"*Should We exit before Brexit?*"
Hungarian Workers' Experiences & Future Plans in Post-Referendum Britain

Ivett Bernadett Ayodele

Master of Science by Research (MScRes)

University of Salford

School of Health and Society

2018

Table of Contents

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER FIVE: HUNGARIAN WORKERS' PRE-REFERENDUM EXPERIENCES

CHAPTER SIX: HUNGARIAN WORKER'S POST-REFERENDUM EXPERIENCES

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

APPENDICIES

List of figures and tables

Acknowledgements

I would like to say thank you for everyone who helped me one way, or another to complete this research project.

First of all, I would like to say a very special thank you to my supervisors, Dr Anya Ahmed and Dr Lisa Scullion, who believed in me and encouraged me throughout the research process. Without your continuous support and encouragement, I would not have done it.

Special thanks of course go to all of you, who agreed to be interviewed. You took the time to sit down with me and had a frank conversation about one of the most life changing experiences of your lives, for which I am forever grateful.

 Mum and Dad, you always believed in me, and reminded me that I can do this. I would like to say a very special *"Thank You"*, for listening to me on the bad days and laughing with me on the good ones!

 I would also like to thank some of my amazing friends – Luca, *Zsuzsa*, *Gyula*, *Margo*, *Zita*, *Szilvi, Aleksandra, Shelley* and *Duck*; who were there for me no matter what. You are all amazing people and have been incredibly supportive. I am truly lucky to have you in my life.

Special thanks to my partner, *Bela*, who have been cooking for me and provided me with all the tea and coffee in the world, to keep me going!

Lastly, thanks to my son, Biyi, who despite his age, was very understanding throughout this process. Now I will have all the time for you!

List of Abbreviations

CEE   Central and Eastern Europe

EU   European Union

NELM New Economics of Labour Migration

RCT   Rational Choice Theory

TA   Transitional Arrangements

UK   United Kingdom

WRS   Working Registration Scheme

PRC   Permanent Residence Card

Word Count: 37241
Total Word Count: 43821

Abstract

Growing concerns over the large influx of Central and Eastern European migrant workers to the UK since the enlargement of the EU in 2004 played a major role in the result of the EU Referendum in June 2016. Now, in the era of Brexit, when millions of EU citizens are in a limbo and uncertain about their future rights here in the UK, it is the right time to explore their experiences and highlight the perceived impacts of Brexit on migrant workers' lives.

Previous research mainly focused on CEE migrants' workers labour market experiences prior to the Referendum. Moreover, most of these studies recruited Polish participants, as they are the single largest group from the CEE region in the United Kingdom. Contributing to this gap, the present research, employed a qualitative approach to explore Hungarian workers' labour market pre- and post- Referendum experiences and trajectories in the context of Brexit. As such, ten semi-structured interviews were conducted and subsequently analysed, using thematic analysis. The focus of the analysis was directed toward the individual experiences of participants and the perceived impact of Brexit on their experiences and future plans in the United Kingdom.

Detailed discussion of the findings is presented under four master themes: *"Motivations to Migrate"*; *"Upward mobility within the labour market"*; *"Making sense of the result"*; *and* *"Impacts and Future Intentions"*. Limitations and strengths of the study, alongside with suggestions for future research are considered in the final chapter.

Key Words: Brexit, Referendum, European Union, Hungarian Workers, Labour Market, Transnationalism,

"Should We exit before Brexit?"
Hungarian Workers' Experiences & Future Plans in Post-Referendum Britain

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1   Background and Rationale for the Study

The creation of the European Union resulted in a unique transnational space, a virtually borderless Europe (Ciupijus, 2011). After the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992; a new legal concept, "European Citizenship", was introduced (Castro-Martin & Cortina, 2015). However, it needs to be acknowledged, that free movement of workers within Europe can be dated back as far, as the Treaty of Rome in 1957 ((BBC, 2018). While the Treaty of Rome (1957) provided workers with the right to free movement, and indeed it also created a custom union by dismantling tariff barriers between member states (Goldberg, 2003), until the Maastricht Treaty (1992) took the European integration a step further (Griveaud, 2011) . In fact, it reformed the structure of the European Community by uniting Europe politically, while strengthening the economic integration of its member states, by creating the Economic and Monetary Union (Griveaud, 2011). Furthermore, it extended the rights of free movement

"from workers to persons" (Koikkalainen, 2011) and when the Maastricht Treaty (1992) was finalised it introduced the concept of the common European Citizenship. Consequently, all citizens of the EU gained the right to reside; to look for employment; to seek assistance in gaining employment; and most importantly, to work within the European Union (Andor, 2014). Furthermore, EU migrant workers became entitled to equal treatment in relation to employment, and conditions at work; as well as some of the social assistance (e.g.: benefits, such as child tax credit or child benefit), similar to native citizens of the destination country (Andor, 2014). Initially 15 European countries joined under the European Union, namely; *Austria*, *Belgium*, *Denmark*, *Finland*, *France*, *Germany*, *Greece*, *Ireland*, *Italy*, *Luxemburg*, *Netherlands*, *Portugal*, *Sweden*, and the *United Kingdom* (EU[15] countries). However, on the 1st of May 2004, the whole of Europe was once again reunited, with the accession of the eight new member states; *Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta* (A8 countries); from the central and eastern European area (Ciupijus, 2011). In principle, the accession in 2004 extended the *'four freedoms'* –free movement of capital; goods; services and people across the enlarged European Union (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). However, some of the member states, e.g.: Germany and Austria, had a very strict stance from the beginning, in relation to free labour movement from the CEE countries. In fact, their trade unions argued, that opening the labour market without any restrictions, could lead to increasing unemployment rates and would drive wages down (Jileva 2002 *cited in* Fihel, Janicka, Kaczmarczky, & Nestorowicz, 2015), thus having a negative impact on their economy. Behind this fear lied the fact, that they predicted that Germany and Austria would be the main target for CEE migrant workers. Therefore, Germany and Austria introduced transitional arrangements (TA), and imposed some restrictions for a limited period, in relation to labour market access. This decision, then made other EU 15 countries to rethink their approach, in fear of "diversion effects"- meaning, that

CEE workers might decide to change their destination country because of those restrictions and go to other member states instead. Hence, the reason why Currie (2008:8) suggested that Germany and Austria were the "Shepherds", who have been followed by the "flock", the rest of the EU 15 countries, whom also decided to implement TA, in the fear of "diversion effects". The purpose of these transitional arrangements was twofold. On one hand, they were a rationale, which related to the impact of migration on the labour market of the host country and their welfare system (Fihel, Janicka, Kaczmarczky, & Nestorowicz, 2015). On the other hand, it responded to the public fear in relation to the first point, however it was also fuelled by Politics. To that extent, transitional arrangements were in place to protect the EU labour market from possible negative impacts, such as increased rate of unemployment, however it was also an outcome of political concerns around slowing economy, and anti-immigrant sentiment (Wright, 2010).

Despite of these arguments, the United Kingdom did not follow many of the EU 15 countries' (e.g.: Finland, Italy, Greece or France) example, and opened its labour market to A8 citizens fully, without restrictions. However, the UK decided to impose a TA in 2004; namely the Working Registration Scheme, with the aim of monitoring flows from the A8 countries, in addition to gaining insight into how A8 workers affect the UK's labour market. Despite this TA putting a restriction on A8 workers for a period of 12 months, the Government massively underestimated the numbers of A8 nationals arriving to the UK after the 2004 accession (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009), thus was not prepared for the large influx of CEE workers. This resulted in growing concerns over a number of issues, for example, the employment of migrant workers (Wadsworth, Dhingra, Ottaviano, & Van Reenen, 2016) or EU citizens' rights to access welfare and social benefits (Currie, 2016). In the midst of these social and economic challenges, Britain have decided to leave the European Union on the 23rd June 2016, and the United Kingdom entered the era of Brexit.

Although this result was shocking for many (Bailey, 2018); debates around migrants' access to the labour market and welfare system dominated the UK's public domain for a decade or so. Moreover, the membership of the European Union (Minto, Hunt, Keating, & Mcgowen, 2016), became one of the most contested public issue in the UK's political landscape for the last couple of years. Polls, from the British Election Study in May 2015, showed that over a quarter of the British public was against European integration and thought it already has gone too far. One of the key issues, according to this poll was, the extent of immigration, which has dominated leave voters' reasons to support Brexit (Minto, Hunt, Keating, & Mcgowen, 2016). Another survey by Eurobarometer published in December 2015; also showed that 61% of the British public felt that immigration was the main issue in relation to the EU membership (Eurobarometer, 2015). Therefore, Vasilopoulou (2016) argues, that the Brexit Referendum was more about Britain's attitude towards EU integration, rather than the consideration of economic benefits of the EU membership. However, Euroskepticism in the United Kingdom is not a new phenomenon, and has been around since the Europan Coal and Steel Community. This was the predecessors of the European Union, alongside with the European Economic Community (ECC) and the European Atomic Energy Community; to which both the United Kingdom was invitied to join (UKandEU, 2018). The Coal and Steel Community was an organisation of 6 European countries (Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg); and it was established in 1951 by signing the treaty of Paris. Its aim was to regulate their industrial production under centralised authority. Six years later, in 1957, the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community was established by signing the treaty of Rome (BBC, 2018); which was a first step towards a common market (UKandEU, 2018). However, Britain did not join either of them at the time, as they disliked the supranational elements of the treaties; such as the common agricultural policy and budget (UKandEU, 2018). In that sense, the United

Kingdom chose not to participate in building a united Europe; and it became crystal clear that Britain's ideas about the future of Europe differed significantly from its neighbours', who wanted to build a United Europe (King , 1977). Britain, however, wanted to be "with" Europe but was not ready to be part (Cowling, 2016) "of " it (Lieber, 1970). Eventually, despite all of this, by 1970, negotiations started between the 'six'- those who established the ECC; and the 'four'-, including Britain, who applied for membership in the ECC. This, however meant, that when Britain joined the European Economic Community in 1973; it had to accept many elements of the treaty, which proved controversial for the British public (Minto, Hunt, Keating, & Mcgowen, 2016). Public opinion of the time, based on a poll in 1970, was very much against the common market; whereas political parities of the time, both the Conservatives and Liberals, were in support of joining the ECC; and they emphasized the possible positive impact, such as growth of the economy (King, 1977). Despite this, when the Labour party lost the election in 1970; it committed itself to opposing joining the ECC and pledged to renegotiate the terms of entry and put the whole membership of the ECC to the British Public by either in a form of general election, or a referendum (King, 1977). The decision to take a Referendum was made by the end of 1974, and the first Referendum was held, concerning the membership of the European Economic Community, in 1975.

In some elements, the two referenda are similar; for example in the leading of the referendum in both cases, polls showed opposite results; however, debates that led to to the two referendums were very different (Cowling, 2016). Whereas in 1975, voters strongly believed that economic prosperity, wages and living standrads would be better, if Britain would stay in the ECC; the 2016 leaving campaign attempted to persuade voters that in fact, Britain's economy would be better of, should they leave the EU (Cowling, 2016).

More interestengly, the issue of immigration did not even feature in the polls leading up to the 1975 Referendum, whereas it was a prominent feature of the 2016's leaving

campaign (Cowling, 2016). Although, polls leading up to the first Referendum shifted in favour of remaining in the ECC, prior to that, for a quite few years, polls showed that Britain wanted out. Despite this, the result of the 1975 Referendum showed, a vote of 67/33, in favour of remaining (King , 1977).

While the result of the referendum in 1975 had delivered a level of public support for the pro-Europeans (Goodwin & Heath, 2016); the second Referendum showed a divided Britain (Gumbrell-McCormic & Hyman, 2017). After all votes had been counted, 51.9 per cent of voters supported Brexit; and 48.1 per cent had opted to remain. Leave won, which, according to some was a vote against free labour movement (Portes, 2016) in England and Wales; however, Scotland, Northern Ireland and London voted to retain membership of the European Union. The outcome of the Referendum highlighted the tensions between domestic politic parties; and after the Referendum David Cameron, promptly resigned. His act triggered a leadership election, in which Theresa May was elected, with the main role to deliver Brexit, with the best possible outcomes for the United Kingdom. Article 50 of the treaty rights- which triggers the withdrawing process, should a member state wish to leave the European Union (Gumbrell-McCormic & Hyman, 2017) – was triggered by the prime minister in March 2017 and so did the Brexit negotiations began. The issue of immigration; benefit tourism and free movement featured heavily in public and political debates. However, the future of EU citizens in the UK got very little political attention (Portes, 2016). Consequently, the UK's departure from the EU, puts the 3.3. million EU migrant workers (Currie, 2016) in the United Kindom in a precarious position, as their legal status will inevatibly change after Brexit.

In essence, Brexit questions the basic rights of all EU citizens, which were afforded to them by their EU citizenship (Guma & Jones, 2018) when their countries became members of the European Union. These migrants arguably the most affected by Brexit, yet media and political discourse has mainly focused on "Brexodus"- the exiting of EU citizens from the UK since the Referendum and its potential impact on British economy. Meanwhile, the direct impact on EU citizens themselves, have been somewhat ignored, (Guma & Jones, 2018). In fact, it seems that during these debates, those who are most affected by Brexit, EU citizens themselves have been left behind and their voice has not been loud enough (Jackson, Thorsen & Wring, 2016). It is therefore, crucial to explore EU migrants' perspectives and experiences in the era of Brexit, to "hear their voices", through their experiences in Post-Referendum Britain. Especially now, when negotiations around EU citizens' rights in the UK still causing much anxiety among EU citizens (Lulle, Morosanu, & King, 2017), despite the Government's assurances and said commitment to protect those EU citizens' rights who already live in the UK. To that extent, the Government introduced the 'Settlement Scheme', which sets out to ensure that EU citizens who have been living in the United Kingdom over five years, can gain settled status; and those who residing in the UK for less than 5 years, will be granted pre-settled status until they reach the five-year threshold (HM Government, 2017). Furthermore, for those EU citizens who have been granted 'Permanent Residence Status' already, under the EU directive, to gain 'Settled Status' will be even simpler, as they will only need to exchange their PRC to 'Settled Status' by providing proof of their PRC (HM, Government, 2017). However, due to the fact that everything around Brexit is uncertain and fluid (Conelly & Conelly, 2018), EU citizens cannot be sure what conditions may be placed on them, if they wish to remain, especially in a no-deal scenario. For example, EU citizens

could be faced with visa requirements when taking up work; they could be subjected to a minimum earning threshold, when planning family reunification, and might be forced to pay private health insurance for themselves and their family members in order to gain permanent residence (Nugent, 2018). Brexit brings these citizens nothing less, but change in their social and perhaps economic status, through the loss of their EU citizenship (McGhee, Moreh, & Vlachantoni, 2017). Therefore, it is also important to look at the different strategies these migrants employ when facing these diverse challenges and contemplating their future plans here or outside of the UK.

Furthermore, it is the right time to re-examine their work-related experiences in the context of Brexit. However, previous studies which explored CEE workers' experiences in the United Kingdom both prior and post-Referendum, mostly concentrated on Polish migrants (e.g.: Ciupijus & Ciupijus, 2012; Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2010; Ciupijus & Ciupijus, 2012; Currie, 2016); being the largest CEE national group (ONS, 2017). Moreover, past research on EU migration, tend to concentrate on the circularity and temporary aspects of EU migration and very few studies insofar focused on the process of settlement and belonging of EU citizens in the UK (Ryan , 2018). Among those studies, (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2018; Rzepnikowska, 2018; Ryan, 2018), the focus is usually on Polish migrants as well, rather than other A8 nationals. Hungarian migrant workers in particular, under-represented in academia (Fox, Morosanu, & Szilassy, 2012; Csedo, 2008) and invisible in migration policy despite the fact that they make up about the 5% of all A8 nationals in the UK (Fox, Morosanu, & Szilassy, 2012).

Thus, I decided to explore Hungarian workers' labour market experiences and future trajectories in Post-Referendum Britain, in order to fill the gap in the literature by giving voice to Hungarian workers; a migrant group which has been mostly subsumed into the generic category of A8 nationals, thus insofar they were largely invisible in academia.

1.2   Research aim and objectives

Therefore, the **research aim** of the present study is:

To explore how the UK's decision to leave the EU impact on Hungarian migrants' experiences within the paid labour market in Manchester; and how Brexit shapes their future plans in the UK, or perhaps in another member state of the European Union.

Moreover, it aims to answer the following **research questions:**

1. What were Hungarian migrant workers' experiences within the paid labour market prior to the EU Referendum?
2. What are the perceived impacts of the EU Referendum and subsequent Brexit negotiations on Hungarian migrant workers' paid labour market experiences?
3. How does Brexit impact on Hungarian migrant workers' trajectories and future plans in the United Kingdom?

1.3   Thesis Structure

The structure of this thesis follows the ideas as outlined below:

Within this chapter, **Chapter 1**, I introduced the present study and provided a rational for the study has been given. Furthermore, I outlined the aims and the objectives of this research project.

Within **Chapter 2.**, I outline the theoretical framework for the present study. As such, I introduce "Rational Choice Theory" as the main theoretical tenet of this thesis. Following this, I explore some of the classical migration theories, which need to be considered in order to contextualise intra-EU migration patterns. Next, I briefly discuss gendered migration and return migration, after which I explore contemporary intra-EU migration patterns. Finally, I present the migration patterns from Hungary to the United Kingdom.

In **Chapter 3.** I provide an extensive literature review of previously conducted studies on EU-migrants, and their labour market experiences. Subsequently, I reveal the theoretical and empirical gap that exists in the literature.

Within **Chapter 4.** I introduce the methodological framework and the analytical procedure of the present study. In specific, I discuss the research approach, and the research design of the study. Following this, I present a detailed step by step analytical procedure. Lastly, I highlight the master themes, which emerged as a result of the analysis on the data set.

In **Chapter 5**. and **Chapter 6**. I present the empirical findings of the study in relation to previous literature on the topic of this Thesis.

Within **Chapter 7.** first**,** I summarise the main findings. Following this, I outline the limitations and strengths of the present study, alongside with possible future research directions. In the next section, I present a reflective account, in specific, I discuss the positionality and my role as a researcher in this project. Finally, I present my final thoughts of in relation to the research project.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce the theoretical framework of the present study. In the first section, I provide an overview of classical migration theories and introduce Rational Choice Theory (RTC) as the main tenet of my theoretical framework. After which, I discuss structure and agency, alongside with the role of gender in migration studies and the phenomenon of return migration; which are all relevant in relation to CEE workers migration experiences. Finally, the in the last section I explore migration patterns from the CEE region; after which I discuss the diverse migration strategies employed by CEE workers are presented.

2.2 Theorising Migration from Central and Eastern Europe

2.2.1 Understanding Migration

If we accept that migration is a universal human experience, and that it happens in observable, yet shifting patterns across space and time; then it is reasonable to expect to find a general theory that can explain the process which by migration occur. However, as Bakewell (2010) points out, at present there is not a single, coherent theory that is widely accepted by social researchers and accounts for international migration.

The absence of such coherent theoretical framework derives from the fact, that migration theories developed from specific empirical observations, thus they often grew in isolation from one another (Arango, 2002; Castles, 2008; Vieru, 2013). Although these theories differ from each other in terms of their cardinal concepts and assumptions, their frame of reference and levels of analysis; it is important to note, that they should not be taken as mutually exclusive, but rather than complementary (Arango, 2002). Given the complexity of the different approaches to migration, it is necessary to explore a set of migration theories, in order to contextualise migration patterns between Hungary and the United Kingdom.

Thus, in this section, I give an overview of some of the most prominent migration theories. First, I will overview a useful typology of migration, offered by King (2002; 2013). This will be followed by a discussion of the most prominent classical migration theories in order to provide some historical explanations for migration. After this, the exploration of CEE migration patterns is presented, which is followed by the discussion of migration patterns from Hungary to the UK. Lastly, the diverse strategies CEE migrants use during their stay in the host country is presented.

In relation to international migration, King (2002; 2013) offered a typology mainly based on what is called '*migration binaries*' (King, 2002). These migration binaries are centred around the fact, that migration can be defined against 'space' and 'time' (Malmberg, 1997). As such, in its simplest term, we can talk about *internal* and *international* migration. Internal migration occurs, when one moves within their national borders; whereas international migration refers to a movement that crosses nation-state borders (King, 2013). Furthermore, based on the time frame spent in the host country, we can distinguish between *temporary* migration and *permanent settlers*. (Bartram, Poros, & Monforte, 2014). In addition, migrants can engage in *regular* or *irregular* migration; depending on their legal status in the host country. Within this typology, a distinction between *forced* and *voluntary*

migration can also be drawn. However, these categories are not as simplistic as they seem. For example, in the case of intra-EU migration, it can be considered both *internal-* as in within the borders of the EU-; and *international*, as in crossing the border between nation states, such as moving from France to the United Kingdom (King, 2013). Moreover, temporary migration in the case of 'guest workers'; often turns into return migration, while permanent migrants have regular visits in their homeland. To complicate the matter further; temporary migration can turn into permanent settling; for example, when guest workers intend to stay in the host country for a limited period of time; but they end up settling down permanently (Castles et al.; 2009; Ryan, 2015). Additionally, irregular migrants can turn into regular migrants, for example through special regularisation schemes (Fakiolas, 2003 *cited in* King , 2013); and regular migrants can turn into irregular migrants, if their permits expire. Furthermore, Sales (2007) notes, that the distinction between refugee and voluntary migrants is far more complex, because economic devastation can force people to leave their country, hence they become 'economic refugees' (Barjaba & King, 2005). This applies to some of the migrant workers from the CEE region, as many decided to migrate in the hope to better their economic situation (Moreh, 2014). In that case, their decision to migrate can be seen as a *'rational* choice' which they make in order to achieve their goal, whether it is to learn a new language or to better their economic situation. In the light of this, I discuss the Rational Choice Theory (RCT) next, as the overarching theoretical framework of this thesis.

2.2.2. Rational Choice Theory of Migration

Rational Choice Theory is based on the assumption of a person's self-interested benefit maximization. This assumes, that people make rational choices based on their goals, and those choices affords their behaviour. RCT is often used by Sociologists to explain social change. According to them, social changes occur as a result of rational choices or decisions, made by people in order to achieve their goals (Zey, 2001). As such, it has been applied in migration studies before, to explain driving forces behind the migratory phenomenon.

The main feature of RCT in migration studies, is the individual's perspective toward the macro- and micro links to migration (Coleman, 1990; Opp, 1999; Haug, 2005). That is, whether they base their decision on macro- or micro fators. Individuals are seen as '*actors'* who's behaviour is guided by a rational decision, to maximise their net benefit as a result of their migration. 'Actors', according to RCT, choose from a set of different opportunities when contemplating migration, however these choices can be restricted in different ways (Haug , 2005). For example, in the case of a family; a father might have to migrate before his wife and their children, can join him. In the case above, the women's decision to migrate will be further restrcied by her social role as a mother. Furthermore, RCT is often linked to micro-economics, thus migration is understood as the actor's behaviour to maximise their net benefit, which is at the core of the Neo-Classical Theory of migration as well (O'Reilly, 2015). In addition, human capital, which is also discussed in this chapter; is a caridnal concept of RCT, as previous studies found a correlation between the level of qualification of migrants, and the probability of gaining employment in the host country. However, some studies (e.g.: De Jong, 2000; Ryan & Sales, 2011), connect household economy to the decision making process of actors; and propose, that it is the household income that is maximised, as opposed to the individual's income, as a result of migration. Thus, migration

in that case, is a family strategy to maximise net benefit through remmitances (Ryan & Sales, 2011). In addition, De Jong & Gardener (1981) argue, that the motivation of the actor to migrate, will be the sum of expected benefits in the host country.

As disussed above, RTC gives a framework for the different approaches to migration, based on different levels of analyisis, alongside with different strategies in relation to the migration decision-making process . Thus, in order to ''fill'' this framework, in the next section, I discuss some classical theories of migration which act as building blocks for my theoretical framework. First, the neoclassical theory of migration is explored, after which I discuss the historical-structural approach to migration. Next, I explore the dual-labour market theory, which is followed by the new economics of labour migration. This is followed by a discussion of structure and agency in migration. Finally, I consider gendered migration and the phenomenon of return migration in relation to CEE migrant workers, which is a cardinal concept in this thesis expecially in the context of Brexit.

2.2.3. Neoclassical Theory of Migration: Macro and Micro Framework

Neoclassical Theory of migration differ based on the level of analysis they focus on. As such, macro-level theories, are concerned with the aggregate migration trends and explain migration, by macro-economic factors (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). On the macro-level, the Neoclassical Theory suggests, that migration is driven by differences in returns to labour across different national or international markets, thus it understands migration as part of the economic development. Furthermore, its basic models (Hicks, 1932; Lewis, 1954; and Harris and Todardo, 1970 *cited in* Massey et al., 1993) proposes, that migration occurs as a result of geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour between two countries (Massey

et al., 1993). Consequently, countries with labour surplus have a relatively low market wage; while countries with limited labour supply are characterised by higher market wage. Thus, workers from the poor-capital country will move to countries where wages are higher; which will result in an increase in wages in the poor-capital country and a decrease in wages in the high-capital country. Therefore, migration will eventually lead to an equilibrium to an international wage differential. Thus, according to this model, migration will cease once equilibrium of wages between the two countries are achieved (Massey, et al., 1993).

In relation to migration patterns from the East to the West within the EU, this is a salient feature; as most CEE nationals are attracted by better earning potential in the host country (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). However, as past research suggest (e.g.: Ryan,2009 Currie, 2008) CEE migrant workers arrive with diverse migration motives, ranging from seeking employment (Castles & Miller, 2009) or learning the language (Csedo, 2008) to family reunifications or seeking adventure (Ryan, 2015). These will be discussed later on, alongside with the effect of social networks on international migration.

Furthermore, at the meso-level we find factors, such as household dynamics, which may facilitate gendered migration patterns (Hoang, 2011) ,employer's attitude towards migrant workers or equal opportunities policies of the host country (Kamenou et al., 2012). Finally, micro-level factors include: human capital (e.g.: skills, qualifications or social class), age, material status, housing opportunities (Bonin, 2008). Furthermore, at the micro-level, the model of individual choice, the Human Capital Theory was proposed by Sjaadstad (1962). The Human Capital Theory enriches the Neoclassical framework by acknowledging the importance of the individual determinant as the contributing factor of migration at the micro level (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1999). At the centre of this model is, the rational individual, who weighs up the costs and benefits and migrate in order to maximise his or her financial (and/or psychological) gains.

Related to the neoclassical theory, is the "push-pull" theory of migration. According to this tradition, push factors, such as unemployment or bad political climate in the country of origin will *push* people to move to the destination country; whereas pull factors, such as better earning potential or better welfare system, will attract people to the destination country (Galgoczi,2009). This is applicable to migration from Hungary to the United Kingdom, as Moreh (2014) suggested, economic decline in Hungary seems to be a long-term trend, and absolute wage differentials are important factors in relation to international migration. The main alternative to the neoclassical theory to migration has been the historical-structural approach, which I present in the next section.

2.2.4 Historical-Structural Approach

The historical –structural approach introduces a very different approach to migration. Within this model, Wallerstein (1974) proposed the World System Theory, which links migration to the structure of the World and views it, as a function of globalisation (Massey et al., 1993). According to this model, the expansion of export links to direct investment in economically more developed countries; which led to disruption in traditional work structures and a mobilised population both at the national and international level (Massey et al., 1993). Thus, capital mobility is a cardinal concept, and capital and labour mobility are interconnected in this theory. Furthermore, while migration is understood as a natural consequence of the dislocation and disruptions that occur as a result of capitalisation and can be observed historically, the theory also considers political and economic inequalities. (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). However, this approach denies the free choice of the individual in relation to migration decision making and presents them as being forced into movement by the boarder structural processes (de Haas, 2008). It could be argued, that by joining the EU in 2004;

Hungarian workers were afforded the right to free movement by such broader structural factors. This approach considers the benefits of migration for both the sending and destination country. For the sending nation, decrease in unemployment rates, as a result of exodus, is an example of such benefits; while the destination country will enjoy the benefit of extra labour force, especially for the secondary labour market, which native workers are less prepared to work in (Piore, 1979). Like the world system theory, the Dual Labour Market Theory (Piore, 1979) links migration to structural changes within the economy, however the focus is on the demand for labour within this model. In the next section, I discuss this theory in more detail.

2.2.5 Dual Labour Market Theory

Proposed by Piore (1979); the dual labour market theory suggests, that the labour market of the economical developed country is characterised by a dual pattern; meaning that both skilled and unskilled labour is in demand. Furthermore, as a result of the structural changes in the economy; the labour market is split into two sectors; namely, into a primary and a secondary sector. Whereas, the primary sector offers high-skilled and well-paid jobs, until the secondary labour market consists of low-skilled jobs with low- wages (Massey et al., 1993). Although, there is a demand for low-skilled jobs to be filled in the advanced economies, native people are not ready to fill these jobs; either because of status or the low wage these jobs attract (Currie, 2008). Thus, according to this theory, immigration becomes necessary to fill these positions and intensive recruitment strategies by the economically developed countries will follow the needs of the market (Piore, 1979). This theory further stipulates, that low-waged jobs in the secondary sector attracts migrant workers, as earning potential is still higher than in their country of origin (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). This theory is relevant to

migration trends from the CEE region, as the attraction of A8 national workers to the United

Kingdom was part of the UK's government managed migration policy (Pemberton &

Scullion,2013) which specifically aimed to fill the low-skilled positions with CEE migrant

workers (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). This is reiterated by past research (e.g.: Currie,

2008), which found that Polish migrants do not compete with native workers in the labour

market, as native workers are mainly employed within the primary sector. On the other hand,

migrant workers mainly occupy positions within the secondary sector, in jobs which native

workers do not tend to apply for, as these are perceived as low- status and under-paid

positions (Currie, 2008). Thus, this theory can be applied to CEE migration trends in general,

and specifically to migration between Hungary and United Kingdom since the Accession in

2004.

The dual-labour market theory, alongside with the previously discussed more

traditional approaches to migration are focused either on the structural factors which facilitate

migration, or the individual decision-making process underlying migratory movements

(Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Within those models, the individual is seen as making his or her

decision in isolation, almost solely based on the potential of financial gains. Although, some

researchers (e.g.: Harbison, 1981) acknowledged that family can influence migration

decisions; however, this was not understood as a strategic family decision to better the

wellbeing of the family as a whole (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Therefore, as a response to these

approaches, the New Economics of Labour migration (NELM) was developed. This model

extends migration research as, it shifts the focus from the individual independence to the

mutual interdependence (Stark, 1991), thus offering a different level of analysis within

migration research. In the next section, I explore the theory of New Economics of Labour

Migration.

2.2.6 New Economics of Labour Migration

The cardinal concept of NELM, is that the decision to migrate is not made in isolation by the individual, but rather it is mutually agreed within the household (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Thus, NELM (Stark & Bloom, 1985) can be seen as the middle ground between the neoclassical and historical-structural approaches to migration, based on the unit of analysis. Moreover, according to this model, migration decisions are shaped by a variety of factors and not solely based on the maximisation of financial gains (Massey et al., 1993). These include, conditions of the country of origin (Hagen-Zanker, 2008) and also the relative performance of the household. As such, a household which performs relatively poorer in comparison, will be readier to "send" a family member to the destination country (Massey et al., 1993). Thus, NELM is a theory, which is associated with risk-minimisation and risk-aversion of household income (Stark, 2003). Consequently, the poorly performing household will consider the risks associated with both remaining and migrating, therefore reducing risks of less income (Massey et al., 1993). Furthermore, NELM includes the element of 'family coinsurance' (Hagen-Zanker, 2008) whereby the migrant worker is supported by remaining family members in the time of need (e.g.: while searching for jobs in the destination country); while he or she will send home remittances to the rest of the family, to enhance joint household income. The possibility of this arrangement is due to the 'time profile of risks' (Hagen-Zanker, 2008), which enables both the family and the migrant worker to engage in 'risky behaviour', as there are no guarantees in financial returns on either side (Hagen-Zanker,

2008). Thus, the considerations of risks in relation to migration, is another contribution of the NELM in migration research.

Moreover, as Stark and Bloom (1985) suggested, migration is a 'calculated strategy', which benefits both the migrant worker and the family in the country of origin, as while the migrant workers supports the family through remittances; until the family members who stayed behind are fulfilling caring responsibilities (for example, the wife might be taking care of the children while her husband works abroad or indeed, caring for the elderly in the family). Thus, NELM understands the decision of migration as being a family strategy which aims to improve the well-being of the family (Messy et al., 1993).

This framework is adopted in this thesis, as it is especially relevant in the context of the EU; which provided a unique setting for families in which they can move freely (Kay &Trevena, 2017). Moreover, past research (e.g.: Sales & Ryan, 2011; Moskal & Tyrrel, 2015) found evidence of the growing role of families in the migration decision-making process. Despite of the various family migration strategies which are employed by CEE migrant families, perhaps the most common pattern is when a 'pioneer' moves to the destination country first and is joined by other family members subsequently (Key and Trevena, 2017). This strategy is popular due to risk-mitigating by the family as a whole, which is discussed above in the context of NELM. Therefore, this is a very useful framework which can be applied to CEE migration, and specifically to migration patterns from Hungary to the UK.

2.2.7. Structure and Agency in Migration Research

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed some of the prominent migration theories. However, as (Morawska, 2001; Hoang, 2011) points out, the structure and agency debate is still vital to

explaining key debates in migration research. For instance, Giddens (1984 *cited in* Duda-Mikulin, 2018) argues, that both agency and structure can act as enabling and constraining factors at the same time. While an individual's agency is understood as their capacity to reflect upon their situation, revise their strategies and act to reach their desired goals (Bakewell, 2010) until structures are defined as "patterns of social (including economic and political) relations and cultural formations constituted through everyday practice of social actors" (Morawska, 2001, p.52). Furthermore, migration can be understood as the complex interaction of certain structures, which can both foster and inhibit migrants in their movements as active agents (Bakewell, 2010 *cited in* Duda-Mikulin, 2018). In the case of Hungarian workers, the EU is the macro-structure which enabled and fostered intra-EU migration; while migrants themselves can been seen as active agents, who made several choices during their decision-making process. Moreover, structures such as gender roles- e.g.: women's role in society, can also act as a constraining factor; as in many cases they are the ones who take care of the family in the country of origin (Duda-Mikulin, 2018).

Therefore, structure and agency is a cardinal concept within this thesis. However, rather than used as the main theoretical tenet, it is utilised as a complementary theoretical concept which helps to gain insight into the complexity of the relationship between the different structures (such as; Government policies, social roles and the state of the home country) and migrants' agency. Consequently, migrants' behaviour is understood neither as a result of their rational decision-making process, nor as a product of structural forces beyond their control. As such, migration here is understood as the result of migrants' agency which is either fostered *or* constrained by structural factors.

Thus, structures can act as push-pull factors in the process of migration (Duda-Mikulin, 2018). For example, lack of social networks (discussed later in this chapter), can be a push

factor in the destination country and a pull factor in the country of origin at the same time, which can result in return migration.

Although, in many cases migration turns out to be permanent, there are a significant number of migrants, who decide to leave their destination country after shorter or longer period abroad (Lados, Kovacs, Hegedus, & Boros, 2013). In fact, past evidence suggests, that 20-50 per cent of migrants return to their country of origin in 5 years after their migration (Martin & Radu, 2012). Despite this, return migration received less attention among scholars (Bartram, Poros, & Monforte, 2014) insofar. However, return migration is considered to be an important theoretical concept here, as return intentions among Hungarian migrants and their future trajectories in the context of Brexit, are among the main topics which this thesis sets out to explore. Therefore, within this chapter, I explore the phenomenon of return migration; after a short commentary on gendered migration, which should also be considered in the context of CEE migration patterns.

2.2.8 Gendered Migration

A common understanding of migratory movements is, that it is the production of structural factors, such as the economic or political climate in the home country *or* higher earning potential in the host society. When conceptualised this way, the connections between gender and migration is often overlooked, even by scholars (Bartram, Poros, & Monforte, 2014) . A shift in relation to gender in migration studies started in the 1970's, when it became clear that guest workers (who were typically men), decided to settle down in their host society, thus governments passed family reunification laws in order to regulate the immigration of women (Bartram, Poros, & Monforte, 2014). However this reinforced gender inequalities as women's migration were dependent on the prior migration of men. Moreover, women were

unable to participate in the labour market for years, after entering the destinantion country (Kofman, Phyzacklea, Raguram, & Sales, 2000). Thus, women have been typically seen as passive who *only* followed their spouses in migration; a "tied mover" or the "trailing wife" (Cooke, 2001 *cited in* Duda-Mikulin, 2018). Therefore, historically women were absent in migration research. In fact, some described "triple invisibility" of women in migration based on class, ethnicity and gender (e.g.: Morokvasick, 1983 & Chavira-Pardo *cited in* Brettell, 2015). However, gradually the "gender as variable" approach in migration research has shifted this pehnomenon and women appeared more and more in studies. Yet, this has not brought a massive change as rather than focusing on the forces underlying womens' migration, these studies addressed the differences of gender roles between men and women in relation to migration motives. As such, within the neo-classical tradition, women were seen as "wives" and "mothers" with caring responsibilities, thus explaining why it was less likely for them to migrate (Boyd & Grieco, 2003). Furthermore, the new economics of labour migration has shifted the focus from the individualistic perspective in the decision-making process, to the level of the household, however power relations between men and women in the household understood to affect the outcomes for women in relation to migration (Boyd & Grieco, 2003).

Finally network theories historically mainly emphasised, the network formations of men in relation to migration outcomes; however contemporary research acknowledges that women has their own networks which they utilise in their migration journey, settlement and in their potential return (Ryan et al., 2008).

Despite this, the male bias in migration studies is still evident (see Yeoh & Ramdas, 2014); as migrants are often portrayed as young and male, in mainstream media as well (Bartram, Poros, & Monforte, 2014), as in migratory research (Duda-Mikulin, 2018).

However, contemporary migration studies (e.g.: Aziz, 2015; Duda-Mikulin, 2012 & 2018) stress the importance of focus on gender in migration research, especially since half of the migrants worldwide are women, thus they should be seen as active agents in their own migration journey (Duda-Mikulin 2018), rather than as depending on their partners. This applies to intra-EU migration as well, where a significant number of women arrived to the UK as single, independent worker and not as a result of family reunification (Ryan, 2015).

Therefore, here the impact of gender is acknowledged in the context of intra-EU migration and gendered labour market experiences are discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Furthermore, gender is understood here as a "social construct" which historically has been overlooked in migration research (Duda-Mikulin, 2018), despite having a significant effect on the migration journey of women in general and in particular on their labour market experiences and trajectories.

2.2.9 Return Migration

Research on return migration can be tracked back to the 1960s, however as Cassarino (2004) argues, stimulating debate around the concept of return and its impact on the origin countries really started in the 1980s. These arguments were presented in the form of conferences and critical essays and contributed to the development of literature on return migration (Kubat, 1984; Council of Europe, 1987 *cited in* Cassarino, 2004). In addition, classical migration theories also discussed return migration as subcomponent of their approaches. As such, neoclassical economics theory understands return migration as a failure; whereby the migrant

worker miscalculated the costs and benefits and therefore failed to increase their economic capital (Cassarino, 2004). On the other hand, the new economics of labour migration sees 'return' as a calculated strategy of the household; a success whereby the migrant achieved the set goals (e.g.: financial stability), thus returns to the country of origin (Cassarino,2004). Moreover, structural approaches argue that return migration needs to be understood in context of structural factors (e.g.: social, institutional) of the sending country. In addition, it stresses the importance of economic capital- *which returnees take back to the home country-* in the decision to return (Cassarino, 2004).

Furthermore, the seminal work of Cerase (1974) characterises return migration as *retirement*, *failure*, *conservatism* and *innovation* (Bartram, Poros, & Monforte, 2014). While retirement and failure are self-explanatory, until conservatism and innovation need some explanation. Conservatism here means a returnee, who failed to integrate to the host society and return to their home country without having effected by their migration experiences. Finally, innovation indicates a returnee who did integrate some of the values of the host country and intends to use those skills to initiate changes in their home country (Bartram, Poros, & Monforte, 2014). In relation to Hungarian migrant workers Lados, Kovacs, Hegedus, & Boros (2013) conducted a study as part of the *Re-Turn* project in Hungary. The project's aim was to match the needs of the Hungarian labour market with the capacities of those who are willing to return. Thus, *Re-Turn* was designed to deal with the brain-drain that Hungary suffered as a result of significant growth in emigration levels since the enlargement of the EU in 2004 (Igliczka, Repeckaite, & Zvalionyte, 2012). Consequently, the project's focus was to stimulate return migration from the West and to capitalise on returnees' skills they acquired abroad in order to enhance economic performance of the country. Lados et al. (2013) collected survey data, from both returnees, and those who decided to remain(n=1913) in their host country. In addition, they also conducted 39

interviews with returnees, both highly skilled (academics and highly educated individuals) and low skilled migrant workers. They found that among returnees (n=726), 78% returned to the original region they come from, however one fifth of returnees decided to move to bigger cities. This, indicates that their newly acquired skills yield more benefit in big agglomerations, compared to peripheral areas. Interestingly, they found that while highly-skilled returnees strategically planned their migration journey as short term, for example to enhance their career prospective upon return; until low skilled workers decided to migrate as a result of constraining structural factors (e.g.: lack of jobs) and higher earning potential. While in the *Re-turn* project in Hungary, returnees were seen as potential entrepreneurs; Cerase (1974) notes, that even though in most cases these migrants see themselves as "innovators" as well, it is unlikely that they will be the actors of change (Cassarino, 2004). This is due to unrealistic expectations in the home country, in addition to the fact that they might be ill-prepared for their return. This finding was reiterated by migrant workers in the study of Lados et al., (2013); as they reported that employers did not want to hear about new techniques of meat processing for example, as they believed meat should be processed the same way everywhere. Thus, even if the returnee tried to take on the role of the innovator, they were not successful. Moreover, many migrants reported being disadvantaged during job applications due to their experiences in Britain for example, as they were not part of the national workforce for 5 years (Lados, Kovacs, Hegedus, & Boros, 2013).

Furthermore, other insights into return migration came from empirical studies and the collection of quantitative data based on a determined definition of a returnee (Cassarino, 2004). However, according to Duda-Mikulin (2018) it is difficult to distinguish return migrants from transnational migrants due to the fluidity of contemporary migration, where permanency can no longer be assumed (Dustmann & Weiss, 2007). Therefore, migration is seen more as a process, rather than a one-off event (Pemberton & Scullion, 2013). In

addition, ties (e.g.: social, economic) in the home country can be understood as prerequisite to return migration. This is reiterated in past research, which stressed the importance of social networks, and in particular family or love, as the primary factor in the decision-making process for returnees (e.g.: Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 2005; Condon, 2005 *cited in* Saar, 2017).

The typology offered by King (2002) is a useful starting point from which CEE migration patterns can be explored. Furthermore, classical migration theories account for some aspects of CEE migration patterns. However, it is argued here, that migration strategies employed by CEE migrants are much more fluid and dynamic, than those presented here. Thus, it is crucial to look at some of the prominent features of CEE migration since the EU enlargement in 2004. Therefore, in the next section, I explore contemporary migration patterns from the CEE region, which is followed by the presentation of migration strategies often employed by CEE workers in the UK.

2.3 Conceptualising Migration Patterns from Central and Eastern Europe

According to Favell (2008), the new European migration system is dramtically changed how international migration is understood in the modern world. Therefore, research on intra-EU migration has grwon substantially in recent years, especially since the EU enlargement in 2004 (Drinkwater & Garaphic, 2015), with the aim of exploring these emerging migration patterns. The impact of CEE migration on the host country, focusing mainly on their labour and welfare system, became the focal point of these studies (e.g.: Devlin, Bolt, Patel, Harding, & Hussain, 2014; Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). Furthermore, there has been a

growing interest in the factors that underlie this new "liquid" form of migration (Elrick & Brinkmier, 2009; Engbersen & Snel, 2013).

The United Kingdom and Ireland provided ample of case studies through which these patterns could be explored, as migration flows from the CEE region were the highest (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009) among other member states after the enlargement in 2004. Studies, that highlighted this "liquid form" of migration argue, that the new patterns of migration are considerablily different from the traditional forms of migration. Engbersen *et al* (2013); defined '*liquid migration*', as migratory movements whereby migrants try their luck in different countries; benefitting from the open borders and labour markets. Moreover, this form of migration is less network-led and migrants are mostly young singles or couples, with fewer family responsibilities in their country of origin (Engbersen & Snel, 2013). In addition, these migration patterns are akin to transnational commuting, which also includes the possibility of 'settlement'- a traditional form of migratory movement.

This growing interest in the changed patterns of migration resulted in the development of comtemporary migration typologies.

First of all, Duvell and Vogel (2006), based on 15 interviews with Polish migrants, proposed the following typology of migration:

1. *Migrants who are orientated on returning*, therefore they remain in the host country for a short period of time, and have strong connections to their home country.

2. *Emigrants/immigrants* who wish to settle in their host country permanently and have diverse motivations to do so (e.g.: marriage, work), therefore they have strong connections to their destination country.

3. *Transnational migrants* with strong bi-national connections, thus maintaining strong connections both to their home country and their host society. Migrants who work for

a long period, and send remittances to their home country, fall into this category as well.

4. *Global nomads*: these are migrants, who live and work in multilple countries and have a very international orinetation. They are highly mobile and tend to move from one country to another.

A second typology was introduced by Eade *et al.*, in 2006. They based their typology on "percieved life chances", "plans" and "migration strategies". They also proposed four types of migrants and they based their findings on 50 qualitative interviews with Polish workers.

1. *Storks*: migrants who fall into this category are circular migrants, who work mostly in low-paid occupations, such as catering or construction. Seasonal workers belong to this group as well.

2. *Hamsters*: migrants who move to their destination country with the aim of accumulating enough capital, so that they can move back to their home country and invest the earned money there.

3. *Searchers*: these migrants who deliberatly keep their options open, thus they tend to be young, individualistic and ambitious, with intentional unpredictibality.

4. *Stayers*: those migrants spent a considerable amount of time in their host country, and plan to remain there permanently.

The third typlogy was developed by Grabowska-Lusinska & Oko´lski (2009). They based their typology on migration strategies, as a migration orientation with the aim of reaching distinct goals. They proposed four types of migration strategies of CEE migrants:

1. *Season circulation*: migrants who are seasonal workers and occupy positions in catering, gastronomy or constructions, belong to this category.

2. *Settling down:* these migrants settle down in their host country for good and they are usually medium-skilled or skilled workers.

3. *Long-term residence:* transnational medium-skilled or skilled migrant workers belong to this category, who remain in the host society for a long period of time, however they maintain strong links with their country of origin.

4. *Unpredictable intentions:* this category characterise highly educated, singles or couples, who temporarily reside in another country, however they keep their options to return, remain, or to move to a third country, open.

Finally*,* Trevena (2013) based his typology on highly skilled, Polish graduates, who live and work in London. Thus, this category is distinct from the previous three and highlights that even within a single category, large differences exist in relation to age and life stage, and migration motives. He proposed three types of migrants as follows:

1. *Target earners*: migrants with the aim to accumulate large sums of money which they can invest back in their home country.

2. *Career seekers*: those migrants who wishing to develop their career in the host country.

3. *Drifters*: in this groups, we find migrants who do not arrive with career aims or to earn some money before they return to their country. This applies to the initial stages of migration, whereby they just "come and look around" without a pronounced aim. These migrants typically happy to work in the low-skilled sector.

These four typologies, which was developed since the collapse of the Communism in 1989, but more so since the enlargement of the EU in 2004, give an insight into the new forms of migration patterns (Engbersen & Snel, 2013). When closely looking at these categories, it is clear, that although they use distinct principles upon which they base the typologies on; in all of them, we find similar categories. For example, in Duvell and Vogel's (2006) typology, *"Migrants who are orientated on returning"* are very similar to *"Hamsters"* in the typology of Eade et al.,(2006); as in both typology these migrants' intention is to return to their home country after a limited period of time. This category, alongside with others; such as *"Stayers"* (Eade *et al.,* 2006) or *"Global nomads"* (Duvell and Vogel, 2006) can be found in all of these typologies. They all describe a 'fluid' and 'dynamic' type of migration, thus very different from traditional migration patterns. However, as Engbersen et al*.,* (2012) notes, that there is a clear resemblance between these typologies and some traditional migration patterns, based on fieldwork in developing countries (Chapman & Prothero; 1983) and fieldwork conducted in Mexico and the US (Massey *et al.,* 1997 *cited in* Engbersen, Arjen, Scholten, & Snel, 2013). These classic typologies also showed a plurality of migratory movements from very temporary migration to permanent settlement. On the other hand, substantial distinction can be made between these earlier typologies and the contemporary ones. Within these new forms of migration, we find more individualised and less network-led patterns, than within those earlier work on migratory movements in Africa and Asia. Furthermore, open borders within the enlarged EU and the free flow of labour have fostered a variety of new migration patterns (Engbersen & Snel, 2013).

Although all of these typologies were developed based on studies with Polish migrants, these patterns are applicable to CEE migrants overall, including Hungarian workers. In the next section I discuss the profile and Hungarian workers and their migration patterns after the Accession in 2004.

2.3.1 Hungarian Workers' Profile and Migration Patterns from Hungary to the UK:

Although, the United Kingdom was among one of the first and biggest country, which opened their labour market fully to CEE migrants, the share of Hungarian workers among A8 nationals remained relatively low. This could be due to the fact, that historically; Germany and Austria were the main destinations for Hungarian migrants; and this did not change after the enlargement, even though Germany and Austria imposed strict restrictions in relation to their labour market. Nevertheless, the absolute number of Hungarian nationals in the UK, steadily grew since the Enlargement (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). Based on census and national insurance data, the estimated numbers of Hungarians were around 76,000 in 2014 (Moreh, 2014).

A general characteristics of intra-EU migration is, the greater equality between genders which is representative of labour migration in its initial phase, when it is dominated by young males (Castles & Miller, 2009). This demographic composition is representative of Hungarian migrants in the UK as well. National insurance applications show, that Hungarians in the UK are generally between 18-35 years of age, the gender composition is the following: 53% male and 47% female Moreh (2014). Furthermore, men are overrepresented among the over 15 groups of Hungarians in the UK, which is broadly representative of CEE migration trends. This place the Hungarian trends in the classical form of labour migration.

Another important characteristic of Hungarian migration trends in the UK, that it became more "fluid", "liquid" "circulatory", as it is more and more increasing among CEE nationals (Engbersen & Snel, 2013; Kupiszewski, 2012). This is evidenced, by comparing national insurance allocations and census data. Moreh (2014) found, that 63% of those who

registered between 2004-2007 are still present in the UK, whereas only 47% of those, who arrived recently. It is also noted, that this could be due to other factors, such as intra-UK mobility among Hungarians, but broadly speaking the "liquid" nature of migration is representative of all CEE migration trends recently, including workers from Hungary. Overall, Hungarian post-accession mobility is characterised by greater diversity in migrants' motivations; goals and opportunities; which makes them highly mobile EU citizens (Favell, 2009).

It is clear from the above account that, despite of CEE migrants' diverse backgrounds, their migration patterns and motivations are strikingly similar, when they arrive to the United Kingdom. Thus, they employ certain strategies to navigate their lives and the paid labour market. I discuss these strategies in the next section.

2.4 CEE Workers' Migration Strategies

Migration strategies has been the focal poin of migration studies, and as such new trends, such as leading transnational lives, as migrants' strategy was born.

In the first section, I discuss transnational paracticies of CEE migrants, as the theoretical lens which through, Hungarian workers' experiences and trajectiories are explored for the purposes of this thesis. Following this, I discuss the role of social capital and networks, in the strategies of CEE migrants. Finally, I explore the concept of anchoring in relation to migrants strategies.

2.4.1 Transnational Practices

Defining transnationalism is not an easy task for anyone to tackle, as what we mean by transnationalism varies greatly. However, generally transnationalism centres around exchanges, connections and practices that span across two or more nation states (IOM, 2010). Transnationalism can describe, for example a simple, one off cross-border transaction, such as a trip abroad or an individual who reside in two countries simultaneously. However, for the purposes of this thesis, this term solely refers to the processes by which migrants forge and sustain connections between their country of origin and their new, sometimes temporary homelands (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013).

      In relation to migration, the notion of connecting to more places at once; "being neither here or there"; has long been a primordial feature of migrants' experiences (Tan & Hugo, 2017). Thus, the transnational approach to migration proposes, that migrants do not

just cross borders and live in another country, but actually turn this behaviour into a strategy, a lifestyle of its own (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013). Although, transnationalism is not a new phenomenon, it is more present today than ever, due to globalisation, which led to accelerated development of communication technologies; transport; trade and information networks; which makes it easier for migrants to connect to two or more places at the same time (IOM, 2010). Thus, leading transnational lives is more relevant today, due to the forces of globalisation as well, as the changing patterns of migration. Changing migration patterns today means, that migration can be *short term* or *long term*; it can be *temporary* or *permanent*; and in some cases, it means regular itineraries between two or more places, including the homeland. Leading a transnational life means, that these strategies – interactions and exchanges- across borders are migrants' reality, which they sustain through their everyday lives. These exchanges may take different forms, such as sustaining a friendship or familiar bond; or by economic contributions that are sent from the host society to the country of origin. Some argue (Tan & Hugo, 2017; Faist et. al, 2015; Zonitini, 2014;), that rather than being a theoretical framework; transnationalism is a lens, which through we can observe migration from a different perspective. The transnational lens, centres around the connections between people, communities, societies across borders, and their effect on the social, cultural, economic and political landscape of the country of origin as well, as on the host country (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013).

Transnationalism is an important concept in this thesis, since CEE migrants engage in transnational practices in their everyday lives. For example, they travel back and forth regularly to maintain their connections to their country of origin (Parutis, 2014); they send home remittances to support their families (Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2008); and engage in transnational relationships, such as sustaining relationships via skype or other social networks (Metykova, 2010). Thus, it is not uncommon among CEE migrants, that romantic

relationships or familial bonds are maintained across two nation states (Shutes &Walker2017); at least for a period of time, until the spouse or children can join the bread winner in the host country (Ryan & Sales, 2011). Therefore, exploring Hungarian workers' experiences and trajectories through the transnational lens helps to highlight the depth and richness of those experiences (Tan & Hugo, 2017). Another strand of research, has focused on network formations among migrants (e.g.: Ryan, Sales, & Tilki, 2008); and on turning social capital into other forms of capitals. The notion of social capital and networks in relation to migration strategies are discussed below.

2.4.2 Social Capital and Social Networks

The term *capital* was first developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) which, he argued, must be reintroduce in our social world, if we were to understand it, on its own right (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu believed, that capital is "what makes the games of society", especially emphasising how the different types of capital can be converted into economic gain. According to Bourdieu (1986), capital presents itself in 3 distinguished forms; *economic capital*, *cultural capital* and, *social capital*. Although he gave priority to economic capital- "which is the root of all capital" in his theory; he argues that economic capital is not enough to explain the inequalities of society. The theory of capital is based on the analysis of differences in educational attainments of school children from different social classes and immigrant families (Parutis, 2014). As such, it highlights, that apart from economic factors, children' success in education also depends on "symbolic capital"- that is- "cultural habits and dispositions" they inherit from their families (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979). Thus,

Bourdieu (1986) introduced the concepts of *cultural* and *social* capital as transformed forms of economic capital (Parutis, 2014). Furthermore, he proposed that any competence, which is unequally distributed among members of society and provides the actor with "exclusive advantages", can be called cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, cultural capital means all the non-economic elements which influences academic success; such as family background, social class or commitment to education.

Additionally, Bourdieu (1986) suggested that, cultural capital manifests itself in three distinguished forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized capital (Bourdieu, 1986) . Embodied capital refers to skills which cannot be separated from the actor; and they can be acquired by investing time in learning and training (Parutis, 2014). Objectified cultural capital on the other hand, refers to cultural goods; such as painting or books; while institutionalized cultural capital refers to academic qualifications or titles; which enables the actor to convert their cultural capital into economic gain (Bourdieu, 1986). Moreover, he argues, that any form of capital is accumulated labour-time (Parutis, 2014); and suggest that labour-time is needed in order to convert one form of capital into another one (Bourdieu, 1986); for example, in order to turn cultural capital into economic gain; one needs to invest in their education.

Based on the concept of capital, a new term "transnational social capital" was coined by Lecy & Peiperl, & Bouquet (2013). They argue, that as in today's globalised world, more and more people and companies work across borders, thus social capital has become more transnational, as these professional interactions span across two or more nation states. It makes sense then to suggest, that cultural capital has become transnational too. Previous studies suggested, that migrants' cultural capital originates from their homeland, and they are transformed by their migration experiences (Parutis, 2014). Thus, we can actually talk about migrating cultural capital (Erel, 2010) . When migrants arrive with a set of social and cultural

resources, which they have accumulated through their lives in their country of origin, the question is, how successfully can they capitalise on them-*in other words*- turn them into economic capital, while they make their lives in their new home? This is a cardinal issue in relation to CEE migrants, as the majority of high skilled workers go through downward mobility (Csedo, 2008; Currie, 2007), once they arrive to the UK, especially because of the difficulty to turn their cultural capital (e.g.: qualification they acquired in their home country) into economic one (Grabowska-Lusinska & Oko'Iski, 2009). However, Erel (2010) argues that migrants do not simply bring their set of skills and resources in a 'rucksack' when they migrate; but they actually reproduce and create cultural capitals, that builds on power relations of either of their country of origin or the host countries'. Other studies (e.g.: Adler & Seok-Woo, 2002; Ryan, Sales, & Tilki, 2008); talk about how the concept of social capital reflects the cardinal of social life; the fact that social ties-being weak or strong- are utilised for different purposes; e.g.: they provide moral or material support, as well as information and advice (Spencer, Ruhs, Anderson, & Rogaly, 2007; Ryan, 2015). Social capital has long been recognised as a significant resource, that affects for example career and social mobility through capitalising on those networks (Burt, 1997; Polodny and Baron, 1997; Seibert et al., 2001; Seidel et al., 2000). These may include, friendships or colleagues; as well as other professional ties. It is mostly used to gain access to a wide range of tangible and non-tangible resources, for example information about employment opportunities abroad (Ellis, 2000; Meyer, 2001; McDougall et al; 2003). Moreover, transnational social capital can also facilitate individual's access to more scarce resources, such as knowledge, advice, help or support even through a third party, by referral. Thus, transnational social capital is the combination of actual and potential resources embedded within cross-border networks of professional relationships and contacts (Levy et al.,2013).

Previous studies on cultural capital mainly focused on its role in education and academic success. For example, Curry (2007) suggested, based on her ethnographic study, that ESOL student who arrive with high educational attainment to the US; achieve better results in community college. Other studies explored the relationship between cultural capital and successful integration of highly skilled migrants in the host countries' labour market. For example, Nohl et al. (2006) examined the ways in which migrants' qualifications and educational achievements influence their success in the labour market of the host country. Moreover, a study by Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara (2008) explored the relationship between social and cultural capital; and social networks in enhancing economic capital among Polish migrants in the UK. Recent debates on social capital is firmly established in the notion of social networks. The seminal work by Bott (2002 [1956]); examined the role of friendship networks for families in rural areas; whereas another cardinal work by Granovetter (2002 [1973]), highlighted the role of 'weak ties' in extending social networks beyoned close knit relations, such as friendships and families. Furthermore, Wellmann (2002 [1979] suggested that dense networks are not locally bound, and can be dispersed far beyond close neighbourhoods. These studies, each provide a great basis to gain and insight into the different aspects of social networks, and the diverse ways migrants might utilise them. However, Ryan, Sales, & Tilki, (2008) went further than this, and differentiated between the types and levels of social support and resources which social networks provide. In fact, they examined the process of network formation; the role of ethnic-specific networks in migrants' experiences, and the diverse skills and opportunities migrants use when accessing and maintaining those social ties, both in their host country and back home. Their findings suggest, that dense co-ethnic networks, initially might be a great source of information, advice and support for migrants due to their easy accessibility (that is especially true when migrant arrive with limited language skills). They can be used for both practical and

emotional support and they provide a sense of familiarity, with the common cultural background as well. However, these networks also have disadvantages, which usually develops over time. For example, they could lead to 'network closure'- a term coined by Colman (1990); which happens when migrants reach out for both practical and emotinal support from the same few people; for example their families or people they share accomodation with and do not expand their social networks. This could hinder their progression in several aspects of their lives, e.g. employment opportunities, thus economical growth. They also found, that this dense co-ethnic networks over time, could lead to exploitation among migrants, as well, as cheating, and competition; which left some of their informants disappointed and lead to distrust in Polish migrants.

Secondly, Ryan, Sales, & Tilki (2008) found, that over time, migrants go from "thick bonds" to "bridging"; whereby they develop bonds outside of their ethnic relations, and do not solely rely on the support provided by their co-ethnic networks. This, however, does not mean they break their 'thick bonds'; as Putman (2007) suggests, "bonds and bridges" can co-exist in migrants' lives.

Thirdly, their study highlighted, that professionals use quite different networking strategies, compare to low-skilled migrants. They, in most cases, come with much better language skills; and their social networks tend to be more diverse, as they shaped mostly by their profession and employment. This is, according to Ryan, Sales, & Tilki (2008), an example of vertical bridging social capital, whereby migrants are able to get support for example from a senior member of staff at their place of work, and are building their networks based on professional connections and interests, rather than ethinicity.

Lastly, this study emphsizes that, social capital can be dispersed far beyond the local community; in the case of CEE migrants, in fact, we can talk about transnational ties. Most of their informants, just like many CEE migrants, keep daily contact and get emotional and/or

practial support from their families in their homeland, through transnational communication, e.g. social media; video or telephone calls.

While Ryan et al. (2008) focused on migrants' social capital and network ties in their study; Parutis (2014) explored how migrants' cultural capital affects their economic capital. Sixty-four semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with Polish and Lithunian migrants in London, as well as return migrants and examined how these migrants use their cultural capital to enhance their economic situation. Parutis (2014) found, that the work experiences of CEE migrants are dynamic and multi-layered, therefore it is not possible to fit their experiences into simply "low-skilled" or "high-skilled" employment. Moreover, the study suggested that CEE workers are highly mobile in the British labour market, and the main reason for this, is their drive to move between employments, to progress. Rather than settling in one job, Parutis (2014) found, that young CEE migrants tend to move from job to job, until they find one, which meets their expectations. In the long term, these migrants seek to enhance their social and cultural capital; although at the beginning they might be constrained by their linguistic skills. However, once they overcome such difficulties, they tend to move from "any job" to "better job", in the search for a "dream job" (Parutis, 2014, pp. 52).

I chose to include these studies (Parutis, 2014; Ryan, Sales, & Tilki, 2008) because they form a great basis for my research, which focuses on how Hungarian migrant workers' labour market experiences are affected by their cultural and social capital, alongside with their trajectories Post- Referendum.

Furthermore, other studies examined how labour market outcomes, specific locality, social class and satisfaction contribute to the decision-making process and the willingness to settle down within familiar context (Burrel, 2009; White, 2011). These factors are relevant in circular or temporary migration as well, and were well examined by Gryzmala-Kazlowska &

Brozozoeska (2017), as they discuss the concept of anchoring in relation to Ukranian migrants in Poland. Below, I discuss the concept of anchroing, as a another cardinal concept of this thesis.

2.4.3 Social Anchoring

In this section, I am going to explore the concept of social anchoring in relation to labour market experiences and transnationalism among migrants, who has connections both to their country of origin and to their destination country.

Anchoring has been described in previous research "as the process of searching for footholds and points of reference which allows the individual to acquire socio-psychological stability and security (defined as a feeling of being safe and not exposed to chaos and danger) and function effectively in a new environment" (Gryzmala-Kazlowska & Brozozoeska, 2017, p. 2). The notion of anchoring was originally used, to explain the complex and multi-dimensional processes of adaptation and settlement of Ukrainian migrants in Poland. The authors (Gryzmala-Kazlowska & Brozozoeska, 2017) proposed, that the binary notion of "integration" and "assimilation" are not adequate anymore to understand contemporary migration processes, as they are more complex and multi-dimensional rather than being binary positions, such as "temporary" and "permanent" migration. Furthermore, the notion of anchoring emphasises the psychological and emotional aspects of migrants' attempts to establish themselves in the destination country and to create stability around them; but it also highlights the tangible anchors and structural constraints (Gryzmala-Kazlowska & Brozozoeska, 2017). As such, it looks at contemporary migration from a transnational

perspective; enabling a more comprehensive understanding, which links identity, integration and social networks, as well as the issues of security. Moreover, anchoring allows for the variety and simultaneous of different anchors, as well as the reversed notion of un-anchoring; when migrants decide to leave their destination country in order to move back to their country of origin, or to move to a new country.

Whilst, originally the concept or anchoring was applied, to explain adaptation and settlement in the destination country; in the present study; it is going to be applied as a theoretical concept to explain Hungarian migrants' decision whether to stay in the UK; returning to their country of origin; or perhaps move to a third country.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter I outlined the theoretical framework of the present study. In the first section, I looked at some of the classical theories of migration and also introduced RTC as one of the main theoretical tenets of this thesis. In the second part of the chapter, I examined the conceptualisation of migration patterns from Central and Eastern Europe. Following this, I explored the diverse strategies CEE migrant workers employ, and included the exploration of transnationalism, the role of social capital and social networks. Lastly, I discussed, *social anchoring*- in relation to settlement intentions. In chapter three, I overview the relevant literature in relation to CEE migration and labour market experiences of A8 nationals in the United Kingdom.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review of the relevant literature. I start by exploring of diverse motivations of CEE migrants to move to the United Kingdom after the accession in 2004. Next, I discuss the UK's government policy response in relation to CEE migration. After this, I present the previous literature about CEE workers' labour market experiences, including commentary on geographical and sectoral dispersal of A8 nationals and the role of gender in labour market experiences. Finally, I consider the impacts of the 2008 financial crisis on CEE migration and sectoral trends.

3.2 Motivations to migrate

Previous literature commonly used the term 'migrant workers' (e.g.: Audit Commission, 2007; LSCYH, 2007) when describing migrants who arrived at the United Kingdom, after the 2004 Accession. Using the term "migrant worker" presumes, that CEE nationals only come to the UK to look for employment. Indeed, some studies, which sought to determine the drivers behind migration (e.g.: Borjas, 1989; Barro and Sala-i-Martin, 1991; Layard et al. 1992); found that migration flows can be largely connected to the disparities between the economic status of the source and the host country (Zaiceva & Zimmermann, 2008). Hence, the decision to move will be motivated, for example, by the differences in earning potentials;

unemployment rates and costs of living between the two countries (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). Furthermore, some empirical studies also found, that employment opportunities with higher wages and better living standards, has been one of the most prominent reasons for CEE migrants to come to the United Kingdom (Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2010).

However, according to Moreh (2014) and Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt (2009) push factors; such as bad economic situation in the country of origin only account partly for workers' motivation to migrate. As such, pull factors in the host country, such as better living standards, better employment opportunities and conditions, alongside with better wages; also contribute to their decision to migrate (Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2010; Compas, 2016; Ryan, 2015). In addition, a report by Compas (2016), considered several other motivations, which were heavily featured in politics and also in in public domains. Among those, we find the porbability of welfare entiltements. They reported, that the UK's benefit system creates an attractive financial incentive for CEE migrants; therefore the Government argued that by restricting welfare entiltements for A8 citizens, migration flows from the CEE region could decrease. However, Compas (2016) found, that welfare entiltements are not a major motive for CEE migrants, in fact, most CEE nationals are more likely to claim in-work benefits, such as working tax credit to supplement their income. However, apart from such economic motives, there is a more complex picture behind the motivations of CEE nationals. For example, (Ryan, 2015) found, that young Polish migrants often came as a "happenchance", or to go on an "adventure". Some of her informants, came with a friend who decided to move to the UK, as a last minute decision; while others decided to go to London for a year, as a single young adult to seek some adventure. Other studies found that young CEE nationals often, come in their "gap year" just before University, or to spend a work holiday here. Moreover, common motivations of CEE migrants, which features heavily in previous literature (Ryan, 2015; Currie, 2008; Currie, 2007; Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2010;) includes;

studying English, or indeed coming for further studies, before returning to their home country. Informants in such cases reported, that they believed that a degree which they completed in United Kingdom, or indeed just a better knowledge of English would enhance their career prospects in their homeland (Parutis, 2014).

Furthermore, in some instances people come because of romantic relationships (Ryan, 2015), as their partner came to the United Kingdom before, or they met them on a short holiday; while others came to join their family members, with children (Ryan & Sales, 2011).

Lastly, Cook, Dwyer, & Waite (2010) reported, that CEE Roma population from a diverse background often come to the United Kingdom, because they would like to escape discrimination, and in some cases, prosecution in their country of origin. Furthermore, they migrate in order to provide a safer and more stable background for their family; which of course means, that part of their motivation will be for economic reasons. These diverse motivations show, that CEE nationals consider different factors and they are driven by diverse motivations, when they decide to migrate. This complexity adds to their unique experinces and shape their trajectories upon arrival. Furthermore, CEE workers' migration experiences are shaped by structural factors, such as government policies of the destination country. Therefore, in the next section, I explore the UK's managed migration policy in relation to the EU enlargement.

3.3 Policy Response to CEE Migration after the Accession

The scale of migration; the extent of its social and economic impact; the rights of migrants; and the extent of governmental control over immigration in the United Kingdom; has been a highly controversial topic in the past few years (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). In response, the government emphasised the positive impact of migration on economic growth (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009) after the Accession. Furthermore, a report by Devlin *et al.,* (2014) asserted, that migration has no negative impact on wages or employment of native workers, in fact, they suggested that migration has positive impact on the labour market in the long term. According to some (Consterdine, 2014 *cited in* Fihel, Janicka, Kaczmarczky, & Nestorowicz, 2015), opening up the British labour market fully to A8 nationals, was partly the result of a careful economic consideration of the UK (Currie, 2008). This was seen, as an opportunity to grow the UK's economy; however, it was also a part of the '*managed migration policy*' of the government (Consterdine, 2014 *cited in* Fihel, Janicka, Kaczmarczky, & Nestorowicz, 2015). The aim of this policy was, to expand intra-European migration, in order to fill vacancies mainly in low-waged occupations with workers from the CEE region, in the hope of decreasing illegal workers from third countries (Galgoczi, *et al.,* 2009). This policy was intorudced, as, prior to the enlargement in 2004, the restricitve nature of the UK's immigration policy, together with the state of the labour market; resulted in a high number of illegal migrant workers. Therefore, the UK government saw the EU enlargement as an opportunity to reduce the number of illegal workers in the UK, by giving free and total access to the labour market to A8 nationals, who could then fill the gaps in certain sectors (Currie, 2008; Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009; Wright, 2010). However, as a transitional meausre, they introduced the Working Registration Scheme, to montior the flow

of A8 nationals migrant workers from Central and Eastern Europe. This is discussed later in this section in more detail. Furthermore, the government also initiated a number of regional and national level 'impact evaluation report'. These, on one hand; mapped out immigrant populations, and highlighted some of the key issues, such as high concentrations of migrant populations in certain sectors; alongside with high level of exploitations of migrant workers; e.g. low wage and bad working conditions. On the other hand, they reported limited negative impact of migrant workers on wages and employment availability in local areas (Fitzgerald & Smoczynski, 2017). However, a report by the Bank of England in 2006 (*cited in* Galgozi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009) found evidence that since the accession in some sectors, wages fell sharply. For example, construction is one of the sectors in which wages are consistently reduced as a result of labour migration, and although UCATT (trade union for construction) stated in their report (*cited in* Galgozi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009) that it is just an anecdote that A8 migrants drive away indigenous workers; the evidence collected by UCATT officials shows that on various construction sites, A8 migrants earned less money than their indigenous colleagues for the same work (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). On the contrary, a study by Parutis (2011) claims, that because indigenous people mostly occupy the high skills sectors, whereas CEE migrants mostly work in the low-skilled sector, therefore they do not compete for the same jobs. The debates around the impact of immigration on the host country's labour market, social and welfare services, however, are not new. Within contemporary Europe, as a result of economic recessions, thus rising unemployment rates since the early 1970's, migrants became rivals to national citizens, when it came to housing, welfare benefits, or employment (Husymans, 2000). Therefore, explicit public and political debates on the rights of migrants, to access the labour market and their welfare entitlement, were always cardinal aspect of concerns around immigration in (Brochmann, 1993; Faist, 1994).

In relation to concerns raised around the "new" intra-EU immigration after the Accession, the government responded by reiterating, the economic and social benefits of EU migrants; in addition they also introduced the Working Registration Scheme (WRS) (Home Office, 2006). This placed obligations both on the migrant worker and their employer; as workers were required to register under WRS. However; workers who did not register did not commit any offence, as it was the employer's responsibility to ensure that they employ workers who are registered under the WRS (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). The government policy relating to A8 workers proved controversial, as some argued that the value of the WRS is questionable, as it did not restrict the access of migrant workers to labour market, only their entitlements to welfare benefits. (Anderson et al., 2006). Despite this, the government argued that WRS provides valuable information about the number of migrant workers in the UK and also about the types of jobs they do. Although, many EU migrants did not know about the scheme or thought it was unneccesary to register; thus they did not provide a full picture of the numbers of CEE migrants (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). Furthermore, studies conducted with employers, also confirmed similar findings, as employers thought it was just another unnessesary burocratic task (Currie , 2007). The Working Registration Scheme for A8 nationals ended in 2011 (Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, 2018); as the transition period came to an end. In the case of A2 nationals, the restrictions ended in 2014 (Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, 2018). At the same time, a report by CIPD (2005) revealed, that employers actively sought migrant workers, as they were seen as having a "good" work ethic (Dench, Hurstfield, Hill, & Akroyd, 2006), and they percieved them as cardinal in their success in terms of competition with other bussinesses (Fitzgerald & Smoczynski, 2017). However, others (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009) warned, that the title of "good worker" often associated with the exploitation of migrants.

Although, as explained above, there were some negative attitudes towards CEE migration prior to 2008; yet the perception of CEE workers and their impact on the labour market, was percieved largely as positive. For example, a study by Wright & McKay (2007) found positive economic impact for the UK, emphasising, that migrants create new businesses and jobs; fill labour market gaps, thus improving productivity.

This perception however, started to change after the 2008 financial crisis, and this is evidenced in the attitude change towards immigration on the Govermnetal level as well, as in the developing negative discourses in the public arena. Whereas, in previous years, the Government overall emphasised the positive aspect of migration, in 2008, the House of Lords published The *'Economic Impact of Immigration Inquiry'*; which concluded that although some employers benefited from immigration, the country as a whole did not. In fact they suggested that many young indigenous worker was losing out (Fitzgerald & Smoczynski , 2017). However, evidence (Coats, 2008) suggest, that A8 migrant workers compete with earlier waves of migrants for jobs, rather than indigenous people. This shows, that although there are contradictory opinions on the benefits of migration from the CEE countries, but it has been acknowledged that post-enlargement (between 2004-2009), the economy has been generally strong, and in part, it can be attributed to the large number of migrant workers, who were ready to fill the "hard to be filled" jobs, in many cases, even if they were overqualified (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009).

Despite this, tabloid media and political propaganda from the far right (Vasilopoulou, 2016) reiterated, that migrants are a threat to 'British jobs' and also drive wages down in certain sectors; while housing becomes more expensive as a result of massive influx from the CEE region. Thus, in the lead up to the Referendum, CEE migrants' position in the labour market became more and more difficult, and this is evidenced for example in the study by Fitzgerald

& Smoczysnki (2015), who found that, some of their informants in their study, who did not experience exploitative practices in the job market before, started to suffer. There was also a rise in racism and xenophobia (Fitzgerald & Smoczynski, 2015), which has only intenstified since the EU Referendum (Rzepnikowska, 2018). Therefore, CEE migrants face a precarious situation in the United Kingdom. Apart from a shift in attitudes towards CEE migrant workers, their legal status also changing and, in many cases, migrants who never thought they need to formally apply for settled status or citizenship, now are faced with this decision. As Lulle, Morosanu, & King (2018) suggest, Brexit, in that sense serves as a "rupture" in CEE migrants' lives, whom until that point, enjoyed freedom and flexibility in terms of movement and access to labour market within the European Union. Previous studies on Accession workers' experiences (Ryan ,2015; Parutis, 2014; Ciupijus, 2001; Currie, 2008) found, that most of the migrant workers, who arrived after the accession, by now, navigated through the labour market, and moved to better jobs. Furthermore, they 'solified' their lives here in the UK, some of them purchased houses, had children and has "anchores" (Gryzmala-Kazlowska & Brozozoeska, 2017) in the United Kingdom.

Now, the above mentioned priviligies are threathened by the Referendum vote and potential Brexit. Lulle, Morosanu, & King (2018) for example found, that the advantages that CEE migrants often mention, such as meritocracy and free movement, became more salient to migrants since the Referendum. Therefore, my study will contribute to the field by sheding light onto Hungarian wokerks' experiences in Manchester, since the Referendum and by exploring their trajectories and future plans, in relation to Brexit.

In the next section, the labour market experiences of CEE migrants are discussed prior to the Referendum.

3.4 CEE Migrants' Labour Market Experiences After the Accession

In this section, I explore the experiences of CEE workers within the paid labour market. In the first section, I discuss the characteristics of the British labour market. After this, I present the geographical and sectoral dispersal of A8 nationals, alongside with the regional dimensions of labour market experiences. Under **3.4.3** I discuss de-skilling in relation to labour market experiences. Next, I briefly overview the role of gender in labour market experiences. Finally, I present a short commentary on the impact of the 2008 financial crisis on CEE workers' experiences.

3.4.1 Characteristics of the UK's Labour Market

Economists for the past two decades, offered different theories on how labour markets operate. These have one thing in common, they all agree on the fragmented nature of the labour market. This, fragmented approach, has a long history, in fact it dates back to Jhon Stuart Mill (Mill, 1885 *in* McNabb & Ryan, 1989); who rejected the competitive nature of the labour markets and instead, emphasised "non-competing" groups within them (McNabb & Ryan, 1989). Since then, more contemporary theories emerged. They are distinguishable by their outcome orientation, e.g.: mobility or economic gain, and based on their methodologies, e.g. quantitative vs. qualitative (McNabb & Ryan, 1989). However, taken away these differences, they all broadly speaking, orientated toward a dual-labour market theory, which was developed by Piore (1979). The concept of dual labour market suggests, that the host country's labour market consists of a primary sector, in which jobs offer good career progression, excellent working conditions, competitive pay and stable employment (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). These are mostly reserved for indigenous people (Harzig, Hoerder, & Gabbacia, 2009). A stagnating and complementary second sector offers low wage, irregular employment and unpleasant, sometimes even dangerous working conditions (Anderson & Ruhs & Rogaly, & Spencer, 2006). A third sector, which describes a marginal or ghetto economy with even less secure employment opportunities, was later added to this theory by Piore (1979. To be able to understand how CEE migrant workers navigate the UK labour market, the concept of dual-labour market by Piore (1979) cardinal. According to Harzig, Hoerder, & Gabbacia (2009), the three-layered hierarchic nature, fosters a segmented, segregated and stratified labour market. Segmentation is based on tasks and skills, while segregation prevents workers to access better jobs. Finally, stratification results in a

horizontal barrier, which disables workers to progress in their career, for example, because of the lack of linguistic or technical knowledge.

The theory of dual- labour market offers a useful lens, which through we can examine position and experiences of CEE nationals within the paid labour market. The position of CEE workers within the British labour market is already determined in a sense, by the role which the Government 'prescribed' for them. As I mentioned above, as part of the managed migration policy of the British government, CEE migrants were seen as workers, who would fill the gaps in certain sectors, in the labour market, occupying low-skilled jobs (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). This evidenced by a report of the Home Office (2008); which listed the most frequent occupations, where CEE migrants worked. These were: process operator; kitchen and catering assistant; picking and packing; warehouse operative; waiting; cleaners/domestic staff; and farm workers (Dench, Hurstfield, Hill, & Akroyd, 2006). This shows, that CEE migrants tend to occupy the secondary labour market, with less pay and less favourable work conditions. Despite the fact, that according to Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt (2009), their occupational profile is similar to UK nationals'. In order to gain a deeper insight into how CEE workers naviagte the labour market, it is very useful to look at their spatial and sectoral trends after the Accesion. Therefore, in the next section I am going to discuss these trends based on the analysis of WRS data by McCollum et al., (2012), between May 2004 and April 2011.

3.4.2 Geographical & sectoral dispersal of A8 nationals and regional dimensions of labour market experiences

As stated above, McCollum et al., (2012) used the WRS data to analyse A8 migrants' spatial, temporal and sectoral migration patterns. However, it needs to be noted, that WRS data has significant limitations. Firstly, WRS data underrepresent the numbers of A8 nationals; on one hand because they do not include unemployed or self-employed people; and on the other hand, because not all employed A8 national complied with the requirement to register under the scheme. Moreover, WRS data only recorded when they started their first position in the UK and not when they left, thus results from this source only provides data on migrant workers' initial positions. Despite its limitations, WRS data remains a very useful source as it enables a UK-wide analysis of A8 nationals' spatial, temporal and sectoral migration patterns between the afformentioned period (McCollum et al., (2012).

In the first part of this section, I am going to explore the geographical dispersion of A8 nationals based on WRS data registration at the local authority level (McCollum et al., 2012). In the second part, I am looking at the sectoral dispersal of A8 nationals in the UK.

The top ten local authorities which attracted the largest number of CEE migrant workers were a mixture of metropolitan boroughs, such as Camden or Birmingham; and smaller towns and rural areas, such as Northampton or Boston. The mixture of these local authorities is significant, as unlike many previous migrant waves, A8 nationals seems to be more dispersed geographically. Such changes in settlement patterns had considerable effect on some of the local authorities, which did not experience migration to this extent previously (Pollard, Latorre, & Sirskandarajah, 2008). However, when we look at which local authorities received the largest numbers of CEE workers compared to their relative workforce, the

picture is a little different. In this case, the top ten local authortities are in rural areas where labour intensive farming plays a crucial role in the local economy. Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that, A8 nationals are essential part of the UK's seasonal crop production workforce, which is reflected in their geographical dispersal (McCollum et al., 2012).

In summary, the geographical dispersal of CEE workers shows a different trend to previously arrived migrants, as while previous migrants tend to be centred around major conurbations, until CEE workers seemed be found both in major metropolitan boroughs and also in rural areas, where farming is a crucial part of the local economy.

In terms of sectoral dispersal of CEE workers, data sources are also limited. However, some data is available which allows for comparison between the A12 (including Hungary); the old member states (EU15) and the United Kingdom. A report by the Office of National Statistics (2011), compared the economic activities of A12 migrants, EU15 migrants and UK nationals in England and Wales in 2011. This found, that overall; A8 migrant workers are economically more active than EU 15 workers, however EU15 workers are more active than UK nationals in the British labour market. A12 nationals, who arrived prior to the 2011 census and were in employment, were underrepresented in professional or managerial positions, and were more likely to be employed in skilled trades, such as construction (Moreh, 2014). This report reiterates findings of the analysis of WRS registrations (McCollum e al., 2012), that A12 nationals are more likely to work in the low-skilled sector; in elementary positions, which does not require any formal qualifications. Despite this, the majority of A12 nationals, especially those arriving from Poland (Currie, 2007) and Hungary (Csedo, 2008), arrive with higher qualifications or skills from their home country. Another interesting difference, in terms of economic activity, among British, EU 15 and A12 nationals, is the size of the student and retired population. This shows, that 33% of the British population is inactive economically, from that 20% retired; and 5% are students. The

remaining 8% is due to disability or caring responsibilities among British nationals (Office of National Statistics, 2011). Among EU15 nationals; 28% are economically inactive; out of this, 9% is retired, while 10% is student, again the remaining 11% are inactive due to disability or caring responsibilities. Finally, among A12 nationals, only 15% are economically inactive; out of this, 1% is retired and 6% are students. The remaining 8% is inactive, once again, because of disability or caring responsibilities. These statistics (Office of National Statistics, 2011), shows contradictory evidence to such claims, that CEE migrants come to the UK for benefit tourism (Cowling, 2016); or that they are taking jobs away from British people (Vasilopoulou, 2016). First of all, we can see from this data that only 15% of CEE migrants are economically inactive; secondly, they occupy jobs within the secondary labour market (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009), therefore they do not compete for the same jobs as native workers.

Furthermore, McCollum et al., (2012) also analysed the sectoral dispersal of A8 nationals based on WRS registrations. They found, that 42.8 % of A8 nationals were working in the administration, business and management sector, an ambiguous category of the Working Registration Scheme, which actually included CEE migrants who worked in hospitality, agriculture or food processing through recruitment agencies. Other top sectors where A8 nationals were employed were, hospitality and catering (17.4%) (McCollum et al., 2012). Again, in line with previous findings (e.g.: Galgoczi, Leschke & Watt, 2009) this study reiterates that A8 nationals mostly occupied jobs within the secondary job market, in low skilled and low waged position, despite the facts they tend to arrive with higher qualifications. However, either as a result of lack of language skills or the complexity of converting their qualifications in the UK system, they experience de-skilling when they first enter the UK's labour market. De-skilling is a commonly experienced phenomenon by CEE

workers, therefore in the next section, I am going to discuss this in relation to labour market experiences.

3.4.3 De-Skilling in the Context of Labour Market Experiences

Several studies explored, how CEE migrants navigated the labour market in the UK post-enlargement (e.g.: Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2011[a]; Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2011[b]; Currie, 2007; Ciupijus, 2011; Pauritis, 2011; Janta, Janta *et al.*, 2011; Janta et *al.*, 2012). Migration in relation to work generally splits into two groups, skilled and unskilled work; and the work experiences of these two groups are somewhat contrasting. However, Currie (2007) argues that it is difficult to categorise migrant workers into skilled- and unskilled migrants; as many times depsite of their qualifications or extensinve experiences they acquired from their home country; they occupy jobs in the unskilled sector for various reasons. This finding is reinforced by other studies (e.g.: Csedo,2008 Ciupijus, 2011, Parutis, 2014). Moreover, it highlights the phenomenon of "brain drain" (Currie, 2007) in relation to the home country; de-skilling (Currie, 2007; Csedo, 2008) in the context of the destination country. These concerns were raised by the EU after the accession in relation to A8 countries, however were disregarded by host societies (e.g.: the UK), who instead emphasised the economic benefits that A8 migrants will bring by filling jobs in the low skilled sectors. These contrasting notions lead to the belief, among academics, that there is potential for actual 'brain waste' (Bauder, 2003) in host societies, as A8 migrant's expertise and skills are devalued. The UK's initial position concerning A8 migrant workers was "*What can they do for us*?" from the outset; and this suggested that their role will be to fill in the labour market gaps, which could

not be filled by indigenous people. This has shaped A8 migrant workers' rights and experiences within the paid labour market (Currie, 2007). The legal aspect of de-skilling among A8 workers was on one hand, the UK's regulatory scheme; the *Worker Registration Scheme*- under which migrants needed to register between 2004-2011 (Spencer et al., 2007); and on the other hand, the EU's mutual recognition of qualification regime (Currie, 2007). According to the UK's Border Agency (2008); the top 10 occupations among A8 migrants are: factory worker; warehouse operative; packer; kitchen and catering assistant; cleaner/domestic staff; farm worker; waiter/waitress; room attendant; care assistant\home carer; sales assistant. This report clearly highlights, that A8 workers post-accession occupied the lower segments of the UK's labour market, despite the fact, that most migrant workers are highly skilled, and/or hold higher qualifications than the job they do, require them to do so. This is known as the phenomenon of 'de-skilling', which occurs when highly skilled migrant workers occupy jobs in the low-skilled or low-waged segments of the labour market (Currie, 2007). The earlier discussed theory of capital by Bourdieu (1986) provides a good framework when exploring de-skilling and social capital from their country of origin; however, in the process of migration more often than not, their skills and qualifications get devalued (Currie, 2007). In some cases, it happens as the host country does not recognise their homeland qualifications, but in other cases their linguistic skills prevent them to capitalise on them (Parutis, 2014). Research across disciplines acknowledged the widespread of de-skilling among migrant workers (Erel, 2004 *cited in* Currie, 2007); for example, (Bauder, 2003) talks about migrants who despite of their high qualifications or expertise, accept low-skilled and low-waged jobs. Prior to the accession; migrant workers fell into the following categories, they were either privileged, nationals of the old EU member states; or nationals of third countries, who occupied low-waged/skilled jobs which EU nationals would not do. However, after the 2004 accession, some of the A8 countries with poorer performing economics also

joined to the EU; and the new EU nationals' status in the labour market were more akin to the third countries' nationals than to those of the old EU member states' (Currie, 2007). The term 'occupational skidding' was coined by Morawska and Spohn, (1997 *cited in* Currie, 2007) to describe the notion of falling of some migrants, in occupational terms, which they experience once they arrive to their host country. This is evidenced in articles in relation to CEE migrants after the 2004 accession. For example, Currie (2007) states that 28 of the 44 polish migrants she intervewed had a degree from a polish university and were overqualified for the jobs they did in the UK. Furthermore, one of her male respondent was a medical doctor in Poland, who now worked as a health care assistant in the UK. De-skilling therefore seems to be a part of most migrant worker's journey in their settlement and labour market experiences when they initially arrive to the UK, but it is not to suggest that this is a permanent feature of their PLM experiences. In fact, there is evidence, that most migrants who initially experience 'de-skilling' or 'occupational skidding'; then go on to improve their chances to move up in the labour market; by either improving their language skills and take jobs according to their original qualifications; or go on to further study and then move on to better jobs (Parutis, 2014; Ryan, Sales, & Tilki, 2008). The notion of initial de-skilling is a crucial aspect of the labour market experiences of CEE migrants and therfore it forms an important basis for my study. In relation to Hungarian workers' experiences of initial de-skilling and movements within the PLM; Csedo (2008) conducted a study with Romanian and Hungarian high-skilled workers in London. In her study, she investigated why some professionals and graduates are more successful in improving their occupational class position in the destination country than others. Therfore, 133 online survey data was collected, alongside with 54 semi-structured interviews with teritary-educated Hungarian and Romanian workers. Within the analysis, Csedo (2008) looked at the associations between respondents' occupational class position at destination and other varianles and proposed three groups of variables which influences the

class position of Hungarian and Romanian professionals and graduates in London: *education, work experience* and *time and migration plans.* In relation to education she found, that the higher education level the respondent have, the higher chance for them to be employed in higher occupational classes. Furthermore, the more work experience within their profession they had in their home land, the more likely they would find a similarly high position in the global city. Moreover, in relation to time and migration plans, Csedo (2008) found that the older the respondent was and the more time they spent here in the UK, the higher the chance of them being in managerial and higher positions within their profession. However, she also found an invisible facilitator- *that is the language skills of the migrant-* which had profound effect on occupational class position, as not knowing English hinders chances of moving up within PLM. On the other hand, she found that speaking fluently in English, does not gurantee the access to better jobs, nicer friends or a quality lifestyle as speaking English is nothing special and occupation related skills are more important (Csedo, 2008). Finally, she argued that the success of respondents to access to higher positions does not solely depend on their internationally competitive human capital (cultural and economical), but also on their ability to signal the value of their human capital and their negotation skills when they present it to potential employers (Csedo, 2008)**.**

Parutis (2011) and Currie (2007) argue that, when CEE migrants arrive at the UK, they are prepared to do "any job" in order to find a source of income. This is because, CEE workers often come here with limited funds, in some cases, they borrowed money in order to migrate. Therefore, during the first period, they need to earn enough to pay back their debts; to be able to pay for their food and accommodation and they also need to save to prepare for unexpected periods, such as unemployment (Parutis, 2014).

This phase in the labour market is characterised by; long working hours; in some cases, more than one jobs; low wages; the involvement of agencies; and precarious working conditions (e.g: exploitations or not fully legalised employment). During this period, in many cases, migrant workers use recruitment agencies or intermediaries (Samaluk, 2016); which is one of the quickest way to secure employment at the beginning. This is echoed in a study by Ciupjus (2012); who noted, that despite of the fact, that A8 nationals enjoy free movement within the labour market; their migration strategies are still shaped by labour market forces and in many cases, by various transnational intermediaries. Employment agencies, provide the worker with job opportunites matching their skills, after registration. In that case, the migrant worker will be paid by the agency. On the other hand, recruitment agencies find specific positions within organisations, and int hat case, the worker will be directly paid by the organisation itself (Anderson, Ruhs, & Rogaly, 2006). In any case, according to Currie (2007), these agancies often employ migrant workers on semi-legal conditions, and often exploit them, because they are not protected in legal terms, as they are not employees until a company employs them directly. Another study by Elrick & Brinkmier (2009), also found that CEE migrants often are working with multiple agencies, however some of them are explotative in nature. Furthermore, they found that agencies which operated in workers' home country are often worse, one of their informants came to the UK with such agency, and was left with no work, no accommodation and no money. Finally, previous studies found, that during this phase, migrants also use their informal networks to find employment (Ryan, Sales, & Tilki, 2008; Ryan, 2015; Parutis, 2011).

In conclusion, findings (Currie, 2007; Parutis, 2011) sugget, that while at the beginning, agencies are good source of employment and income; when migrants spend some time in the UK, they move on to "better jobs" from these positions. These "better jobs" characterised by

better pay and working conditions as well. They often offer job security, stability; more humane working hours and the the possibility of career advancement (Parutis, 2014). However, these jobs are not only providing job security and better pay, they are also important as often, these are the first jobs in the lives of CEE migrants, which are fully legal, e.g.: they pay tax and NI contribution, thus really becoming part of the the British society. This contributing to migrants' feeling of belonging and their 'anchoring' in their host society (Gryzmala-Kazlowska & Brozozoeska, 2017). Moreover, it is also important in the process of legalisation of their status, as for EU migrants to gain settlement, they need to prove 5 years continous employment in the UK (Home Office, 2018). Therefore, gaining legal employment is a crucial step for CEE migrants, if they would like to settle down in the UK. In the era of Brexit, this is even a more salient issue.

According to Parutis (2011) and Currie (2007), the next phase is, when migrants search for their "dream job". During this phase, migrants are driven to find a job which matches their skills, for economic gain as well, as for their personal development. Parutis (2011) distinguished these stages in realtion to settlement plans as well and suggested that, migrants with short-term settlement plans tend to look for jobs with quick economic gain; while migrants who have long-term plans, are often look for their "dream job" in order to enhance their cultural capital.

These studies serve as a frame, within which, we can organise CEE migrants' experiences within the paid labour market. Furtermore, they highlight, that the work experiences of CEE migrants is a complex and multilayered phenomenon, and can not be explained by simply the 'high-skilled' and 'low-skilled' dichtiomy. They suggest, that CEE migrant workers are highly mobile in the British labour market and provided, they possess adequate lingusitic

skills and technical knowledge, they are able to advance in ther chosen profession. (Currie, 2007; Csedo, 2008; Parutis, 2014).

Whereas, most of the literature regarding labour market experiences focusing on A8 nationals as one homogenous group, there is a growing number of researchers (Aziz, 2015; Kalchev, Blajeva, Rangelova, Boshnakov, & Vladimirova, 2006; Duda-Mikulin,2012) who emphasises the importance of gender and gender roles in relation to A8 migration trends. Thus, in the next section I discuss some of the studies which focused on the differences in men's and women's migration experiences from the CEE region.

3.4.4 The Role of Gender in the Experiences of CEE Workers

Although, the the role of gender in labour market experiences is not the focus of my thesis, it is acknowledged here that men's and women's exeperiences of mirgation as a whole, can vary greatly, hence the consideration of the gendered labour market experinces are presented here.

Based on WRS registrations the ratio of women and men among CEE migrant workers are balanced (McCollum, et al., 2012), however this could be due to the fact, that many women did not registered as they were "staying at home mums" or in a caring role, once they came to the UK, rather than being in paid employment. This supported by Zlotnik's (2003) findings, who found that in the European context migrant women actually outnumbered male migrant workers, yet their experiences in relation to the labour market remains underresearched.

According to Duda-Mikulin (2018); there are differnces between the experiences of men and women during their migration journey, including their labour market experineces.

This is especially the case, as many women also bear 'double caring responsibilities' (Ryan, Sales, Tilk and Siara, 2009); which means they have caring responsibilities both in their home and host country, thus their experineces are more complex and multilayered.

Furthermore, in relation to labour market experiences, studies (e.g.: Duda-Mikulin, 2018) indiciate that women are over-represented in low- waged and low-skilled positions comapred to men. This means, that women are more affected by the insecurity and instability, which charactherises migrant workers' experiences as they tend to be employed in domestic labour, care sector or agriculture, where 0 hours contract alongside with bad working conditions are not uncommon. Thus, according to Lutz (2011) women workers are in the most precarious position among migrant workers in the labour market, therefore it can be argued that uncertainty as a characteristic of migration experinces affect women more due to their intersecting social roles. Moreover, the financial crisis in 2008 affected almost all sectors of the labour market, both skilled and unskilled, thus further increasing uncertainty among migrant workers. However, Moreh (2014) found that some sectors were affected more than others, thus in the next section, I discuss the impact of the 2008 financial crisis on CEE migration patterns in relation to the paid labour market.

3.4.5. The impact of the 2008 financial crisis on migration patterns and sectoral trends

By analysing WRS data between April 2006-April 2011, McCollum et al., (2012) observed a sharp drop in registrations from late 2007 till late 2010. However, even though this was in sharp contrast to the large influx of CEE workers just after the Accession; the numbers of CEE workers still continued to increase despite the recession, just at a slower rate. Although, some A8 nationals did leave during this period, however the number of those who arrived still outweighed those who left. In fact, when comparing A8 nationals' percentage change between July 2008-June 2009 (see **Figure 1.**), we can observe a rise in almost all nationals' numbers except from Slovakia, regardless of the financial crisis.
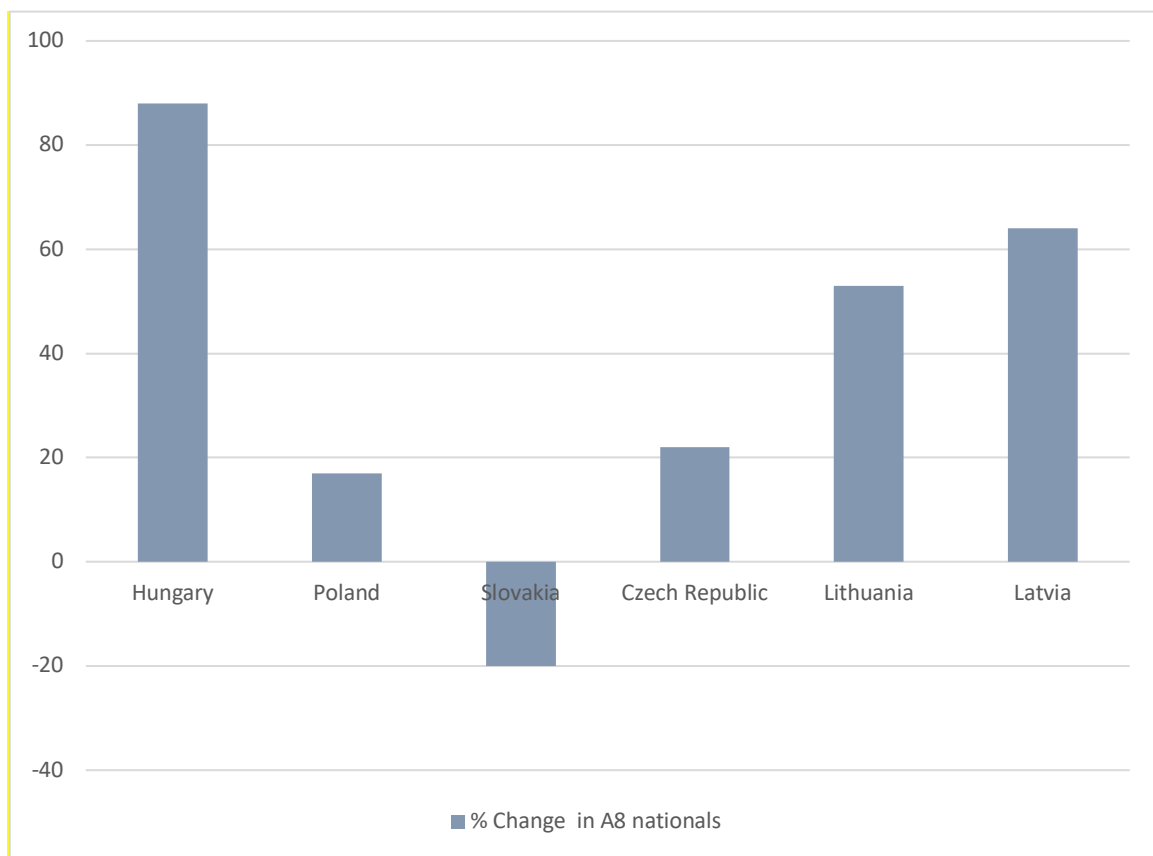
Figure 1. Percentage change in nationals of A8 states in the UK between July 2007-June 2008 and July 2008-June 2009.
(**Note*:** Estonia and Slovenia is not included as their low sample size would yield unreliable estimation data).
Source: McCollum et al., (2012) Analysis of Annual Population Survey Data, ONS 2010

Moreover, it is interesting to see, that Hungarian workers numbers has risen with over 80%, which even exceeds the rise in the numbers of Polish nationals, the biggest A8 national group in the UK, during this period. Moreh (2014) suggests that this is due to two factors. Firstly, in the case of Hungary, the socio-economic and socio-political factors resulted in a continuous increase in the emigration of Hungarians to the UK; secondly; Poland experienced a substantial increase in the GDP per capita since the Accession compare to Hungary, thus this acts as a pull factor in the return migration to Poland.

In relation to the impact on sectoral trends, McCollum et al., (2012) notes, that as A8 migrants mostly work in sectors which are so-called complementary to the UK primary labour market, these positions remained relatively hard to fill even during the economic downturn in 2008 (Rogaly, 2008). Although sectors, such as agriculture, has also been affected by the financial crisis; nevertheless, the demand for migrant workers remained during the recession, thus CEE workers number did not decrease. As these production systems are mostly found around more rural areas, spatially this produced an uneven pattern of migrant labour demand during the recession, which somewhat changed CEE workers geographical dispersion (McCollum et al., 2012).

By the second half of 2009 WRS registration numbers started to show a slow increase (ONS, 2009b *cited in* McCollum et al., 2012), thus signalling larger influx of CEE workers once again.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the exisiting literature in relation to CEE migrant worker's experiences in the United Kingdom. I looked at the diverse motivation migrant workers arrive to the United Kingdom in the first section after which, I discussed the Policy response to CEE migration after the Accession. Next, Iexplored the caharacteristics of the UK's labour market. Following this, I presented the geographical and sectoral dispersal of A8 nationals in the UK. Under **3.4.3.** I discussed de-skilling in relation to labour market experiences. Lastly, I included a brief commentary on the role of gender on CEE migration trends and the impact of the 2008 financial crisis on spatial and sectoral trends of A8 nationals. In **Chapter 4.,** I discuss the methodological cosiderations and methods which I employed in the present study.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Within this chapter I discuss the practices and complexities of the methodology, such as my ontological and epistemological position, which shaped this research project. Furthermore, I address the choice of interpretative framework; the use of qualitative methods; and the my position within the study.

In the first part I situate the study within the methodological framework. Following this, I discuss my research approach to the present study, after which I address ethical issues relating to this project. Next, I present the sampling strategies; the data collection process; and the analytic procedure. Finally, I present the master themes which emerged as a result of the analysis on the yielded data.

4.2 Methodological Framework

It is often a difficult task to choose the right framework for a research project, and as it is argued, "deciding how to study the social world has always raised a number of key philosophical debates" (Spencer and Spencer, 2003, p.11.). Furthermore Grix (2004) suggests that, in order to conduct clear and precise research, one needs to understand the philosophical underpinnings, that informs their research question(s), the choice of methodology and methods. These philosophical debates include *ontology,* which is concerned with "what is there to know" (Sullivan, 2012) and *epistemology*, - that is, "how can we know it" (Willig, 2001). Thus, early on in the research process; I needed to explore my ontological and epistemological position, as they affected the process of deciding on the appropriate research paradigm; which in turn, informed my choice of methodology and methods for the purposes of the present study.

4.2.1. Research Approach

Historically, migration studies had been dominated by quantitative approaches. This originates in the positivist tradition, which significantly influenced migration research, especially in economics. This was related to the theoretical assumptions in migration research; the way the data was collected- e.g.: surveys or census data; and the way this data was analysed, interpreted and used in academia. These assumptions and methods, led to the formations of such models which enabled researchers to predict and explain migratory flows, for example by the cost-benefit model (Iosifides, 2012). However, in recent years there has been a growing body of literature which set out to investigate migration related topics; such as the role of social capital and social networks in migration experiences (White *et al*., 2008; Ryan; 2008; Bott, 2002 [1956]) ; racism and xenophobia (Vasilopoulou, 2016; Hardy & Clark, 2005; Rzepnikowska, 2018) migrants' trajectories and mobility in the labour market (Credo, 2008; Currie, 2007; Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2010; Currie, 2008) ; by adopting diverse qualitative approaches (Iosifides, 2016; Dona *et al*., 2006; Williams & Bales, 2005; Parutis, 2014; Graphic, 2007; Williams & Balaz, 2004; Ryan & Sales, 2011; Samaluk, 2016).

The above mentioned, migratory phenomena are concerned with the meaning making processes and the interpretative understanding of the social world, and thus they generally make use of qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews; biographical or narrative approaches, focus groups and so on (Kim, 2016). Moreover, qualitative approaches have been described as a naturalistic and interpretative approach, concerned with exploring phenomenon from the interior (Flick, 2009). Thus, such methods use words rather than numbers in their analysis, and its results does not tend to be measurable or quantifiable;

instead it uses naturalistic approach to research social or psychological phenomena, making sense of the meaning, through interpretation, that people attach to them (Jeong-Hee, 2016).

My reason to approach this study from a qualitative stance is related to its aims and objectives. My aim was to investigate Hungarian workers' labour market experiences and trajectories in the era of Brexit. Therefore, I wanted to get answer to "*how*" workers operated the labour market prior to the Brexit vote, and what changed in their approach since then? I also wanted to investigate if Brexit affects their plan about their future in the UK and if it does, "*how*" does it affect their trajectories? Thus, the data I wanted to collect relates to their own personal experiences and the meanings they attach to them. Therefore, I believe that I can only achieve the aim of this study, by employing qualitative methods.

 For the purposes of the present study, therefore I decided to use semi-structured in-depth interviews, and thematic analysis for the interpretation of the yielded data.

In the next section, I discuss the interpretive paradigm as my main methodological framework.

4.2.2   The Interpretive Paradigm

Having thought about my research aim, I came to the conclusion that the most appropriate research paradigm for this study is interpretivism.

The ontological position of the interpretive paradigm is *relativism.* Relativism, is the branch of ontology, which assumes, that our view of reality is subjective, it is individually constructed; and there are as many realities as people (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Furthermore, it suggests that, our realities are mediated by our senses (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Language also has an important role in relativism, as reality is assumed to be constructed through the interaction of language and the independent world (Scotland, 2012).

The epistemological position of interpretivism asserts that, the truth and knowledge does not exist in an external world, in fact, it is constructed by agents' interactions with the world (Gray, 2014). It emphasises, that meanings are constructed, and not discovered, and different people might contribute meanings in different ways to the same phenomenon therefore, knowledge is historically and culturally embedded.

The interpretivist paradigm aims to understand a phenomenon, from participants' point of view, hence, it requires the use of qualitative approach and methods. Thus, this paradigm is a perfect fit for the present study.

4.3 Ethics

 I considered potential ethical issues, and sought ethical approval through the University's ethical panel. Subsequently, I started the fieldwork, once the revised ethics form was accepted by the panel. The ethical approval for this study can be seen in **Appendix 1.**

The main ethical concern that could have arisen from this study, relates to data protection issues. I addressed this in a number of ways. For example, I protected participants' identities, by giving pseudonyms to each individual, however each participant was given Hungarian names to keep in line with their national identities.

Furthermore, once all interviews were recorded, I transferred the audio materials from the dictaphone to my researcher's laptop and I stored the files in a password protected folder. Following this, I deleted the verbatim then I deleted them from the dictaphone to ensure that they are not accessible by anyone other than myself.

Prior to each interview, I provided informants with both the information sheet and the consent form. This included information about the overall purpose of the study as well, as what their participation would involve and also about any potential risks and benefits of participation. After some consideration, I decided that both the information sheet and the consent form will be produced in both Hungarian and English. I made this decision to ensure that all participants have a full understanding of what is expected of them during this research project. Each participant could keep their Hungarian version of the information sheet and the consent form, whereas I kept the English version of the consent form for the purposes of this study. The consent form was detached from the information sheet after receiving back from participants and any identifiable data was removed. Consent was given in a written format by

each participant. Both the Hungarian and English version of the information sheet and consent form can be seen in **Appendix 2** and **Appendix 3** respectively.

I also informed participants of their right to withdraw from the study, until the point, when I start writing up the present study.

I also considered other ethical issues, and as such, I recognised that sharing the story of migration experiences could potentially upset participants during the interviews. I would have addressed this by immediately interrupting the interview and withdrawal from the study would have been offered. In that case, I would have destroyed the affected participant's the information and I would have destroyed their recording as well.

I would have dealt with any other ethical issues by following the British Psychological Association's (BPS) Code of Ethics and Conduct (2009), alongside with the Social Research Association's (SRA) Ethical Guideline (2003). I addressed these issues, to ensure that, the study remained ethical and participants did not come to any harm.

4.4 Data Collection and Sampling Strategies

4.4.1 Sampling strategies

 There are numerous factors that can determine the appropriate sample size and there is little guidance on what number is acceptable for a qualitative project. For example, Guest, Bunce & Johnson (2006) in their study found only seven sources, which provided guidance for *actual* sample size. Six of those, offered guidance for a specific type of qualitative approach, such as grounded theory or phenomenology; only one talked about qualitative research in general, and it suggested that the smallest acceptable sample of 15 for a qualitative project (Bertaux, 1998 *cited in* Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Ritchie *et al.*,(2014) also sugget that, depending on the exact approach and the purpose of the study, an appropiate sample of a qualitative project is between 5-25, but as a general guide they suggest a sample definetly below 50. This is because first, qualitative studies does not need to determine statistical significance and therefore there is no need for a large, representative sample. Second, qualitaitve studies yield data, that is rich in detail, and to do justice in the analysis; sample sizes need to be kept reasonble small. Third, it was suggested that a good sample size in qualitative research is at the point of saturtion, when "nothing new" is emerging from the data (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Smith, 2009). Therefore, for the present study, I have chose to conduct 10 in depth interviews. This sample size was appropiate for the present study, due to the restricted time frame in which it had been conducted.

I employed purposive sampling to ensure that participants met the inclusion criteria of the study, along with snowball sampling, to gain access to additional participants through the social networks of informants.

The selection criteria were the following for the present study:

1. Participants must be Hungarian by nationality and country of birth.

2. Participants must be in paid employment, either as a permanent employee; casual workers; agency workers.

3. Participants can be either male or female.

4. Participants must be living in Manchester and must have arrived prior to the Referendum vote.

5. Participants could be either single, married, divorced or co-habitants.

6. Participants can either have or don't have children.

4.4.2 Participants

Participants were recruited through my own social network by advertising the study in the Hungarian Club in Manchester. This takes place at a local Church every second Saturday, usually in a form of a film club, which is followed by discussions and sharing of traditional meals. Posters were put up at the Club (see **Appendix 4**.) in Hungarian. Additionally, I also advertised the study Club's closed Facebook group, where the Hungarian version of the poster was posted periodically. The recruitment process was purposeful, as to ensure that participants met the inclusion criteria of the study, however snowball sampling was also used to get access to a larger pool of participants; e.g.: Hungarians who do not attend the Hungarian Club or are not member of the Facebook group. Initially there were around 20 participants who showed interest in the study, however some of them did not qualify to take part, as they were not living and working in the catchment area (Manchester); or they have only arrived at Manchester after the EU Referendum. Therefore, I selected 10 participants to

take part in the study. I sent each participant the Hungarian version of the information sheet

to read and they had 48 hours to decide whether they would like to take part in the study.

After they had decided to take part, I scheduled individual interviews with each participant.

Consent forms were signed by each participant, before the commencement of the interview.

The summary table of the ten participants can be seen on the next page in **Table 1.**

Table 1. Demographics of Participants

Name	Age	Sex	Education level	Time in the UK	Working status	First job in the UK	Present Job
Júlia	27	Female	University	5 years	Self-employed	Nanny	Music Teacher
József	48	Male	High School	10 years	Self-employed	Hotel Cleaner	Graphic Designer
Ákos	35	Male	University	5 years	Employed	Rubbish handler at a superstore	IT engineer
Zita	38	Female	High School	10 years	Employed	Au Pair	Administrator
János	33	Male	High School	9 years	Employed	Kitchen Porter	Trainer at Amazon Learning department
Tibor	40	Male	High School	5 years	Employed (at own company)	Pizza delivery guy	Lorry Driver
Pál	48	Male	High School	4 years	Employed	Cleaner (ventilation systems)	Mobile Phone Engineer
Attila	39	Male	High School	10 years	Employed	Kitchen porter	Barista at a Cafe
Angéla	36	Female	High School	10 years	Employed	Cleaner at a hotel	Administrator
Mária	32	Female	University	9 years	Employed	Administrator in Hospitality	Property Management Administrator

4.4.3. The interview

Qualitative interviews are compatible with several qualitative methods of analysis (e.g.: grounded theory, interpretative phenomenological analysis, thematic analysis); thus, it is no surprise, that they are the most common data collection method in qualitative research (Willig, 2001; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Furthermore, their popularity lies in the fact, that they are much easier to organise than, for exampla participant observation or a longitudinal study, where participants need to keep diary over a period of time (Willig, 2001). However, one critiquie of this method is, that it does not pay attention to its contextual features, for examples its status as a 'conversation' between people, thus Potter & Hepburn (2005) warns, that it should not be taken at 'face value'. Furthermore, they also note the importance of reflecting on the meaning of the interview process itself, as during the 'conversation' the interviewee might look at the explored phenomenon from a new viewpoint, thus generating new knowledge (Potter & Hepburn, 2005).

Qualitative interviews can be categorised in a variety of ways; for example, they can be *unstructured*, *semi-structured* and *structured*. While unstructured and semi-structured interviews produce qualitative data until structured interviews ofthen produce quantitavie data (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). Unstrutured, in-depth interviews (e.g.: life story interview), which are used for example in Narrative analyses, allows the researcher to gain a deep insight into the experiences of the participants; often reveal hidden meanings and goes beyond what has been said (Jeong-Hee, 2016). It allows participants to freely express themselves, and there is little intervention from the interviewer as the aim is to capture the essence of the participant's experiences (Kim, 2016) in relation to phenomenon of interest.

However, for the purposes of the present study, I chose to employ semi-structured interviews, because they helped me to keep the balance between where the interview is going; by using the topic guide (see **Appendix 5.**); yet it allowed for flexibility within the interview schedule (Jonathan, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Moreover, participants could express themselves freely; while it enabled me to prompt or to move the conversation forward, when it felt appropriate. Therefore, the topic guide was an essential part of my interviewing process for the above-mentioned reasons, as this ensured that my data answers the research questions and the research meets the objectives.

I conducted a pilot interview in May 2017 and subsequently I revised the topic guide as it contained too many questions, which did not allow the participant to express themselves freely. Therefore, I re-recorded the pilot interview with the same person, with the revised guide, which is included in the present study.

Data collection took place between October 2017 and March 2018. The interviews took place either at the University; a local café; or in some cases, over skype. As most of the interviews took place at public places, participants could have felt a bit anxious talking about their experiences, however as all the interviews were recorded in Hungarian; participants seemed to feel at ease sharing their stories. The average length of interviews were 25 mins, however the longest interview lasted 88 minutes and the shortest one was 12 minutes long. In all cases, I recorded the interviews using a dictaphone after I sought permission from participants, and later I transferred these files to my laptop and stored them in a password protected folder.

4.5 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is an approach to data analysis, which is used to identify and report patterns (themes) within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). At its basic, it organizes data by ordering themes within the data set, but often goes beyond that and uses interpretation when discussing themes (Boyatzis, 1998). Despite the flexibility of its application, Braun & Clarke (2003) notes that, thematic analysis is a 'poorly demarcated method' within the qualitative tradition because it is seen as a thematic coding process performed within a major analytic tradition, such as narrative analysis (Ryan & Bernard, 2000). Furthermore, Holloway & Todres, (2003) suggest that it is a foundational method, which provides the researcher with core analytical skills; which then could be used, for example in IPA. However, Braun & Clarke (2006), draw attention to the main benefit of thematic analysis; its flexibility. They further argue, that broadly speaking, there are two branches of qualitaitve methods; those which derive from a particular theoretical or epistemological position, such as interpretative pehonmenological analysis and then those which can be applied within a wide range of theoretical and epistemological framework. Thematic analysis belongs to the second branch; consequently, it is compatible with both the realist and interpretive paradigm. This makes it a highly adaptable approach within the qualitaitve tradition, thus should be appreciated as a method on its own right (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

I decided to analyse the data with this particular method, because of its adaptable nature and flexibile approach, which is a perfect fit for the present study. However, I appreciate that researchers needs to strive for methodological rigour in order to produce reliable and valid qualitaitve research projects (Willig, 200; Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2014). Therefore, the next section outlines each step, which was taken during the analysis.

4.6 Analytic Procedure

I employed *thematic analysis* to analyse the transcripts by drawing on the guidance outlined by Braun & Clarke (2006). However, as there is no one way to carry out TA, thus diverging from the guideline is generally acceptable; especially if this aids the research aim (King, 2004; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Nowell *et al*., 2017). Therefore, the steps of this guideline were modified in a way, which affords for flexibility, while maintains the core aspects of the analytical process.

4.6.1 Transcription

The first phase of the analysis entailed the transcription of the audio recorded interviews. There were a number of decisions to be made, before I started transcribing. First of all, I had to decide how detailed my transcription will be, as there are different ways of producing a transcription from verbal data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Some forms of analysis require a more detailed approach during transcription; e.g.: narrative analysis. Thus, it is crucial that the researcher pays a very close attention, and provide the truest representation of the verbatim; recording every little non-verbal utterance; such as pauses or coughs in their transcript, when conducting narrative analysis (Riessman, 1993). However, thematic analysis does not require the same level of details when it comes to transcribing the verbal data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

 Therefore, I only recorded pauses and non-verbal utterances, where it seemed to add an extra layer to the meaning. For example, when Jùlia was talking about whether they plan to legalise their status or not because of Brexit, I felt that it is useful to do that. She stated, that they are not scared, and while she said that, she laughed. Therefore, I thought, t was important to record

that, as to me this laughter was re-enforcing what she said, in fact it showed that she is "laughing" at Brexit, as if she does not believe it can happen. Therefore, there they do not need to be scared of the consequences. The excerpt of Júlia's transcript is shown in **Figure 2.** below:

"Ahmm…even if there will be Brexit, and it would be more difficult to stay here…because of the possible agreement with the EU…we would be in hurry then to gain settled status…and citizenship too because we want to stay here. But even this…does not scare us (laughs) and we still want to stay…live here." (Jùlia)

Figure 2. Excerpt from Júlia, demonstrating recording of pauses and non-verbal utterances

Another challenge presented itself, when I had to decide if I will transcribe each interview in Hungarian or I will translate them into English, while I listen to them in Hungarian. I decided to transcribe the recorded interviews into English; by using Express Scribe Transcription Software[1]; because of time constraint, but also because I felt confident that I am able to keep the essence of the meaning, as I worked as a professional Hungarian-English Interpreter before. This was an important decision to make, as during cross-cultural qualitative research, it is even a bigger challenge to interpret the results accurately, because the translation itself, is an interpretation process, during which meaning can be lost (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg, 2010). It is, therefore crucial to ensure, that meanings as experienced by the participant and meanings as interpreted by the researcher stay as close to each other, as possible (Polkinghorne, 2007). I addressed this issue, by going back and forth, between the audio recording and the transcript

to ensure that no meaning is lost. I also translated some expressions by using rich descriptions and quotes, which according to Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg (2010) contribute to the validity of qualitative research.

4.6.2 Initial Reading of Individual Transcripts

In the second phase of the analysis, I familiarised myself with the data, by listening to each recorded interview several times, while I was also reading the transcripts. Initial readings of the transcripts allowed me to get a "holistic sense" of the experiences, which participants shared with me (Sullivan et al., 2012). Furthermore, listening to the audio recordings, while reading transcripts, helped me to fully immerse myself in the data. This is vital during this phase, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006) . At this stage, reading the transcripts repeatedly, allowed me to search for meaning and patterns within cases. This was a very important phase of the analytic procedure, because I was engaging with individual transcripts and looked-for patterns within cases. I did that, by recording ideas and initial thoughts on each transcript with the intention to go back to them, once official recording began.

4.6.3. Initial Coding

In the next stage of the analytic procedure, I decided to enhance my analysis by using a qualitative analytic software tool, NVivo*. By this stage, I already had some initial ideas and emerging codes recorded in a note book and on the transcripts. Consequently, I decided, that it was the right time to utilise NVivo, to help me to interrogate my data set further.

As a first step, I imported each transcript to NVivo and saved them under the corresponding pseudonyms. By doing this, *Cases*- transcripts of each informants- were created in the software. Following this, I decided to create a Mindmap, which showed my initial ideas and codes which were based on individual transcripts. During this process, I clustered these concepts and ideas together, and used this Mindmap to help me create *Nodes* -codes or themes- in NVivo.

This Mindmap is shown on the next page under **Figure 3.**

Figure 3. Mindmap generated in NVivo, which presents my initial ideas based on the Transcripts
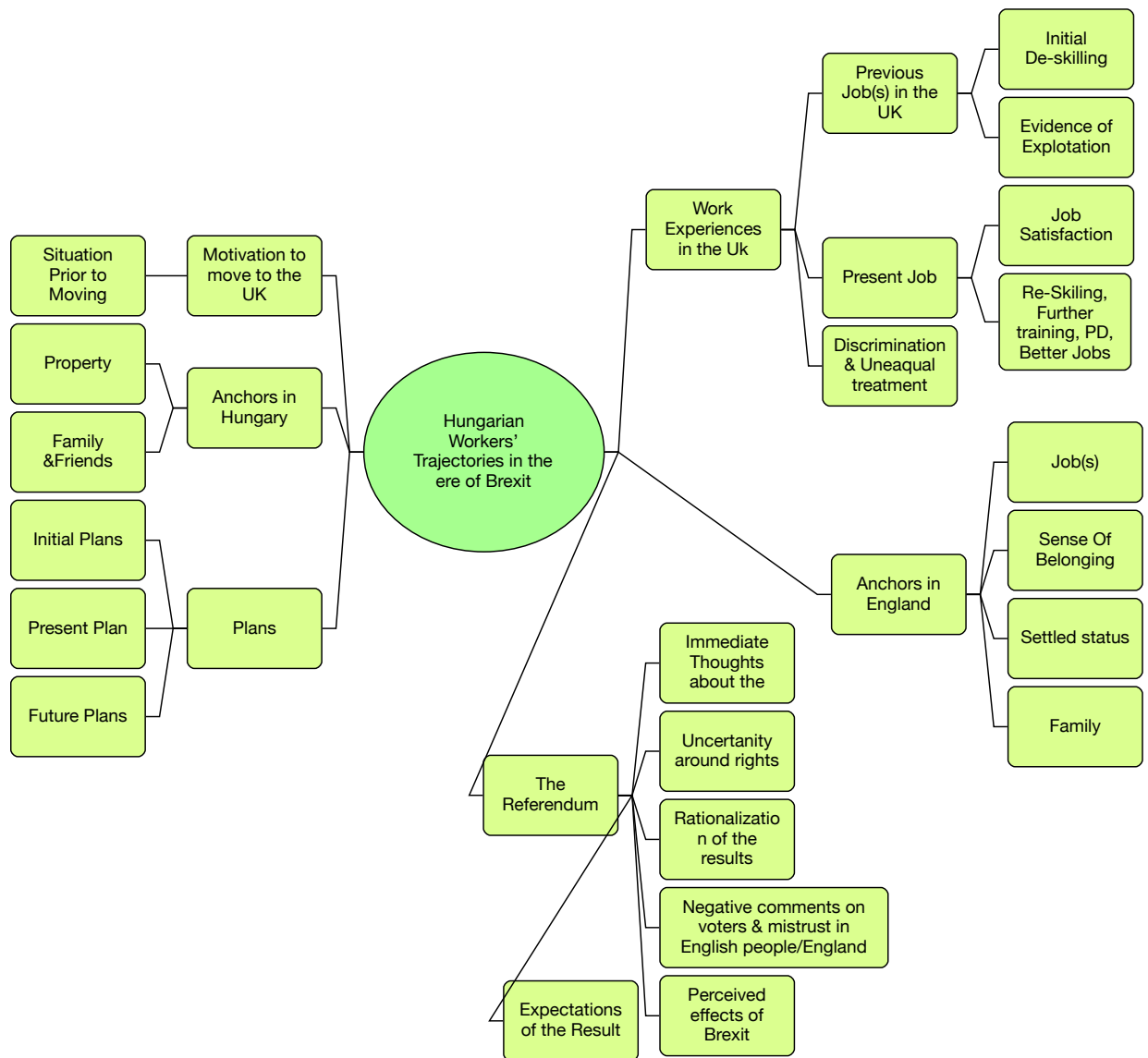
Following this, emerging themes were created as *nodes* in NVivo and extracts from individual transcripts were ordered to each of these themes. Once all nodes of interests were created and all relevant extract was coded to them; I engaged with the hardcopy of initial themes in order to identify patterns across cases.

An example of an initial theme – recorded as *'Disbelief that Brexit will happen'*,

accompanied with relevant extracts, can be seen below under **Figure 3.**

Internals\\P1 Transcript - § 2 references coded [1.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.74% Coverage

Now… ahm…maybe that sounds crazy (laughs); I thought….for some reason I thought, that Brexit will not happen. And…till to this day…I have a question mark in my head (laughs) whether Brexit will go through or not.

Reference 2 - 0.71% Coverage

But…ahm…I saw that the Government seemed not confident at all…you could see in the articles… and you could feel, that they do not really want to go through with this… so we hoped, that they will drag it out.

Internals\\P4.d - § 1 reference coded [1.53% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 1.53% Coverage

I was quite surprised, to be honest. I think most of us had a big surprise as …well I did not think that will happen, because the EU…well I am not really into politics but I thought it's not a question whether we will stay in or not.

Internals\\Participant 6.d - § 1 reference coded [4.66% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 4.66% Coverage

Maybe this…(laughs)…well I think if Brexit reaches its aim…what English people …who voted wanted…like there will be less workers to come…so that English people can work too…because I think it was about that as well…if they wanted this to really happen….then I think this country will go bankrupt…in a few years. This is my opinion…I uphold this…if there would be no Eastern European workers…then that's it…just because of that, the English will not clean the "shit" after another English in the hotel…they will not do these jobs…they will not hide in the washing machine…while fixing it…during drain jobs…and at the all kind of nationalities and dirty surroundings of people…so Eastern European people…they built this country like this and they will not be able to change it in 2 years…

Internals\\Participant 7 - § 1 reference coded [0.88% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.88% Coverage

So…when I woke up the next morning, the first thing I did was…checking the news and I was very- very surprised…It was like a big punch in my stomach (he speaks slowly, giving emphasise to those words
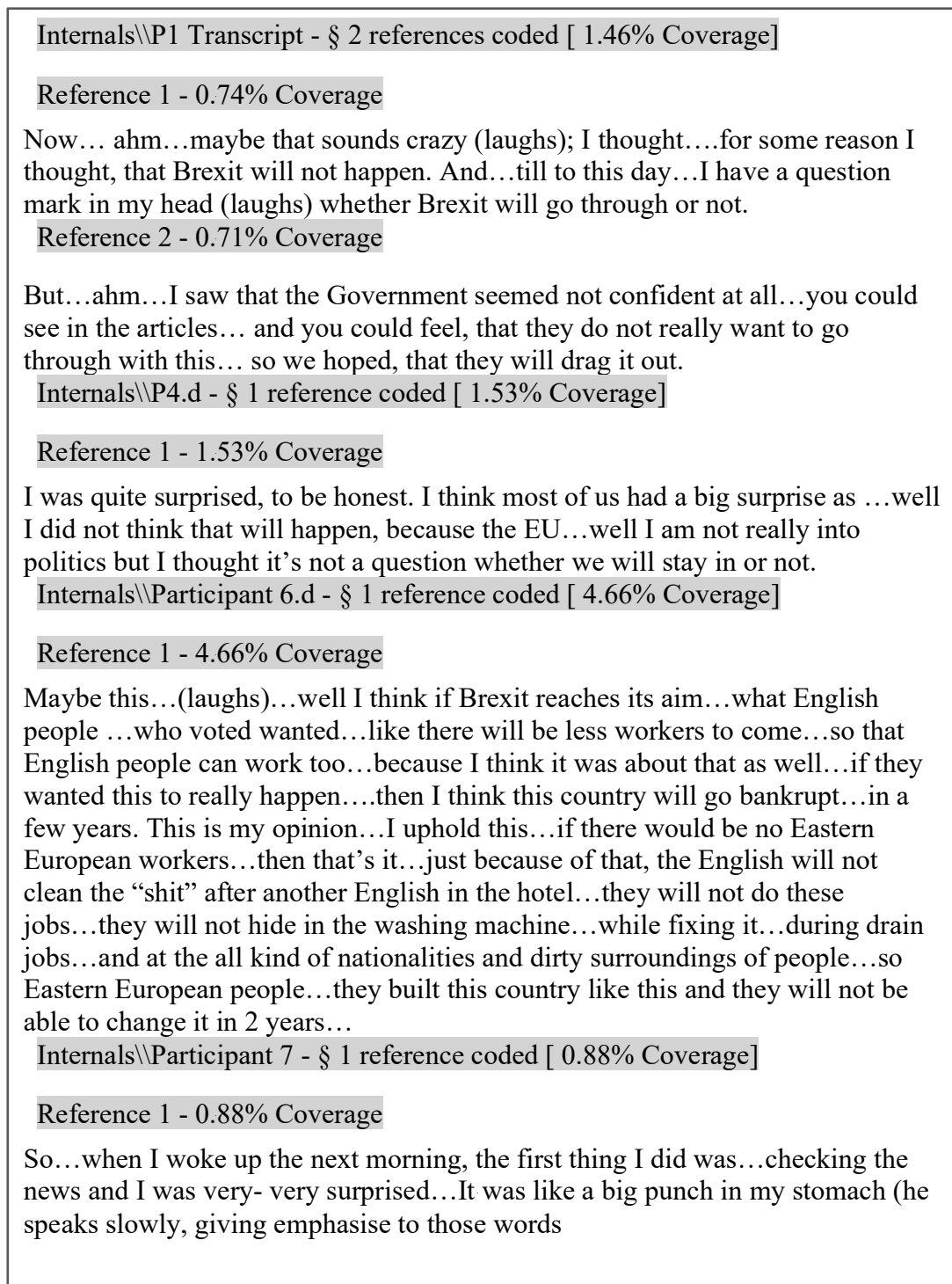
Figure 3. An example of Nodes "*Disbelief that Brexit will happen*" clustered together across cases

During this process, I worked through the whole data set systematically and conceptually similar themes were identified, clustered together and redefined. In line with the guidelines of qualitative analysis (Willig, 2001; Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2014; Braun & Clarke, 2006) at each stage, themes were reviewed a number of times. Moreover, they were checked against the individual transcripts, to ensure that participants' experiences are represented as truly as possible. An example of this process was, when an extract was coded under more than one node. In such cases, when I revisited these themes, I was often able to decode the extract, and keep it under a single node; or more often, I needed merge these nodes and give a broader name for them as I realised, they were conceptually connected. Thus, in such cases nodes were merged, renamed and the extract was coded under this broader concept. At the final stage of the analysis, I identified master themes and extracts, which best captured the relevant themes and ideas from the data set.

4.6.4 Presenting Master Themes

The following master themes emerged as a result of the analytic process: '*Motivations to migrate*'; and '*Upward Mobility within the Labour Market* and '*Making sense of the results*' and '*Impacts and Future Intentions*'. The table below presents each master theme, alongside with their corresponding sub-themes. The first two master theme will be discussed in **Chapter 5**. in the context of informants' experiences prior to the Brexit vote; while the third and the fourth master theme will be discussed in **Chapter 6.**; in the context of their experiences after the Brexit vote.

Table 2.: Hungarian Workers' Experiences prior to the Brexit Vote

Master Themes		Subthemes	
1. **Motivations to Migrate**	Economic Reasons	Seeking Adventure	Other Reasons
2. **Upward Mobility within the Labour Market**	Barriers to gaining employment	De-skilling & Exploitation	Moving on to better jobs

Table 3.: Hungarian Workers' Experiences after the Brexit Vote

Master Themes		Subthemes	
3. **Making sense of the result**	Feeling shocked	Sense of Mistrust	Rationalisation of Results
4. **Impacts and Future Intentions**	Feeling uncertain	Perceived impact	Future Intentions

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an overview of the methods which I employed. First, I presented the research design and discussed the methodological approaches to data collection and subsequently, to the data analyses. Following this, I identified the four master themes has and presented them in the two tables above. In the following chapters, **Chapter 5** and **Chapter 6** I will present the main findings of the analyses. I will present the four master themes in two different tables and subsequently discuss different chapters, because the themes 1-3. relate to Hungarian Workers' Experiences prior to the Referendum; whereas themes 4-6. explores their experiences after the Referendum. As Brexit poses potential rupture to their lives as they knew it before, I decided to discuss these findings in separate chapters to mirror this "rupture" by physically dividing the findings in the pre- and post- Referendum era.

Chapter Five: Hungarian Workers' Pre-Referendum Experiences

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss Master Themes 1 and 2; *'Motivations to Migrate'* and '*Upwards Mobility within the Labour* Market', respectively. I discuss these themes in the context of new forms of migration patterns and migration strategies.

5.2 Motivations to Migrate

The first master theme discusses, the diverse motivations of Hungarian workers in Manchester. Hungarian migrants' motivations clustered around three sub-themes: '*economic reasons'*, '*seeking adventure* and '*other reasons'*, under which I discuss motivations which were not prominent on their own, however they were repeatedly present within the data set, in connection to the above-mentioned sub-themes. Therefore, I decided to include them under a separate sub-theme.

5.2.1. Economic Reasons

In line with previous literature (Moreh, 2014; Parutis, 2011; Ryan & Sales, 2011; Ciupijus , 2011; Cook, Dwyer, & Waite ,2010) finding work and improving economic status, were the most common reasons behind migrating to the UK among the participants of this study. Neo-classical theories of migration proposes, that migration occur because of the 'push-pull' factors of the country of origin, and the host country, respectively (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009). In the case of Hungary, push factors included unemployment rates, which were on the rise from 2005 onwards and consequently, dropping levels in living standards (Moreh, 2014). In some cases, this meant the growth of personal debt, even bankruptcy, which made it impossible for these individuals to stay in Hungary.

The present study found, that the above-mentioned economic factors, led many Hungarians after the accession to seek employment anywhere else in the European Union. Most Hungarian workers chose Germany or Austria, because of their close proximity (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009); however, a steadily growing number of Hungarians came to the UK, either because of linguistic skills or because of the strict transitional arrangements, which were posed by Germany and Austria (Moreh, 2014). Although, the UK also introduced a transitional measure, WRS which was discussed in Chapter three in more detial, it did not seem to deter Hungarian workers from coming to the UK.

A quote by Ákos, who holds a degree from Hungary and works as an IT technician here in the UK, illustrates how the declining economic situation in Hungary, which resulted in less and less job opportunities, has driven him out of the country:

"So, I came to the UK five years ago, really just to look for opportunities here. I came with my girlfriend but first we lived in [name of the town]. Back home in Hungary, I got a quite good job, I was working as a driver, at a recycling company and it was good money, but after few years, there were less and less jobs …and at the end, I felt I just needed to leave."

(Ákos, 35)

Although, economic reasons were among the most prominent reasons behind informants' decision to migrate, in many cases they came for other reasons and not solely for financial reasons.

In the next section, I discuss some cases, when motivation behind migration was adventure seeking or when migration was a 'happenchance', without specific reason behind it.

5.2.2. Seeking Adventure

Previous studies (e.g.: Ryan, 2015) found that migrants often come as they are seeking adventure, and their motivation does not lie in economic factors. Stories about migrants who came to the UK only for a bit of adventure, often include friends who were already here, or friends who they came with (Ryan, 2015). János, who is working for [company name] as a trainer and lives in the UK for 9 years, talked about, how contrary to most of his friends, who also came to the UK, he was not motivated by economic reasons or a better job as such. Moreover, his excerpt highlights another characteristics of migration pattern, whereby workers perceive their stay as temporary, lasting only for a few months or a year. However, this is often extending, and short-term migration plans can change over time.

"Well, most of my friends who came to the UK, they say money was their main motivation. I am not sure whether you can see this, the camera of my XBOX changes focus sometimes, but never mind…so behind me there is a picture there, since I was a child, I always had a World map in my room...and it is not just a picture for me but a constant reminder of how big the planet is and how much I do not [....] so when I decided to move abroad it was not money, that motivated me, but that I want to know the World better…England seemed like a jump desk for me in the first round…however I ended up staying quite long…" (János, 33)

A sense of adventure, as in the case of *János*, is a common motivation among young and single migrants'. Tibor, who presently works as a truck driver, was among those, who came with his friends and talked about his decision to come to the UK lightly and it almost seemed it was a rushed decision. Ha talked about how he had a really good job, stable financial background, yet one day they decided to come and see the World and one month later they arrived:

"[…] Then I got a job in [town name] as a bus driver […] I had strong financial background…I lived well..., I had everything really…And then we decided…as we had contact with foreigners there, and I felt I can use a language a bit as well…so that is when four of us decided …friends that we will give up our stuff at home…and we will go in the big WORLD. Concretely, to England. After a short planning…one month at best, we came to the UK." (Tibor,40)

5.2.3. Other Reasons

Other driving forces, such as looking around; learning a language; further studying or romantic relationships or family reunification, are found in many studies which are exploring migrants' motivations to start a new life in a different country. Furthermore, a combination of different motivations is very common in migration related studies. (Lulle, Morosanu, & King, 2018; Ryan, 2015; Moreh, 2014; Cook *et al*., 2010).

In the present data, the following *other reasons* for migration emerged, in conjuction with *economic reason* or *seeking adventure*. Motivations, which are not presenting themselves as 'stand alone' reasons to migrate are called secondary migration drivers (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009) in academia. These secondary migration drivers among participants were the following: learning the language, romantic relationship, politics related issues in Hungary, and the combination of different factors.

 For example, in the case of Mária, it was both the fact that her husband is Nigerian, and so they thought they would have a better chance to make a living in England, but also she felt that Hungary became more and more racist and was not ready to make a family a there.

"...but because I married my husband, who is a Nigerian citizen...because of that...even if he speaks Hungarian the racism is still...and things like that are still there...they motivated us to leave. And he does not have any qualifications, which we could use there. Yes, and because of that we thought, as I do not have problem speaking English...we should come to the UK...it is not even far from Hungary ...you can visit anytime ...so we decided to...So, it was economic reasons too...like looking for jobs, working here." (Mária, 32)

In some cases, however there are more serious reasons behind migration. For example escaping prejudice or prosecution, just like in the case of Roma migrants from the CEE region (Cook, Dwyer, & Waite,2010). Often in these cases, prejudice and denying the recognition of there cultural heritage (Barany, 2000), in addition to discrimination on many platforms different platforms, e.g.: labour market or educational establishments are the reasons for their migration (Vermeersch, 2002 *cited in* Cook, Dwyer, & Wait, 2010). In the case of one of the participants, although not because of his ethnic background, but rather for economic and personal reasons, life became unmanagable in Hungary. *Pàl*, who works currently as a mobile phone engineer, in fact, felt his life has fallen apart. In his extract he expresses his desparation and confesses, he could not continue his life in Hungary for multiple reasons. His bussiness banckrupted, he owed millions of forints to another bussiness and he also talked about his personal life briefly, which took a tunr for the worse, so virtually he was hopless.

"[..]It was not a hopeful situation at all and…well, there was no future for me…financially either because the owner of the shop did not pay us the amount he promised […]. All in all, I felt really slipped down from where I used to be and one day I was hopeless…20 minutes before my salary came, I thought I will buy a lottery ticket from my little money I got and I win…even 1 HUF then I will come to the UK to work…and if I lose then I will jump in to the [name of the river] from [name of the bridge]. And I won 1100-1200 HUF, I kept that 1000 HUF for a long time. And like this, I came to the UK in May 2014." (Pál, 48)

Finally, the following quote by *Júlia,* who is working as a music teacher, beautifully captures how complex and diverse motivations can lie behind even actors' migration intention:

"Well, jobs did not really motivate me. The political climate in Hungary was part of my reasons…on the other hand, it was learning the language; part of it was also love and economic reasons." (Júlia,27)

In line with previous literature, the analysis of the present study confirms, that migrant workers come to the UK with a range of motivations, which certainly include economic factors; however, in most cases driving forces behind workers decision to migrate, as diverse as migrants themselves.

5.3 Upward Mobility in the Labour Market

Previous studies in relation to CEE migration found, that CEE workers are highly mobile in the British labour market (Csedo, 2008; Currie, 2007; Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2010); however it is also recognised that many migrants face challenges and find it difficult to gain employment. Nevertheless, most migrants from the CEE region, who experiences initial de-skilling (Currie, 2007) as they navigate the Britih labour market go on to better jobs, seek further education; thus improving their chances for upwards mobility (Csedo, 2008). Three sub-themes emerged under '*Upwards Mobility in the Labour Market'* and these were: '*barriers to gaining employment'*; *'de-skilling and exploitation'* and *'moving into better jobs'*. In the next section, these will be explored respectively.

5.3.1. Barriers to gaining employment

The RCT in relation to migration proposes, that migrants go to the destination country with an expectation that they will be able to maximise their net benefit (De Jong & Gardener, 1981). One of the main expectations relates to finding a job which is a precursor to enhance economic status. However, there are different barriers that could hinder migrants' ability to gain employment. One of the factors, that influences migrants' success in securing a job, is their language skills. As Chiswik (1979) points out, the higher language skills migrant workers have, the easier it is to find employment in the host country. The importance of having sufficient language skills is also reflected in the present study's findings, as

informants either came with an intermediate level of English or in some cases, they decided to come to improve their language skills. The lack of English skills often acted as a barrier in securing employment. Tibor in the next excerpt explains, how he was unsuccessful in his attempt to get a bus driver job in England, which was his profession in Hungary for decades, because of his insufficient language skills.

"[…] So, at that time…I went to Arriva…to get a job, my English was too weak…and first time around, I was not successful…with my English test. […] and then I decided to leave the country partly because of financial reasons…I decided to leave the country and went to Germany to a job. And I continued there for six months or so as a lorry driver... […] I stopped this job, and in February I returned to England based on my friends' suggestion here …who still lived in the washing room." (Tibor, 40)

In line with this finding, Moreh (2014) also asserts, that while language competency shapes the motivation of migrants, it can also hinder their opportunities to gain employment in the host society, which will impact on their earning potential as well, as the type of jobs they can get into. However, even if the migrant worker speaks fluently, they might not be able to get into certain positions, as they might be perceived as not possessing the adequate language skills because of their accent. This was the case for Mària, who is now working as a property management administrator. In the next excerpt, she explains how she expected to find a "good" job, as she was fluent in English:

"I felt like it was a disadvantage that I was a foreigner, because people did not trust, that I can speak in English. I spoke already fluently; I did not apply for a warehouse or a cleaner job because I do not speak; but a lot of them didn't trust that I can speak to that level…so that I can work as an admin worker." (Mária, 32).

Barriers, such as the insufficient English skills or lack of qualification led to initial de-skilling in the British labour market among participants. In the next section, I explore these experiences among the informants of this study.

5.3.2. De-Skilling and Exploitation

In common with other previous studies (e.g. FRCG, 2007; Parutis, 2011; Csedo, 2008; Currie, 2007), interviewees in the present study were often overqualified for the positions they occupied. The common theme was, that the lack of English skills disabled these workers to take up jobs matching their qualifications and experiences which they acquired in their home country.

Ákos, for example shared how he and his girlfriend were working in jobs, that were below their skill levels when they first arrived at the United Kingdom:

"When we arrived at [name of town] it was a bit of a shock really…my girlfriend worked in a hotel as a domestic person, she was working in an office back home…so it was mentally and physically exhausting for her really. I only managed to secure a job in a big store...but it was like a bin-man and had to deal with all the rubbish and the pay was just joke for that."
(Ákos, 35)

This is echoed in (Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2010) who also reported in their study, that A8 migrants are often employed below their skill levels and talked about the frustration highly skilled migrants experience when employers unwilling to promote them, depsite their high qulaifications or years of experience in the industry. This experience was prominent among the informants of this study as well. The next excerpt from Mária, who tried to move to a

higher position within her company, but was not successful for a long period of time, despite her very good language skills and qualification.

" After a long six months search, I found an admin job, which related to properties. I worked in this position for a year, and after that there was no permanent position so I moved to a different department. I am still with the same firm, and I hope I will be able to secure a permanent position there [...] I find this job quite difficult, because after three years you need to be very flexible for the employer would you suitable to recruit...permanently..."

(Mária, 32).

Previous studies (e.g.: Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009; Currie, 2007) highlighted the concept of 'brain waste' from CEE region, as a result of professionals from A8 countries are employed in lower sectors of the labour market which they previously were employed in. Furthermore, the concept of 'occupational skidding' was introduced (Morawska, 1997 *cited in* Currie, 2007) which migrants experience when they are working in low skilled jobs, despite being highly qualified.

In the present study, almost every single informant experienced occupational skidding. For example, János, who mostly was working as an office worker in Hungary, started to work as a cleaner when he arrived at London.

"I lived in London for some time...my first job was cleaning at night at an Indian food warehouse ...you can imagine...after the first night, I went home like almost crying ...it was that bad." (János, 33)

Participants also felt exploited by employers in the low-skills sector. In some cases, they experienced unequal treatment at work, whereby they got less money for the same jobs as their British counterparts in the same positions. In such cases, it often happens, when workers

do not work directly for the company but use recruitment agencies to access the labour market, either because of lack of language skills, or because the company prefer to use agencies as these provide cheaper labour (Elrick & Brinkmier, 2009). This was the case for Ákos, who explained that when he was a truck driver at one point, he experienced discrimination and unequal treatment at his place of work, where most employees were British.

"When I worked as a driver, truck driver and then one of the drivers who worked directly for that company, asked another man…why does he help me? Why he does not leave the stuff to do for the slave? […] and I earned £8.50 and they got £17 for the same job." (Ákos,35)

Exploitation, was also present in other forms, for example by employing someone without paying tax and national insurance, just because informants did not have the information on how things works in the UK and also as a result of poor language skills, which meant, they were not able to do anything about that at the time. Júlia explained how she did not realise that she was not employed officially until she was able to move to better jobs:

"Ahm…with hindsight, I can see now that I was underpaid…and they used me...and they did not care about me working for them officially or for me to have a paper…like payslips…so they did not help in anything." (Júlia, 27)

5.3.3. Moving to better jobs

Despite the occupational skidding and de-skilling experienced by participants, they did not give up and moved back to Hungary, instead in many cases, they either choose to complete further studies here in order to secure better positions for themselves, or they progressed within their company and were promoted. This motivation, to better themselves and move upwards in the labour market is a prominent feature of CEE migrants' labour market experiences (Currie, 2007; Csedo, 2008; Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2010).
Mária, decided to go back to University to complete her education and after that, she was able to change jobs, which resulted in better hours and better pay:

"In September 2012, I decided to continue my studies and so I chose a property management course. I completed it in July 2015…and after a long six months search, I found an admin job which is relating to properties" (Mária, 32).

However, not all participants decided to further their education in that manner, instead they chose to either improve their English to gain access to better jobs, by attending free language courses; or in some cases, they took up volunteer jobs in the hope, they could find paid employment through that. Angéla, who started to work as a hotel cleaner when she initially moved to Lodon. However, she faced a difficult time when she moved to Manchester as she was unemployed for an extended period of time. In the next excerpt, she explains how she did not give up finding work:

"Even when I was unemployed, I did not sit at home. I volunteered in Manchester for two different places. One of them was Manchester Catherdal and the other one was the Asylum support Housing Advice…so even then I did something." (Angéla, 36)

This is supported by previous findings, where migrant workers take up any jobs, then later on moves into better jobs, until they find their "dream job" (Currie, 2007; Parutis, 2011; pp. 47). Some informant, for example Jòzsef, was able to do that:

"I have a Magazine here, Mizu Magazine…so I got to the point where I am happier to do a job for myself…"

Even those, who did not find their 'dream position'; still progressed through the labour market and secured better jobs, with better pay. János for example, now have a flexible position at a well-known distribution firm, which he really enjoys:

"I started to work at [organisation], after this restaurant thing…and I am not saying this is the best workplace ever, but here it is not so bad…and here I work in a field…well I am not saying I enjoy it every day but I see a perspective…that I see that it would be good to make a career here…".

While participants moved to better jobs, the initial challenges they experienced because of their language skills, still had an effect on them. Although, it did not stop informants getting a better job, it caused significant issues with self-esteem and dissatisfaction with themselves, once they started to work. Júlia below explains she did not feel ready to teach, even though she had the qualifications to do so and managed to secure a music teacher job, because of her language competence. Júlia worked as a nanny for an Indian family, before she started to teach Music in schools.

"…and a year after I arrived at England, I got my first teaching job…music teaching job. I did not feel ready English wise, it was very difficult to communicate with children…because a lot of the times children use the language incorrectly and sometimes, I could not understand what they talk about…" (Júlia, 27)

Many Hungarians, especially the younger generation, arrive to the UK with sufficient English skills to allow them to work; however, it is not enough for advancement. Placing it in the wider social context, Moreh (2014) notes, that people in Hungary are generally dissatisfied with their foreign language competencies and this is evidenced in the findings of foreign-language competencies across the EU (KSH, 2014). Subsequently, being dissatisfied or frustrated with their language competency, even if they can communicate effectively, seems to be a common phenomenon among Hungarians.

5.4 Conclusions

Although, informants' experiences differed in some ways, depending of their level of language skills and also on their initial qualifications from their home country, all informants managed to secure jobs with better pay and conditions, over time while they improved their English as well. Now, they all work in jobs, which they satisfied with and most of them can foresee the opportunity for advancement in their chosen profession. Moreover, most informants also managed, to set footholds in England over the years, by for example buying their own home or starting a family here.

However, on the 23rd June 2016, their life, which they created here in the United Kingdom, was ruptured by the Referendum Vote. In the next section, I will explore how the Referendum vote invoked uncertainty and mistrust in Hungarian workers and how, in any ways, it changed their future plans here in the UK.

Chapter Six: Hungarian Workers' Post-Referendum Experiences:

6.1. Introduction

In June 2016, a small majority of voters decided that the UK should leave the European Union (Lulle, Morosanu, & King, 2018). This left many EU migrants in uncertainty in relation to their future lives in the UK. In this chapter, I explore Hungarian workers reaction to the Brexit vote and provide an insight into how they made sense of the result. Furthermore, I discuss whether Brexit impacted on their lives and their trajectories.

6.2   Making Sense of the Result

All informants of this study expected, that the UK will vote against leaving the EU. This was expressed unanimously among participants. I chose to include the following quote by Angéla, because she expresses a sense of belonging when she talks about her expectations. This, I think illustrates that after spending years here, some of these workers really feel at home and for that reason, the result of the vote, affected them on multiple levels.

I was waiting…well I expected that we will choose to stay in the European Union…"
(Angela, 36).

As I mentioned above, Angéla expresses a sense of belonging by referring to voters as "*we*", despite the fact, that she did not have the right to vote and she does not have settled status in the UK yet. It is therefore no surprise, that participants felt quite emotional about the result. However, there was a sense of disbelief as well, and some of the participants, still believes that Brexit might not happen after all.

" Now..ahm…maybe that sounds crazy, but I thought for some reason…I thought, that Brexit will not happen. And till…on this day…I have a question mark in my head,whether Brexit will go through or not." (Júlia, 27)

Three sub-themes emerged in relation to how participants' made sense of the result and these were the following '*feeling shocked*'; '*sense of mistrust*' and '*rationalisation of the result*'. These will be explored in more detail respectively.

6.2.1. Feeling Shocked

Participants felt shocked, when the result was announced. For some, this sense of shock turned into a physical sensation. Pál in the next excerpt, talks about how he felt when he first heard the news.

"So..when I woke up the next morning,the first thing I did was checking the news and I was very-very surprised…It was like a big punch in my stomach" (Pál, 48)

This sense of being punched, is echoed elsewhere in the literature (Lulle, Morosanu, & King, 2018). They also reported that participants felt 'shock and horror' (Lulle, Morosanu & King, 2018, pp.: 7.) about the outcome of the vote and felt, that the World turned upside down. These quotes shows how strongly informants felt about the result of the Referendum vote, especially considering that they did not have the right vote despite the fact that they are effected the most by this result.

6.2.2. Sense of Mistrust

However, some participants viewed the result in a different light. They also were emotional and shocked, but they also felt let down by the country and expressed a loss of trust, which made them question if they wanted to stay here in the UK. This is illustrated in the next quote by János:

"More like…the question is..if my surrondings think, that I should leave, so if I experience in my immediate surrondings, that they do not want to see me here…than I will not hang on to this, even if I have the opportunity to do so legally…ahm, this was my first thought."
This sense of trust, was echoed in other participants' narrative as well:
"Despite of working in jobs which they….people who, who…who voted with a YES…would not do. I experienced like a loss in trust…and very-very upset about this." (Pàl, 48)

6.2.3. Rationalization of the Result

Informants were also trying to rationalise the result of the Referendum, as well as finding reasons why England would still need them as workers. Participants believed that the

outcome of the vote was a result of misinforming the public, about what Brexit would really mean to the country. This is reflected in the next quote below:

"I think, although I have not been interested in British Politics, I think they decieved English people when they announced this Referendum.I think this nation was misinformed, and they will see the effects now…the whole of the British nation…" (Tibor, 40)

One of the salient feature of the leave campaign was, that England should take back the control over its borders (Lulle & Morosanu & King, 2017) and there was also strong propaganda aiming at eastern european workers, who "steal british jobs" (Wadsworth, Dhingra, & Reenen, 2015). This was something that informants were very aware of, and this was one of the issues, they believed that the nation was misinformed on. Moreover, it is glaring how informants believe that leave voters do not understand how Brexit may impact on them and their own economy and perhaps they only see, that migration will cease (Lulle, Morosanu, & King, 2017).

For example, Ákos talks about how his colleauge did not have an understanding of what it would entail, if they would leave the EU.

"I am not even go into that…all those English people…who do not have a clue about these basic things..such as what are the consequences…like if they want to buy French cheese later..then they will need to pay custom duty on that…and they do not have a clue…".

Another quote by József, also discusses the voters, who, perhaps were misinformed.

"Relating to Brexit, I would still say-maybe this would make a lot f people upset-but I would think about who would I let vote in such an important issue. I do not believe that in democracy there is a rule that we let such people vote, about something- including me if necessary-who does not understand a thing about the issue they vote on."

It is clear from this accounts, that infromants strongly believed that people who voted, did not have all the information and in some cases, they more than that, perhaps their ability to understand what would it entil, if they would leave the EU.

6.3   Impacts and Future Intentions

6.3.1. Feeling Uncertain

The uncertanity in relation to future rights of EU citizens in the UK, resulted in some serious consideration of the future plans of informants; especially because most of them did not think about legalising their status uptill that point as they enjoyed the same rights as British people insofar.

"Well, I am waiting for some information as well… on that, because the situation is so uncertain at the minute…like no one knows what will happen…and when I say no one knows, I really mean no one…so not sure what will happen." (Angéla, 36)

Most participants however enviasged a future here in the UK, despite the uncertanities and believed that even they do not stay forever, they will certainly spend a few more years here in the UK. When asked whether they felt that Brexit would impact on their job opportunities, they were quite certain that they would not be effected to a great extent; and they rationalised why England would still need EU workers, even after Brexit.

" Well, I can tell you that I do not believe that we need to be afraid…because I have studied economics in Hungary…so if you think about it…maybe 4 million EU citizens here…workers…so if all of them would leave the UK, there would be a huge problem for sure. I am sure the economy would really struggle, and I do not believe that they would let this happen. Until there is a way for us to stay, they will ensure we will." (Ákos, 35)

Interestingly, despite having difficulties to find another job since the Referendum, Ákos expressed emphaty towards employers, exactly because of the uncertainty of Brexit:

"I do understand employers, that they try to recruit people who does not or will not have problem in the future, in realtion to their stay…because of Brexit." (Ákos, 35)

6.3.2. Perceived Impacts

Zita who is working part –time at her partner's firm and has two children, also believed that she does not need to be afraid, but instead of emphasisising economic reasons, she talked about her family as safety nets in England.

" I do not think, that I am in danger because of Brexit…I am working and my children are here…my partner is English, so I do not think that I could be in any danger because of that." (Zita, 38)

Although we can see from these quotes, that informants are not overly worried about the effects of Brexit on them; they were still contemplating the potential effects and whether they would have opportunites to move forward in the paid labour market.

Ákos, for example who had struggled to secure a job for some time, attributed that, in part at least, to the Referendum results:

"I think it has affected it in a way…I think there were some places, where I did not get a job, because there is a degree of uncertainty because of Brexit. It was very difficult to get here [get a job in his profession]; partly because I did not have any English experience in my profession, but I am sure it was also largely, bacause I came from the EU as companies do not want people who are not 100% sure will stay here." (Ákos, 35)

There are more of a myth though, about other people being refused jobs because they are EU citizens and informants were sharing those stories about others in some cases:

 " Well, we heard that at some factories, employees or cleaners …they did not get employed because they did not have British passports." (Jùlia, 27)

Informants in some instances experieneced negative attitude change towards them at work as well, but mostly employers and colleauges seemed to be supportive towards them and in one way or another. They showed their appreciation or tried to reassure them about their position at the company.

Júlia did not experience negative change toward herself after the Referendum, however she talked about how they changed toward her husband at his work:

" Ahha…well, my husband experienced some racist comments…but it was not too bad, mostly like English humuor …ahm, which can be harsh sometimes."

Angéla, on the other hand talked about the support she and others received at work and this was echoed in most informants' account:

" Well, they [workmates] were actually very nice after that…they reassured me, thet surly I can stay..and they were really nice…and also my company, which is a French company…sent us letter early on…they sent a letter to each employee; that if we were foreigners…we should feel reassured and safe because the company will stand by us." (Angéla, 36)

6.3.3. Future Intentions

Despite the uncertainty that Brexit brings into informants' lives, they all foresee their future here in the UK, except for one, who stated that she and her family will move but it is not because of Brexit. The reason behind this could be, that even with all the negative experience which they had, the differences in wages and living standards between Hungary and the UK (Galgoczi, Leschke, & Watt, 2009) made it worth it. Furthermore, for some participants, the political situation in Hungary, the regime of Viktor Orban and the corruption that goes with it, is yet another reason to stay, despite of Brexit. This is echoed in the next transcript by Júlia:

"…and also here I think the political situation is more stable regardless of Brexit. Legislations do not happen overnight, not in five minutes just because someone on the train decides that they will overwrite the constitution and the time the train arrives, there is a new constitution in Hungary […] I think it is more stable, and the country is more liveable even on the minimum wage compare to Hungary." (Júlia, 27)

When asked about their plans on legalising their status in England, informants fell into 2 categories. One group felt, that it was not necessary either because they did not plan to stay here for too long or because they still believed as EU citizens they have the right to stay here. The other group, however, felt that they will need to apply for settled status or citizenship as soon as possible, as they already made their life here and did not plan to leave the UK, even when Brexit happens.

Zita (38) belonged to the first group:

" I am a Hungarian and Romanian dual citizen..but I am not British and I do not even plan to apply for it, as we do not really want to stay in England. " (Zita, 38)

She, and her family decided to look for a new home in Portugal. However, this she insisited, was not because of Brexit, but because they really like Portugal and decided to make it their home.

Attila (39), on the other hand represented the other group:

"Yes, we will get both the residency card and the citizenship as well…".

However, it was also clear from these accounts, that even though informants agreed, that they want to legalise their statuses; they felt uneasy about this, because they felt they are already here legally.

Others felt disappointed as before it would be their choice to apply for citizenship, however now it became a neccesity, which left a bad taste in their mouth.

"Well…this thing, the legalisation of the status is a funny one..as we are here legally…as we came here as the citizens of the EU…so this is a very silly thing, because we do not need to legalise nothing…but yes, we thought about it." (Angéla, 36)

Although Brexit affected informants' decision in a way, e.g. Júlia felt, that they would need to hurry to apply for citizenship in the case of no deal; yet she and others are also expressed that Brexit does not scare them and if they would leave England, it would be for some other reason and not because of Brexit.

"Even if there will be Brexit, and it would be difficult to stay here…we would be in a hurry to gain settled status…and citizenship too, because we want to stay here. But even this does not scare us, and we still want to stay…live here." (*Jùlia*, 27)

6.4   Conclusion

In line with previous literature (e.g. Lulle, Morosanu, & King, 2017); most of the informants found the Referendum result shocking and unexpected. As they are trying to make sense of the results, they question whether they should leave or stay in the UK as since the Referendum, some of them feel unwanted. However, from the findings of this study, overall Hungarian workers did not feel that they are legally affected to a great extent and their experiences within the labour market has not changed greatly.

As Ákos puts it:

"Since the Referendum… I did not notice any difference. Before and after the Referendum, people relate to me the same way…before the referendum there were a lot of people, whom I feel they do not like immigrants at all…those still don't like them…even after the Referendum. I do not believe that this changed people's attitude…" (Ákos)

Yet, Brexit still affected participants in many ways and I believe that maybe the psychological effects might more severe than any practical implications. However, more studies needs to be done to confirm these emerging findings. This is further discussed in **Chapter 7**.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions

7.1   Introduction

The aim of this research project was to explore how the UK's decision to leave the European Union impacts on Hungarian workers experiences. Furthermore, it aimed to understand how Brexit shapes their future plans in the United Kingdom or perhaps in another member state of the EU. In order to generate a greater understanding of their experiences in the era of Brexit, the study set out to answer three research questions.

Firstly, to set the scene, I explored Hungarian workers' labour market experiences prior to the EU Referendum. Secondly, I examined the perceived impacts of the Referendum and subsequent negotiations on Hungarian workers' labour market experiences. Lastly, I highlighted the impacts of Brexit on Hungarian workers' future plans in the United Kingdom. As such, I employed a qualitative approach and conducted 10 in-depth interviews with Hungarian workers, who live and work in Manchester.

The literature review highlighted some of the main features of CEE migrant workers' experiences in the UK prior the Referendum, which were in line with the findings of the present study. These included the notion of de-skilling as well, as some migration patterns and strategies, which are discussed as the conceptual framework of the thesis. However, most of the previous literature focused mainly on Polish migrants and their experiences prior to the Referendum. In the present study in order to fill the gap in the literature, I explored

specifically Hungarian workers' experiences as they are under-represented in migration research (Csedo,2008). Furthermore, I also investigated their experiences post-referendum and examined how Brexit shapes their future plans in the United Kingdom. I discussed the findings of the study in two separate chapters, **Chapter 5** and **Chapter 6**, to represent the rupture Brexit causes in Hungarian workers' life.

In this chapter, first I present the summary of the main findings from the analysis. Under section **7.3** I consider the limitations and strengths of the study, and make suggestions for future research. In section **7.4**, I address reflexivity. Finally, in the last section, I outline some final thoughts in relation to the research project.

7.1   Summary of Main Findings

Overall the findings of this research in relation to Hungarian workers' labour market experiences supported previous literature (Csedo, 2008; Currie, 2008; Currie ,2007; Ciupijus, 2011). I discussed the first two master themes in the context of pre- Referendum experienes in **Chapter 5.** ; while I explored the third and fourth master themes in **Chapter 6.** in the context of post-Referendum experiences.

As such, I set the scene for the topic was by discussing the *diverse motivation* with which Hungarian workers arrived to the UK after the enlargement. This showed, that while economic reasons were among the most prominent factors, other factors such as family reunion, studying or seeking adventure, were also contributed to the decision to migrate. This finding is line with Ryan & Sales's (2011); and Ryan's (2015) findings, who also found that motivations of CEE migrants are far more complex than to fit into a single category.

Next, under "*upward mobility within the labour market*"; I discussed the three sub-themes: *barriers of gaining employment*, the phenomenon of *de-skilling and exploitation* and finally *moving on to better jobs*. Again, findings of the present study found similar results to previous literature (Bonin, 2008; Ciupijus, 2011; Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2010; Csedo, 2008; Currie, 2007). Hungarian workers, also experienced initial de-skilling once they arrived to the UK, mostly as a result of insufficient language skills; however also because of the fact, that qualifications from Hungary do not get easily recognised by the British system. Nevertheless, most informants of the study, after a certain period in low-paid sector, managed to moved to better jobs. This was due to either educational attintment in the UK, or simply as a result of

acquiring better language skills, after which they were able to secure better jobs. This, being highly mobile in the labour market, also re-iterated in previous literature on CEE migrants (e.g.: Ciupijus, 2011).

The third and the fourth master theme was discussed in the context of post-Referendum experiences. As such, the third theme "*Making Sence of the Results*", highlighted informants' shock when they realised that Britain decided to leave the European Union. Most participants felt, that they have lost their trust in the British public, and the Government. They responded to this, by attempting to rationalise the results for themselves; which included a narrative around the fact, that the UK will need EU citizens as they are hard working and do jobs, which British people was not be prepared to do. Furthermore, another narrative which emerged under this sub-theme was, the fact that most voters did not know what did they vote for. Lastly, some participants are still believe today, that eventually Brexit will not happen; as this would severely damage the British economy.

The last master theme, "*Impacts and Future Intentions*" explored how Hungarian workers think Brexit will impact on their lives and their advancement in the British labour market. Uncertainty was a common theme among informants, as they believe that no one knows for sure what will happen after Brexit and how it will impact on them. Some believed, that they might have to leave, however most informants had a strong belief that because of their length of time in the UK, their lives will not be ruptured as much. However, future intentions of most participants, is to legalise their status, in order to ensure that they are "safe", despite of Brexit. This shows, that although they are sure to a certain extent that they can live here and work as prior to Brexit, their uncertainty is stronger, thus they plan to either legalise their status, or as in the case of one of the participant, to move somewhere else.

In the next section I outline, the limitations and strentghs of the present study and the possible directions for future research.

7.2   Limitations, Strengths and Future Directions for Research

One of the main limitations of this study is the time frame in which it needed to be completed. As this study was conducted as part of an MRes degree, it needed to be completed in a year. Consequently, this affected the sample size, as this time frame would have not allowed me to thoroughly analyse the yielded data of fifteen interviews, hence the reason why I decided to recruit only 10 participants.

Furthermore, including returnees in the research, would have helped me to gain a fuller understanding of possible and actual trajectories of Hungarian migrant workers and would also enabled me to extend the scope of this thesis.

The other major limitation of the study relates to its research design. I recognise here, that a mixed-research design, with an online survey method, would have yielded valuable data, from which the statistical results could have been inferred to the wider Hungarian diaspora in the United Kingdom. Subsequently, the results could have directed the qualitative part of my research, which would have complemented the results of the survey data. Moreover, in relation to qualitaive methods, the use of focus groups would have been beneficial as this would have enabled informants to discuss their experiences among themselves, which would resulted in richer data. As Willing (2001) notes, the strength of the focus group as a data collection method, lies in the fact that it fosters participants' dicussion, thus different viewpoints are challenged, extended and developed. This results in rich data for the resarcher, while it also provides an insight into how participant defends their position or in fact change their minds during those exchanges. I believe that in relation to Brexit, this could have been particulary interesting and would have enhanced the scope and quality of the present study.

Furthermore, two out of the ten interviews were conducted online, without a video camera. On one hand, this could be seen as an innovative interview method, however on the other hand it is also a limitation as this not allowed for the collection of non-verbal data.

Lastly, a the final limitation of the study relates to the fact, that this research was a bilingual project, as interviews were recorded in Hungarian and were subsequently transcribed in Englinsh. This arguably, could result in some loss of meaning. However, I did my best to overcome this limitation by listening to each audio files a couple of times, while reading the English transcripts to ensure that they truly reflect the Hungarian audio material. However, the use of Hungarian during the interviewing process can also be seen as a strenght of the project as this enabled participants to fully express themselves without any language barrier.

Future research in this field should explore CEE migrants' post-Brexit experiences in the United Kingdom. One strand of research could focus on how CEE migrants identity is negotiated in the era of Brexit, despite of the legal assurances of the Government in regards to their future rights.

Furthermore, CEE migrants' access to social housing, welfare and social support should also be explored, with specific focus on health care. I strongly believe that as a result of Brexit, CEE migrants who will remain in the UK, will be among the marganilised groups and therefore will be more at risk of becoming homeless as well, as experiencing barrier to access free health care if they will be excluded from the National Health Services.Therefore post-Brexit research into this field should include highlighting those risks and making policy recommendations.

7.3   Reflexivity

An important methodological consideration in qualitative research, is the researcher's positionality within the project. In positivist tradition; the researcher ought to keep an analytical distance from the study and has to remain objective throughout. However, in qualitative research the involvement with participants is encouraged, especially during the interviewing process (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). In historical context, the role of the interview was understood as being the "pipeline for transmitting knowledge" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p.68); while the flow of knowledge has been perceived to be uni-directional; from participants to researcher. This view has changed, and in contemporary research' the interview is understood as a 'conversation', during which knowledge is socially constructed between researcher and participant (Nowicka & Ryan, 2015). Therefore, researchers now see the interviewing process, as crucial part of knowledge construction; while the positionality of the researcher has also become a focal point in academic debates (Ganga & Scott, 2006). Thus, it is argued (Amaratunga, 2002; Creswell, 2003; Collins & Hussey 2009; Unluer, 2012) that the role of the researcher needs to be acknowledged in order to produce a credible qualitative project. In line with this, Unluer (2012) suggest that researchers can have a variety of roles when conducting their study. One of these roles is based on the membership of the group which they are researching. This role can range from an '*insider'* to an '*outsider'* (Adler & Adler, 1994). However, there are different ways of defining what is meant by an *insider-* and *outsider* researcher. For example, Breen (2007) suggests, that insider-researchers are those, who study a group, which they belong to; whereas outsider researchers are those, who do not have a membership of the group which they study. In addition,

Nowicka & Ryan (2015) argue, that in "*insider*" research, participants and the researcher share the same cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national and religious heritage. However, Ganga & Scott (2006) suggests that being an "*insider*" is a multi-layered concept, and it is more complex than being a part of the group which is studied or not. They suggest, that being an insider affrods the researchers to a degree of social proximity, which will make both of the researcher and participants more aware of their social differences e.g.: generation or social status. Consequently, the rapport between the participant and researcher could be ruptured intermittently during the interviewing process. Therefore, the researcher and participants continually negotiationg their roles during the interview Ganga & Scott (2006). Furthermore, Deutsch (1981) argues, that the "presumed" position of an insider matters at each stage of the project, and that multi-positionalities should be acknowledged rather than the dicthotomy of the "*insider*" and "*outsider*". This view is also supported by Berger (2015) who suggests, that the position of the researcher affects the research process in three major ways. First, it affects the field as informants might be more willing to share their stories if they believe the researcher is symphatetic to their situation. Secondly, it shapes the relationship between the informants and the researcher, which will determine the information participants are comfortable to share, for example migrant women might be more comfortable to share their stories with a female researcher as they expect them to go through similar experiences. Finally, the worldview and the background of the researcher will have an impact on how she/he using the language or poses her/his questions during the interviewing process. Moreover, the values and beliefs of the researcher will also determine the lens, which through she/he will decide to filter the data which they collected, during the analytical process. Thus, it might shape the findings and conclusions of the study.

Consequently, in the next section, I address my position and role within the present study which accounted for my values, beliefs and biases throughout the research in order to enhance the quality of this project.

I see my position during this research project as fluid in a way. First of all, I am a Hungarian migrant myself, thus in that sense I am an "insider" as I share the cultural and linguistic heritage of my participants. This offered three advantages during the research process when studying the familiar (Padgett, 2008); easier entrée, having previous knowledge about the topic and having an understanding of nuanced reactions of the informants. Being Hungarian enhanced my recruitment process, as potential informants were enthusiastic and very co-operative, thus I had a quite large pool of participants available. They felt confident that I will understand their experiences better than a non-immigrant researcher would. This fostered the development of a strong rapport between myself and the informants, which was further enhanced by our shared language as I recorded the interviews in Hungarian. My status as an immigrant, affected the data collection and the analytical process, as I approached the study with prior knowledge (e.g.: shared cultural and linguistic background), and this helped me to identify and address certain topics, which otherwise might not be addressed. Sharing the experience of migration with the informants, diminished the distance between them and myself and pushed me to explore topics which otherwise I would not. Furthermore, being an insider, I was able to understand implied content and I was also familiar with the Hungarian slang that informants used at times, thus I was able to understand informants' responses in a multileveled way. For example, I not only understood what they mean when they talk about the current political climate of Hungary as a push factor, but could also pick up on the fact, that exactly because of this climate, the word "*migrant*" has a very negative connotations among Hungarians. Therefore, as a result of this shared knowledge, I decided to swap the

expression "*migrant worker*" to EU workers, during the interviewing process, to ensure they would not feel offended.

However, being an insider also comes with certain disadvantages as discussed by (Drake, 2010), as familiarity can blur the boundaries; impose the values and beliefs of the researcher on informants. This has been recognized especially when researching minority groups, as the "dual-identity" of being the researcher, as well as member of the researched group, can shape the research process (e.g.: Brayboy, 2000). For example, participants sometimes did not finish their sentences based on the assumptions, that I will know what they mean as I am coming from the same socio-political background. Therefore, I had to remind my informants in some cases, that while we share the experience of migration from Hungary to the UK, it is still a unique experience for everyone and instead of assuming, I would like to hear their stories. I also needed to monitor myself as I at times I fell into the trap of assuming what they felt or thought about Brexit and needed to ensure I "*hear what they say*" and do not project my own feelings and thoughts during the analytical process. This is referred to as the researcher's self-involvement (Cloke et al., 2000) to an extent which blocks hearing the informants' voices. It was very difficult at times, to use my own experience as a Hungarian migrant myself, to access all the aforementioned benefits of being an insider, while not to impose my own beliefs and feelings on my informants. This meant, that during the analytic process, I had to use bracketing (Sullivan, Gibson, & Riley, 2012) a technique that enables the researcher to put aside their pre-conceived ideas and prior knowledge (Smith, 2009), and also meant I needed to be extra rigorous when analysing the data.

Furthermore, shared experiences can also affect the power relationship between the researcher and the researched. For example, it can create for the informants the sense of comparison or competition. Therefore, some informant could feel intimidated by my accomplishment as a migrant and this might created some distance. However, most

participants expressed how this give them hope in terms of what they can achieve over time. Furthermore, my role as an insider was also interrupted at times, because of the very different migration journey I had, compared to most of the informants'. My migration was planned and arranged through an agency, therefore when I arrived, a job, an accommodation was waiting for me which reduced uncertainty upon arrival to a great extent. Moreover, when I arrived, I was already fluent in English and started to work at the International Train station in London and I did not experience exploitation or de-skilling. In contrast, some of the informants in this study, arrived with no plans, no arrangements in terms of jobs and accommodation and most of them with very limited language skills. Therefore, their migration journey significantly differed from mine, thus creating a sense of comparison between myself and the participants. Furthermore, at the time of recording the interviews; I was already in the process of acquiring my British Citizenship, and during the last few interviews I was already a British Citizen as well, as Hungarian. This, during some of the interview, put me in the position of an '*outsider*', when questions were asked about securing legal status because of Brexit; which created a distance between me and the informants. It was, at times very difficult to keep my position as a researcher during data collection, as I struggled not to share my own experiences, which were similar to that of the participants'. I constantly found myself pondering over the question of how much should I share about my own experiences, however as I conducted more interviews; I found the balance between sharing my own story and imposing my values and beliefs, which yielded deeper conversations than keeping my distance did.

Finally, I need to acknowledge here that I had my own political views about Brexit, which again could have an impact on the data analytic process. However, I was carefully attending to those biases, so that it does not impact on informants' accounts; yet it needs to be

noted that I analysed my data through the lens of my own political stance in regard to Brexit, which was the position of a "remainer".

Being reflexive throughout this research was crucial, so that I remained vigilant to how it shaped the whole process and by acknowledging this, I managed to reduce some of the biases in this study. However, as it is widely acknowledged in academia, qualitative research can never be truly objective (Willig, 2001), hence the reason why reflexivity needs to be exercised throughout the research process, to monitor the tension between the involvement and detachment of the researcher and informants to enhance the rigor of the research (Bradbury-Jones, 2007).

7.5 Final Thoughts

This project could be seen as unique as it explored Hungarian workers' experiences, an underrepresented A8 national group, in academia. Furthermore, it explored their experiences solely and in the context of Brexit, thus this thesis adds a unique contribution to the field of study.

Although it was not the aim of the study to draw a connection between the findings and new migration patterns (Favell, 2008); however, as the thesis developed it felt more and more important, to draw attention to this aspect of the research project. Therefore, this section is concerned with these connections and draws parallel between the findings and these new, intra-EU migration patterns and strategies.

The first two master themes are concerned with the experiences of Hungarian workers, in specific, their *motivation to migrate*; and the *upward mobility within the paid labour market*, prior to the EU Referendum. Findings clustered around these two master themes, highlight a clear connection between migrants' motivation and the new types of migration patterns and strategies of CEE migrants (Düvell & Vogel, 2006; Trevena, 2013; Eade, Drinkwater, & Garapich, 2006; Grabowska-Lusinska & Oko'Iski, 2009). For example, migrants who come with the intention to increase their economic capitals, are transnational migrants; who have strong bonds in both their home- and destination country. They tend to send home remittances either to support their family or to re-invest in their home country. Furthermore, they tend to plan to stay for limited period of time, save up some capital as "*Hamsters*" in the typology of Eade, Drinkwater, & Garapich (2006).

Another example is, when migrants arrive to seek adventure; this category of migrants who arrive with "*Unpredictable intentions*" (Grabowska-Lusinska & Oko'Iski, 2009); just like some of the participants in the present study, whom came without a clear purpose and therefore they just tried their luck. They tend to keep their options open and they fell into the category of "Global nomads" (Düvell & Vogel, 2006); living and working in multiple countries, and they are ready to move from one country to another one. Thus, they are highly mobile and tend to be young professionals. Furthermore, the notion of "*liquid and dynamic*" migration patterns (Engbersen & Snel, 2013) among CEE workers also emerged from the present findings. For example, as King (2013) suggested, temporary migrants can turn into settlers; which was mirrored in the experiences of some of the informants of the study. An example of this is, János, who only intended to stay for a couple of years to gain economic capital and then move on; however he is living here for 9 years and started to build his career here in the UK:

"England seemed like the Jumping desk for me…in the first round, however I ended up staying for quite long…(laughs). But I do not necessarily think, that I will stay here forever…" (János, 33)

In addition, the analysis of findings revealed that settlement intentions and the plans to legalise their status before Brexit are partly shaped by "*anchors*" (Gryzmala-Kazlowska & Brozozoeska, 2017) such as family here in the UK; social networks which migrant workers build around themselves and also their career development. Some of the participants in the present study for example expressed how having children who attends school in the UK, shapes their decision to stay or legalise their status. This was the case with József, who expressed that they intend to stay here at least until their daughter finishes primary school:

"Well, we are really homesick, both my wife and me… it is for sure that until my daughter…she is in year 3 now. I am sure we will stay here until she is in year 6…then we will see what is going to happen." (József, 48)

Furthermore, Júlia talked about how important an elderly couple have become in their lives, and expressed that strong connections to her neighbourhood and this has contributed her decision to legalise her status:

" … and it is not specifically Manchester….we locally, feel that in Warrington…we like it very much…especially because there is an English old couple there…who helped us a lot in the beginning…to move, going to the airport, going up and down…showed us thing and we feel…we meet them regularly …we celebrate with them the birthdays …with their family together, and …we feel as if they are my grandparents and for my husband…like they are their parents…it is like that a bit and so … even if there will be Brexit…and it would be more difficult to stay here…because of the possible agreement with the EU…we would be in a hurry then to gain settled status…and citizenship too because we want to stay here.
(Júlia, 27)

Finally, leading transnational lives and being highly mobile was also reiterated in the findings. For example, Zita positioned herself as a dual citizen; Hungarian and Romanian at the same time and despite her having an English spouse; she stated, that she does not wish to apply for citizenship because their intention is to move from the UK to another country:

"My partner always wanted like a holiday home in Cyprus…but it became quite expensive there and so we decided to get one in Portugal as we went there a lot, we like it a lot there. We do not know yet, when as our children are in school and nursery here…so we are waiting for them to finish. But we would like to live there for sure." (Zita, 38)

Furthermore, all of the participants have got quite strong connections to Hungary; either through familial bonds and friendships; but in some cases, it goes beyond that and for example Júlia shares that she still got property and investments in Hungary, despite of her intentions to settle down permanently in the UK:

"But, I do have some investment there…and account and savings for a property….so I have those. But we do not plan to keep them in Hungary, but we plan to bring them here…when the pounds-forint is a bit better. Yes, my husband has a flat there, but we could pay all our loan now there…so we paid the mortgage and my student loan…so we do not have negative balance there…from that point of view…only positive. "(Júlia, 27)

This research project found strikingly similar findings about the experiences of Hungarian workers to those who come from other CEE countries, however shed a new light on how they perceive implications of Brexit on their labour market opportunities and plans in the UK. Some of them decided to secure their legal status, which they thought was not necessary before; while others decided to take on and "wait and see" approach. Finally, some informants decided to try their luck in a third country, thus, legalising their status is not something they are planning to do. Despite of the diverse motivations and strategies of these participants, one thing is for sure. Brexit ruptures their lives, and the Referendum itself was a major shock for most of them. Consequently, they lost their trust to a certain extent in the UK's Government as well, as the general public. Finally, as they tried to rationalise the

results, many of the informants expressed how they believe that people only voted to leave as they were misinformed, or they did not know what they were voting for. This is reflected in the next quote by Tibor (40) who said:

"I think, although I have not been interested in British Politics, they deceived English people when they announced this Referendum. I think the nation was misinformed and they will see the effects now, "

While this seems to be reiterated by public discourse; upon analysing the data, it seemed to me that based on one of the master themes, "*Making Sense of the Results*" ; Brexit could be seen as a psychological trauma in some cases. Informants first *felt shocked*; this was followed by a *sense of mistrust*- whereby they lost their trust in the UK's Government and British people; and finally, when they rationalised the result, they tried to minimalise the psychological impacts of feeling the rejection by their host society. This is well reflected in the next quote:

"I felt as if they punched me in my stomach…somehow I felt, that this country does not want me anymore." (Pál,48).

Although more evidence needed to support this idea, this could be a good starting point from which further inquiry could be made, because for these informants Brexit had more of a psychological impact, as they all expressed that they already did or will secure their legal status, therefore they were not concerned about practical implications. However, "*feeling unwanted*"; "*feeling uncertain*" and "*losing trust*" was a more of an issue for them, alongside with the fear of possible raise in racism and xenophobia.

Angéla (36) for example shared that at one point she was scared to speak once got on the bust, in fear of disclosing that she was a foreigner:

"I used the bus to go to work…and I remember there were 3 bus drivers who had the "Leave" badge on them while they were driving. And they said it many times…well when I showed them the bus pass, they pointed at their badge which said, "vote to leave". And I think as a worker of such company, they should not do that…I got on as a foreigner and I was even scared to say hello…you know because of my accent."

Thus, I believe that Brexit ruptures CEE migrants' lives in different levels. Apart from its practical implications, such as rights to free movement, work and welfare support; I believe that the psychological consequences of Brexit should also be explored.

In specific, identity negotiations of CEE migrants should be the next steps in this field of study. This is especially important, as the uncertainty that Brexit brought to EU citizens' lives is far from over, and this adds to the possible psychological impacts on those affected.

Bibliography

Adler, P., & Adler, P. (1994). Observational Techniques. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitaive Research* (pp. 377-392.). CA: Sage.

Amelina, A., & Faist, T. (2012). De-naturalizing the national in research methodologies: key concepts of transnational studies in migration. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 35*(10), 1707-1724.

Anderson, B., Ruhs, B., & Rogaly, B. e. (2006). *Fair enough? Central and Eastern European Migrants in low-wage employment in the UK*. Retrieved from COMPAS Oxford: http://compas.ox.ac.uk/changingstatus

Anderson, B., Ruhs, M., Rogaly, B., & Spencer, S. (2006). *Central and Eastern European Migrants in Low Wage Employment in the UK.* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation .

Andor, L. (2014). Labour Mobility in the EU: Challanges and Perspectives for a genuine EU Labour Market . (pp. 1-5.). European University Institute.

Andreson, B., Ruhs, M., Spencer, S., & Rogay, B. (2006). *Changing Status, changing lives? The socio-economic impact of EU enlargement on low-wage migrant labour in the UK.* University of Oxford, Centre on Migration & Sussex Centre for Migration. Oxford: University of Oxford & University of Sussex.

Antaki, C., Billig, M., Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (2002). Dsicourse analysis means doing analysis: a critique of six analytic shortcomings. *DAOL Discourse Analysis Online*.

Antunes, S., & Sandry, A. (2016). *UK and the EU Referendum: Which Option to take, Brexit or Bremain?* Barcelona: Institut de cliencies Politiques/Socials.

Arango, J. (2002). Explaining Migration: A Critical Review. *International Social Science* , 283-296.

Audit Commission. (2007). *Crossing Borders, Responding to the Local Challanges of Migrant Workers.* London: Audit Commission Publishing Team.

Aziz, K. (2015). Female Migrants' Work Trajectories : Polish Women in the UK Labour Market. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 87-105.

Bailey, O. (2018). *Beyond Brexit: The left agenda for the UK and the EU.* Fabian Society.

Bakewell, O. (2010). Some Reflections on Structure and Agency in Migration Studies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1689-1708.

Barany, Z. (2000). Politics and Roma in State Socialist Eastern Europe. *Communist and Post Communist Studies, 33*, 321-427.

Barjaba, K., & King, R. (2005). Introducing and Theorising Albanian Migration. In R. King, N. Mai, & S. Schwander-Sievers, *The New Albanian Migration* (pp. 1-28.). Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.

Barro, R., & X., S.-i.-M. (1991). Convergenence accross State and Regions . *Brooking Papers of Economic Activity* , 107-182.

Bartram, D., Poros, M. V., & Monforte, P. (2014). *Key Concepts in Migration .* London: Sage Publications.

Bauder, H. (2003). "Brain Abuse" or the Devaluation of Immigrant Labour in Canada . *Antipode*, 669-717.

Bauer, T. K., & Zimmermann, K. F. (1999). *Assessment of Possible Migration Pressure and its Labor Market Impact Following EU Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe.* IZA.

BBC. (2018, 08 26). *A timeline of EU*. Retrieved from www.bbc.co.uk: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3583801.stm

Berger, R. (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research, 15*(2), 219-234.

Bird, C. M. (2005). How I stopped dreading and learned to love transcription. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 225-48.

Black, R., Engbersen, G., Okloski, M., & Pantiru, C. (2010). *A Continent Moving West? EU Enlargement and Labour Market from Central and Eastern Europe.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Blaikie, N. (2007). *Approaches to Social Inquiry.* Cambridge: Polity.

Boeri, T., & Brücker, H. (2005). Why are Europeans are so tough on Immigrants? *Economic Policy, 20*(44), 629-773.

Bonin, H. (2008). *Geographic mobility in the European Union: Optimising its Economic and Social Benefits.* IZA Research Report.

Borjas, G. J. (1989). Economic Theory and International Migration. *Journal of Economic Perspective*, 457-485.

Bott, E. (2002 [1956]). Urban Families Conjugal Roles and Soical Networks. In J. S. (ed.), *Social Networks* (pp. 331-72.). New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In I. Szeman, & T. Kaposi, *Cultural Theory: An Anthology* (pp. 81-94.). West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1979). *The: Students and their Culture.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boyatzis, R. (1998). *Transforming qualitative infromation: thematic analysis and code development.* London: Sage.

Boyd, M., & Grieco, E. (2003). Women and Migration: Incoporating Gender into International Migration Theory. *Online Journal of Migration Policy*.

Bradbury-Jones, C. (2007). Enhancing rigor in qualitative health research: exploring subjectivity through Peshkin's I's. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* , 290-298.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Reaearch in Psychology*, 77-101.

Brayboy, B. (2000). The Indian and the researcher: tales from the field. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*(13), 415-426.

Breen, L. (2007). The researcher 'in the middle': Negotiating the insider/outsider dichotomy. *The Australian Community Psychologist* , 163-174.

Brettell, C. (2015). Theorising Migration in Anthropology: The Cultural, Social and Phenomenological Dimensions of Movement. In C. M. Brettel, & J. F. Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* (pp. 148-198.). London: Routledge.

British Future. (2016). *Report of Inquiry into securing the status of EEA + nationals in the UK.* London: British Future.

Brochmann, G. (1993). Control in Immigration Policies: A closed Europe in the making. In R. King, *The New Geography of European Migration* (pp. 100-115.). London.

Bygnes, S., & Bivanderdal, M. (2016). Liquid Migration, grounded lives: Considerations about future mobility and settlement among Polish and Spanish migrants in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 102-118.

Calavita, K. (2006). Gender, Migration and Law: crossing borders and bridging disciplines. *International Migration Review, 40*, 104-32.

Cassarino, J.-P. (2004). Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migration Revisited. *Journal of Multicultural Societies , 6*(2), 253-279.

Castles, S. (2008). Migration and Development: Future Directions for Research and Policy . *Social Science Research Council Conference .* New York: International Migration Institute Oxford University .

Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2009). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World .* Bshingstoke, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.

Castro-Martin, T., & Cortina, C. (2015). Demographic Issues of Intra-European Migration: Destinations, Family and Settlement. *Eur J Population*, 109-125.

Cerase, F. P. (1974). Expectations and reality: A case study of return migration from the United States to Southern Italy . *International Migration Review , 8*(2), 245-262.

Chiswick, B. (1979). The economic progression of immigrants, some appernatly universal patterns. In W. (. Feller, *Contemporary Economic Problems* (pp. 357-99.). Washington: American Enterprise Institute.

Christensen, D. H., & Dahl, C. M. (1997). Rethinking research dichotomies. *Family and Consumer Sciences Research Journal*, 269-285.

CIPD, C. (2005). *Recruitment, Retention, and Turnover, Annual Survey Report.* London: Chartered Institute of Personnel Development.

Ciupijus, Z. (2011). Mobile Central Eastern Europeans in Britain: successful European Union Citizens or disadvantaged labour migrants? *Work, Employment and Society*, 540-550.

Ciupijus, Z., & Ciupijus, Z. (2012). EU Citizens or Eastern European Labour Migrants? The Peculiar Case of Central Eastern Europeans in Britain. *The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* , 29-46.

Cloke , P., Cooke, P., & Cursons, J. (2000). Ethics, reflexivity and research: encounters with homeless people. *Ethics, Place & Environment*, 133-154.

Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of Social Theory.* Cambridge: Belknap Press.

Colman, J. (1990). *Foundations of Social Theory.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

COMPAS. (2016). *Pulling Power: Why are EU citizens migrating to the UK?* University of Oxford, Migration Observatory. Oxford: University of Oxford.

Conelly, R. I., & Conelly, J. (2018). Brexit: We will cross the that bridge when we come to it . *Marmara Journal of European Studies, 26*(1), 1-8.

Coniglio, N. D., & Brzozowski, J. (2018). Migration and Development at home: Bitter or sweet return? Evidence from Poland. *25*(1), 85-105.

Cook, J., Dwyer, P., & Waite, L. (2010). The Experiences of Accession 8 Migrants in England: Motivations, Work and Agency. *International Migration*, 55-75.

Cook, J., Dwyer, P., & Waite, L. (2010). The Experiences of Accession 8 Migrants in England: Motivations, Work and Agency. *International Migration*, 55-78.

Cowling, D. (2016, 05 12). *A tale of two Referendums*. Retrieved 08 31, 2018, from The UK in changing Europe: www.ukandeu.ac.uk/a-tale-of-two-referendums

Crabtree, B., & Miller, B. W. (2002). *Doing Qualitative Research.* California: Sage.

CRC, C. (2007). *A8 Migrant Workers in Rural Areas, Briefing Paper.* Cheltenham: Commission for Rural Areas.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundation of social research.* London: Sage.

Csedo, K. (2008). Negotiating Skills in the Global City: Hungarian and Romanian Professionals and Graduates in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 803-823.

Currie, S. (2007). De-Skilled and Devalued: The Labour Market Experinece of Polish Migrants in the UK Following EU Enlargement. *The International Journal of Comperative Labour Law And Industrial Relations*, 83-116.

Currie, S. (2008). *Migration, Work and Citizenship in the Enlarged European Union.* London: Ashgate.

Currie, S. (2016). Reflecting on Brexit: migration myths and what comes next for EU migrants in the UK? *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 337-342.

Curry, M. J. (2007). "A head start and a credit': Analysing Cultural Capital in the Basic Writing/ESOL classroom. In J. Albright, & A. Luke, *Pierre Bourdeiu and Literacy Education* (pp. 297-298.). London.

Düvell, F., & Vogel, D. (2006). 'Polish Migrants: tension between sociological typologies and state categories'. In A. (. Triandafyllidou, *Contemporary Polish Migration in Europe: Complex Patterns of Movement and Settlement.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

D'Angelo, A., & Kofman, E. (2018). From Mobile Workers to fellow citizens and back again? The future status of EU citizens in the UK. *Social Policy and Society*, 331-343.

de Haas, H. (2008). *Irregular Migration from West Africa to Maghreb and the European Union: An Overview of Recent Trends .* Geneva: International Organisation for Migration .

De Jong, G. F. (2010). Expectations, Gender and Norms in Migration Decision Making Process. *Population Studies: A Journal of Demography*, 307-319.

De Jong, G., & Gardener, R. (1981). *Migration Decision Making: Multidisclipinary Approaches to Microlevel Studies in Developed and Developing Countries.* New York: Pergamon.

Dench, S., Hurstfield, J., Hill, D., & Akroyd, K. (2006). *Employers' Use of Migrant Labour.* London: Home Office.

Deutsch, C. P. (1981). The Behavioral Scientist: Insider and Outsider. *Journal of Social Sciences, 37*(2), 172-191.

Devlin, C., Bolt, O., Patel, D., Harding, D., & Hussain, I. (2014). *Impacts of migration on UK native employment of native employment: An analytical review of the evidence.* London: Home Office.

DiCicco-Bloom, B., & Crabtree, B. F. (2006). The Qualitative Research Interview. *Medical Education, 40*(4), 314-321.

Drake, P. (2010). Grasping at methodological understanding: a cautionary tale from insider research. *International Journal of Research and Method in Education, 33*(1.), 85-99.

Drinkwater, S., & Garaphic, M. P. (2015). Migration Strategies of Polish Migrants: Do they have any at all? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 41*(12), 1909-1931.

Drinkwater, S., Eade, J., & Garapich, M. (2009). Poles apart? EU Enlargement and the Labour Market Outcomes of Immigrants in the United Kingdom. *International Migration*, 161-190.

Duda-Mikulin, E. (2012). Citizenship, migration and gender: Polish Migrant Women in the UK and Poland. *Annual Conference of East Asian Social Policy Research .* York: University of York.

Duda-Mikulin, E. (2018). Gendered migration and precarity in the post-Brexit vote UK: the case of Polish women as workers and care givers. *Migration and Development*, 1-19.

Duda-Mikulin, E. A. (2018). Should I stay or should I go now? Exploring Polish women's returns "home". *International Migration, 56*(4).

Dumais, S. (2002). Cultural Capital: Gender and School Success: The Role of Habitus. 44-68.

Dustmann, C., & Weiss, Y. (2007). Return Migration: Theory and Empirical Evidence from the UK. *British Journal of Industrial Relations, 45*(2), 236-256.

Eade, J., Drinkwater, S., & Garapich, M. (2006). *Class and Ethnicity: Polish Migrant Workers in London.* Swindon: Economic and Social Research Council.

Elrick, T., & Brinkmier. (2009). Changing Patterns of Polish Labour Migration after the UK's Opening of the Labour Market? Insights from Rural Case Studies in the Opolskie and Swietokrzyskie Voidvoships. In K. Bruell, *Polish Migration to the UK in the "New" EU After 2004* (pp. 49-66.). Aldershot.

Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion. (n.d.). *Enlargement-Trasitional Provisions*. Retrieved 09 01, 2018, from Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion.

Engbersen, G. (2012). Migration transitions in an era of liquid migration: reflections on Fassman and Reeger. In M. Oko'Iski, *Europe: The Continent of Immigrants: Trends, Structures and Policy Implications.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Engbersen, G., & Snel, E. (2013). Liquid Migration. In B. Glorius, G.-L. Izabela, & K. (. Aimee, *Mobility in Transition: Migration Patterns after the EU Enlargement* (pp. 21-41.). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Engbersen, G., Arjen, L., Grabowska-Lusinska, I., Snel, E., & Burgers, J. (2013). On the Differential Attachments of Migrants from Central and Eastern Europe: A Typology of Labour Migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 959-981.

Erel, U. (2010). Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies. *Sociology*, 642-660.

Eurobarometer. (2015). *Public Opinion in the EU: First Results.* 84, Standard Eurobarometer.

Faist, T. (1994). How to define a Foreigner? The Symbolic Politics of Immigration in German Partican Discourse, 1978-1992. *Western European Politics, 17*(2), 50-71.

Faist, T., Bilecen, B., Barglowski, K., & Sienkiewicz, J. J. (2015). Transnational Social Protection: Migrants Strategies and Patterns of Inequalities. *Population Space and Place* , 193-202.

Faist, T., Fauser, M., & Reisenauer, E. (2013). *Transnational Migration .* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Favell, A. (2003). *Eurostars and Eurocities: Towards the Sociology of Free Moving Professionals in Western Europe*. (Centre of Comperative) Retrieved 11 10, 2018, from http://escholarship.org.uk/item/5m5835v2

Favell, A. (2008). The new face of East-West Migration in Europe . *The Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 34*(5), 701-716.

Fihel, A., Janicka, A., Kaczmarczky, P., & Nestorowicz, J. (2015). *Free movement of workers and transitional arrangements: lessons from the 2004 and 2007 enlargements.* Centre of Migration Research. Warsaw: University of Warsaw.

Findlay, A., Geddes, A., & McCollum, D. (2010). International Migration and Recession. *Scottish Geographical Journal, 126*(4), 299-320.

Fitzgerald, I., & Smoczynski, R. (2015). *Integration of Polish Workers in the North.* Joint Northumbria University and Polish Academy of Sciences Project.

Fitzgerald, I., & Smoczynski, R. (2017). Central and Eastern Accession: Changing Perspectives on Migrant Workers. *Social Policy & Society*, 659-668.

Fitzgerald, I., & Smoczynski, R. (2017). Central and Eastern European Accession: Changing Perspectives on Migrant Workers. *Social Policy & Society*, 659-668.

Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research .* London: SAGE.

Fox, J. E., Morosanu, L., & Szilassy, E. (2012). The Racilization of the New European Migration to the UK. *Sociology, 46*(4), 680-695.

Gabel, M. J. (2018, 08 30). *European Union*. Retrieved from Encyclopaedia Britannica: www.britannica.com/topic/European-Union

Galgoczi, B., Leschke, J., & Watt, A. (2009). *EU Labour Migration since Enlargement: Trends, Impacts and Policies.* London & New York: Routledge.

Ganga, D., & Scott, S. (2006). Cultural "Insiders" and the Issue of Positionality in Qualitative Migration Research: Moving "Across" and Moving "Along" Researcher -Participant Divides. *Forum Qualitative Research*.

Gauntlett, D. (2011). *Making is connecting: The Social Meaning of YouTube and Web 2.0.* Polity Press.

Goldberg, J. (2003). *The History of the European Union*. Retrieved 03 08, 2019, from Historiasiglo20.org: http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/traroma.htm#T.%20Roma

Goodwin, M. J., & Heath, O. (2016). The 2016 Referendum and the Left Behind: An Aggregate Level Analsyis of the Result . 323-332.

Grabowska-Lusinska, I., & Oko'Iski, M. (2009). *Emigracja Ostatnia? .* Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.

Granovetter, M. (2002 [1973]). The Strength of Weak Ties. In J. S. (ed.), *Social Networks* (pp. 60-80.). New York: Routledge.

Gray, D. E. (2014). *Doing Research in the Real World.* London: Sage.

Griveaud, M. (2011, May). *E-International Students*. Retrieved 03 08, 2019, from Why is the Maastricht Treaty considered to be so significant?: https://www.e-ir.info/2011/05/29/why-is-the-maastricht-treaty-considered-to-be-so-significant-2/

Grix, J. (2004). *The foundations of Research.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gryzmala-Kazlowska, A., & Brozozoeska, A. (2017). From Drifting to Anchoring. Capturing the Experience of Ukranian Migrants in Poland. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 1-22.

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2018). From connection to social anchoring: adaptation and 'settlement' of Polish migrants in the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 252-269.

Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln, *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117.). London: Sage.

Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). "How many interviews are enough?" An experiment with data saturation and variablility. *Field Methods*, 59-82.

Guma, T., & Jones, R. D. (2018, 07 31). "Where are we going now?" European migrants' experiences of hostility, anxiety, and (non-) belonging during Brexit. *Population, Space and Place* , 1-10.

Gumbrell-McCormic, R., & Hyman, R. (2017). What about the workers? The implications of Brexit for British and Europan labour. *Competition & Change* , 169-184.

Hagen-Zanker, J. (2008). *Why do People Migrate? A review of theoretical literature.* Maastricht Graduate School of Governance. Maastricht: Maastricht University.

Harbison, S. F. (1981). Family Structure and Family Strategy in Migration Decision Making. In G. F. DeJong, & R. W. Gardener, *Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Microlevel Studies in Developed and Developing Countries* (pp. 225-251.). New York: Pergamon Press.

Hardy, J., & Clark, N. (2005). 'Trade Unions, Globalization and Development: Strengthening Rights and Capabilities of Workers'. , (pp. 1-11.). Brazil.

Harris, B. (2009). What Critical Psychologists Should Know About the History of Psychology. In D. Fox, I. Prilleltensky, & A. Stephanie (eds.), *Critical Psyhcology: An Introduction* (pp. 20-35.). London: Sage.

Harzig, C., Hoerder, D., & Gabbacia, D. (2009). *What is Migraton History?* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Haug, S. (2005). East-West Migration from Central and Eastern Europe to Germany: data sets, migration models, and prediction of migration potential. In K. (. Splany, *International Migration. Multidimensional Analysis.* (pp. 191-215.). Krakow: AGH University of Science and Technology.

Haug, S. (2008). Migration Networks and Migration Decison-Making. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 585-605.

Hellermann, C. (2006). Migrating Alone: Tackling Social Capital? Women from Eastern Europe in Portugal. *Ethnical and Racial Studies*, 1135-52.

Hoang, L. A. (2011). Gender, Identity and Agency in Migration Decision-Making: Evidence from Vietnam . *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* , 1441-57.

Holloway, I., & Todres, I. (2003). The status od method: flexibility, consistency and coherence. *Qualitaitve Research*, 345-57.

Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2003). The active interviewing. In J. A. Holstein, & J. F. Gubrium, *Postmodern Interviewing* (pp. 67-80.). CA: Sage.

Home Office. (2006). *Control of Immigration Statistics.* United Kingdom.

Home Office. (2018, 09 02). *Apply for a UK residence card*. Retrieved from Gov.UK: https://www.gov.uk/apply-for-a-uk-residence-card/eligibility

Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., & Cranford, C. (1999). Gender and Migration. In J. Saltzman Chafetz (ed.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender* (pp. 105-126.). New York: Kluwer.

Husymans, J. (2000). The European Union and the Securitization of Migration. *Journal of Common Market Studies, 8*(5), 751-77.

Igliczka, K., Repeckaite, U., & Zvalionyte, D. (2012). *Labour mobility within EU: The impact of return migration.* Dublin: Eurofound Report.

Iosifides, T. (2016). *Qualitative Methods in Migration Studies: A Critical Realist Perspective.* Oxon : Routledge.

Iredale, R. (2005). Gender immigration policies and accreditation: valuing the skills of professional women migrants. *Geoforum*, 155-166.

Jeong-Hee, K. (2016). *Understanding Narrative Inquiry.* London: Sage.

Jonathan, S. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis.* London: Sage.

Kalchev, V., Blajeva, S., Rangelova, R., Boshnakov, V., & Vladimirova, K. (2006). Gender Dimension of the Bulgaria's New Migration: Policy Implications . *Икономически изследвания*, 43-66.

Kamenou, N., Netto, G., & Fearful, A. (2012). Ethnic Minority Women in Scottish Labour Market. *British Journal of Management*, 398-413.

Kay, R., & Trevena, P. (2017). (In)Security Family and Settlement: Migration Decisions Amongst Central and Eastern European Families in Scotland. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* , 1-17.

Kim, J.-H. (2016). *Understanding Narrative Inquiry.* London: Sage.

King , R. (2012). Geography and Migration Studies: Retrospect and Prospect. *Population, Space and Place, 18*(2), 134-153.

King, A. (1977). *Britain Says Yes: The 1975 Referendum on the Common Market .* Washington: American Enterprise Intitute for Public Ploicy Research.

King, N. (2004). Usint templates in Thematic Analysis of Text. In C. Cassel, & G. Symon, *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research* (pp. 257-270.). London: Sage.

King, R. (2002). Towards a New Map of European Migration. *International Journal of Population Geography, 8*(2), 89-106.

King, R. (2013). *Theories and Typologies of Migration: An overview and a Primer.* Malmo Institute For Studies Of Migration, Diversity and Welfare. Malmo: Malmo University.

Kofman, E., Phyzacklea, A., Raguram, P., & Sales, R. (2000). *Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare and Politics .* London: Routledge.

Koikkalainen, S. (2011, 04 21). *Free Movement in Europe: Past and Present*. Retrieved 03 08, 2019, from Migration Policy Institute: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/free-movement-europe-past-and-present

KPMG. (2017). *The Brexit effect on EU nationals: A survey on what European workers will do now.* London: KPMG.

Lados, G., Kovacs, Z., Hegedus, G., & Boros, L. (2013). Challanges of brain and obstacles od return migration in Hungary: An empirical perspective. *Berichte zur deutschen Landeskunde*, 441-458.

Levy, O., Peiperl, M., & Bouquet, C. (2013). Transnational Social Capital: A conceptualization and research instrument . *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management* , 319-338.

Lewitt, P. (1998). Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Capital. *Winter*, 926-948.

Lieber, R. J. (1970). *British Politics and European Unity: Parties, Elites and Pressure Groups.* London: University of California Press, Berkely.

LSCYH, L. (2007). *Migrant Workers in West Yorkshire.* North Yorkshire: LSCYH.

Lulle, A., Morosanu, L., & King, R. (2017). And then came Brexit: Experiences and future plans of young EU migrants in the London region. *Population, Space, Place*, 1-11.

Lutz, H. (2011). *The New Maids: Transnational women and the care economy .* London: Zed Books.

MacKenzie, R., & Forde, C. (2009). The rhetoric of the "good worker" versus the realities of employers' use and the exoeriences of migrant workers. *Work, Employment and Society*, 142-59.

Malmberg, G. (1997). Time and Space in International Migration. In T. Hammar, G. Brochmann, G. Tamas, & T. Faist, *International Migration Immobility and Developement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (pp. 21-48.). Oxford.

Martin, R., & Radu, D. (2012). Return Migration: The Experience of Eastern Europe. *International Migration , 50*(6), 110-128.

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellergino, A., & Taylor, E. J. (1993, September). Theories of International Migration: A Review of Apprasial. *Population, and Development Review, 19*(3), 431-466.

McCollum, D., Cook, L., Canford, C., Platts, A., MacLeod, F., & Findlay, A. (2012). *Spatial, sectoral and temporal trends in A8 migration to the UK 2004-2011 Evidence from the Worker Registration Scheme.* ESRC Centre for Population Change Working Paper.

McGhee, D., Moreh, C., & Vlachantoni, A. (2017). An 'undeliberate determinacy'? The changing migration strategies of Polish migrants in the UK in times of Brexit. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1-17.

McNabb, R., & Ryan, P. (1989). Segmented Labour Markets. In D. Sapsford, & Z. (. Tzannatos, *Issues in Labour Economics. Issues in Economics.* London: Palgrave.

Merton, R. (1972). Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociolodgy of Knowledge. *American Journal of Sociology*, 9-47.

Metykova, M. (2010). Only a Mouse Click Away from Home: Transnational Practices of Eastern European Migrants in the Untied Kingdom. *Social Indentities* , 325-338.

Minto, R., Hunt, J., Keating, M., & Mcgowen, L. (2016). A Cahgning UK in a Changing Europe: The UK State between European Union and Devolution. *The Political Quarterly , 87.*(2), 179-186.

Morawska, E. (2001). Structuring Migration: the case of Polich income-seeking travellers to the West. *Theory and Society , 30*(1), 47-80.

Moreh, C. (2014). A Decade of Membership: Hungarian Post-Acession Mobility to the United Kingdom . *Central and Eastern European Migration Review , 3*(2), 79-104.

Moreh, C., McGhee, D., & Vlachantoni, A. (2016). *'Should I stay or Should I go?' Strategies of EU citizens living in the UK in the context of the EU Referendum.* London: ESRC Centre for Population Change .

Morokvasic, M. (2004). 'settled in mobility': engendering post-wall migration in Europe. *Feminist Review*, 8-25.

Moskal, M., & Tyrrel, N. (2015). Family Migration Decision-Making, Setep-Migration and Separation: Children's Experiences in European Migrant Families . *Children Geographies, 14*(4), 453-467.

Netto, G., & Craig, G. (2017). Migration and Differential Labour Market Participation: Theoretical Directions, Recurring Themes, Implications of Brexit and Areas for Future Research. *Social Policy and Society*, 613-622.

Netto, G., Hudson, M., Noon, M., Sosenko, F., de Lima, P., & Kamenou-Aigbekaen, N. (2015). Migration, Ethnicity and Progressio of Low-Skilled Work. *Social Policy and Society*, 509-22.

Nohl, A. M., Schittenhelm, O., & Schmidtke, e. a. (2006). "Cultural Capital during Migration- a multi-level approach to the empirical analysis of labour market integration among highly skilled migrants". *Forum Qualitative and Social Resarch* .

Nowell, L. S., Norris, J. M., White, D. E., & Moules, N. J. (2017). Thematic Analysis: Striving To Meet The Trustwirthiness Criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 16*(1), 1-13.

Nowicka, M., & Ryan, L. (2015). Beyond Insiders and Outsiders in Migration Research. Introduction to the FQS Theamtic Section on "Researcher, Migrant, Woman: Methodological Implications of Multiple Positionalities in Migration Research. *Forum Qualitative Research*.

Nugent, N. (2018). Brexit, yet another crisis for Europe? In B. Matill, & U. Staiger, *Brexit and Beyond: Rethinking the futures of Europe* (pp. 63.-260.). London: UCL Press.

ONS. (2017). *Migration Statistics Quarterly Report: November 2017*. Retrieved September 19, 2018, from Office for National Statistics: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/november2017

Opp, K. D. (1999). Contending Conceptions of the Theory of rational action. *Journal of Theoretical Politics, 2*(2), 171-202.

O'Reilly, K. (2015). Migration Theories: A Critical Overview. In A. (. Triandafylliou, *Routledge Handbook of Immigration and Refugee Studies* (pp. 25-33.). Oxford: Routledge.

Padgett, D. (2008). *Qualitative Methods in Social Work Research.* CA: Sage.

Parutis, V. (2011). "Economic Migrants" or "Middling Transationals? East European Migrants' Experiences of Work in the UK. *International Migration*, 37-55.

Pedraza, S. (1991). Women and Migration: The Social Consequences of Gender. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 303-325.

Pemberton, S. (2008). Supporting Economic Migrants in the North West of Engalnd. *Public Policy and Administration*, 80-99.

Pemberton, S., & Scullion, L. (2013). The Policies and Politics of Managed Migration: Exploring Mature Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe into the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 443-461.

Piore, M. J. (1979). *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labour and Industrial Societies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Polkinghorne, D. (2007). Validity Issues in Narrative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 471-478.

Pollard, N., Latorre, M., & Sirskandarajah, D. (2008). *Floodgates or turnstiles? Post-EU enlargement flows to (and from) the UK .* London: Instiue for Public Policy .

Portes, J. (2016). *EU Referendum: One year on (Immigration)*. Retrieved 09 01, 2018, from UK in a Changing Europe: http://ukandeu.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/EU-referendum-one-year-on.pdf

Potter, J., & Hepburn, A. (2005). Qualitative Interviews in psychology: problems and possibilities . *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 38-55.

Riessman, C. (1993). *Narrative Analysis.* London: Sage.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, M. C., & Ormston, R. (2014). *Qualitative Research Practice.* London: Sage.

Rogaly, B. (2008). Intensification of Workplace Regimes in British Horticulture: The Role of Migrant Workers. *Population, Space and Place, 14*, 497-510.

Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2000). Data management and analysis methods. In N. Densin, & Y. (. Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitaitve Research* (pp. 769-802.). CA: Sage.

Ryan, L. (2015). "Inside" and "Outside" of What and Where? Researching Migration Through Mulit-Positionalities. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 16*(2).

Ryan, L. (2015). *Another yeat and another year: Polish migrants in London extending the stay over time.* London: SPRC Middlesex University.

Ryan, L. (2018). Deifferntiated embedding: Polish migrants in London negotation belonging over time . *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies , 44*(2), 233-251.

Ryan, L., & Sales, R. (2011). Family Migration: The Role of Children and Education in Family Decision-Making Strategies of Polish Migrants in London. *International Migration*, 90-103.

Ryan, L., Sales, R., & Tilki, M. (2008). Social Networks, Soical Support and Social Capital: The Experiences of Recent Polich Migrants in London . *Sociology*, 672-690.

Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M., & Siara, B. (2009). Family Strategies and Transnational Migration: Recent Polish Migrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies , 35*(1), 61-77.

Rzepnikowska, A. (2018). Racism and Xenophobia experienced by Polish migrants in the UK after the Brexit vote. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1-17.

Saar, M. (2017). To return or not to return? The importance of identity negotiations for return migration. *Social Identities*, 120-133.

Sales, R. (2007). *Understanding Immigration and Refugee Policy Contradictions and Constinuities .* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Salt, J., & Millar, J. (2006). Foreign labour in the United Kingdom: current patterns and trends . *Labour Market Trends*, 335-55.

Samaluk, B. (2016). Migrant Workers' engagement with labour market intermediaries in Europe: Symbolic Power guiding transnational exchange. *Work, Employment, and Society*, 455-471.

Schwarcz, V. (1999). Strangers no more: Personal Memory in the Interstices of Public Comemortain. In R. S. Watson, *Memory, History and Opposition: Under State Socialism* (pp. 45-64.). Sante Fe: School of American Research Press.

Scotland, J. (2012). Exploring the Philosophical Underpinnings of Research: Relating Ontology and Epistemology to the Methodology and Methods of the Scientific, Interpretive, and Critical Research Paradigms. *English Language Teaching*, 9-16.

Shutes, I., & Walker, S. (2017, June). Gender and free movement: EU migrant women's access to residence and social rights in the U.K. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1-17.

Silverman, D. (2011). *Interpreting Qualitative Data* (4 ed.). London: Sage.

Sjaadstad, L. (1962). The Costs and Returns of Human Migration. *Journal of Political Economy, 70*(5), 80-93.

Smith, J. A. (2009). *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical guide to Research Methods.* London: Sage.

Snel, E., Faber, M., & Engbersen, G. (2015). To Stay or Return? Explaining Return Intentions of Central Eastern European Labour Migrants. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review, 4*(2), 5-24.

Spencer, S., Ruhs, M., Anderson, B., & Rogaly, B. (2007). *Migrant's lives beyond the workplace: The experiences of Central and Eastern Europeans in the UK.* Joseph Rowntree Foundation. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Squires, A. (2009). Methodological Challenges in Cross-Cultural Qualitative Research. *Int Jour of Nurs Stud*, 277-288.

Stark, O. (1991). *The Migration of Labor.* Cambridge: Basil Blackwell.

Stark, O. (2003). *Tales of Migration Without Wage Differentials: Individual, Family and Community Context .* Germany: Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung.

Stark, O. (2004). Rethinking brain drain. *World Development*, 15-22.

Stark, O., & Bloom, D. E. (1985). The Economics Labor Migration . *The American Economic Review, 75*(2), 173-178.

Stark, O., & Taylor, J. E. (1989). Relative Deprivation and International Migration . *Migration Demography , 26*, 1-14.

Stuckey, H. L. (2013). Three Types of Interviews: Qualitative Research Methods in Social Health. *Methodological Issues in Social Health*, 56-59.

Sullivan, C., Gibson, S., & Riley, S. (2012). *Doing Your Qualitative Psychology Project.* London: Sage.

Surra, C., & Ridley, C. A. (1991). Multiple Perspectives on Interaction: Participants and Observers. In B. M. Montgomery, & S. (. Duck, *Studying Interpersonal Interaction* (pp. 35-55.). New York: Guilford Press.

Tams, K., & Munz, R. (2007). *Labour Markets Unbound? EU Enlargement, Transitional Measures and Labour Market Effects .* Stockholm: Institute of Fiscal Studies.

Tan, G., & Hugo, G. (2017). The Transnational Migration Strategy of Chinese and Indian Students in Australia . *Population Space and Place*, 1-15.

The Migration Observatory. (2018). *EU Migration to and from the UK.* London: University of Oxford.

Todardo, M. P. (1969). A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries. *American Economic Review, 59*(1), 138-148.

Trevena, P. (2013). Why do highly educated migrants go for low skilled jobs? A case study of Polish graduates wotking in London. In B. Glorius, I. Grabowska-Lusinska, & A. Rindoks, *Mobility in*

Transition: Migration Patterns after EU Enlargement. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

UK Border Agency, Department for Work and Pensions, HM Revenue and Customs, & Local Government . (2008). *Accession Monitoring Report.* Home Office.

UKandEU. (2018, 08 22). *Why did the United Kingdom not join the European Union when it started?* Retrieved from www.ukandeu.ac.uk/fact-figures-why-did-the-united-kingdom-not-join-the-european-union-when-it-started/

Unluer, S. (2012). Being an Insider Researcher While Conducting Case Study Research. *The Qulaitaive Report*, 1-14.

Van Nes, F., Abma, T., Jonsson, H., & Deeg, D. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research: is meaning lost in translation? *European Journal of Ageing, 7*(4), 313-316.

Vasilopoulou, S. (2016). UK Euroscepticism and the Brexit Referendum. *The Political Quarterly*, 219-227.

Vieru, A. M. (2013). The Process of Migration and Integration: A Theoretical Inquiry. *Social Research Reports*, 7-15.

Wadsworth, J. (2015). *Immigration and the UK Labour Market.* London: The London School of Economics and Political Sciences.

Wadsworth, J., Dhingra, S., Ottaviano, G., & Van Reenen, J. (2015). *Brexit and the Impact of Immigration on the UK.* London: The London School of Economics and Political Science.

Wallerstein, I. (1974). *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Vol. 1). New York: Academic Press.

Waters, J. L. (2006). Geographies of Cultural Capital: Education, International Migration and Family Strategies between Hong-Kong and Canada. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* , 179-192.

Wellmann, B. (2002 [1979]). The Community Question: The Intimate Network of East Yorkers. In J. Scott, *Social Networks* (pp. 390-420.). New York: Routledge.

Welsh, E. (2002). Dealing with Data: Using NVivo in the Qualitative Data Analysis. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 3*(2).

White, A. (2014). Polish Return Migration and Double Return Migration. *Europe- Asia Studies, 66*(1), 25-49.

White, A., & Ryan, L. (2008). "Polish 'temporary' migration: The formation and significance of social networks". *Europe-Asia Studies*, 1467-1502. .

Willig, C. (2001). *Introducing Qualtative Research.* Maindenhead: Ope University Press.

Wright, C. (2010). The regulation of European labour mobility: National policy responses to the free movement of labour transitional arrangements in recent EU enlargements. 157-179.

Yeoh, B. S., & Ramdas, K. (2014). Gender, Migration, Mobility and Transition. *A Journal of Feminsit Geography*, 1197-1213.

Zaiceva, A., & Zimmermann, K. F. (2008). Scale, Diversity, and determnants of labour migration in Europe. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 428-452.

Zey, M. (2001). Rational and Organization Theory. In *The International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences* (pp. 12751-12755.).

Zlotnik, H. (2003). *The Global Dimensions of Female Migration .* Migration Infromation Source.

Zonitini, E. (2014). Growing Old in the Transnational Social Field: Belonging, Mobility, and Identity among Italian Migrants . *Ethnic and Racial Studies* , 326-341.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Ethical Approval

11 May 2017

Dear Ivett,

RE: ETHICS APPLICATION–HSR1617-119–'The impact of the EU Referendum vote on Hungarian migrants' labour market experiences and future aspirations in Manchester.'

Based on the information you provided I am pleased to inform you that application HSR1617-119 has been approved.

If there are any changes to the project and/or its methodology, then please inform the Panel as soon as possible by contacting Health-ResearchEthics@salford.ac.uk

Yours sincerely,

Sue McAndrew
Chair of the Research Ethics Panel

University of
Salford
MANCHESTER

Information Sheet

Study Title

The impact of the EU Referendum vote on Hungarian migrants' labour market experiences and future aspirations in the United Kingdom

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to explore the trajectories of Hungarian migrants living and working in the Greater Manchester area, in the new context: post-Referendum.

In particular, it will look at the impact of the vote on Hungarian migrants' interactions with the paid labour market and their future aspirations in the United Kingdom.

Why have I been invited?

You have been invited to take part in this study, because you are a Hungarian migrant who came to the United Kingdom between 2004-2015.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide. We will describe the study and go through the information sheet, which we will give to you. We will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw one month after your interview was recorded, without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You would need to attend a single, one to one, audio recorded interview, lasting for approximately one hour. During the interview, you will be asked several, open ended questions about your experiences in the United Kingdom. Once the recording is done, your participation in the study will be finished. Your audio recording will be stored in a password protected folder on the researcher's computer and access of this material will be solely by the researcher. Any data and information which would reveal your identity will be removed and you will be given a pseudonym to protect your identity.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There is no risk or possible disadvantages associated with this study, however sensitive information might come up during the interview which could make you feel distressed. Should this happen, just let the researcher know and recording will be stopped immediately, you will be able to withdraw from the study and your data will be destroyed.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

By participating you will contribute to the understanding of how the EU Referendum result impacts on the labour market experiences of Hungarian migrants.

What if I decide to withdraw from the study?

You will be given a code and if you wish to withdraw from the study, you will be able to do so by contacting me by email and giving me this code. Your right to withdraw from the study will cease after one month of the interview was conducted.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researcher who will do her best to answer your questions. Email: i.b.ayodele@edu.salford.ac.uk

If you remain unhappy, please email one of the project supervisors: **Dr Anya Ahmed,** email: A.Ahmed@salfrod.ac.uk *or* **Dr Lisa Scullion***,* email: L.Scullion@salford.ac.uk.

If, however, you remain dissatisfied you can contact Dr Jo Creswell, Associate Director for Research, J.E.Cresswell@salford.ac.uk Telephone 0161 295 6355

<u>Appendix 3.: Consent Form</u>

23/03/2017

University of Salford MANCHESTER   **Research Participant Consent Form   Version 2.**

Title of Project: The impact of the EU Referendum vote on Hungarian migrants' labour market experiences and future aspirations in the United Kingdom

Ethics Ref No:

Name of Researcher: Ivett Ayodele

(Delete as appropriate)

➢ I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study (version 2 - 23/03/17) and what my contribution will be.	**Yes**	**No**

➢ I have been given the opportunity to ask questions (face to face, via telephone and e-mail)	**Yes**	**No**

➢ I agree to take part in the interview	**Yes**	**No**	**NA**

➢ I agree to the interview being audio recorded	**Yes**	**No**	**NA**

➢ I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can

withdraw from the research one month after my interview **without giving any reason.**

Yes	No

> ➤ I understand how the researcher will use my responses, who will see them and how the data will be stored.
> ➤ I understand that if I disclose any information that implies that I am or someone else is in danger; or that I engage in any illegal activity, the researcher will report this to the relevant authorities**.**

Yes	No
Yes	**No**
Yes	**No**

> ➤ **I agree to take part in the above study**

Yes	No

Name of participant   ……………………………………………………………

Signature   ……………………………………………………………

Date   ………………….

Name of researcher taking consent: Ivett Ayodele

Researcher's e-mail address: i.b.ayodele@edu.salford.ac.uk

Invitation to Participate

Are you a Hungarian national who lives and works in Manchester? Would you like to share your labour market experiences after the EU Referendum? If yes, then please get in touch!

What would you need to do?
You would need to attend a one to one recorded interview, lasting for approximately 1.5-2 hours.

What should you participate in this study?
By participating you will contribute to understanding of how the EU Referendum impacts on the labour market experiences of Hungarian migrants!

Right to withdraw:
Participants have the right to withdraw at any time, in which case their data will be destroyed.

If you would like to take part or need more information, please email
i.b.ayodele@edu.salford.ac.uk.

Supervised by Dr Anya Ahmed, email: A.Ahmed@salford.ac.uk
         Dr Lisa Scullion, email: L.Scullion@salford.ac.uk

Mester Kutató tanulóként keresek Magyar interjúalanyokat!

Magyar vagy és Manchesterben élsz/dolgozol? Szívesen megosztanád velem a munkaerőpiaccal kapcsolatos tapasztalataidat az EU Referendum óta? Akkor vedd fel velem a kapcsolatot!

Hogyan tudnál hozzá járulni a kutatáshoz?

Egy 1.5-2 órás interjút készítésével, amit audio anyagként, magyarul rögzítenék a BPS és a SRA etikai elvei alapján. (Erről bővebb tájékoztatást kaphatsz email-ben mág az interú előtt).

Miért vegyél részt ebben a kutatásban?

Azzal, hogy részt veszel a kutatásban, hozzá járulsz ahhoz, hogy jobban megértsük miként befolyásolja az EU Referendum a magyarok munka lehetőségeit itt Manchesterben!

Az interjú alanyok, egészen a tézis megírásáig, bármikor kérhetik, hogy ne használjuk fel az anyagukat, ebben az esetben az audio anyag meg lesz semmisítve.

Ha szívesen részt vennél a kutatásban, akkor küldj egy email-t ide:
i.b.ayodele@edu.salford.ac.uk.

Appendix 5. Interview Guide

Interview Topic Guide

Example Questions that might be used during the interview:

1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself and how you came to be in the UK?

2. Can you tell me about the motivations to move to the United Kingdom?

3. Can you tell me about your work experiences in the United Kingdom?

4. Can you tell me your thoughts on the EU Referendum result?

5. Do you think that the EU Referendum result has impacted on your employment opportunities or do you think it will impact on it in the future?

6. Has the result of the EU Referendum vote changed your plans here in the UK? If so, in what way?

7. Is there anything else you think I need to know?