, there was lots of laughter! People...I think that the most important thing is to take it easy, not to get stressed out and be able to laugh at our own mistakes (...)
(ang.pl, 20.08.2006)

It is clear that a positive customer attitude helps in this learning process. In contrast to such encouraging behaviour, some hostile experiences from customers who were testing the foreign staffs' language understanding were reported elsewhere (Devine et al. 2007a).

Finally, such experiences are evaluated by an ex-hotel worker in terms of acquiring language skills.

This experience of working in waiting is priceless. This contact with customers is something you would never learn when working in a factory; doing some physical work. The fact that you could speak to a customer making linguistic mistakes, and that you could speak to an English customer who has his needs – this is something that you wouldn't learn anywhere else.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

His experience as a waiter is assessed as 'priceless', as the customer experience imposes regular contact by employees with clients and use of the language in everyday communication. Trial and error are natural in transforming personal communications patterns and achieving high host communication competence (Kim 1988). Hospitality employment forced interaction between the migrants and English speakers and these quotes demonstrate how their learning was mediated through their work. It also demonstrates the ways in which consumers and colleagues play a crucial role in their learning.

8.3.2 Experience and recognition at work

Promotion at work seems to be another important asset gained from hospitality. This has been highlighted in this study before, when migrants were expressing their views about the sector (see Chapter 7.2). However, it also revealed how challenging migrants found climbing the ladder and how progression lacked a clear career path (see Chapter 7.4). Asked what they gained from working in the sector, the respondents described it in the following ways:

I have discovered that this is what I want to do in my life. (Respondent 184)

An opportunity for career development: starting from a housekeeper and now working as events coordinator, (I got) an opportunity to study hospitality management. (Respondent 199)

I started as a kitchen porter, now I am a respected chef. (Respondent 80)

An opportunity to be promoted; 18 months ago, I was working as a KP, now I am working as a chef. Apart from that, I am doing a certificate for SVQ level 3. (Respondent 156)

Some were promoted, which gave them satisfaction and recognition. Several managed to climb the ladder from working in the kitchen as a kitchen porter to a chef position. Other examples included a housekeeper working as a bar supervisor and duty manager or a previous housekeeper gaining an events coordinator position. It points to mobility of employees who change various departments in order to be promoted. Similarly, comments at the end of the questionnaire reported some positive experiences.

I am very satisfied with my current job. I am a respected employee (and) the manager takes my opinion into account. It is possible to be promoted very easily if you show what you can do and do it with satisfaction. I strongly recommend working in hospitality. (Respondent 52)

It is worth [working in hospitality] but it depends on the place you work and on your manager. I went to the top (wybic sie), and I can still go further up but it requires some more experience and hard work. (Respondent 80)

I started as a housekeeper and, after 32 months, I worked as a bar supervisor and duty manager. (Respondent 282)

Despite well documented negative perceptions of career progression in the sector (Hjalager and Anderson 2001; Wildes 2005; Walmsley 2004), as well as difficulties that migrants face (Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b; Wright and Pollert 2006), some Polish respondents emphasised that their status changed and they progressed at work. As mentioned by some of the respondents, it appears that the role of management is crucial in these successful progressions. Such observation has been reported before (Wright and Pollert 2006).

Change of status at work is perceived as an important element of migrants' adaptation in a country of settlement (Berry 1997). Furthermore, such positive perception of the openness of the British class system was found in a previous study of Eade *et al.* (2006). It was revealed that Polish migrants in London felt that there are plenty of opportunities for ambitious and hardworking individuals.

Next to the opportunities for promotion at work, respondents indicated that they managed to get some experience:

An opportunity for career development, the experience I have gained as well as the degree I have finished in the UK will open great opportunities for development and promotion after I return to Poland. (Respondent 21)

Experience and references from a 4-star hotel that belongs to one or two biggest chains in the world. (Respondent 158)

Experience that I would not gain in Poland for sure. (Respondent 69)

I gained some experience in the kitchen as well as at the bar. (Respondent 288)

Respondents have raised attending various courses (SVQ, NVQ) or doing a degree in hospitality management. With respect to the experience gained abroad, expressions that are used by respondents describing the value of it include terms such as 'opportunity' and 'development'. Again, such positive perceptions of experiences in working in hospitality indicating that opportunity does exist are contrasted with the challenges that some migrants recalled (see Chapter 7.4). Subsequently, it all points to the complex image of career paths that dominate the sector.

8.3.3 Knowledge of work practices

Asked to reflect on what they gained from working in the sector, knowledge of the British working environment has been highlighted by many:

I got to know foreign standards of work. (Respondent 206)

I got to know systems of work in England. (Respondent 16)

I have become an employee who is aware of his rights. (Respondent 34)

A bit better orientated in the structure of the work organisation in the UK.

(Respondent 145)

Some autonomy in moving around in the UK when it comes to customs as well as legal regulations. (Respondent 167)

I can now start my own business in this sector. (Respondent 205)

Resulting from their experience in the sector, migrants were able not only to orientate themselves in the British labour market but also they learnt their own rights and other legal regulations. This is a necessary step progressing and moving in the labour market and such knowledge is also an important element of adaptation into the UK life. Migrants gained an understanding and familiarity in progressing and moving jobs in the UK labour market, which is in line with a previous study (Eade *et al.* 2006). Polish migrants in London felt that they learnt how to operate in a capitalist labour market. Such experience gained in one sector of employment does not have to be limited to this sector. The study reveals that such experience is beneficial outside the hospitality industry. Past studies on migrants' economic integration (see Krahn *et al.* 2000) concluded that lack of knowledge was an obstacle on arrival.

8.3.4 Developing new skills

As discussed in Chapter 4, migrants often undergo a process of *stress-adaptation-growth dynamics* and, after arrival, they '*must adjust and readjust themselves to better function in the host society*' (Kim 1988:54). At the beginning, they may be more aggressive and hostile towards the host culture, its food, climate, values and customs and they gradually overcome stress, frustration and anxiety and begin the process of learning, growth and creativity (Kim 1988).

Many of the elements listed by migrants can be classified as personal development skills or interpersonal skills that are acquired through exploration of foreign countries (Bennett 1998). Some specific abilities have been identified such as *quick problem solving, self-reliance, patience, persistence, tolerance or respecting others*. These findings are in line with previous research that noticed similar experiences of migrants; they felt that they changed and became more mature (Kosic 2006; Eade *et al.* 2006). Although this study reveals that migrants felt that they learned tolerance and respect of others, previous research indicated that Poles changed their perceptions, which led them to criticise what they see as intolerance in Poland. It was also reported that they would not imagine such multiculturalism in their home country (Eade *et al.* 2006).

Getting **confidence** is another feature acquired by migrants.

That was simply my first job in the UK and that helped me to get to know the country and I became 'acclimatised'. (Respondent 54)

I started feeling more sound, more comfortable in England. (Respondent 34)

To adjust to the UK life. (Respondent 122)

Surviving the first 3 months before I got to know what it looks like here. (Respondent 159)

Again these comments can be explained by Kim (1988) and his conceptual framework of overcoming stress and growth that is related to adaptation. An interview gives more detail on how this confidence grows:

Self-confidence - work in a restaurant is a little bit like work at a railway station because the interaction is amazing. There is tension, often customers are unsatisfied so you have to speak to them and self-confidence comes from it.

(Jakub, ex restaurant worker)

From numerous different situations and incidents that might take place in a hospitality workplace, an employee has to be alert that he/she might need to react immediately. Indeed, once migrants overcome stress, they acquire internal capacity to cope with varied environmental conditions (Kim 1988).

While working in a hotel, you come across different situations. Sometimes you have to overcome very embarrassing situations because either you failed or someone else did - your colleague, manager or kitchen staff. You have to make it up to a customer in a variety of ways. If you spend at least a few months in a place like this, you will gain some personality traits, skills that you wouldn't have gained otherwise. Not in a factory...

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

Enhanced self-confidence was also a second important competence acquired by Slovakian students in the UK (Balaz and Williams 2004).

Furthermore, migrants discover their own identity (Madison 2006, 2007; Hayes 2007) and undergo personal transformation (Kim 1988; Ting-Toomey 1999). An interviewee

explained how working in a hotel helped him to understand himself and **discover his own interest**.

I think that this hotel discovered what I like doing because, so far, neither my studies nor my life have entirely discovered what I want to do, but working in this hotel did show what I like doing and what I could be doing. So management is this sort of thing that came out. (...) When I was studying chemistry, I wasn't entirely sure whether this is what I want to do. Now I can see what I would like to do in my life, what sort of positions I would like to hold. It would be rather human resources management than a job in chemistry or hospitality.

(Marek, assistant manager)

Marek who has tried several jobs in a Bournemouth hotel, made up his mind about the future. Living and working in a foreign country made him more mature and allowed him to assess his own identity. This echoes conceptualisations by Madison (2006, 2007) and Hayes (2007) on 'becoming oneself' because of being away from home and own community. In this context, migration offers an opportunity to explore aspects of self and the world that would not be available in the home country. Todres identified this away from home as therapeutic pause (Todres 2002).

Migrants learn new ways of handling problems and '*seeing with new eyes*' (Kim 1988). Through the constant interactions between a customer and staff, employees learn how to **deal with stressful situations** and how to get by daily.

It taught me a calm approach towards work. At the beginning, I was very stressed (this job gets stressful at times) but now I can approach everything (easily, coolly) at peace.
(Respondent 217)

It taught me to cope with stressful situations. (Respondent 300)

It gave me better opportunities and showed me that one can live easier and cooler.
(Respondent 179)

According to Kim (1988), adaptation is related to overcoming stress. The interdependence of stress, adaptation and subsequent transformation is referred by Kim as the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic (1988, 2008). A few comments are related to acquiring a calm attitude and being able to cope with stress better, eventually being able to live 'easier and cooler'. On the other hand, as noticed previously (Brown 2003), the relationship between wages and cost of living in Britain is more proportional than it is in Poland, which means migrants are able to rent their accommodation and

afford leisure activities. Subsequently, they feel less stressed. These findings reveal that the cultural traits of Polish migrants, which are associated with the dimension of high Uncertainty Avoidance related to anxiety (Hofstede 1991), are changing and migrants are becoming more relaxed and less anxious.

Finally, some respondents also felt that they were learning some **practical skills** such as customer service while working in UK hospitality:

A chance to gain experience in customer service. (Respondent 7)

*Rudiments of customer service, which came to fruition in further career.
(Respondent 83)*

They also learnt practical culinary skills:

New culinary tricks, which we are trying out at home :) (Respondent 257)

*I learnt how to cook and how to make dishes, meals that I didn't know before.
(Respondent 91)*

My family and I are trying out English dishes. (Respondent 37)

Such skills may help in future career development and may be additional personal resources when trying to find the next job. Furthermore, skills related to customer service may be transferable to other industries.

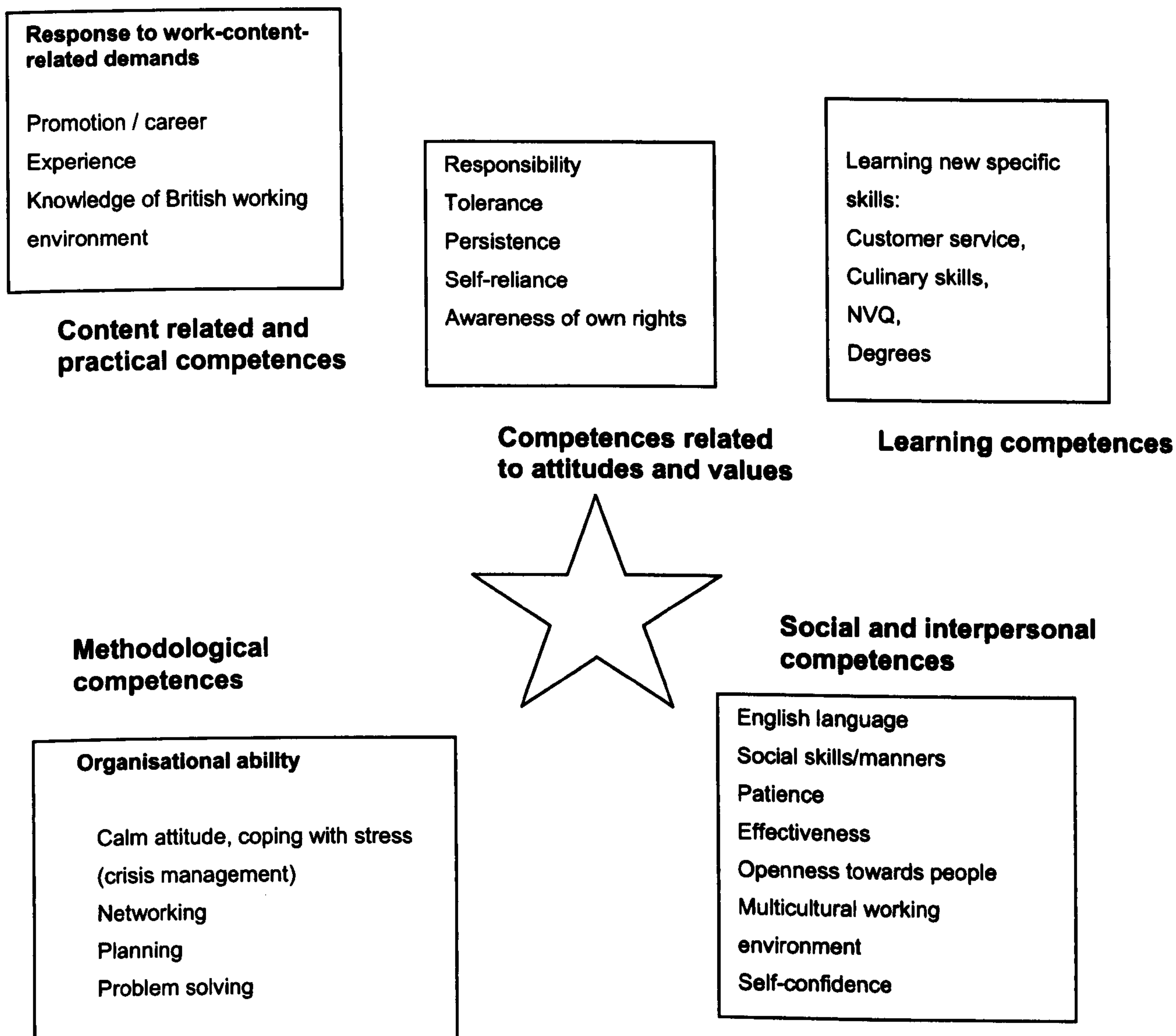
8.3.5 Acquiring new competences

The findings from this study revealed that migrants identified a whole plethora of skills during their working experiences in the UK hospitality industry. The starting point for the discussion on knowledge sharing and learning among migrants is a statement of Williams and Balaz (2008) that *'every migrant is a learner, knowledge carrier and knowledge creator'* (p.15). Although past research focused on elite workers, migrants who are defined as 'skilled' workers, Williams and Balaz (2008) argue that there is a need to focus on migrants who are often classified as 'unskilled' workers and this study addresses this gap in research.

In discussing what migrants learn from working in the sector, it is useful to use the 'starfish model' developed by Evans (2002). As introduced in Chapter 2 (2.3.3), Evans'

model was developed based on investigation of non formal learning experiences and occupational biographies. The model encompasses five clusters of abilities *learning abilities, social and interpersonal abilities, methodological competences, competence related to values and content related and practical competences*. The competences categorised by Evans can be applied to this study. Respondents who were reflecting on their working experience identified a number of different competences that can be considered in relation to the 'starfish model'. Figure 8.1 demonstrates the competences gained by Polish migrants presented in the Evan's 'starfish model'.

Figure 8.1. Self evaluation of migrants' learning experiences while working in H&C industry applied to the 'Starfish model' (Evans 2002)



Following Evans' clusters, the competences are considered below.

Firstly, **social and interpersonal competences** include a competence that is of importance, to use the Dustmann term, '*language capital*' (1999). Although it was noticed in the past that migrants take up hospitality jobs because of ability to learn English (see King 1995; Wood 1992), in this research, the survey respondents identified many aspects of learning English at their working places. These included gaining confidence in speaking and improving existing language skills through trial and error with the help of their co-workers and customers. Not surprisingly, English, as a non-monetary benefit of working in the UK identified by Polish migrants, has been found before (Eade *et al.* 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Kosic 2006). Learning English

was also found as an asset in a study of Slovakian students in the UK (Balaz and Williams 2004) and is also found in studies about international sojourners.

The value of this particular competence is place specific. According to Balaz and Williams (2004), *'learning to speak English fluently may provide a competitive edge compared with other migrants in the UK labour market but not compared to native English speakers, other than in a few specialised jobs requiring translator skills (2004:220)*. However, for Polish workers and Slovakian students, obtaining 'language capital' before returning home would be valued as an extra skill. In the UK, fluent English is just a necessary tool that helps in adaptation and everyday life but being fluent in English may contribute to better job perspectives and higher wages in Poland.

Communication with strangers consists of knowledge of the host language as well as knowledge of non-verbal behaviour (Kim 1988; Gudykunst and Kim 2003). In this study, migrants felt that they acquired 'social skills' while observing and taking part in activities with the hosts. Furthermore, experience in working in a multicultural environment is another asset that would be difficult to acquire in very monocultural Poland. Ability to work in a multicultural environment may not be valid for a Polish worker at this moment but with growing globalisation and the increase in emigration to Poland (from the Ukraine, Taiwan and China) it may be soon commodified. This will also be useful when migrants decide to go to another country or decide to migrate again in the future.

In respect of **competences related to attitudes and values**, migrants listed the elements acquired as self-confidence, responsibility, tolerance, persistence, self-reliance and awareness of own rights. These elements relate to the transformation of a migrant personality in a new society (Kim 1988; Hayes 2007; Madison 2006, 2007). They are transferable and will be of use in any job both in Poland and elsewhere; thus, they can enhance migrants' employability.

Content related and practical competences mentioned by respondents would include experience, achieved promotion and knowledge of the British working environment, which are elements perceived as important for migrants' economic adaptation. On arrival, migrants may be disadvantaged in the labour market because of a lack of local experience and knowledge of the labour market (Krahn *et al.* 2000). Thus, British working experience and local labour market knowledge give them confidence and ability to find a job according to their qualifications. What is more, this

allowed migrants to be independent by using formal channels for job searching, as opposed to weak methods for accessing jobs on their arrival.

Working experience and achieving promotion would be an asset both in UK and Polish workplaces because migrants would have increased their 'entry status' and may be perceived as successful; however, familiarity with British working environment is place-specific. This means that having understood the labour market and gained knowledge of local institutions and work practices in the UK, migrants may be more capable of finding jobs using formal ways of job searching, as opposed to informal methods employed on arrival. However, migrants may not benefit from this knowledge on the Polish labour market unless employed in the export sector.

Methodological competences focus on organisational skills and respondents mentioned many. They included calm attitude and coping with stress, which are responses to crisis management, planning and problem solving, together with networking by meeting people from other countries and cultures. These competences point to migrants' transformation achieved through living in a new country. It also indicates migrants changed their cultural traits and decreased their level of anxiety (Hofstede 1991). All of these elements may be easily transferable in any job regardless of place.

In respect of **learning competences**, migrants felt that they were learning new specific skills such as customer service and culinary skills as well as obtaining diplomas on NVQ courses and studying at universities. Competences such as customer service or culinary skills are transferable skills, while completing a NVQ course is, to use Williams' term, 'place-specific knowledge' (2008). Such competence may be difficult to valorise after returning home or going to a country different from the UK.

This study applied Evans' (2002) 'starfish model' of five competences to present a wealth of skills acquired by migrants working in UK hospitality. In the light of these findings, migration is seen as a source of gaining a broad range of new knowledge and skills. Engaging in work in the hospitality sector can thus be seen as a form of investment and may be a win/win situation for both employers and employees. Previous research suggests that migrants perceived a working level below qualification as a 'sacrifice' (Kosic 2006) or a 'capital' (Eade *et al.* 2006). Migrants postpone reward for the sake of financial and social capital and new learning experiences (Eade *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2007; Anderson *et al.* 2006). This study shows that many feel that they acquired skills and knowledge.

Although the data from this study demonstrates that migrants reflected on and self-evaluated their learning experiences by assessing a number of benefits, those employment outcomes should be treated with caution. An important conclusion is that although some migrants acquired new competences and achieved enhanced career paths abroad or successful futures on returning home, for others, their acquired skills and knowledge may not lead to any success story and they remain 'trapped' in their entry jobs. This is also related to acquiring skills that are place-specific; thus, 'where you know' is important (Williams 2008). Migrants learn about the British labour market and obtain diplomas in specialised courses like National Vocational Training that may not be possible to use anywhere else apart from the UK. They may find themselves forced to stay in the UK, and limited to certain jobs in hospitality. Thus, *'while migration can be a stepping stone for some individuals, for others it can lead to labour market entrapment'* (Williams and Balaz 2008:199). In the latter case, skills acquired by migrants may not be valorised. It has been reported in Polish media that qualified Poles returning home with experience as blue collar workers are not welcomed by employers (Gazeta.pl, 2008). It may be that those who return have not succeeded abroad; thus, the duration of working below qualification is crucial in order to re-enter successfully the Polish labour market. By working for four or five years in sectors of employment in which they would not work in Poland, migrants may suffer irreversible consequences for their careers.

8.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has focused on migrants' contribution to their workplace and their benefits gained from working in the sector. The findings reveal that, in the eyes of migrants themselves, they have contributed in numerous ways with their work ethic, experience, culture, specific knowledge, creativity and their attitude. While migrants were positive that they work hard and were committed, they criticised local staff for lacking such commitment. This, however, can be explained by Hofstede's study on cultural dimensions that postulate that cultures differ and may create disparity at workplaces (1991, 2005).

Asked to reflect on migrants' learning process at their workplaces, respondents highlighted developing linguistic ability as the main outcome of their work experiences, as well as getting orientated on the job markets, achieving promotion and work experience and developing various interpersonal skills that facilitated the adaptation

process. These skills and knowledge were then discussed in the light of Evans' (2002) learning competences, raising the issue of valorisation of such knowledge.

While this chapter has already looked at several elements related to migrants, such as adaptation (the language, social skills, employment-related issues), the next chapter will discuss relationships with others, living conditions and migrants' leisure time.

9 Chapter Nine – Migrants' adaptation to life in the UK

9.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the findings regarding migrants' contribution to the workplace and their own learning experiences. The fourth objective of the research is: *to investigate the role that hospitality plays in the adaptation experience of Poles into the UK life.* The theme of adaptation has been brought up in the previous chapter by migrants, who felt that working in the sector has facilitated their adjustment process because they developed their linguistic ability and social skills, they learnt about the host labour market and developed relationships with others. This chapter will discuss relationships with host nationals, other migrants and co-nationals, living conditions and leisure time.

In order to understand the process of migrants' adaptation, elements of Berry's conceptual framework of acculturation (Berry 1997) and Kim's (1988) conceptualisations on the process of stress-adaptation-growth are used to look at the specific factors that influence migrants' adaptation in a new society. These concepts were discussed in the literature review (see Chapter 4).

This chapter is constructed with the findings from the online survey being presented first, followed by a presentation and discussion of qualitative findings and the themes of relationships, working hours and living conditions. At the end of the chapter, the results are interpreted in the light of the literature on cross-cultural transition.

9.2 Becoming adapted – quantitative results

This section of the chapter presents the results from the quantitative part of the questionnaire. However, a more detailed discussion supported by the qualitative findings will be provided later in this chapter. This section is organised in a way to achieve better clarity.

Firstly, survey respondents were asked whether working in hospitality helped them to adapt to life in the UK. In the eyes of the majority of respondents (81%), the industry facilitated the adaptation and specific factors that could influence their adaptation process were listed and are discussed in turn.

9.2.1 Migrants' linguistic ability

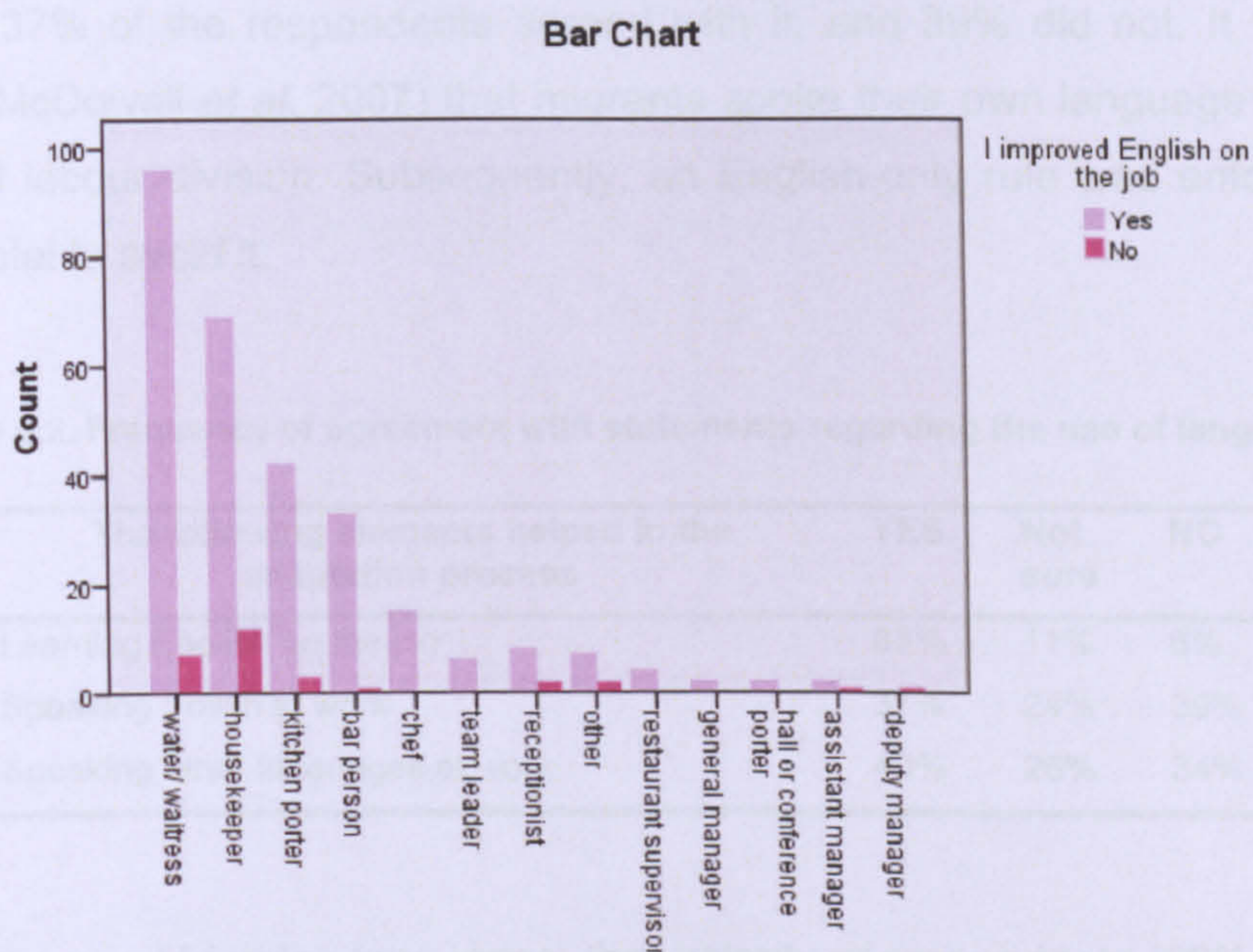
The findings show that as many as 91% of respondents stated that they had developed their host language skills while working in the hospitality industry in the UK (Table 9.1). This is also one of the most frequent items selected as a value gained from working in this sector and illustrations of acquiring linguistic ability were reported in Chapter 8. Furthermore, the vast majority (83%) admitted that such improved language ability helped in adapting to life in their new society (Table 9.2). This supports the literature on cultural adjustment, emphasising the role of host language in facilitating integration and acceptance (Goldlust and Richmond 1974; Kim 1988; Hofstede 1991; Ward *et al.* 2001; Gudykunst 1998).

Table 9.1. Frequency of statements regarding use of languages

While working in the hospitality industry in the UK	Yes	NO
Migrants improved English on the job	91 %	9 %
Have spoken Polish at work	67 %	33 %
Have used other languages at work	40 %	60 %

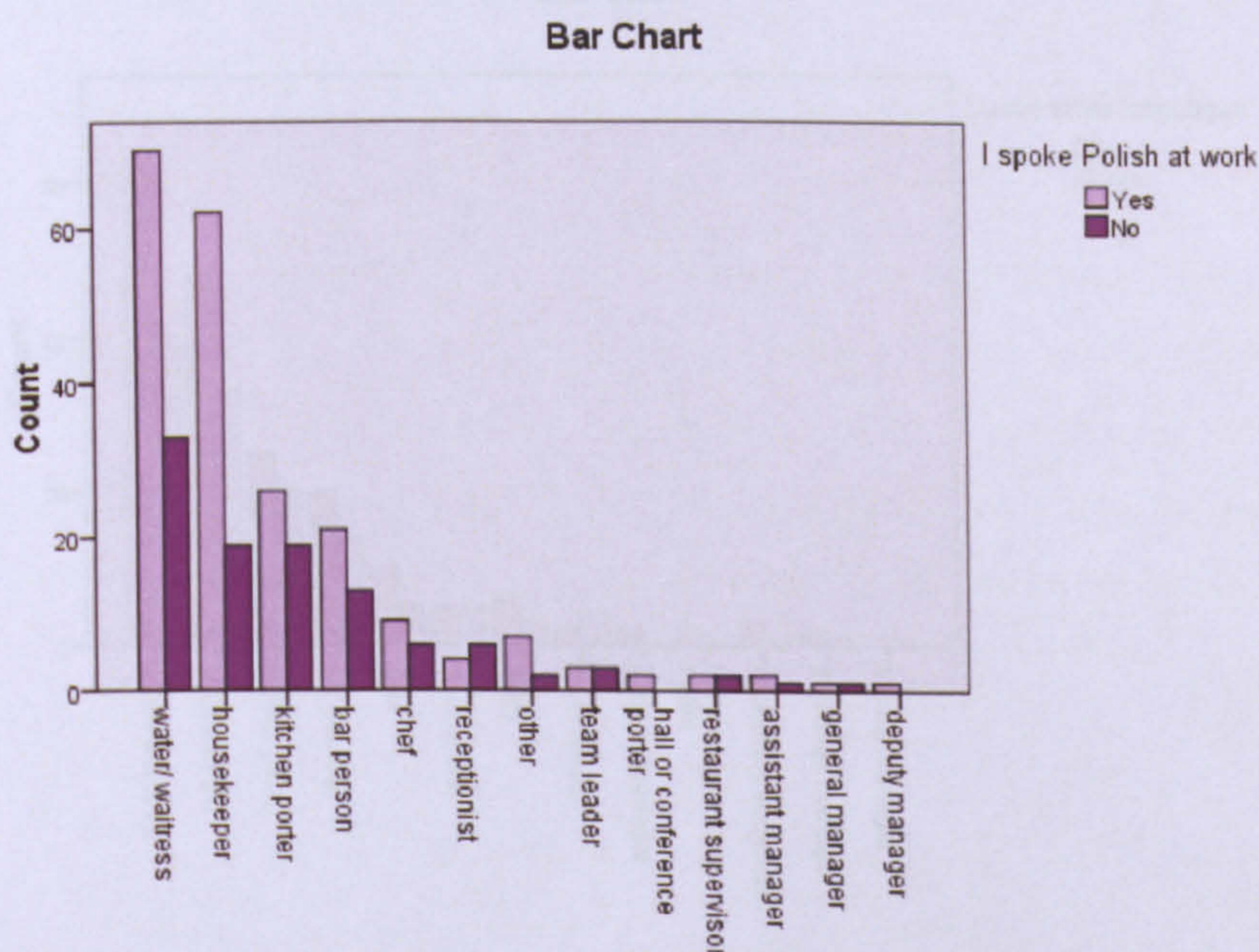
Although the vast majority of workers agreed that they had improved their language skills at work, it is possible that not all positions facilitate English language development. Cross tabulations were carried out in order to find out more about improving language skills and the particular first job positions that migrants take on (see Appendix 3). The analysis of frequencies indicates that a small number of housekeepers (15%) did not improve their English skills during their first jobs. A bar chart indicates frequencies (see Figure 9.1). The explanation for it may be that because of limited contact with customers, they may not find opportunities to use the language or they work with co-nationals.

Figure 9.1. Bar chart showing frequencies between improving English skills by job position



Asked whether respondents spoke Polish at work, many of them (67%) stated that they did use their native language at work (Table 9.1), which clearly indicates that many of them have worked with co-nationals. Further analysis was carried out in order to find out in which job positions Polish is spoken. The overview of frequencies (see Appendix 3) revealed that three quarters of *housekeepers* and two third of *waiters* use Polish at work (Figure 9.2). The finding regarding housekeepers explains why some of these workers did not feel that they acquired English skills.

Figure 9.2. Bar chart showing frequencies between speaking Polish at work by job position



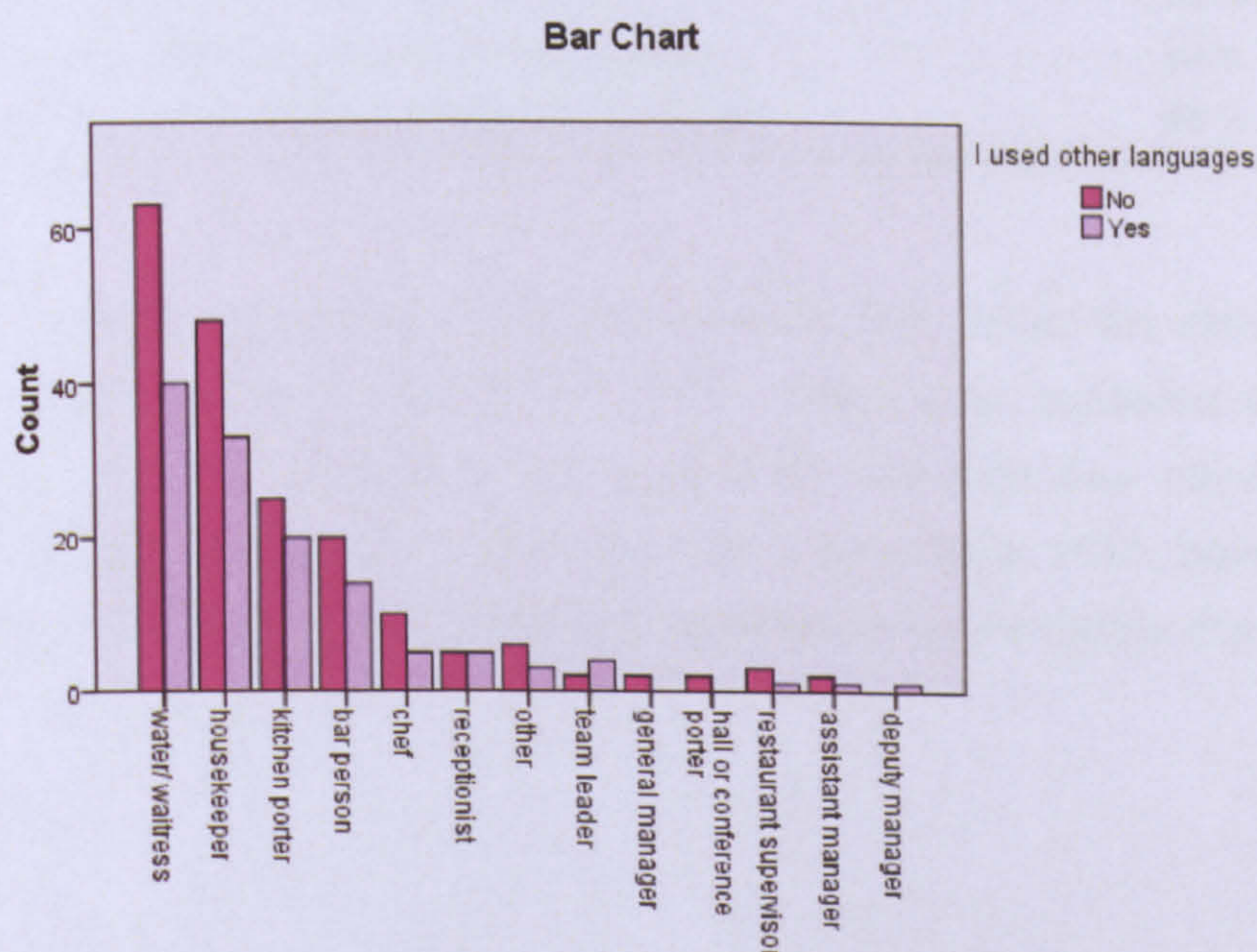
Whether speaking Polish at work helped migrants to better adapt to life in the UK is not clear since 37% of the respondents agreed with it, and 39% did not. It was noticed previously (McDowell *et al.* 2007) that migrants spoke their own language at work and that created labour division. Subsequently, an English-only rule was enforced at this particular hotel to avoid it.

Table 9.2. Frequency of agreement with statements regarding the use of languages

The following elements helped in the adaptation process	YES	Not sure	NO
Learning English on the job	83%	11%	6%
Speaking Polish at work	37%	24%	39%
Speaking other languages at work	40%	26%	34%

Regarding the use of foreign languages, the majority of respondents (60%) agreed that they did not use any at work. Among those who did, 40% believed that it helped them to adapt; slightly fewer (34%) stated that it did not. This is an interesting result in the light of the findings on migrants' reason for entering the industry, as discussed in Chapter 8; the use of foreign languages was the primary motive for taking up a hospitality job. In addition, some had previously mentioned that their foreign language skills is what they bring to the industry, as discussed in Chapter 8.

Figure 9.3. Bar chart showing frequencies of using other languages by job position



The overview of frequencies conducted on the use of other languages and first job position did not reveal further insights (see Figure 9.3 and Appendix 3).

9.2.2 Learning about cultures and migrants' leisure time

The next set of questions concerned learning about other cultures. The majority of respondents (80%) learned about other cultures at their workplaces, which in terms of adaptation, was perceived as helpful for 68% (see Tables 9.3 and 9.4). Similarly, the majority (83%) of respondents learned about the host culture at their workplaces, which was found useful for many (77%). This process of becoming more culturally aware will be considered further in this chapter; migrants' experiences with other cultures as well as the host culture will be discussed.

Regarding leisure time, 65% of respondents were socialising with the British, which for many (76%) was a step towards better adaptation (Tables 9.3 and 9.4). Respondents' statements confirming that their contacts with the host nationals helped them in adaptation are in line with cross-culture studies. This aspect of migrants' adaptation will be further discussed in this Chapter (9.3.1).

Table 9.3. Frequency of statements on items related to other cultures and leisure time

While working in the hospitality industry in the UK migrants...	Yes	NO
Have learnt about other cultures at work	80 %	20 %
Have learnt about British culture at work	83 %	17 %
Have socialised with British co-workers	65 %	35 %
Have socialised with other Polish co-workers	64 %	36 %
Have socialised with other nationality co-workers	68 %	32%

The results of the online questionnaire also revealed that almost the same number of respondents socialised with other Poles (64%), which was perceived as helpful in adaptation for 55%. It is believed that the contact with their own ethnic group has many advantages, mainly at the beginning of the sojourn (Kim 1988; Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999). Again, this aspect of migrants' adaptation will be further discussed.

Table 9.4. Frequency of statements on Items related to other cultures and leisure time

The elements that helped in the adaptation process	YES	Not sure	NO
Learning about other cultures at work	68%	18%	13%
Learning about British culture at work	77%	12%	10%
Socialising with British co-workers	76%	15%	9%
Socialising with other Polish co-workers	55%	21%	23%
Socialising with other nationality co-workers	70%	17%	17%

Finally, 68% of respondents socialised with other nations and, subsequently, the majority (70%) found it useful for their adaptation process. It was noticed before (Brown 2003) that Polish migrants do socialise with migrants from other countries while living in the UK. The implications of such contacts with other nationalities will be discussed further in this chapter.

9.2.3 Aspects influencing everyday lives

Several other elements were included in the questionnaire. A question asking whether respondents worked on split shifts received equally divided answers. For many of those working on split shifts, such irregular working hours did not help in adapting to life in the UK (48%), whilst it did for 22%. The impact of split shifts on migrants' lives will be further discussed. It also points to flexibility as a trait of hospitality employment, as discussed in Chapter 7.

Other questions included in the questionnaire were related to elements such as being able to go to the Polish church, living with co-workers, having accommodation organised and practical information received from a workplace. Firstly, when asked whether working in hospitality stopped migrants from going to the Polish church, the majority (61%) did not agree. The role of their religion will be further discussed in this chapter. Further, only a small number of people (18%) had their accommodation organised before starting their jobs. 28% of respondents were sharing their accommodation with co-workers.

Asked whether migrants received any practical information from their workplace, 40% of respondents indicated that they did. Nevertheless, the majority of respondents did not receive any practical information about life and work in the UK. This was noticed in a previous study (see Devine *et al.* 2007b), and it recommended developing a simple guide for international staff in hospitality that would help in understanding local cultural

cues. Indeed, receiving such information might aid socio-cultural adjustment by overcoming shock and avoiding errors (Ward *et al.* 2001).

Table 9.5. Frequency of statements on items related to life and work

	YES	NO
Has hospitality work stopped you from going to the Polish church?	39%	61%
Was your accommodation organised by the hotel or programme for you when you first arrived?	18%	82%
Have you lived with people you work with?	28%	72%
Did you get any practical information about life in the UK in your workplace?	40%	60%

Overall, the results from the online survey reveal that migrants felt that the hospitality sector helped them in adaptation to UK life. The themes discussed in the next part of this chapter serve as illustrations, and will provide further insights. They are built on the data obtained from the interviews and open-ended questions, including the themes of developing relationships with the hosts, co-nationals and other nationals, and working hours and living conditions.

9.3 Developing relationships

Literature on transition noticed that relationships with others have an impact on migrants' adaptation in the country of settlement (Ward *et al.* 2001; Kim 1988; Gudykunst and Kim 2003; Berry 1997; Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999, 2000). Both relationships with co-nationals and hosts were explored. Ward and Rana-Deuba (2000) argued that it is not about the quantity of contacts but the quality of contacts with both hosts and co-nationals that influence migrants' adjustment.

However, it was also argued that relationships with co-nationals release stress (Kim 1988) and are related to better psychological adjustment (Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999). On the other hand, relationships with the hosts influence migrants' socio-cultural adaptation (Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999) and, in the longer term, host contacts help in migrants' adaptation to the new society (Kim 1988). Brown and Holloway (2008), in a study of adjustment, noticed that there is a conflict between desire to improve socio-cultural and psychological adjustment. In other words, international sojourners not only want to function in the society, they also want to feel happy. In addition, Kim (1988) postulated that, over time, interpersonal networks change to an increasing integration of ties with host nationals.

This study is not concerned with migrants' relationships over time; instead, it looks at a variety of migrants' relationships with others that migrants develop while working in hospitality.

9.3.1 Relationships with the hosts

Although newly arrived migrants seek relationships with co-nationals, over the years, this pattern changes and migrants participate more in host society activities (Kim 1988). Host national identification is linked to reduction of social difficulties (Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999). Not only can verbal behaviour be acquired through direct contact with the hosts, but certain non-verbal behaviours can be learned only through direct observation and participation in relationships with natives (Kim 1988). What is more, all relationships with host nationals serve as sources of information from which strangers learn. In this research, such host contact that migrant workers encountered has many forms, ranging from interaction with fellow workers and customers to more intimate contacts resulting in friendships.

9.3.1.1 Help of fellow-workers

Although the work environment in UK hospitality is very multicultural, as members of staff come from all over the world, it also offers contact with host fellow workers. As reported in Chapter 8, working with British people has its advantages and the development of language skills through everyday communication with co-workers is an obvious benefit for migrants. Apart from language learning through exposure to hosts (Gudykunst 1998; Kim 1988; Hofstede 1991), such direct contact with the host culture promotes successful adaptation to a new society (Kim 1988; Samovar and Porter 2001), and provides a good source of advice:

I work with English people, so I ask about many things, and they tell me a lot about themselves; things about sport, because they are big fans of rugby and football. I think my workplace is a place where I can meet many English people. (...)

Lots of people helped me; even with things such as moving houses they helped me. (...) I asked British people about these things like moving houses, where I should go.
(Magda, hotel worker)

Going out with British co-workers and spending leisure time together helped migrants to learn host society habits and take part in activities such as playing or watching sports that are not known or popular back in Poland. This finding is interesting. It was shown previously that respondents were critical towards their British colleagues and did

not enjoy working with them (see Chapter 8.2.1); however, they spend leisure time together. The results from the survey showed that three quarters of respondents socialise with the hosts (see Table 9.3).

9.3.1.2 Meeting British customers

The relationship of Poles with British nationals not only happens on a private level, but also on the professional one. The hosts were able to meet Poles in their workplaces who were serving their meals and taking care of their luggage. Artur's assessment is very positive.

Waitressing helped Poles to go through. It helped to settle in England, because of the hotel work, we were able to show to the English who we are, that we are people who can work hard, people who have certain work ethic, that we are reliable people who learn fast. Finally, we showed this to the customers, in a factory nobody would have noticed all this.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

The hospitality workplaces made Poles 'visible' compared to many other low-paid sectors like agriculture or food processing where there is no contact with the hosts. These other workplaces do not offer a chance to show to the British what Poles are like and, according to the interviewee, to present their 'work ethic'. This face to face contact may have verified the hosts' knowledge about Poles acquired from the mass media. Migrants play a role as ambassadors of their own country, which was suggested in a previous study on international students in the UK by Brown (in press).

9.3.1.3 Acquiring social skills and manners

According to Kim (1988), crucial in adaptation experiences is the '*behavioural capability to perform various interactions with the host environment*' (p.85). Such ability refers to the capability to select an appropriate behaviour in a range of social situations. In other words, such behaviour can be characterised as social skills. Samovar and Porter (2001) list communication style, knowing customs and non-verbal codes as such necessary skills in communicating with the hosts. In this study, migrants mentioned that they learnt:

'Familiarity' with contacts with the Brits, and not only them. I have learnt to start chatting in a style: 'how are you', (I have learnt) how to joke with Brits. I got familiar with customs and morals of Brits. (Respondent 255)

Manners in contacts with people from different cultures. (Respondent 300)

Ward, Bochner and Furham (2001) stressed that cross-cultural differences in how people communicate exist. For example, a question asked by an American manager starting with: 'Would you like to...?' (do something like write a report) is not a question but a polite order. The same communicating style is evident in England. Thus, it is necessary for migrants to obtain and accept certain communicating behaviours, such as frequent use of the phrase 'How are you', that was mentioned by the respondent.

Further, learning host country *savoir-vivre* was an outcome for an interviewee:

(I have learnt) Some savoir-vivre, social etiquette and knowledge of some etiquette.

(Asia, hotel receptionist)

Communicating with host nationals is not just about speaking the host language, but also knowing rules, etiquette and relevant style. With this knowledge, migrants are now able to engage in conversations as Brits do, and they are capable of following English rules and doing 'small talk' with the hosts (Gudykunst 1998).

9.3.1.4 British as Friends

As pointed out before in this chapter, newly arrived migrants are likely to be attracted to their own ethnic group, as it eases the stress (Kim 1988). Instead, an interviewee turned her communication activities to the hosts. Her experience of 'living in' with a British family was positive and her employers became her friends.

A present receptionist has good memories from a small hotel owned by a British couple where she used to work, as she was treated as a member of a family:

Later on I lived in a hotel, where I worked. So I lived there because the owners were great, they treated me like a member of their family. The family was so friendly to me, and I was going out with them, to a restaurant, to parties, I spent a New Year's Eve with them. We stuck together. I am still in touch with them and I visit them from time to time. They sold the hotel; they have a holiday park now, a park with caravans. So they were teaching me everything slowly. I spent there most of my time, 30 months.

(Asia, hotel receptionist)

She had an active social life and, during the time of the interview, she was still in touch with them. Such a contact with host nationals is a source of learning about culture (Gudykunst 1998) and Asia is fully aware of that.

The way to get to know British culture is to learn it from someone, from a British person. I was lucky; I have come across nice people, British people.
(Asia, hotel receptionist)

According to Kim (1988), by participating in various interpersonal activities with hosts, migrants better adapt to the new host environment

9.3.1.5 British as Acquaintances

Although for some, the contact with the host society became very intimate and genuine, others might have different experiences with the hosts. Migrants' contact with British may be limited or not so important to them:

Regarding English acquaintances, I have a few of them, a few good friends, three people. I don't have vast contacts; these are casual, working contacts, the type of 'hi', 'nice to meet you'. It is enough for me, I don't need anything more.
(Jakub, ex restaurant worker)

While the former respondent appreciated her good contact with a British family, Jakub does not pay much attention to relationships with hosts; however, that does not mean that he is isolated from the natives and pursues a *segregation approach* (Berry 1997). He still has a few good British friends, but the importance of his own ethnic group is more precious for him.

9.3.2 Becoming an 'intercultural person'

Compared with Poland or other CEE countries, British hospitality workplaces are truly multicultural, particularly in London (People 1st 2008b). Therefore, not surprisingly, this feature was seen by the survey respondents as a good opportunity to meet others from all over the world. Diversity of hospitality workplaces is assessed as a fascinating element of the whole experience. Polish migrants appreciate learning about different worldviews, leisure time, cultures and religions.

It gave me the chance to work in an international environment. (Respondent 217)

I got to know different cultures (and) ways of spending leisure time. (Respondent 67)

I am learning about other cultures, an opportunity to meet people from all countries in the world. (Respondent 130)

Meeting people from all over the world, getting to know different cultures and religions. (Respondent 109)

New acquaintanceships, getting to know other nations' cultures. (Respondent 276)

A chance to meet interesting people of different origins. (Respondent 265)

A chance to meet many interesting people, cultures (and) worldviews.(Respondent 161)

Meeting sport celebrities (F.Totti, D.Cisse), VIPs, banquettes, silver service in Grays Inn in London... (Respondent 101)

Indeed, working with people results in new friendships, acquaintances and in becoming more open, which lead to changes in personality (Gudykunst and Kim 2003) and to increase cross-cultural understanding (Kim 1988; Ward *et al.* 2001). Although it was noticed before that Poles in the UK tend to socialise with other nationals (Brown 2003; Spencer *et al.* 2007), previous research indicated that Poles would not imagine such multiculturalism in their home country (Eade *et al.* 2006).

The analysis of interviews gives some more details on diversity in hospitality workplaces. An interviewee reflected on his workplace and explained the value of multiculturalism there.

It was a place like a melting pot. It is easy to get a job in catering and catering attracts many, diversity in restaurants is so wide, that there are many opportunities to talk about things like national meals, types of food, everything! It is a great place for communication with people coming from all over the world.

(Jakub, ex restaurant worker)

Relationships with diverse cultures are also related to increasing globalisation that the world is experiencing (Berry 2008; Kim 2008). On many occasions, the interviewees were referring not to British people, but rather to all nationals that they come across. Hotels indeed are the place where, apart from Polish people, many other foreign workers find jobs. This also points to the notion of 'occupational communities' that are formed between hospitality employees (Lee-Ross 1999) who work together, and live and socialise with each other. Social isolation due to working hours produces the right conditions for such communities (Riley *et al.* 1998). Magda explains how she spends her leisure time with other employees.

Due to the workplace, I have met many people, foreigners and English people, and I go out very often. There are many nations, the group is very mixed, and there are Poles, Portuguese, English, Czechs, and Lithuanians. There are very many nations in our group that we go out for a drink, to a disco, wherever we meet up, even when I go with my brother to watch a football match there are Brazilians, English and Poles. I have very many friends because of a workplace of different nationalities (...) I spend lots of time with them and the workplace helped me with this. (Magda, hotel worker)

The multicultural environment allows people getting together and spending leisure time. It is striking that all the three groups, Poles, British and other nationals appear in those events. A similar comment, expressed with joy is made by Asia, a receptionist:

We go out to some clubs, etc. There is a Christmas party every year. I am actually lucky because I'm the only one from Poland (and) there is a half Hungarian, half Slovakian girl, a girl from Venezuela, and an English girl, so there is a mixture. Others who we go out with are from South Africa, Malaysia and India, so when we go out there is such a mixture!

(Asia, hotel receptionist)

According to Kim (2008), one aspect of the acculturation process is learning new cultural aesthetics and emotional sensibilities, and new ways of appreciating beauty, joy and fun. Through the experience of intercultural communication, migrants developed their *intercultural personhood* (Gudykunst and Kim 2003; Kim 2008). As a result, migrants become more open towards others, more adaptive and learn to respect other cultures. Hospitality workplaces facilitate socialising and spending time together with Polish, British and other nationals. Gudykunst and Kim (2003) argue that this personal change is necessary to be a part of the increasing intercultural world and be able to accept other cultures and in resolving conflicting views. This is a common finding in the studies of international campus and is often unexpected (see Brown 2009).

For Artur, a law graduate, this multicultural mix is important because of his aspirations.

In hotels like this one, a four-star hotel such as the RBH, there are people mainly from abroad who are students or graduates, people with master's degrees who have some ambitions. (...) there are people who want to achieve something in their lives and who treat the job in hotels as a transient job. As I came across them, my plans started changing, my ambitions increased and I really started thinking about achieving more and more interesting things.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

Therefore, this regular contact with well-educated and ambitious hotel co-workers helped him to set higher aspirations and to maintain his own ambitions. He calculated that others have their own plans and, just like him, treat their hotel jobs as 'stepping stones' to a better future.

9.3.3 Relationships with co-nationals – the picture of Polish ‘community’

Migrants are removed from familiarity, from their friends, family and co-workers, and need to rebuild all these relationships in a new society (Kim 1988). The survey data (see this Chapter, Table 9.4) indicated that Polish respondents spend similar amounts of time with the hosts, co-nationals and other international co-workers. However, the importance of being in dense networks and participating in Polish community life is important for Poles. Indeed, in the short term, communication with an ethnic group when they struggle to cope with the new experiences is of value (Kim 1988). It is also evident in this study; Artur, an interviewee wanted to feel ‘at home’ after he arrived in a new society.

I came here for emigration, (and) I want to feel like at home, so as soon as possible I started making contacts with other Poles. Later on, I got to know other people and we started doing different things like collecting signatures etc. After a year I had my friends here, family members, well, just great conditions.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

It is natural to seek opportunities to mitigate stress of cross-cultural communication among ethnic friends, as it provides some psychological and social security in a new place (Kim 1988; Hofstede 1991; Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999; Gudykunst and Kim 2003). Therefore, new arrivals naturally look for easy access to ethnic support through friends, family, relatives or visible community organisations (Kim 1988). The literature also showed that strong co-national identification led to a decrement of psychological distress (Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999). Not only friends, but also family is important for a migrant’s adjustment in the new society. Ryan *et al.* (2009) previously noticed the significance of family networks, siblings, cousins and other relatives among Poles in the UK.

Further, involvement in community life such as collecting signatures from compatriots, in order to organise elections in Bournemouth (that took place in September 2007), is an important part of migrants’ life in an alien land. The interviewees admit how vital the contact with other Poles is and to be a part of a Polish community that provides them with social capital. Jakub met many of his co-national friends in a Polish church, and gathering with those people makes him happy while living in the UK:

My life here in England, what gives me joy (zest for life) is meeting up with other Poles, with people from our church community, with people I used to live with. We were

flexible enough to organise time for each other, so regardless of the working hours, I would always manage to meet them.

(Jakub, ex restaurant worker)

Therefore, regardless of the nature of working time of his hospitality job, he was still able to meet his Polish friends in order to spend leisure time together. He further explains how they spend time together:

When you work in a restaurant, the money is not great. I don't allow myself expensive trips (karkolomne wypady) or exotic holidays. What makes me happy is meeting up with Poles, in sorts of small groups, spending time actively, rather than going on expensive trips or super shopping.

(Jakub, ex restaurant worker)

Jakub, as well as the previous interviewee, Artur, needs Polish friends in order to be 'happy' or to achieve a feeling of being 'at home'. Thus, the relationships with Poles are appreciated and sought, as they provide '*stress free ethnic communication activities*' (Kim 1988:64).

While past research focusing on previous generations of Polish migrants highlighted the importance of '*territorial aspects of community*' (Burrell 2006a), this research has not found this aspect of community. After WWII, the Polish community in the UK had its geographical scope including churches, shops, cemeteries and businesses. Burrell (2006a) indicates that the Polish community in Leicester was settled in a specific area of town and had its own churches, delis, clubs and doctors. The existence of a Polish community in the UK is questioned by scholars (Eade *et al.* 2006; Górný and Osipovic 2006; Brown 2003; Garapich 2007). It was also shown that different generations of Polish migrants do not create one community (Garapich 2007; Brown 2003), and Poles do not express positive opinions about each other; instead, they compete, are suspicious and may be exploited by fellow nationals (Eade *et al.* 2006). British media reported such a picture of Poles exploiting other co-patriots. The territorial aspect of community was not found in this study; instead, the presence of an online Polish community was evident while conducting this research.

The findings of this study reveal positive aspects of relationships with own ethnic group. Through contact with other co-patriots at work, Artur was able to meet others with similar status to his own; he met university graduates working like him in a UK hotel, in positions far from what they were qualified to do.

I got to know all these Poles due to the hotel. My best friends like Andrzej, I met in the hotel, people from different places, mainly from Łódź district. (then) I started meeting other people through the people from the hotel (...). After a while, more and more Poles started working there. Many of them were from Łódź, from two suburbs. Those Poles were very nice, it turned out that we get on well. One of those boys was an ethnology graduate from Łódź University and I had a very good contact with him. We could talk a lot during breaks. (...) Andrzej was a person from whom I got lots of information about how much I can achieve in this country, not only in this hotel because Andrzej met a Polish girl, also in this hotel, who later got a job in JP Morgan.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

It is natural to seek friendships from co-ethnics who share a common cultural background and heritage (Kim 1988), and such common ground had both Poles, ethnology and law graduates. Their biographical experiences and '*system of dispositions acquired by learning*' in Poland refers to Bourdieu's concept of '*habitus*' (1993). The two Poles working in a hotel represent similar habitus as well as educational mismatch. They both left Poland as university graduates in search a better life in the UK and found jobs in a hotel. As a result of a relationship with a compatriot, the interviewee was maintaining his high aspirations.

The quote also points that, not only making friends with other co-nationals and maintaining aspirations, but also exchange of information was taking place in the hotel through many people the interviewee met. The respondent's best friend had an acquaintance who told him about a possible job. This also points to the fact that, while dense networks play an important role in facilitating cross-cultural adaptation, '*weak ties*' (Granovetter 1983) should not be underestimated in such a process.

This particular example supports Granovetter's (1983) concept of weak ties and its relation to learning about new jobs. '*Weak ties provide people with access to information and resources beyond those available in their own social circles*' (p.209). Artur received some information about job opportunities from his friend's acquaintance. Another example of such activity was shown previously (this Chapter 9.3.1.1); an interviewee received information on housing from her co-workers. This reveals that a hotel is a place to learn through weak ties about life and the opportunities in the UK.

After arrival, migrants tend to gravitate toward a place in which they can access their own ethnic community; although, in the shorter term, it helps with releasing stress, uncertainty and eventual psychological '*breakdown*', in the longer term, ethnic

communication reinforces migrant's ethnicity, particularly, if it is not supplemented or replaced by communication with hosts (Kim 1988).

The findings from both the survey and interviews indicate that Poles have wide relationships with others and appreciate the contact with hosts and other nationals but the ties with their own ethnic group are of significance to them. This finding suggesting that migrants not only stick together but they also mix outside their own group is a contribution to the discussion on globalisation.

9.3.4 Summary

Previous research conducted before the EU's 2004 Enlargement (Brown 2003) revealed that migrants socialised more with other nationals rather than the British, as their jobs limited contact with hosts. However, Spencer *et al.* (2007) showed that migrants working in hospitality had more contacts with British than those working in other sectors. Finally, the difficulty of going beyond being an acquaintance of the hosts to become a friend has been noticed. This research reveals that, due to the nature of hospitality, social isolation and the potential to form occupational communities (Lee-Ross 1999; Riley *et al.* 1998), migrants have the opportunity to socialise with the hosts at the workplace and beyond it, and they take advantage of it.

Regarding Poles' own community, this study reveals the significance of relationships with Polish co-patriots. Despite negative images of Poles in the UK and their criticism of fellow Poles, which result from experiencing disappointment (Eade *et al.* 2006), it is clear that migrants are involved in strong ties with other Poles. This includes accessing resources, information and employment as well as spending leisure time together.

9.4 Working hours and migrants' lives

9.4.1 Long hours and split shifts

As reported before, online respondents were asked whether they worked on split shifts. The results indicate that half of them did, but only a fifth believed that this was helpful in their adaptation. An interviewee explains further why she liked working on split shifts.

There were split shifts in the restaurant, so I could do lots of things in the afternoon when I had a break from work. This is now limited, as I work in a coffee shop where my hours are 8am - 4pm or 10am – 5pm. So now, it is different. I could sort my things out then, (I could go to) banks, doctors or something (...). So it helps to have free time between

the shifts.

(Magda, hotel worker)

While Magda found split shifts very useful and treated the breaks between shifts as an advantage through being able to do little jobs, for Marek, split shifts had a bad impact on his life:

When I was working in the restaurant, I was sleeping all day long. I came back from the restaurant in the morning, and went straight to bed, I got up, I went to work, I came back in the evening and I went to bed. We had our first night out after 8 months since we arrived. They moved me to work as a porter, my working hours changed to 7am-3pm and 3pm-10pm and it was great. So of course I had more time to go to town in the morning or in the evening, I wasn't so tired.

(Marek, assistant manager)

These quotes demonstrate that the attitude towards split shifts may depend on the personality. Therefore, one can be happy with split shifts, as it allowed doing things during the day (doctor appointments, shopping) while, for another person, such working hours might complicate his/her life. The male interviewee recalls that time as being constantly tired; therefore, he had no social life. This example supports the notion of 'social isolation' among hospitality workers (Riley *et al.* 1998). However, coping with split shifts may be an individual thing, which some manage and some do not.

Long working hours, including mostly early starts, late ending and lack of free weekends were brought up by migrants when they were expressing their views on working in hospitality (Chapter 7). This theme emerged also during the interviews, and it shows how strongly it affects migrants' lives in the UK. Apart from split shifts, popular in this sector of employment, there are also two-shift jobs:

This is a 2-shift job: 7am-3.30pm and 3pm-11pm. There are no weekends off so if I want to see my friends who work in other places it is difficult. If you have friends who work in offices, it is hard to meet up or go for a drink or something.

(Asia, hotel receptionist)

Being a hotel receptionist with shifts and unsociable working hours has a negative impact on her personal life. Indeed, as observed by Szivas *et al.* (2003), tourism workers can be isolated from others sector workers (p.67). Asia's leisure time overlaps with her friends' working time and that causes problems for her. Subsequently, this aspect of hospitality jobs leads to formulation of communities that work, live and

socialise together (Lee-Ross 1999; Riley *et al.* 1998). In addition, lack of free weekends is a common feature of working lives that migrants dislike:

I work every Sunday and I would like to have every Sunday off. This is also a feature of hotel work. There are no days off at weekends because weekends are the busiest and this is not good.

(Magda, hotel worker)

The nature of hospitality work is related to long, irregular hours and lack of free weekends. However, in the longer term, it may have bad consequences for hospitality employees through difficulty in balancing work and life and lead to emotional exhaustion (Karatepe and Uludog 2007; Wong and Ko 2009).

9.4.2 Polish church

Having Sundays off is important for Poles for several reasons. On the one hand, it is the day when most people do not work, so it is a day of resting and leisure. For some Poles, however, Sunday is the special day for going to church to attend Sunday service. Magda explains why going to the Polish church is important for her.

I miss the contact with the church because it brings many Polish traditions, so I would have felt more at home.

(Magda, hotel worker)

The tradition of the Polish church is a part of national identity that conveys some strong familiar associations, and it provides its members with social capital and emotional succour. While Magda is not able to go to the Polish church due to her working hours, for Jakub, a restaurant worker, it is the opposite. As church is a priority for him, he decided not to work on Sundays:

I think that the church had an influence on my work at the restaurant because I could not work on Sundays and I was nagged to work on Sundays because it was always busy. There were a few such Sundays that I could not go to the church. However, I think it was the other ways round; my Sundays were off because I go to church on Sundays.

(Jakub, ex restaurant worker)

Although it may not be common for Polish workers, the above quote shows that celebration of Sunday is an important feature of the Roman Catholic religion and was of significance for him; consequently, he managed to negotiate most of his Sundays off.

The role of religion in the process of Polish migration has been addressed in the literature (Burrell 2006a). It was stressed that the church played an important role in community life for previous generations of Polish migrants in the UK. In this study, the findings from the survey show that many workers did not feel that working in hospitality stopped them from going to the Polish church. However, 40% of employees felt that due to the nature of the sector, they were not able to attend Sunday services. For some, taking part in services and belonging to the church community might be an important aspect of their lives in the UK. The literature points out that ethnic organisations in the new society facilitate migrants' adaptation, particularly at the beginning (Kim 1988). The Polish church provides such emotional support by organising events and trips, providing language classes and launching internet websites. However, Garapich (2008) argues that Polish Catholic Church was rather slow in assisting newcomers.

It has been shown in this study that working hours in hospitality do have an impact on Polish migrants' lives. The nature of hospitality; split shifts, shift work and lack of free weekends, impacts on their social lives in various ways. The data from interviews illustrates that, although some might fit their lives to their working time, others may not be able to spend their leisure time as they would like to; for example, meeting friends who do not work irregular hours or go to church on a Sunday.

9.5 The sector and its impact on living conditions

Numeric data indicated that only a small number of migrants had their accommodation organised by their employers and some of them lived with their co-workers (see this Chapter, Table 9.5). Living conditions of hospitality employees is another theme that emerged from the interviews. Migrants' housing may be influenced by the work itself and the working hours in a variety of ways, which can have an impact on the quality of their lives. For example, for a girl working in a hotel, her job influences where she lives:

Working in a restaurant, you start at 6.45am so I wouldn't choose to live far because it is an early start. There are often no buses. (...) At weekends, after weddings and functions, there were also some people staying and preparing rooms for the following day and cleaning the restaurant. We would finish even at 4 am and there are no buses.
(Magda, hotel worker)

Her example shows that she had to find a place to live near by, in order to be able to work these irregular hours. Living conditions of others might be affected in a different way. Some find the beginning in the UK difficult, as they came to work and to try to save money:

In the beginning, we were renting a room in order to save as much money as possible. Once we started getting wages regularly every week, we rented a flat and now we are thinking of buying a house. So for sure, the wages have influenced how I live.

(Marek, assistant manager)

As the above quote illustrates, the living conditions may change as time passes, once migrants receive regular wages and they are able to save money. They are then able to save for a deposit or for a mortgage and their living conditions gradually improve. A previous study conducted in Northern Ireland (Devine *et al.* 2007a) revealed that migrants were living in shared houses and were satisfied with the low-cost accommodation. A small percentage of migrants (13%) had accommodation subsidised by employers or free accommodation. Despite this finding and other government figures, suggesting that newly arrived migrants are not favoured in allocating housing, there is a myth among British community enforced by some parties, that migrants are given priority (see BBC 2009).

Those who took part in 'work and learn experience' in the UK hospitality industry, had their accommodation organised for them before their arrival. Asia recalls her first months in the UK as her best time:

At first, I got a job with accommodation for 3 months but I stayed there around a year. That was something like a host family but my 'host family' wasn't a family really. There was a man who had a house and he was renting rooms to girls from different countries. Therefore, for the first 3 months, I shared a room with a girl from Belgium. When she left, I moved to a single room so I spent a year there. I'm still in touch with this man, he is very nice. It was great for a start, to settle in. I remember this time as one of my best times in Bournemouth.

(Asia, hotel receptionist)

Although she had to share a room with another girl after her arrival, she was still satisfied with her living conditions and she felt this helped her to settle in the UK. Artur, who also came with a 'work experience' programme, recalls his arrival.

There were 8 of us then, 2 people in every room. Everyone was from a different country, which was good because I could learn English straight after I came. My English was worse then but my flatmates were understanding.

(Artur, ex-hotel worker)

Artur did not have his privacy either, as he had to share his room with another person. However, like Asia, he found living with others from different parts of the world as useful experience, which forced him to speak the language.

Housing is one of the issues widely discussed in other research or reports on CEE migrants, which have often concluded that some migrants experience living in poor, overcrowded accommodation, where they lack privacy (Brown 2003; Spencer *et al.* 2007; Jentsch *et al.* 2007). This study did not aim to investigate the quality of migrants' accommodation; instead, it aimed to explore whether working in the sector influences migrants' living.

This study shows that working hours and a 24/7/365 culture may impact upon migrants' choice of living conditions and, subsequently, upon the quality of their lives. Early starts and shifts until late impact upon the proximity of accommodation and the way they spend or not (in the case of those going to church) their leisure time. Furthermore, although only a small proportion of respondents took part in a 'work and learn scheme', the findings show that housing organised by 'work and learn schemes' is assessed positively by the respondents who felt accepted and started settling in and made friends.

9.5.1 An overview of migrants' adaptation

Migrants' specific issues related to their adaptation process have been presented. The factors arising during acculturation and needing consideration in the adaptation process are language fluency, employment, housing, social relationships with hosts and co-nationals and recreational opportunities (Berry 1997; Kim 1988; Ward *et al.* 2001). This study addressed these factors and their relevance in this study is presented below.

Firstly, as demonstrated in the previous chapter (Chapter 8), the importance of developing English skills is a primary motive for Poles, and it was a consistent theme within the data obtained from all the research methods. This subject occurred at the beginning of the study during the analysis of migrants' discussion fora and indicated the salience of improving language skills. Later on, findings obtained from the

interviews pointed to the importance of improving linguistic ability, regardless of the post and the extent of contact with customers. Finally, the survey results revealed that the vast majority learned English at work, and also found it helpful in the adaptation process, as suggested in cross-cultural studies (Goldlust and Richmond 1974; Kim 1988; Hofstede 1991; Gudykunst 1998). However, it was also revealed that those working in housekeeping might have fewer opportunities to improve their English skills. Having limited customer contact, working with co-nationals and speaking Polish at work, may not help in improving the language. The experience of housekeepers could be investigated in future. Although this study did not explore migrants' level of fluency (that would be a subjective assessment), it stressed migrants' awareness of the importance of linguistic competence and the effort they put in to acquire it.

This study reveals that the picture of social relationships of Polish migrants in the UK is a complex one. The results from the survey indicate that Poles are open towards relationships with both host society and others, which leads to quicker adaptation, and that they have learnt about the host's culture and other cultures through the exposure to the hosts. However, the findings from the interviews revealed how important their own community is. Despite negative images of the Polish community in the UK, including exploitation and hostility towards other fellow Poles (Brown 2003; Eade *et al.* 2006), migrants are involved in Polish community life.

The literature shows that support from the ethnic group reduces the stress of cross-cultural communication (Kim 1988) and decreases psychological stress (Ward and Rana-Deuba 2000). It also points to the value of social capital preserved in the community. Although such host contact is crucial in the short term, in the longer term, ethnicity maintenance may slow adaptation down (Kim 1988).

Previous literature on hospitality employment focused on some aspects of migrants' adaptation in the UK. A study in Northern Ireland (Devine *et al.* 2007b) revealed that integration of local and international staff has been shown in several hotels and some good practices included free and subsidised accommodation and plans to play sports with locals. Such host integration may be common for this particular sector of employment. For example, the study by Spencer *et al.* (2007) on CEE migrants in low-paid sectors noticed that those who were working in the hospitality sector were most likely to socialise with the British and 58% of them did. In contrast, only 40% of those working in construction and 42% in agriculture were spending leisure time with hosts. Their study also revealed that migrants were spending their leisure time with other

migrants from either their own country or other countries, but there was an absence of contact with British nationals, which they regretted.

Similarly, Brown (2003) who conducted a study prior to 2004, when many Polish migrants were living in the UK without regulated status, revealed that Poles had limited contact with British nationals. They tended to socialise with the Spanish, Moroccans and Italians, people they met during their language courses. This limited contact with the British is explained by the fact that Poles' presence in a 'shadow economy' stopped them making friendship with local people. Thus, previous research presents the contact with host nationals as problematic.

Finally, this study shows that migrants' living conditions are influenced by their work, and the nature of the work in this sector, as well as migrants' leisure time, is affected by the nature of hospitality work; by its long hours and split shifts.

The findings from this study point to the fact that working in hospitality facilitates contact with the host society and other nationals. Through the nature of the hospitality sector, its social isolation (Riley *et al.* 1998) and people orientation, it is appreciated more than other low-paid sectors such as factory work.

9.6 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that the hospitality industry plays an important role in migrants' adaptation to life in the UK. The opportunity to work with people results in developing relationships and learning English. Although migrants are involved in relationships with host nationals and other nationals, the role of the Polish community seems to be of value for Poles. Further, the nature of a hospitality job impacts on migrants' lives, their leisure time and their activities. Finally, as discussed in detail in Chapter 8, developing language skills is a salient aspect of life in the new society for those employed in the hospitality sector. The last chapter will discuss the relevance of the findings and present conclusions and emerging further research.

10 Chapter Ten – Conclusions and Implications

10.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the main conclusions and implications of this research. The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences of Polish migrant workers in the UK hospitality industry with four objectives for consideration. Following the summary for each objective, the contribution to knowledge is stated. Next, a number of emerging ideas are identified for discussion. Finally, the thesis' limitations are reviewed and final conclusions are provided.

10.2 Summary of the main findings

The aim of the research was to examine the experiences of Polish migrant workers in the hospitality industry in the UK. In order to achieve its aim, four specific objectives were established that are considered in turn.

10.3 To provide a profile of a sample of Polish hospitality workers in the UK in terms of demographics; gender, geographical location, education, previous work experience and job search techniques

Fulfilment of the first objective allowed description of characteristics of the workforce and the profile obtained from the findings follows. The vast majority of workers were under 30, and the mean age was 26 years. This is in line with past studies of international staff (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b), and on CEE migrants (Home Office 2009; Anderson *et al.* 2006). The age profile also suggests that those who left Poland for Britain belong to the generation of young people born at the beginning of the 80s during a demographic peak. This increase in population resulted in the high level of unemployment in Poland at the time of EU entry that led to the exodus of Poles.

Regarding gender, Polish migrants from this sample are predominantly female. Similar gender spread with a large proportion of women was found in a study conducted in London (Evans *et al.* 2007). Further, a study in remote areas, found more female

workers in the Lake District and Scotland but not in Northern Ireland (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a). The reasons for that were not explained; thus, the finding on the differences between genders offers scope for further research.

In addition, this study found a high level of educational attainment among Polish migrants. Almost half of the respondents have either a Bachelor or a Master's degree, and another 18% are still studying at universities. This finding is in line with previous studies on Poles and other CEE workers, indicating over qualification of migrants (Anderson *et al.* 2006). Past research in hospitality revealed a similar level of schooling among international workers (Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b; Baum *et al.* 2007; McDowell *et al.* 2007). The high educational level of Polish migrants is a result of a demographic peak and a subsequent increase of both university graduates and the unemployment rate. This also explains why only a third of workers had some work experience before arriving in the UK. This finding provokes a discussion on brain-waste; if migrants stay in the operational positions for an extended period, they may face problems re-entering their own professions. The Polish Press has already reported such examples of difficulty (see Gazeta.pl 2008). Finally, regarding location, Polish migrants work in hospitality in various places across the UK, but predominantly around England. This research suggests that England seems to be the most popular location among Polish migrants choosing the hospitality sector.

The numbers of hospitality jobs migrants have held point to their mobility; there are almost equal proportions of those having one job, two jobs and three jobs. The vast majority of respondents have worked less than two years; among them, nearly a third stayed in the sector less than six months. The latter group represents students involved in 'working holidays' (King 1995). Finally, slightly more than a fifth has been engaged in the sector for more than two years. Previous studies revealed that migrants in hotels were staying between 8 and 12 months (Devine *et al.* 2007b); thus, they were not treating the sector as a long term career.

Regarding job positions, it is evident from this research that migrants enter the sector by starting as, for example, housekeepers, kitchen porters and waiters/waitresses. However, this pattern changes and, as the aggregate numbers of working in first and second/current job indicate, the number of those working in the entry level jobs decrease, while the number of positions in supervisory and front of the house increase. More specifically, this study revealed that 18% of migrants work in supervisory positions in their current or last jobs. This finding is different from a previous study (see Baum *et al.* 2007) that revealed that 9% of hotel workers worked in supervisory

positions. This study shows a pattern suggesting that migrants climb the occupation ladder.

In agreement with a past study (Baum *et al.* 2007); the Food & Beverage department is the most popular one among migrant employees. The second one, however, is not the Kitchen, as it is in a study conducted in remote areas, but Housekeeping. There is evidence elsewhere that the Housekeeping department is popular with Polish migrants (see McDowell *et al.* 2007).

Migrants' methods for accessing employment point to a high level of informality. The vast majority of workers found their jobs after arriving in the UK. The use of personal networks is the most popular way of accessing employment, and this supports previous studies on migrant workers in the UK hospitality sector (see Devine 2007a, 2007b; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b; McDowell *et al.* 2007) as well as studies on Polish migrants indicating the importance of family links (Ryan *et al.* 2009). The second most popular method for accessing employment is by entering premises and asking if there are vacancies.

The choice of informal forms of job seeking by highly qualified people suggests migrants' lack of knowledge about local institutions and labour practices that would allow them to choose channels that are more formal for accessing jobs. Further, they may not be willing to spend time job searching, so they prefer using networks allowing them to get into the British labour market at the earliest opportunity. It is interesting to learn why migrants do so – the survey findings reveal that not many of them were unemployed before taking up hospitality jobs.

Another explanation for it may be that Poles follow the habit of job searching by using personal connection - a method that is commonly used in Poland. This is a reflection of the lack of trust in Polish systems. The researcher feels that this behaviour may also point to the incapability of Polish educational systems that leave graduates without the ability to search for jobs. However, as the findings from this research indicate, when respondents were asked what they gained, experience and knowledge of the British working environment were listed.

In summary, the profile of a sample of Polish migrants in the UK hospitality sector shows that they are young, predominantly female and highly qualified. The job search methods are mostly informal and can be characterised as weak methods for job searching.

10.4 To explore the migrant workers' reasons for choosing to work in the hospitality sector and their views on hospitality as an occupation

Objective two is to explore the reasons for choosing to work in the hospitality sector. Based on past literature about labour mobility and the findings from qualitative data, the respondents were asked to choose possible motives for taking up jobs in the sector. The statement '*I wanted to use foreign languages*' was the most frequent response. It suggests that the respondents see interpersonal contacts as attractive. The statement with the lowest agreement was '*I have qualifications in tourism*', which suggests many of the respondents have been trained in other areas. The demographic profile of migrants suggests that only a small proportion of respondents have a qualification in hospitality.

The factor analysis performed on the statements revealed that the positive image of the sector was slightly dominant over the image of accessibility. Thus, the study findings do not support the importance of the sector as 'a refuge', as suggested by Szivas and Riley (1999); instead, they are in line with past research on labour mobility confirming the positive image of the industry with its people orientation (Szivas *et al.* 2003; Vaugois and Rollins 2007).

Objective two is also concerned with migrants' views on hospitality as an occupation. The findings indicate that their views on hospitality are diverse. Their positive views included perceptions of hospitality jobs as 'good to start with', flexible, people orientated, providing a language-learning environment and social activities. They may be a source of 'satisfaction in not doing something worse' (Riley *et al.* 2002), or they may suit peoples' lifestyles for those who represent 'migrant tourist workers' (Bianchi 2000; Uriely 2001) or students.

The reason for taking up hospitality jobs that reappears throughout this research is the ability to develop English skills. Although the reason for taking up jobs in hotels and restaurants because of the chance to improve language is not a new one (see King 1995; Wood 1997), the image of the sector providing space for learning English seems to be strongly projected in the online and offline world of Polish migrants. Various daily interactions with co-workers, managers and customers influence migrants' language skills development.

Another view on hospitality is that career opportunities do exist in the sector and migrants have a chance to climb up the ladder. Their mobility and work ethic facilitated

their promotion; however, it was also revealed that coincidence was contributing to migrants' progression and the progression itself may be conditional. The findings from interviews revealed how tough it was to change an unwanted position. The employees' experiences can be seen as a rite of passage into better and prestigious positions. In order to achieve better things, migrants may have to put up with discrimination in wages, until they eventually progress.

Migrants' views on hospitality as an occupation included some negative comments regarding working conditions and the nature of jobs. The exhaustive long hours' culture is highlighted by migrants and includes physical tiredness, pain and health and safety issues pointing to the work and life unbalance (Karatepe and Uludog 2007; Wong and Ko 2009). Moreover, numerous problems were raised regarding poor management behaviour (lack of respect and drinking), discrimination, workload, problems with pay and barriers to promotion. This supports previous studies on international workers (Evans *et al.* 2007; Wright and Pollert 2006; Wright 2007), and indicates that migrants from CEE countries, just like those with irregular status, experience problems. Other problems raised in this study were disappointment with the levels of services and with hygiene. Subsequently, some of these issues contribute to the decision to leave. In many cases, hospitality jobs are seen as starter jobs and are envisaged for a limited period.

In addition, the perceptions of jobs such as kitchen porter, as outlined by Saunders (1981) nearly three decades ago, has not changed; working as a KP has been labelled by Poles as the most unpleasant job and has become a target for provocative comments on online migrants' fora. In the eyes of internet users, those taking up KP jobs are not ambitious and they lack self-respect. However, as this research indicates, working as a KP facilitated learning English in a stress-free environment, allowing a slow pace of learning. According to Riley *et al.* (2002), not all the jobs have a negative image; in this research, jobs for waiters received a lot of credit because of their daily interactions with many people.

Regarding migrants' intentions, the majority of them plan to stay in the UK with only a small minority planning to return to Poland. This is an interesting finding knowing that Polish authorities put a lot of effort into organising initiatives in London to encourage Poles to return home. It is likely that peoples' quality of lives has improved, which is why they do not plan to return. While many migrants are planning to seek employment in other sectors of the economy, more than a third is willing to stay within the sector.

The study also reveals that those employees who left did so in order to study/continue studying or to work somewhere else. Some of the respondents mentioned working conditions such as low pay, problems with pay and workload as reasons for leaving. This finding supports studies suggesting that low pay is an important factor for employees (Walmsley 2004; Simonz and Enz 1995; Dermody *et al.* 2004).

In summary, migrants' reasons for choosing to work in the UK hospitality sector are related to language skill development. Their views on hospitality as an occupation are diverse; satisfaction is derived from a lively and social environment, flexibility and career progression, but long hours' culture, poor management behaviour and pay are sources of disappointment.

10.5 To ascertain what human capital the Polish migrants bring and what they gain or learn from working in the hospitality sector

Objective three alters the focus of the research by addressing Polish migrants' reflections on their work experience, to discover what human capital the Polish migrants bring to and gain or learn from their work experience in the UK. It is clear that many migrants are simply overqualified for the jobs that they have been performing in the UK hospitality sector. The argument here is that Polish migrants access hospitality employment assuming that it would be a temporary experience allowing them to acquire certain skills and knowledge that can be used in the UK, Poland or somewhere else.

This study applied Evans' (2002) 'starfish model' of five competences to present a wealth of social and technical skills acquired by migrants working in the UK hospitality sector. In the light of these findings, engaging in hospitality work is a form of investment; consequently, migration is seen as a source of new knowledge and skills. Previous research confirmed that migrants postpone the reward for the sake of financial and social capital and new learning experiences (Kosic, 2006; Eade *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2007; Anderson *et al.* 2006). In contrast to previous research, this study has focused on those skills and knowledge in more detail, presenting particular competences, in terms of methodology (coping with stress, networking, planning), learning (NVQ, culinary skills, customer service) attitudes and values (tolerance, self-reliance), and communication (English language, social skills).

The findings indicated that acquiring 'language capital' (Dustmann 1999; Dustmann and Fabbri 2003) by improving English skills is significant for migrants. Not surprisingly, this asset was found as important in past studies among Polish and CEE migrants living in the UK (Eade *et al.* 2006; Anderson *et al.* 2006; Kosic 2006) and students (Balaz and Williams 2004). This study indicated how various people, co-workers, managers and customers, as well as different departments, shape migrants' language skill acquisition. It was shown that, regardless of the post/lack of contact with customers, migrants were improving their linguistic ability.

Although migrants acquired a wealth of new skills, some of them are 'place specific' (Williams 2008); thus, an NVQ diploma or the knowledge of a British working environment may not be of use anywhere else apart from the UK since they may not be transferable to other jobs or outside the host country. However, if they stay in the UK, as this research indicates the majority are planning to do, their acquired knowledge of the local labour market and local institutions should be an asset in job searching. It would help in finding jobs more in line with migrants' qualifications, using formal methods for accessing jobs. This could shape migrants' future migration careers because an NVQ is only valid in the UK.

An important implication of migrants' learning experiences is that the migrants themselves should not overestimate what they have acquired. If they are educated and underemployed for a longer period, they may find themselves 'trapped' in their entry jobs. Return home and occupation re-entry may be impossible, as Polish employers are not likely to accept qualified migrants with prolonged experience of working in hospitality (see Gazeta.pl 2008). The idea of initial 'stepping stones' by migrants may result in their 'entrapment'.

This research also revealed that, in migrants' eyes, Polish workers contributed to workplaces in a number of ways; through their work ethic, commitment, specific knowledge and experience, culture and creativity. Migrants also mentioned certain attributes that can be categorised as 'a right attitude', an element that is sought by employers (Mathews and Ruhs 2007b; Nickson *et al.* 2005). In contrast to the findings of past study (McDowell *et al.* 2007), Polish migrants perceive themselves as having a pleasant nature, and being friendly, passionate and enthusiastic.

Polish migrants' work ethic, as well as their hardworking nature, has been positively stereotyped in past research (McDowell *et al.* 2007; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b). Migrants who were aware of their merits such as punctuality, precision, solidity and

reliability, criticised local staff for lack of work commitment. This study interpreted the perceptions of work ethic held by Polish migrants in the light of the Hofstedian model (1991), revealing that their attitude is related to cultural norms and may lead to a conflict between different cultures. According to Hofstede (1991), in countries with strong UA such as Poland, people come across as busy, fidgety, active and aggressive, they feel the need to occupy themselves, are used to following rules and punctuality and precision comes to them naturally. While survey respondents were comparing their impeccable work ethic with a lack of work commitment among local staff, the internet users were discussing such issues in more detail. In their eyes, local staff were not committed to work and tried to avoid it when possible. Indeed, in societies with weak UA, people give the impression of being lazy, easy going and indolent (Hofstede 1991). Employers' views support the self-perceptions of migrants (see Anderson *et al.* 2006).

In summary, migrants felt that they acquired a range of new skills such as 'language capital', knowledge of the local labour market, degrees, interpersonal skills and changes in their attitudes and values. This places the migration process in the context of investment. They also felt that they contributed to the work with their work ethic, creativity, experience and culture.

10.6 To investigate the role that hospitality plays in the adaptation experience of Poles into the UK life

Objective four takes the research into the wider social context through exploration of adaptation; it aims to ascertain the specific role that hospitality plays in the adaptation process. It is evident that this sector plays an important role in migrants' adaptation in comparison to other popular sectors of the economy, that are also low-paid but lacking certain attributes. Overall, migrants agreed that the sector had facilitated their adaptation into UK life. As reported before, migrants acquired language skills, developed relationships with the hosts, co-nationals and other migrants.

Almost all respondents agreed that they had improved their English skills while working in hospitality. However, it seems that those working in housekeeping had fewer opportunities to learn the language and this could be explained in further research. The findings also suggest that Poles work with co-nationals and two thirds of them speak Polish at work. Apart from the language skills, migrants acquired social skills and manners that allow them to engage in conversations following British rules. In

addition, they learnt how to operate in and gained experience of the British labour market, which is important for their economic adaptation (Krahn *et al.* 2000).

Migrants have developed relationships with different groups, which have various impacts on migrants' lives and their wellbeing. While the quantitative results indicated that migrants' adaptation went smoothly due to the hospitality environment, qualitative data provided more insights on the types of relationships migrants developed with British, Polish and other nationals. The host contact that migrants encounter has many forms, from the interaction with fellow workers and customers, to more intimate contacts resulting in friendships. The contact with the hosts turned out to be a good source of advice, knowledge on cultural norms and social and linguistic skills, that subsequently leads to a successful adaptation (Kim 1988; Samovar and Porter 2001). The exposure of migrants in front line positions made migrants 'visible' for the hosts, so the British get to know Polish migrants from face to face contact rather than from public media.

This study also supports previous research suggesting that Poles in the UK tend to socialise with migrants from other countries (Brown 2003; Spencer *et al.* 2007). They see this experience as learning about other cultures, worldviews, religions and leisure time. Consequently, respondents perceive themselves to be more open, more adaptive and they learn to respect other cultures. Poles see this as an opportunity that they did not have when living in monocultural Poland. This finding supports other studies of sojourners.

While Polish migrants do not segregate themselves from hosts, their own community is of significance for them. Thus, despite some negative images of the Polish community in the UK portraying exploitation and hostility (Brown 2003; Eade *et al.* 2006), migrants are involved in Polish community life. Such contact with their own ethnic group is regarded as beneficial in the shorter term, as it releases uncertainty, provides security in a new place (Kim 1988) and decreases psychological stress (Ward and Rana-Deuba 1999). In the longer term though, such contacts slow the adaptation down.

Finally, the characteristics of hospitality work, which are sociable and multicultural environment, development of occupational communities and the ability to improve language skills, influence migrants' adaptation and integration into the society. On the one hand, the nature of hospitality - the potential for forming 'social communities' between workers (Lee-Ross 1999) - makes socialising with each other easier. However, on the other hand, the same features such as irregular, unsociable working

hours with its split shifts and two-shift jobs, may complicate migrants' lives and may socially isolate them from non-hospitality workers (Riley *et al.* 1998). It was revealed that it is difficult for hotel employees to meet friends who work regular office hours or to go to the Polish church on a Sunday. Subsequently, migrants' social capital stays within the same group of people providing them limited contact with those from outside the group. In addition, working hours and a 24/7/365 culture may influence migrants' living conditions. Early starts and late shifts impact on the decision to live near to their workplace.

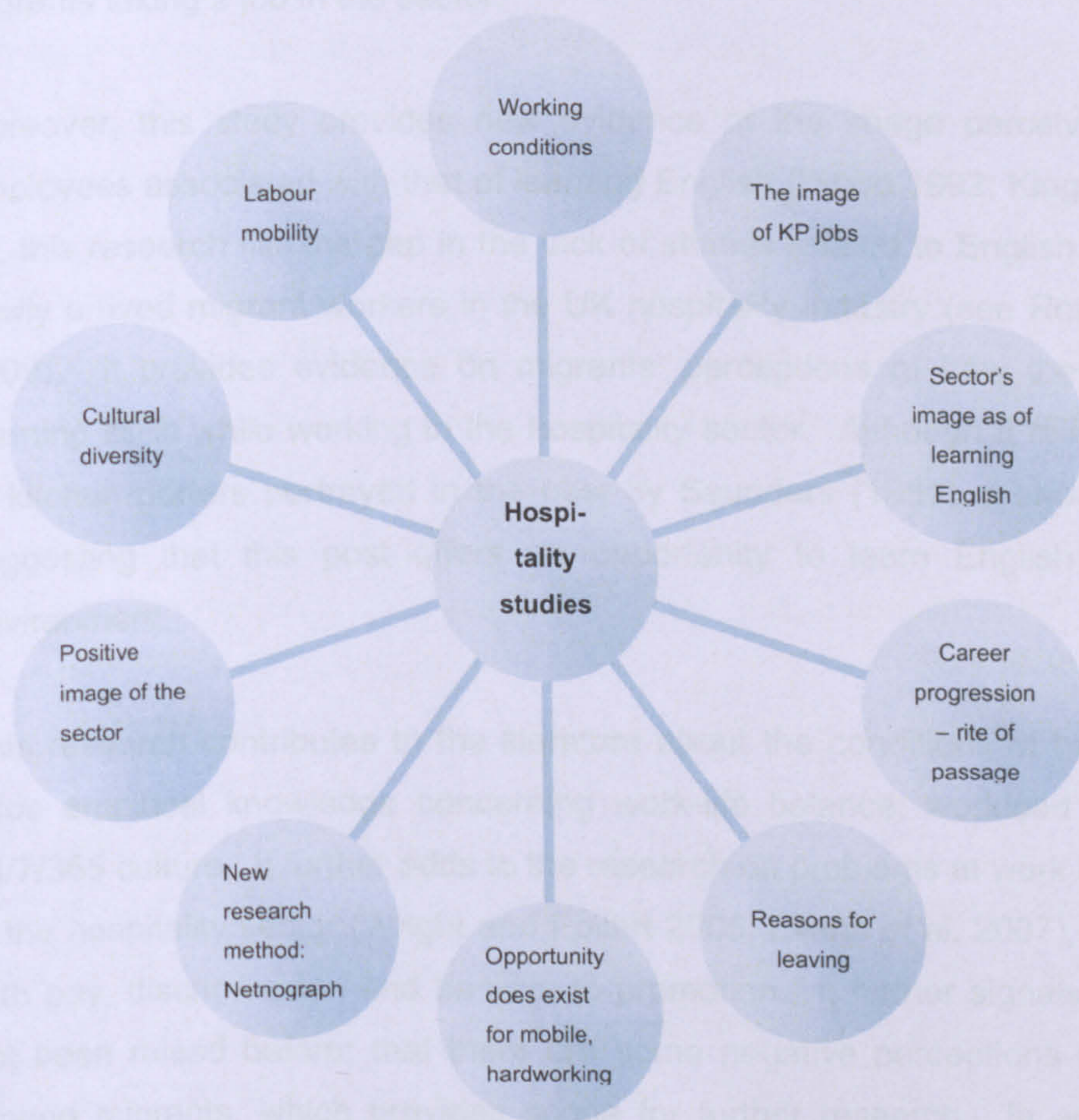
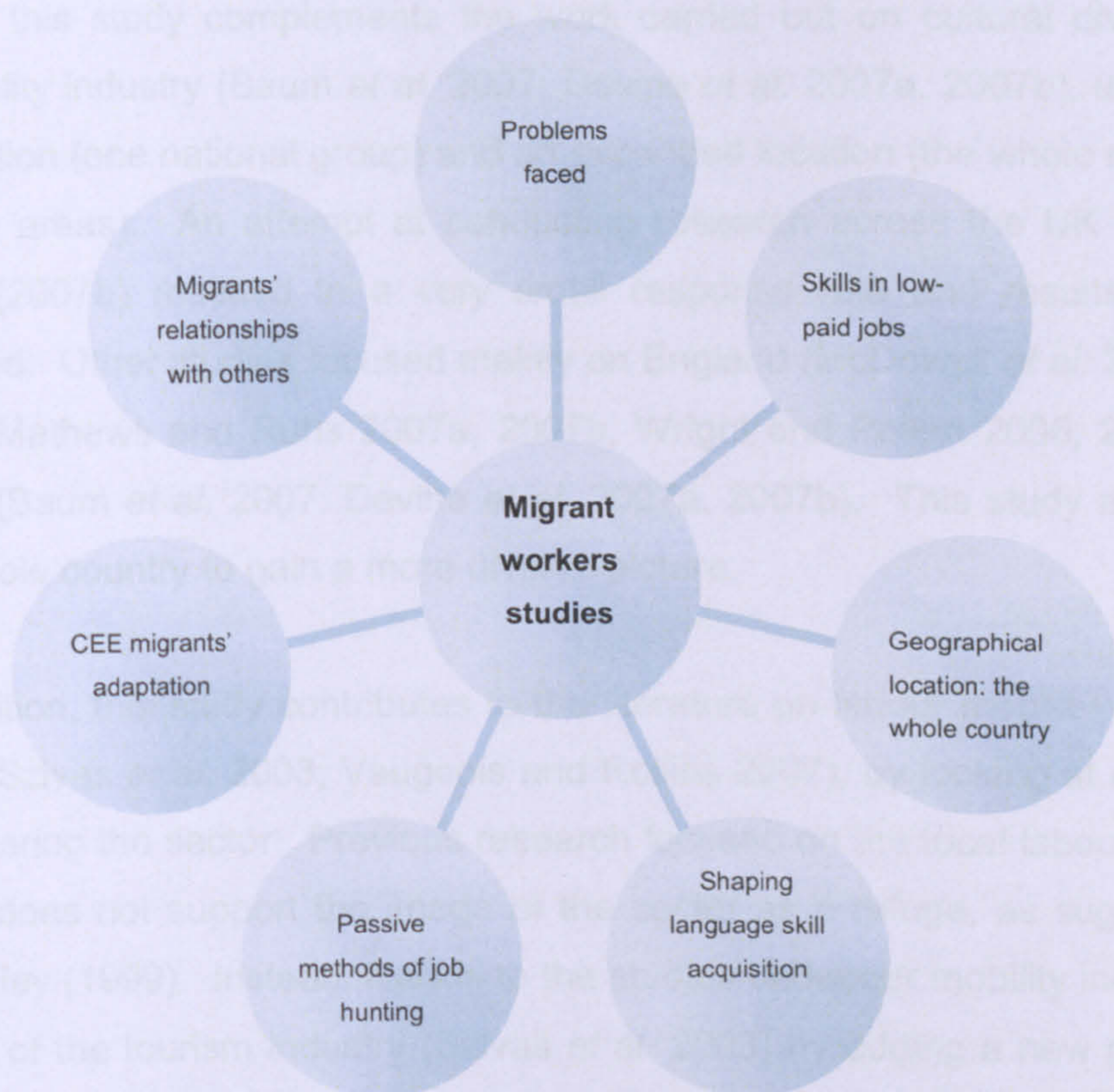
In summary, migrants felt that the hospitality sector helped them to adapt into UK life. They improved their language and social skills and developed relationships with various people. However, the same features of the sector may create social isolation of workers.

The aim of this research was to examine the experiences of Polish migrant workers in the UK hospitality industry. The findings revealed the profile of a sample of migrants, their methods for accessing employment, their perceptions of what they gained and brought to the industry and, finally, the importance of the sector to migrants' adaptation. This research indicated the value of hospitality in facilitating host contact, which is often absent in other sectors.

10.7 Contribution to knowledge

This thesis on Polish migrant workers employed in the UK hospitality sector contributes several new concepts to this previously unstudied field. The contribution to knowledge includes empirical, methodological, theoretical and practical inputs, and these are considered in turn. The graph presented below (10.1) indicates the areas of contribution to both hospitality and migration.

Figure 10.1. A graphical representation of the contribution to knowledge in hospitality studies and migration studies



10.7.1 Extended empirical contribution

Firstly, this study complements the work carried out on cultural diversity in the UK hospitality industry (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b), utilising a different population (one national group) and an expanded location (the whole country instead of remote areas). An attempt at conducting research across the UK by Mathews and Ruhs (2007b) resulted in a very small response rate and results have not been reported. Other studies focused mainly on England (McDowell *et al.* 2007; Evans *et al.* 2007; Mathews and Ruhs 2007a, 2007b; Wright and Pollert 2006, 2007) and remote areas (Baum *et al.* 2007, Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b). This study aimed to focus on the whole country to gain a more diverse picture.

In addition, this study contributes to the literature on labour mobility (Szivas and Riley 1999; Szivas *et al.* 2003; Vaugeois and Rollins 2007), by looking at migrants' reasons for entering the sector. Previous research focused on the local labour force only. This study does not support the image of the sector as a refuge, as suggested by Szivas and Riley (1999). Instead, it adds to the studies on labour mobility indicating a positive image of the tourism industry (Szivas *et al.* 2003) by adding a new perspective - from the eyes of migrants. Use of foreign languages was the most important factor for migrants taking a job in the sector.

Moreover, this study provides new evidence of the image perceived by hospitality employees associated with that of learning English (Wood 1992; King 1995). By doing so, this research fills the gap in the lack of studies related to English language among newly arrived migrant workers in the UK hospitality industry (see Rowson and Palmer 2009). It provides evidence on migrants' perceptions of how they are developing learning skills while working in the hospitality sector. Although it reinforces the image of kitchen porters portrayed in the past by Saunders (1981), it shows new evidence suggesting that this post offers an opportunity to learn English in a stress-free environment.

This research contributes to the literature about the conditions of hospitality work. It adds empirical knowledge concerning work-life balance, workload and the sector's 24/7/365 culture. It further adds to the research on problems at work that migrants face in the hospitality sector (Wright and Pollert 2006; Evans *et al.* 2007), identifying issues with pay, discrimination and barriers to promotion. It further signals issues that have not been raised before; that there are some negative perceptions of British workers among migrants, which provides scope for further research. In addition, this study

shows that, in spite of bad perceptions of lack of career progression, opportunity exists in the sector for those who are mobile, hard working and motivated.

In contrast to previous studies, this research investigates migrants' first job in the sector and the current or last one, showing evidence of career progression. Furthermore, it also focuses on why migrants leave the hospitality sector. This knowledge may influence employers' strategies for recruitment and it is particularly relevant for HR, as it affects the sector's turnover, and enables controlling retention and selection of employees.

Furthermore, responding to the call by Williams (2007a), this study provides empirical evidence on the types of skills acquired by non highly-skilled migrants, as migrants gain skills even while working in 'unskilled' jobs, doing routine jobs (Williams and Balaz 2008). While previous research focused on students (Balaz and Williams 2004), this research looked at migrants' skills and competences obtained while working in hospitality. Previous research signalled that new migrants from CEE countries were postponing reward for the sake of financial and social capital and new learning experiences (Kosic 2006; Eade *et al.* 2006; Spencer *et al.* 2007; Anderson *et al.* 2006), while this study focused on those skills and knowledge in more detail. In addition, migrants themselves were asked about their contribution, as opposed to past studies that focused on the employers' perspective (Mathews and Ruhs 2007b; Devine *et al.* 2007b).

Moreover, this study explores uniquely the role of the sector in migrants' adaptation process and adds to the literature on CEE migrants' adaptation (Spencer *et al.* 2007), providing new evidence on the types of relationships migrants developed with British, Polish and other nationals. This is also of significance for the British society and government. It further adds empirical evidence to the research on migrant workers and their methods for job finding, suggesting a passive approach to job searching despite migrants' high level of education.

10.7.2 Methodological contribution

This study has employed a new research method, *netnography*, which was originally used for marketing research to measure customers' attitudes, in the field of hospitality to study employees' experiences. Using this research method facilitates a process of gaining insights of people's views. As internet users discuss their own topics without being directed by a researcher, the use of netnography resulted in obtaining naturally

occurred data. It is likely that in the *époque* of 'global village', the internet will be increasingly used for data collection. This research offers new knowledge on the use of netnography.

In addition, this study used migrants' fora and websites in order to collect the data online; thus, it adds new knowledge to the field of online research methods on procedures, the role of researchers and challenges to conducting research using an online environment. The use of the internet and online methods for data collection appear to be particularly applicable to the study of a mobile community of immigrants – particularly those who use the internet extensively at various stages of the migration process.

10.7.3 Theoretical contribution

The theories used to underpin this research were the Network-mediated theory of migration, Human Capital theories, Acculturation theories and the Hofstedian model of cultural dimensions.

Firstly, the exploration of the concept of work ethic, as seen by Polish respondents, supports the dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance developed by Hofstede (1991). Clearly, the behaviour at work differs between the two cultures; Polish and British. In addition, exploration of the perceptions of work ethic, as seen by employees themselves, suggests a new concept for the field. This research also supports the Network-mediated theory of migration. Migrants arrive in the UK and enter the labour market when the first opportunity arises – through personal connections.

In addition, this research supports the theories of Human capital - migrants take up jobs below their qualification because they believe they would acquire 'capital' in forms of new skills, promotion and knowledge about the local British labour market - that would allow them achieving better things in the future. Related to this theory is a concept that emerged from the study – it concerns career paths and it indicates that the employees' experiences can be read as a *rite of passage* to better and prestigious jobs. Before migrants progress, they spend time and effort in trying to climb up the occupation ladder. Career progression is not straight and it is more coincidence that decides on migrants' careers.

Finally, this study supports Acculturation theories, signifying that host contact is of importance for migrants' adaptation, as it facilitates learning about linguistic and social

skills. It further suggests a new concept of language skill acquisition at workplaces and indicates how migrants learn by showing that various people such as co-workers, managers and customers, as well as different departments, shape migrants' language skill acquisition. Finally, this study contributes to understanding of adaptation by stressing the role of the workplace in improving migrants' language skills and increasing contact with host nationals, as well as in permitting interaction between different nationalities.

10.8 Practical contribution - the implications for HRM

According to Baum (2007), the employment of migrant labour in the tourism sector of developed economies is beneficial in the short-term; however it *'has the affect of deflating remuneration, permitting the continuation of variable working conditions and allowing employers to fudge investment in skills development'* (p.1396). Thus, according to this view, the availability of migrant workers does not help to improve working conditions. The study findings indicate that many of the conditions have not changed in the sector and migrants were disappointed with it; the workload, long hours and pay were a source of complaints.

There is evidence that many businesses started relying on the influx of Polish workers. For this reason, it is important to consider the implications for HRM; more specifically, this knowledge can inform the practices of the selection process, recruitment, retention and training. Some of these issues have been reported elsewhere (see Janta and Ladkin 2009). Firstly, the power of the internet plays a significant role for this particular community. It is evident from this study that there is an image of UK hospitality work that is projected through the internet and, subsequently, through word-of-mouth. The position of kitchen porter has already become stereotyped among Poles. Such an image of hospitality employment may have irreversible, negative effects for the industry. So far, it has been suggested that, in line with observation by Riley *et al.* (2002), there is a bad image of certain jobs, not the whole industry. Thus, in order to make sure that the right image is projected to potential workers, internet job adverts would work as a solution and that could include advertising career opportunities and learning English in a friendly environment.

Subsequently, there is a need for managers to invest in their staff by offering fair pay, opportunities for career development and by controlling employees' workloads and ensuring equal treatment. Without these changes, managers may face unwanted

consequences due to the internet and word-of-mouth. With the availability of hard working and qualified foreign staff, there is a chance to reduce the number of transient workers treating the sector as 'a refuge' and, instead, retain the pool of flexible, qualified and available workers from overseas. For this reason, it should be ensured that there are opportunities for career development. Further, the workload of staff should be controlled, as the evidence shows that Poles were experiencing difficult working conditions. In the long term, this can be read in the light of imposed discrimination.

Another implication is that the sector is popular because of the opportunity to learn English and, for that reason, businesses could attract more migrants by providing English language classes for their foreign employees. This could be organised as a scheme where migrants take up work in hospitality and learn the language at a nearby school or a community centre. Providing an opportunity to take an internationally recognised examination (Cambridge or TOEFL) at the end of a language course, would encourage migrants to take up hospitality jobs. The internet sites for those learning English (such as *eng.pl* for Poles) could be ideal for advertising such schemes. This could offer employers staff that stay for the period of twelve months, subsequently reducing turnover.

10.9 Emerging ideas for further research

During the process of investigation a number of other concepts occurred that could be investigated in more depth. There are two major ideas that could be developed further in future research and a number of other concepts that need to be further investigated.

10.9.1 Real and virtual spaces

It is suggested that both virtual and real spaces shape migrants' experiences in the hospitality sector. More specifically, online fora for Poles were transformed into virtual spaces for sharing knowledge, where new and experienced migrants could exchange practical information. The internet has become a database of resources for potential and existing migrants providing details on linguistic support, information on vacancies, destinations, job interviews and experiences with employers. Thus, with the help of the internet and prior to coming to the UK, individuals have already begun to collect information using the internet that would facilitate their migration and support the learning experiences in which they engage. In addition, the experiences of migrants in this study point that not only work colleagues, managers and fellow migrants, but also customers are involved in shaping experiences of migrant workers.

In contrast to dense networks that play an important role in the migration process and the importance of family networks (Ryan *et al.* 2009), this study points to the role of weak ties that shape migrants' decisions and experiences in hospitality.

10.9.2 The notion of 'Polish migrant'

It is also suggested that the media, literature, employers and UK society has constructed a notion of a 'Polish migrant' that carries a particular meaning and has become a *signifier* for a number of elements. Thus, future research could focus on a notion of 'Polish migrant'.

More specifically, the very notion of '*signifier*' is derived from works of de Saussure (1983), a Swiss linguist, who developed the concept during the first decade of the twentieth century in Geneva. According to de Saussure, *signifier* is a 'sound pattern' for a concept or thought (*signified*). Further, *signifier* and *signified* are the elements of *sign*. Following his concept, it can be read that after 5 years of EU Enlargement to the east, Poles have built an image of specific values related to their nationality that has been widely used in the media, and academic and fictional literature.

Despite some negative images of Polish workers in the UK connected to crime, housing and NHS problems, 'stealing' locals' jobs and benefits or even racist-like campaigns (for example publications of the Daily Mail), the media and society has created strong positive perceptions of Polishness and a *signifier* of a Polish worker is now strongly related to the Poles' work ethic. In the press, Polish workers have become 'model migrants' (Daily Telegraph 2007b). TV programmes have shown the Poles' hard working nature, willingness to work and never complain (BBC: *Poles are coming*, 2008, programmes in 'Panorama', 'Politics Show').

Specific occupations became particularly famous such as plumbers or builders and the latter has received some special attention on TV, being contrasted with British builders (Channel 4: *Bobski the Builder*, 2008). 'Coronation Street', a British soap opera, introduced a Polish character; again, a hard working female machinist working at Underworld. Finally, the notion of Polish work commitment and reliability has been shown in relation to hospitality by academic researchers (McDowell *et al.* 2007; Mathews and Ruhs 2007b).

All of these examples give evidence that the British public has created and reinforced the idea of a Polish worker that is hard working, committed, efficient and appreciative of

British wages. Apart from the media, academics and literature that have been drawing the picture of the Polish worker, there is the hospitality industry that plays a significant role in the creation of a *sign* of a Polish migrant. The nature of working in hospitality requires constant contact with other staff but, more importantly, with customers. In these circumstances, a Polish worker has been exposed to the contact with British customers. Those working in hospitality have become 'visible' in pubs, cafes, hotels and restaurants where they were able to show their traits. One of the reasons why such a 'work ethic' has become distinctive can be explained with Hofstede's cultural dimensions and its differences between countries.

The argument here is, that there is an impact from the notion of 'Polishness' on the workers themselves. In the long term, the *sign* of a Polish worker being hard working, committed, efficient and appreciative of British wages may lead to workers' discrimination. This study showed that migrants were comparing their working nature to the local staff, and were assessing the distribution of work between the staff as unfair. In this case, Polish migrant workers may be used as good quality but cheap source of labour.

Lack of restrictions on the labour market has led to the unprecedented scale of migration '*that the British Isles have ever experienced*' (Salt and Miller 2006:335), and this political context has clearly contributed to the creation of the 'Polish worker'. Polish and other CEE migrants were granted, in May 2004, the right to live and work in the UK. Consequently, hundreds of thousands of Poles left Poland for the UK and found jobs in many low-paid occupations across the country. Not only academics but also fictional literature and the media have created something of an ideal Polish worker that is often summarised in two words, 'work ethic'. Thus, it is suggested that further research could focus on what migrants themselves feel about these stereotyped perceptions. In addition, future study could research the impact of the influx into the retail industry and how it supports Polish identity.

10.9.3 Further understanding of migrant workforce

There are a number of further valuable projects, which could be undertaken to improve understanding the migrant workforce. For example, following the findings of this study, further research could include the use of skills acquired by migrants while working in hospitality after their return to Poland. Such exploration would give an insight into which skills gained from working in the UK are used or unused. Is re-entry into the Polish labour market problematic? It would also be beneficial to carry out a follow up

study of current hospitality employees in five or ten years in order to reveal Polish migrant workers' *career paths*. Alternatively, a longitudinal study of migrant workers arriving in the UK could explore their adaptation process and career throughout an extended period. That would allow the observation of migrants' lives from the point of arrival until they settle in or return back home.

Another theme that could be addressed in the future is the exploration of the implications of employing migrant workers in the UK and their impacts on destination branding. Do visitors mind that hospitality employees do not speak with a local accent? A study conducted in Ireland (Baum *et al.* 2008) revealed a changing image of the country due to the influx of migrants. However, no research has been conducted in the context of the UK. This theme is also related to the issue of customer expectations and quality of services. Nothing is known about visitors' satisfaction with the services provided by migrant workers.

Finally, migrants' adaptation into British society could be further explored by comparing the lives of migrants in the hospitality sector with those who work in other low-paid industries, such as construction, home care, agriculture and in highly skilled occupations. Such a comparative study would lead to a better understanding of the hospitality sector and its features.

10.10 Limitations

The methodological limitations of this study have been considered in this thesis in Chapter 5. However, a number of further limitations need to be acknowledged. This study intended to outline migrants' experiences of working in the UK hospitality sector. In the absence of a reliable population frame, the internet was used as a tool for data collection, which resulted in the exclusion of those who do not have internet access. Further research is required to confirm the experiences of non-internet users. Although the findings of this thesis should not be generalised across the entire population of Polish workers in the UK hospitality industry, they do provide a contribution to knowledge and solid grounds for further research. This study has raised a number of themes that could be tested among a larger sample of hospitality employees, including other international migrants. It might have been valuable to explore in greater depth particular occupations such as housekeeper, waiter or manager, to understand better the differences between each occupation and their role in peoples' adaptation. Finally,

snowball sampling would facilitate gathering data from a bigger population and different occupations could be explored in more detail.

10.11 Final conclusions

Although employing a migrant workforce in the hospitality industry is nothing new, the presence of Poles in such large numbers is unprecedented. This research has sought to shed some light on the experiences of one particular national group of migrant workers in the UK hospitality industry. When this study began, little was known about the migrants from Central and Eastern European countries employed in the UK hospitality industry. Since then, the number of publications on the topic has soared; however, knowledge of the experiences of Polish migrants in the industry and the role of the sector in migrants' adaptation are still scarce. Most importantly, this research contributes to the growing body of empirical work on the perspective of international workers in the hospitality industry (Baum *et al.* 2007; Devine *et al.* 2007a, 2007b) and is a reply to the call for empirical research regarding unskilled migrants, and their learning and knowledge-sharing (Williams 2007a, 2008). It also adds to the literature on the image of tourism/hospitality employment and its working conditions. Finally, it contributes to the body of literature on CEE migrants' adaptation (Spencer *et al.* 2007), and further offers empirical data on an issue that was at the forefront of British society in 2006 and is now at the time of global recession. This contributes to the academic, public and policy debates on migrants' integration. Finally, it is expected that this study and its findings will stimulate further work examining migrant workers and their careers in the UK hospitality industry as well as the use of netnography in the field of tourism and hospitality.

10.12 Personal reflection

This has been the most challenging project I have ever taken on. Indeed, doing a PhD is a lonely journey, encompassing very many discouraging moments and a few joyful ones. It all started in 2006, at the time when the number of Poles arriving in the UK was reaching its peak and Polish businesses were springing up across the country. Being myself a part of this 'mass departure' that left Poland for the UK gave me invaluable insights on various issues. Thus, when an opportunity arose and Bournemouth University advertised a PhD topic on international labour in the UK hospitality industry, I

thought that this was an ideal opportunity – to embark on a research project concerned with my own community.

As a Pole, I was able to provide an insider perspective which is considered as valuable by researchers (see Easterby-Smith and Malina 1999; Temple and Young 2004). I was able to translate the data obtained from my respondents, but also to introduce the cultural nuances that lie behind their words. On a few occasions, some original Polish phrases were left in brackets to ensure that the meaning is not accidentally changed. However, most importantly, as an insider, I was able to access my compatriots both online and offline.

The data collection proved to be a fascinating experience. However, interacting with internet users proved to be a challenging adventure. This period of data collection – experiencing both joy and anxiety taught me a lot about my compatriots as well as about the internet community, e.g. how their outrage served to articulate collective identities at particular times. If I did this part of the research again, I would have approached the users differently – with a changed attitude and self-projection.

On the other hand, during this time, I experienced ambiguous feelings as a Pole in the UK myself while reading an enormous amount of articles produced regularly by the 'Daily Mail'. I remember one of my supervisors asking me: 'and how did you feel about it?' I do not remember what I said to her, but certainly, I sometimes did feel disappointed reading very doubtful stories presented in the press. After all, it concerned me as well.

For the period of three years, I was feeling that my life was overtaken by my research. Although this PhD journey is coming to an end, I have noticed that this topic continues to interest me no less than at the beginning. It still fascinates me, not only in terms of future research, but also as a cultural theme. Thus, I continue to watch movies and read fictional literatures that tell stories about migrants and their lives. I follow BBC websites and newspaper headlines reporting stories on Polish migrants.

The period of conducting this research has developed my critical thinking and taught me a lot of patience – something that I was struggling with at the very final stage. I am extremely happy that I was able to do a study in such a fascinating research area and I hope this study will serve as a basis for future investigations of my own and other communities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Questionnaire (Microsoft version)

 <p>Bournemouth University</p>	<p>Hi. My name is Hania and I am a PhD student at Bournemouth University. If you are working in hospitality or catering (H&C) in the UK or used to work in these industries I would be grateful if you could help with my studies by filling in this questionnaire! My research is on the Polish workforce in the hospitality industry in the UK. There are 19 questions and it should take no more than 5-8 mins to fill the questionnaire out. If you would like some more information about this research, do not hesitate to contact me. Many thanks!</p>
Hanna Janta	<p>DATA PROTECTION</p> <p>Bournemouth University is a registered Data Controller. Any information that you supply will be held anonymously and securely in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and will only be used for the purposes of this survey. Your personal details will not be made available outside the University.</p> <p>e-mail: hjanta@bournemouth.ac.uk.</p>

PART I. Getting a job in hospitality and catering (H&C) in the UK

1. Did you find your first job in H&C in the UK before you left for the UK, in Poland?
(Please, tick one).

YES NO

2. How did you find your first job in hospitality in the UK? (Tick one)

- A friend who worked in the sector recommended the job to me
- I took part in the *work experience* scheme (nauka i praca/ praktyki) or *work and study*
- I saw an advert displayed in the window and I asked for the job
- I found an advert on the internet
- I found an advert in a newspaper
- Via a job centre
- Via a recruitment agency
- By asking for a job in hotels, restaurants etc.
- OTHER (Please state).....

3. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

I took the first job in H&C because...	Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	Strongly disagree
I needed a summer job					
I have qualifications in hospitality					
I needed a temporary job					
I could not find a job elsewhere					
I could start as soon as possible					
I did not know how to look for a job					
I wanted to gain work experience					
I wanted to use foreign languages					
I receive other benefits (food, tips etc)					
I needed a job which did not require any particular qualification					
I heard it was easy to find a job in this sector					

PART II. Your experiences of working in the sector

4. Do you think that work in the hospitality sector helped you to adapt to life in the UK?

(Please tick one)

YES NO

5. Please answer the following questions:

While working in the hospitality industry in the UK...	YES	NO	If you answer YES, do you think it helped you to adapt to the life in the UK?	
			Yes	NO
Have you improved your English on the job?				
Have you spoken Polish at work				
Have you used other languages at work?				
Have you worked on split shifts?				
Have you learnt about other cultures at work?				
Have you learnt about British culture at work?				
Have you socialised with British co-workers?				
Have you socialised with other Polish co-workers?				
Have you socialised with other nationals co-workers?				

6. Please answer the following questions regarding your work and life in the H&C sector.

(Please tick yes or no).

	YES	NO
Has hospitality work stopped you from going to the Polish church?		
Was your accommodation organised by the hotel or programme for you when you first arrived?		
Have you lived with people you work with?		
Did you get any practical information about life in the UK in your workplace?		

7. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Un-decided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I am satisfied with my job in H&C in the UK					
I am satisfied with the career opportunities at my current workplace in H&C in the UK					
Working in the H&C industry has been better than I expected					

8. What do you think you can offer the industry? (Please write one thing or more)

.....

9. What do you think you can gain from working in the industry? (Please write one thing or more)

.....

PART III. Your JOB Profile

10. How many jobs have you held in H&C in the UK? (Choose a number).

.....

11. What were your first and your last or current job? (Please select from the lists).

	Where		Position	Location
First job	Hotel or B&B	Other than hotel or B&B	waitress/ waiter	
	Bar	Restaurant	bar person	
Last or current job	Restaurant	Bar	receptionist	
	Cafe	Pub	kitchen porter	
	Reception	Café	chef	
	Kitchen	Catering work	housekeeper	
	Housekeeping		team leader	
	Security		hall (or conference) porter	
	Portering		restaurant supervisor	
	Other department in a hotel		assistant manager	
			Deputy Manager	
			General Manager	
		other.....		

12. How long have you been working/ did you work in H&C in the UK? (Type the total number of months).

.....

13. What did you do before joining the H&C industry? (Please choose one).

- studying
- at school
- employed
- unemployed

PART IV. Your plans

14. If you are still working in H&C, please tell me about your plans (questions 14 and 15). If you have left, please go directly to 16.

14. What is your next career move? (Please tick one)

- Promotion in my current job
- Move elsewhere in this workplace
- Move to another H&C place
- Move out of the H&C

15. In which country are you planning to be when you make next career step? (Please tick one)

- Poland
- UK
- None of the above
- I do not know yet

16. . If you do not work in the hospitality and catering any more please answer ONE more question:

Why did you leave the sector?

- In order to study or continue studying in Poland
- In order to study in the UK
- In order to work in Poland in the field I was qualified for
- In order to work in the UK in the field I was qualified for
- In order to work somewhere else
- Other

PART V. About yourself

Please answer a few more questions about yourself.

17. What is your age? (Please write)

.....

18. What is your gender?

Male Female

19. What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed? (Please tick one)

- Secondary school (srednie)
- Secondary school but I am studying (srednie, w trakcie studiow)
- Vocational (zawod.)
- Degree in hospitality (Wyzsze Licencjackie) z Hotelarstwa / Turystyki
- Degree in non- hospitality (Wyzsze Licencjackie)
- Master's degree in hospitality (Wyzsze Magisterskie) z Hotelarstwa/ Turystyki
- Master's degree Technical (Wyzsze Magisterskie) Techniczne
- Master's degree (MA) (Wyzsze (Magisterskie) Humanistyczne)
- Master's degree in medical studies (Wyzsze Magisterskie) Medyczne
- Other

This is the end of the questionnaire

20. If you have some comments please write them

down:.....

* * * * * Thank you for your time* * * * *

Appendix 2. Location of the first job in hospitality and catering

England		Scotland	Wales	N. Ireland	other
Alton Towers	Mortimer	Aberdeen 22	Cardiff 6	Bangor	Cowes, (Isle of Wight)
Amersham	Newcastle Upon Tyne 6	Aviemore			
Bamberbrige	Nortwich	Blairgowrie	Walia	Belfast 6	
Bath 3	Norwich	Carnoustie			Jersey
Battle	Nottingham 5	Coatbridge	Llandrindod	Kilrea	
Birmingham 6	Oakham	Dundee 5	Wells		St Helier, (Jersey)
Blackpool 2	Okehampton	Edinburgh 9		Carnlough	
Bognor Regis	Oulton	Fort William			
Bournemouth 5	Oxford 8	Garve		Lisburn	Lerwick (Shetland Islands)
Brighton 4	Pembury	Glasgow 6			
Bristol 10	Penrith	Inverness 4			
Canterbury	Pickering	Irvine			
Carlisle 3	Plymouth	Kingussie			Rathlin Island (N. Ireland)
Cheadle	Poole 2	Lochaber			
Chester	Reading 7	Lockerbie			
Christchurch	Redcar	Perth			
Clifton, Penrith 2	Rochester	Peterhead			
Copthorne	Ryader	Renfrew (Glasgow)			
Crewe	Salisbury	Scotland			
Dartington 4	Sandbach	St Andrews 2			
Derby 2	Sedgefield	Strathpeffer			
Dorchester 2	Sheffield 2	Wodstock			
Eastbourne	Sidmouth				
Egham	Skipton 3				
Elstree 2	Slaley				
Exeter 11	Slaley Hall				
Gateshead	Slough 2				
Grantham	Hampshire				
Grasmere	Staines				
Great Yarmouth 2	Stamford				
Guildford 2	Sunderland				
Halifax 2	Sutton Coldfield				
Harrogate	Swalwell				
Heswall	Tadcaster				
Ilchester, Somerset	Tadworth				
Keswick	Telford/				
Leeds 9	Shropshire				
Leicester	Tetbury				
Limington	Torquay 2				
Liverpool 2	Totnes				
London 44	Wallingford				
Manchester 8	West Luiworth				
Mansfield	West Runton				
Marsden	Whitewood				
Middleton on sea	Wolverhampton				
Milton Keynes	York				

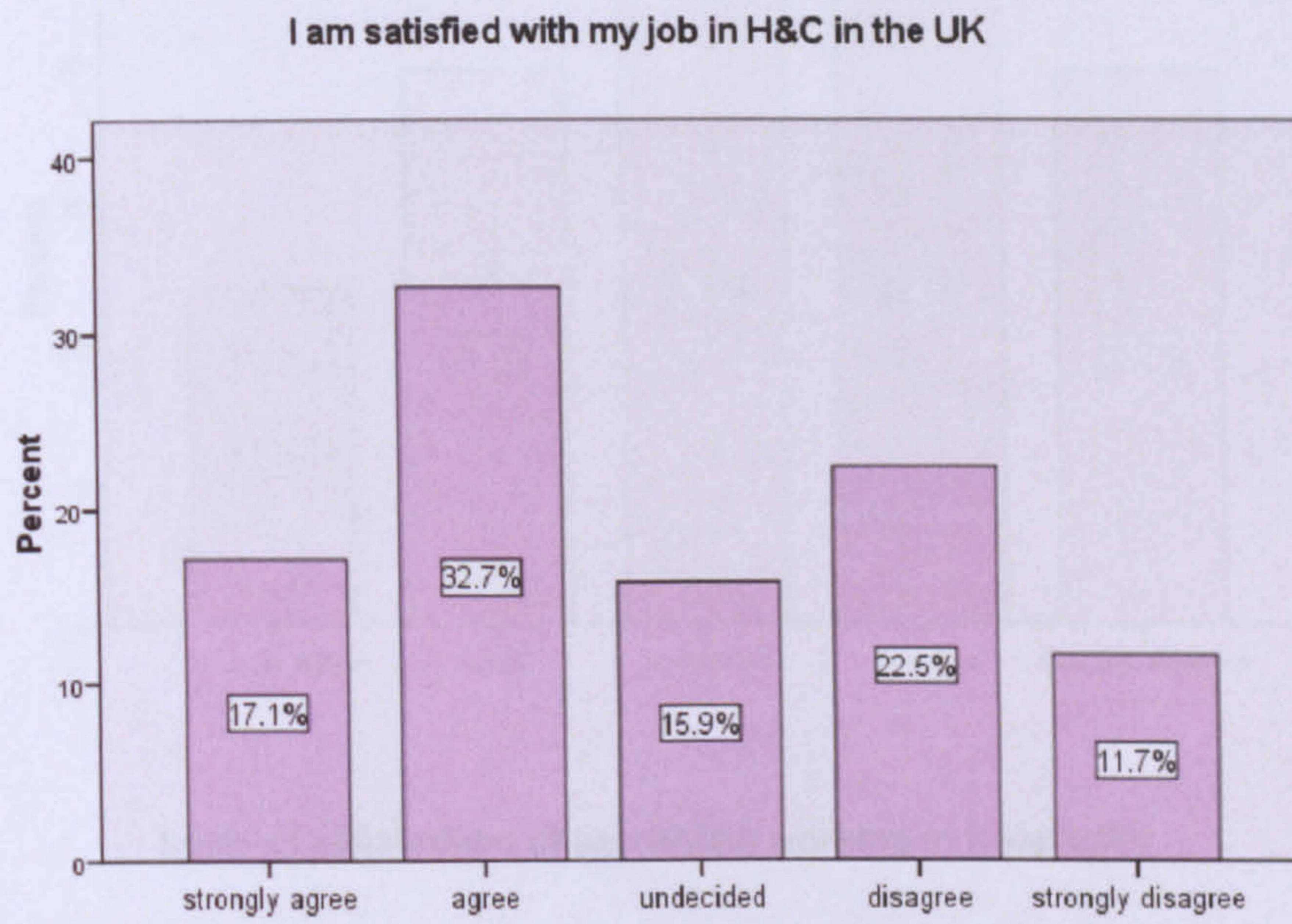
Appendix 3: Cross Tabulations: using languages by respondents' first jobs positions.

First position * I Improved English on the job Crosstabulation				
Count		I Improved English on the job		
		Yes	No	Total
First position	water/ waitress	96	7	103
	bar person	33	1	34
	receptionist	8	2	10
	kitchen porter	42	3	45
	chef	15	0	15
	housekeeper	69	12	81
	team leader	6	0	6
	hall or conference porter	2	0	2
	restaurant supervisor	4	0	4
	assistant manager	2	1	3
	deputy manager	0	1	1
	general manager	2	0	2
	other	7	2	9
	Total	286	29	315

First position * I used other languages Crosstabulation				
Count		I used other languages		
		Yes	No	Total
First position	water/ waitress	40	63	103
	bar person	14	20	34
	receptionist	5	5	10
	kitchen porter	20	25	45
	chef	5	10	15
	housekeeper	33	48	81
	team leader	4	2	6
	hall or conference porter	0	2	2
	restaurant supervisor	1	3	4
	assistant manager	1	2	3
	deputy manager	1	0	1
	general manager	0	2	2
	other	3	6	9
	Total	127	188	315

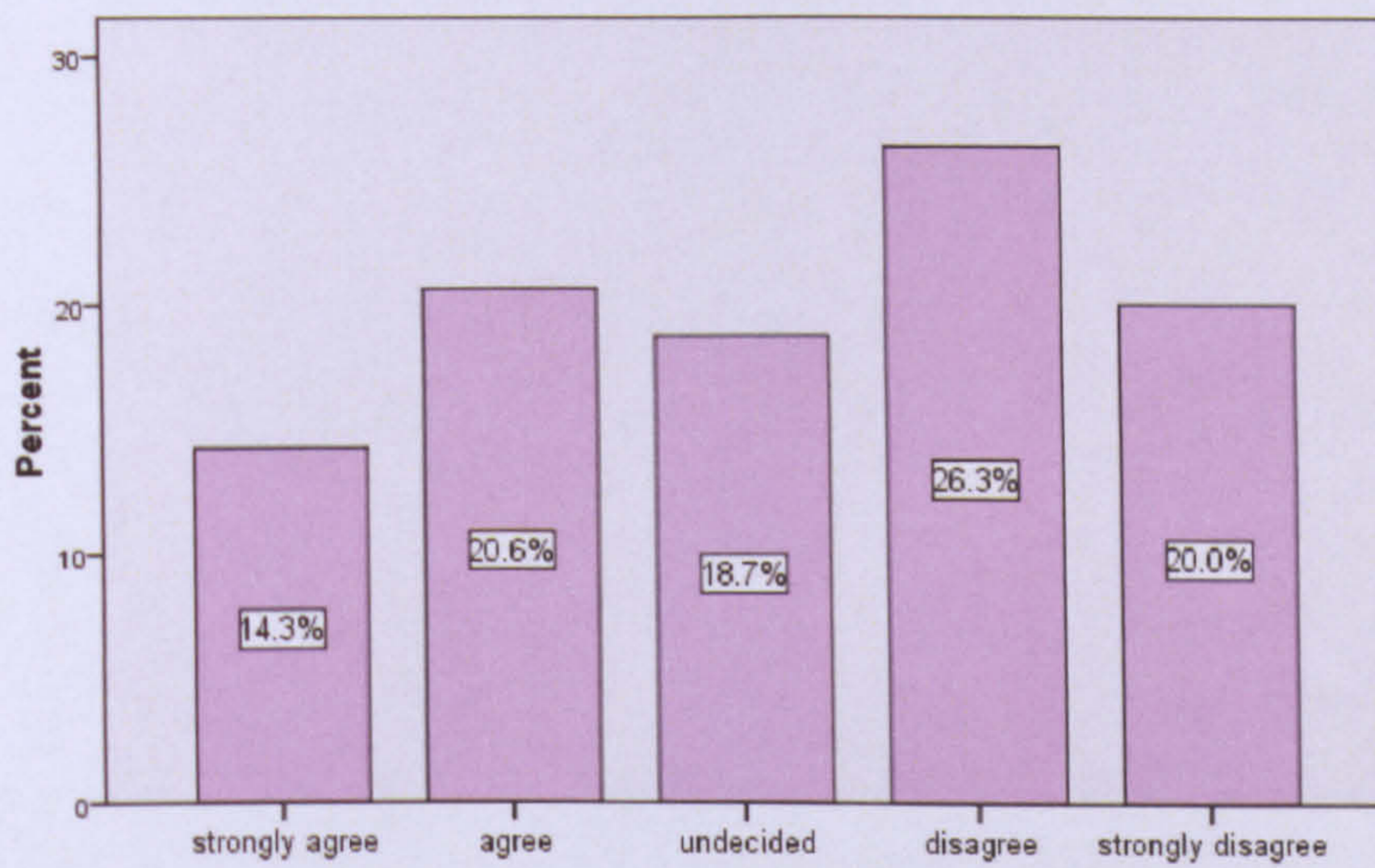
First position * I spoke Polish at work Crosstabulation				
Count		I spoke Polish at work		Total
		Yes	No	
First position	water/ waitress	70	33	103
	bar person	21	13	34
	receptionist	4	6	10
	kitchen porter	26	19	45
	chef	9	6	15
	housekeeper	62	19	81
	team leader	3	3	6
	hall or conference porter	2	0	2
	restaurant supervisor	2	2	4
	assistant manager	2	1	3
	deputy manager	1	0	1
	general manager	1	1	2
	other	7	2	9
	Total	210	105	315

Appendix 4: The results from the survey: Question 7 regarding work satisfaction



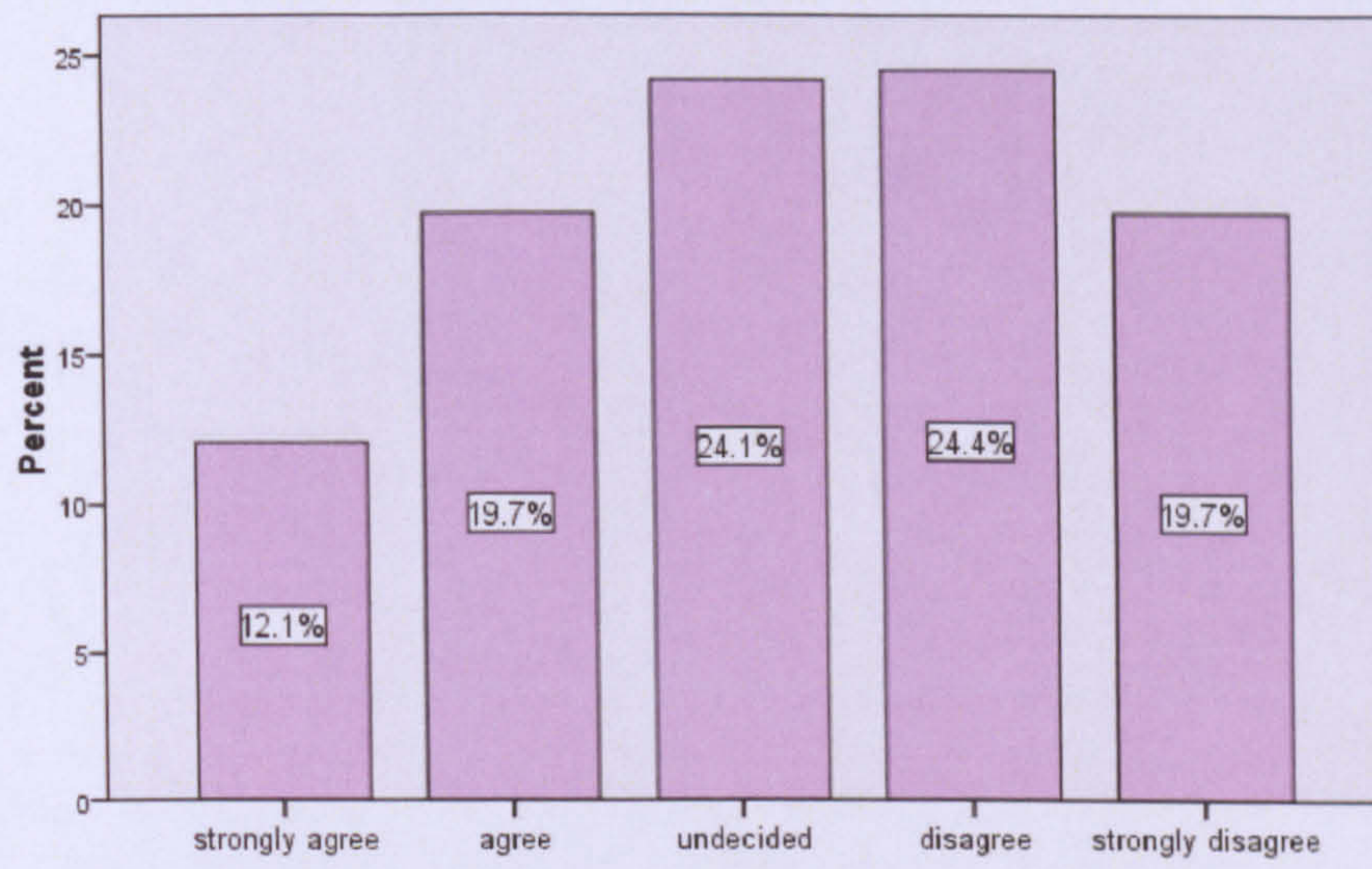
Level of satisfaction with current job in hospitality

I am satisfied with the career opportunities at my current workplace in H&C in the UK



Level of satisfaction with career opportunities

Working in H&C industry has been better than I expected



Level of satisfaction of perceiving working in hospitality