UNIVERSITY *of* STIRLING

Management School

CHALLENGES FACED BY NEW MIGRANTS ENTERING EXISTING WORKPLACE COMMUNITIES IN THE UK.

DBA THESIS

STUDENT'S NAME	:	**Puja Chatrath**
STUDENT ID	:	**2631982**
SUPERVISOR'S NAME	:	**Prof. Sharon Bolton**
MONTH AND YEAR		**February '2022**
OF FIRST SUBMISSION:		:

ABSTRACT

Despite the benefits of workforce cultural diversity, media and societal structure biases have led to a failure to recognise any internal attitude differences towards migrant communities (Hack-Polay, 2006), leading to a lack of migrants' opportunities being manifested internally rather than across national boundaries (Anderson, 2010). Based on migrants' lived experiences, while profit maximisation enabled by their presence in the workforce is valued, institutional structures to aid integration of new migrants remain lacking (Alberti, 2016; Fernández-Reino et al., 2020; Holgate, 2018; McDowell et al., 2008; Portes, 2018). Prevailing literature mainly focuses on the native population and migrants rather than also considering relations within organisations' migrant communities: a gap this study aims to fill. Hence, this research investigates whether attitudinal conflicts exist between new migrants and long-term immigrants by exploring working relationships in FoodPro.Co (anonymised) a major UK food producer. To identify and explore barriers and facilitators, the impact of organisational policies on new migrants' workplace integration is further questioned. This qualitative cross-sectional case study, within a critical realist philosophy, depicts migrant lives via semi-structured interviews at all occupational levels. The themes developed comprise: 1) Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co; 2) Working Relationships and Attitudes; and 3) Motivations, Opportunities and Costs. Contrary to existing literature which suggests unity among diverse labour in precarious working conditions (Wills et al., 2009; Roy, 1973), the interview data portray the obvious presence of conflict between long-term immigrants and new migrants, specifically between different ethnic groups, driven by ethnicities and language, thereby fuelling discrimination and segregation attitudes. This study's contemporary stand, examining UK migrant labour market patterns, is crucial in the ever-changing global environment and encourages academia to delve into in-group workplace dynamics between migrant groups. The main recommendations, from key insights, comprise further diversity and inclusion training, and emphasis on employee well-being, engagement, and equality in practice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Sanskrit verses

Guru Brahma, Guru Vishnu, Guru Devo Maheshwarah

Guru Sakshat Para Brahma, Tasmai Shri Gurave Namaha

In ancient Indian Vedic scriptures, a teacher is referred to as 'Guru' and holds a prominent place in one's life, helping eliminate ignorance and bring the light of knowledge. The Sanskrit verse above states "I salute the Guru, who is Brahma (the creator), Vishnu (the preserver) and Shiva (the destroyer). I bow before the Guru, who is the personification of the Trinity." Being brought up with these values, undoubtedly teachers and mentors hold a **special** place in my heart.

Hence, first and foremost, I would like to thank most respectfully my research supervisor Professor Sharon Bolton; without her guidance and expertise, the research would have never been accomplished.

I would also like to thank all the faculty members of the University of Stirling who taught me and supported me endlessly during my DBA course; thank you for showing me the way to be apt for this remarkable journey of accomplishing my research. Particularly, Professor Paul Thompson, Professor George Burt, Dr Carol Marshall, Dr Michael Walsh, Professor Dean Perides, and Professor Ronald McQuaid to name a few among all others. Their teachings, knowledge and enthusiasm for their subjects made a strong impression on me and I always carried positive memories of my DBA classes along with me, helping me create a strong base for my research. My thanks also go to Dr Dieu Hack Polay who inspired me towards this topic and gave his selfless support during this research journey.

Further, I would like to show appreciation to those without whom this research would have been impossible to achieve: the case study organisation and all the participants of this research who were involved in the interviews. Without their passionate participation and honest input, the interviews could not have been successful, and this study would have not reached the crucial and unique conclusions.

I would especially like to mention Mrs V Turner who has been an enormous support to me. I would also like to express my gratitude and appreciation for my friendships with all my

peers and their unwavering support personally and professionally during the time I spent at the University. For many memorable evenings out, and in, I must thank everyone I worked with during my team tasks in the University for getting the best out of me. I will miss those times.

Most importantly, none of this could have ever happened without my affectionate family. I especially thank my loving daughter Mansi for her endless support and brilliance and my wonderful husband Austin for his love and unfathomable patience, who always supported me with their high spirits and generosity throughout this rollercoaster ride. My special thanks go to my amazing mom Sarla and aunt Veena, who offered their encouragement through frequent phone calls. This research is dedicated to my mom for encouraging me to fulfil my dreams and instilling the will to succeed and confidence to finish. I miss you mom. My family collectively did not let go of me and I am forever grateful to them for making it all possible. This thesis stands as a testament to their unconditional love and encouragement.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   BACKGROUND

Contingent to various factors, including country of origin, politics, economic position, and social influence, migration has been a lived reality for many for centuries which, consequently, requires new explorations and different understandings dependent upon context (Hickman et al., 2008; ONS, 2020a). Clearly, super-diversity (Meissner and Vertovec, 2015; Vertovec, 2007) through increased migration[1] has transformed the demographics of many countries historically in terms of different nationalities, backgrounds, age, gender, and language, along with education, legal status, religion, and ethnicity (Arango, 2000; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Joppke, 2007). Wessendorf (2014) depicts super-diversity as the ubiquitous new normal.

Invariably, the UK landscape has changed over the decades due to different waves of migration. For example: Jamaicans immigrating in 1948; Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis travelling during the 1950s-1960s; Asian Ugandan refugees in the 1970s; Somalis in the 1990s; and, recently, Eastern Europeans. The term migrant[2] is not a homogenous category. The three main countries of birth within the UK's foreign-born population[3] are India, Pakistan, and Poland, with 896,000, 456,000 and 682,000 respectively; followed by Germany 347,000, and Ireland 412,000 (ONS, 2021). Romanian, Indian, and Polish migrants account for the main foreign nationalities[4] in the UK, with the Polish as the largest group at 696,000 of foreign citizens. Migration is a multi-faceted, complex, and ever-shifting dynamic at the macro level that inevitably impacts upon micro-organisational dynamics.

Net migration into the UK decreased in 2017, with a corresponding decrease in the net long-term immigration to 261,000, i.e., a decrease of 51,000 by June 2017 (ONS, 2020a),

---

[1] The term migration refers to the movement of people from one country to another and is often defined by the amount of time they live in each country. Under this term, immigration is the number of people coming to live in the UK (inflow) and emigration is the number of people leaving the UK to live elsewhere (outflow) (ONS, 2020a).

[2] The term migrant is referred to as an individual or groups of individuals who move permanently or temporarily from one area, place, or country of residence to another (Oxford University Press, 2018). Different migrants travel, i.e., migrate, for various reasons. A migrant fleeing conflict or persecution is termed a 'forced migrant', or more regularly referred to as a 'refugee'. An 'economic migrant' is one who moves for work or seeking a better life (Migration and Home Affairs, n.d.; The Migration Observatory, 2019). In this study, therefore, the term 'migrant' refers to the collective of 'new migrants' and 'long-term immigrants', alongside emigrants.

[3] The foreign-born population refers to immigrants who are now classed as UK residents/nationals (OECD, 2022; The Migration Observatory, 2022).

[4] Foreign nationalities refer to immigrants in the UK who are still considered nationals of their country of origin, i.e., do not yet have UK citizenship, hence are not UK nationals (ONS, 2020d).

possibly influenced by debates surrounding the Brexit referendum at that point, with only those with definite jobs remaining stable. Conversely, this fluctuation had stabilised by 2019 with the net effect being that the migrant population had almost doubled from 5.3 million to 9.5 million between 2004 and 2019 (The Migration Observatory, 2020a). This led the UK government to introduce various policies and practices to manage and limit immigration. Consequently, within the last few decades, immigration has become one of the UK's most important economic and political issues (Grande et al., 2019; Norris and Inglehart, 2019). Despite growing knowledge and acceptance of super-diversity as a new demographic reality (Vertovec, 2015a), along with an understanding that factors further than country of origin and ethnic background play a significant role in migrant settlement and social connections, there remains a long way to go. It is only a starting point for a discussion giving a new perspective through which to better comprehend and learn about how migration affects an evolving UK workforce.

Migration becomes interesting in terms of labour market impact because the changing population of immigrants creates demand via their earnings; lower unit costs and prices increase real incomes and net exports; thus, the demands for local output and labour rises (Altonji and Card, 2018; Borjas, 2001). Immigrants are able to reduce overall wage disparities and, potentially, raise productivity levels (Borjas, 1995; Dustmann et al., 2013; Dustmann and Frattini, 2014; Peri, 2016; Wadsworth et al., 2016), as well as address recruitment difficulties (CIPD, 2015; Das et al., 2020; Haque et al., 2002; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Wills et al., 2009), by occupying low-level, low status occupations and, thereby, potentially support economic growth in the UK (Fassio et al., 2015; Haque et al., 2002). Subsequently, when the labour market position of migrants is placed under scrutiny, with high levels of employment but lower wages, they stand out as serving the function of flexible workers in UK workplaces (Das et al., 2020; Fassio et al., 2015; McCollum and Findlay, 2015). Some occupations pay less, leading to less security and inferior social status, owing to employers operating low-quality, low-cost production models (Dawley and Stenning, 2008) and precarious conditions (Anderson et al., 2006; Clark and Shankley, 2020; McDowell et al., 2008). Some estimate that the use of migrant labour leads to approximately double the increase in productivity and GDP per capita (Hack-Polay, 2006; Jaumotte et al., 2016; Portes, 2018). Migrants are said to also facilitate workforce productivity via knowledge building, providing market access to countries they are better informed about, acting as mobile human capital, and infusing new ideas into an

organisation; consequently, forming a structural necessity in the growth of the British capitalist economy over long periods (Bhala et al., 2020; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Dennison and Geddes, 2018). Therefore, integration of migrants becomes an important consideration for the sustained growth of the UK's economy.

Despite many of the espoused benefits to be enjoyed by employing migrant labour, diversity can sometimes be hard to handle, partly due to potential diversity tensions involving difficulties experienced in a diverse group such as discrimination, disunity, and no cooperation due to different beliefs, values, cultures, and stereotypes within the community and, by extension, in the workplace. The vices of migration follow its virtues, in that the new experiences of workplaces and multiculturalism often underlie new patterns of inequality and prejudice including emergent forms of racism and new patterns of segregation (Back 2015; Ndhlovu 2016; Vertovec, 2019). Diversity in the workplace covers all aspects of inclusion and equality in addition to the diverse workforce. This means that the systems, processes, structure, and culture should be integral to the organisation's diversity agenda. Failing to confront discrimination effectively has a profoundly negative effect on organisational culture, something organisational policies are put in place to prevent but often fail to understand how exclusive organisational cultures and sub-cultures can be. Strang et al., (2017) state how, regardless of aspirations, migrants encounter poverty and exclusion as well as disruptions in social networks, discrimination, and racism in and out of the workplace; all of which can be anti-integrative.

1.2   RATIONALE OF THE RESEARCH

Several policies and legal frameworks have been put in place to manage the impact of diversity in the workplace (Kirton and Greene, 2015). However, most of these centres on racial discrimination and conflict between the native population and migrants, ignoring issues encountered within immigrant groups in the workplace (Hack-Polay et al., 2020). Due to the influence of media, culture, and historic events we, as a global society, have been made to believe that obstruction for immigrants is imposed only by the natives of a host country, resulting in lack of acknowledgement of the internal differences in attitudes between migrants within the migrant community (Hack-Polay, 2006). The term attitudes refer to the mindsets, manner or dispositions which can influence one's behaviour, actions, and reactions to different people and situations. This may, subsequently, lead to a lack of opportunities being manifested

internally within their own community rather than across national boundaries (Anderson, 2010; Ubalde and Alarcón, 2020). Immigration reform has been a controversial issue among policymakers, since the continuous inflow of migrants is shown to have a significant impact on national politics, wages , labour markets, organisations, and by extension can be inferred to impact existing and new workplace communities (Bommes and Morawska, 2005; Dustmann et al., 2017; Wadsworth et al., 2016). Following scholars such as Dustmann et al., (2017) immigration -induced supply shock is typified by a fall in local wages and native employment. Though it can also lead to a larger elasticity in labour supply driven by the diminished inflows of natives into specific occupations. Moreover, Meissner and Vertovec, (2015) suggests UK is typified by super diversity with a level of social complexity which in a way surpasses anything the country has previously experienced. It is a condition which is distinguished by a dynamic interplay among an increased number of immigrants in groups and multidimensional shifts in migration patterns in workplace and society. Nevertheless, while there is a broad consensus that comprehensive immigration reform is needed, the terms to which this reform should be carried out have been the subject of intense debate. Thus, under the empirical and conceptual rationale of this study, immigration is seen to clearly influence UK workforce redistribution, depriving some while benefiting others (Hack-Polay, 2006). Consequently, the fundamental motivation for this research concerns the lack of importance given to cultural diversity in organisations, despite its benefits, and with a particular focus on working relationships among long-term immigrants[5] and new migrants[6], the impact of migration in workplace communities and integration of new migrants in UK workplaces. Needless to say, migrants form a large part of numerous societies (Castles et al., 2013) and the UK economy has emerged as immigrant-reliant at various local levels (The Migration Observatory, 2021; The Migration Observatory, 2022). The highest numbers of non-UK nationals[7] are in elementary occupations[8], with 669,000 in 2016, including 510,000 EU nationals (ONS, 2017b) where migrants are often over-

---

[5] Long-term Immigrants: Immigrants are defined as people migrating into a country from a different country of origin (Oxford University Press, 2018). This study considers long-term immigrants as those residing in the UK from over 5 years to 30 years. While the substitution of the terms 'migrant', 'new migrant' and 'immigrant' is possible, the study defines them as distinctly separate to assist data classification.

[6] New Migrants: Specifically, in this study, the term 'new migrant' is used for all new entrants into the UK who are foreign-born non-UK nationals, who have resided here from 6 months to 5 years. While the substitution of the terms migrant, new migrant and immigrant is possible, the study defines them as distinctly separate to aid in classifying the data.

[7] The Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2017a) defines non-UK nationals as those residing within the UK while holding citizenship of another country. UK nationals, on the other hand, are those with UK citizenship regardless of their country of birth or origin.

[8] Elementary occupations are classified as occupations which usually require a minimum general level of education (i.e., that which is acquired by the end of the period of compulsory education). Some occupations at this level will also have short periods of work-related training (ONS, 2017a).

represented in such low-skilled occupations (The Migration Observatory, 2022). This position seems unlikely to change as the largest growth in jobs is in low-skill occupations where human labour cannot be replaced, or organisations have little appetite to explore other alternatives such as automation (CIPD, 2015). Consequently, migrants become an irreplaceable, flexible human capital. Therefore, elementary occupations are of interest to this study, allowing a comprehensive understanding about challenges faced in terms of facilitators and barriers in integrating new migrants entering existing organisations. The Wholesale and Retail trade, Hotels and Restaurants (WRHR) sector has the highest percentage of foreign-born[9] workers of the total worker population segment (The Migration Observatory, 2022), i.e., 67% of waiters, 25% of chefs and kitchen staff, and 30% of all workers in logistics in the food processing industry, which lies under the WRHR sector, are foreign-born (KPMG, 2017). Non-UK nationals are overrepresented within the WRHR sector (The Migration Observatory, 2022), i.e., 761,000 in 2016: with 9% EU nationals and 4.5% non-EU non-UK nationals in the labour force (ONS, 2017a). Hence, focusing on this sector allows an exploration of whether difficulty in integration, alongside discrimination, continues to prevail even in a sector with the highest employment of migrants currently and historically which includes new migrants and long-term immigrants. The transition to Brexit, with the withdrawal of the UK from the European Union (EU) on 31st January 2020, makes this consideration even more vital. Consequently, and inevitably, this research is based on shifting sands as, with the transition phase of Brexit, policies were constantly changing during data collection and interpretation. The interviews were conducted during August 2019 for this study, providing an important dimension which affected views of the workers. The analysis was further interlaced with added tensions of the Covid-19 pandemic and associated restrictions such as lockdowns (Yen et al., 2021). Therefore, the perspective of this study supports the view of multiple realities in the organisational context. Of particular interest is the experience of unskilled/semi-skilled workers and how new workplace communities are built and potentially affected by the impact of in-group conflict within the migrant workforce. Additionally, the study investigates the impact of such conflict on industries that are reliant upon migrant labour as an important focus of the research, i.e., in the WRHR sector (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010; Scott, 2012; The Migration Observatory, 2019). This research will, therefore, establish a new base for future

---

[9] Here, the term foreign-born refers to first generation migrants. It is acknowledged that this can include both UK and non-UK nationals; however, as such, it helps us cover both the categories of long-term and new migrants.

studies focused on the difficulties among new migrants and long-term immigrants in UK employment structures and workplaces, by meeting the following **research objectives**:

1) To investigate any conflict, present in attitudes via working relationships, between new migrants and long-term immigrants considering long-term immigrants as either nationals or non-nationals living in the UK.
2) To identify and explore the impact of different barriers and facilitators on the integration of new migrants in an organisation.

The study poses the following **Research questions:**

1) To what extent do the attitudes and actions of long-term immigrants' act as barriers to the integration of new migrants and is there a difference depending on whether long-term immigrants are UK nationals or non-UK nationals?
2) How do organisational policies and management approaches influence the integration of new migrants into existing workplace communities?

Sumner (1906) persuaded conflict as a basic and natural process of social interaction in developing societies which includes intersocietal, interregional and interclan clashes. It is a social behaviour which tends to vary by its tactics; sometimes these conflicts are controlled by peaceful methods and at other times they erupt into intense violent struggles. Park and Burgess (1921) central idea on conflict suggests an intermittent, personal and conscious struggle for status. On the other hand, Mack and Snyder (1957) address several dimensions to identifying social conflict which involves acquisition or exercise of social power i.e., the ability to resist or control the opponent individuals and it fundamentally has social consequences. Himes (2008, p.14) argues that a crucial element in social conflict is "the belief of one collective actor that another is the obstacle to it having the values that it desires". It is further referred to as purposeful struggles where collective actors amongst themselves use social power to remove or defeat opponents and to gain values such as power, status, and resources, whilst overcoming obstructing resistance. However purposeful conflict does not suggest logic or efficiency, rather at times fear, greed or hostility lead to imprudent plans and actions due to a distorted collective judgement (Himes, 2008). Hence, following these scholars, in this study conflict is understood as arising from attitudinal differences between individuals. These differences result in varied behaviours due to clashes in values and interests amongst individuals or groups. Behaviours could take the form of bullying, discrimination, lack of opportunities and segregation. It is purposeful but not necessarily logical or efficient. It is concerned with a process and outcome

of individual actions and behaviours. Most importantly, this term is not interchangeable with and differs from exclusion, which implies individuals wittingly or unwittingly detaching themselves or being detached by others from certain situation, work condition or social settings which in turn prevents them from being part of a united group or community.

Hence, the research aims to investigate if conflict is present in working relationships between new migrants and long-term immigrants by exploring the lived reality of migrant workers' experience in a single organisation. The study is a qualitative case study with access granted to a major food processing plant which is among the UK's top 15 food producing organisations in the Midlands in England. It further questions the impact of organisational policies on new migrants integrating into existing workplace communities, with the aim of identifying and exploring the impact of different barriers alongside the attitudes of long-term immigrants affecting integration of new migrants in organisational communities. The major contribution of this study is its novelty in filling the gap in the existing literature in terms of the distinct knowledge of migrant community relationships, focusing on long-term immigrants and new migrants, integration of new migrant employees, and the role of long-term immigrants in this process. Their experiences involve multiple layers of realities despite them being part of one large working community. These human stories focus on individual experiences and perceptions, working attitudes, prevailing biases, and prejudice through the help of rich, qualitative data. The researcher reveals the unexpected as the data held surprises compared to existing literature in the field. Hence, with the recent shift in dynamics of the UK's migrant labour market, labour shortages and skills deficiencies, this study holds a contemporary stand. It becomes crucial in the ever-changing global environment among working communities and organisations. It further opens a door in academia to delve into the in-group differing undercurrents between migrant groups in workplaces.

1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

The following structure ties the thesis together. It includes an 'Introduction', then a 'Literature Review', followed by the 'Methodology' and, subsequently, 'Findings and Analysis'. The 'Discussion and Conclusion' and 'Limitations' are finally followed by the chapter on 'Notes for practice'.

This Introduction chapter aims to give a background to the study alongside introducing the research focus, relevance, and identification of objectives and questions. The literature

review mainly focuses on the necessity for migrants in the UK labour market and their experiences documented so far in the literature, in the form of insights via gaps, debates, and case studies. It portrays a unity in the groups in organisations (Beall, 1997; Fetzer, 2000; Hopkins, 2009; Roy, 1973; Wills et al., 2009), which makes the actual answers to the research questions and objectives rather unexpected. The literature review is essential to this study as it establishes a base for the understanding of integration and labour market discrimination, which is critical to the methodical assumptions, findings and analysis, and discussions followed.

By exploring the different dimensions of research including a variety of assumptions, philosophies, approaches, and methods, the foundations of this research process are shaped. Methodology, an integral part of any research, presents a step-by-step process of the methods used to answer the research questions and objectives (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Research design places importance on the ability to engage with people working in one organisation to understand the creation (Mangan et al., 2004) and maintenance of workplace communities along with the impact of new entrants in the communities. Hence, eventually, following on from the literature review, this study presents a methodology to establish a precedent for the motivation of identifying factors answering the defined research objectives and questions by creating a research design which adequately explores the lived experiences of migrants. Due to its long history of capturing experiences, this research chooses the qualitative over quantitative research design to observe how organisations and communities are impacted, making it essential to fulfil the research objectives and add value to the research questions (Patton, 2015). The methodology clarifies this with notable examples of the successful use of case study methods, utilising semi-structured interviews in a cross-sectional timeframe within the critical realist philosophy, presenting the suitability of this research design with discourse on ethical integrity and the inaptness of other methods for this study. Semi-structured interviews, as a primary source of data, provide reliable and comparable qualitative data while also providing context to this exploratory study (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Saunders et al., 2019). The transcripts of interviews with summaries and notes aid data analysis to record ideas about possible themes, patterns, and relationships (Bryman and Bell, 2011) through gaining an understanding of the phenomena at vertical and horizontal levels, and by analysing the interconnections between the levels (Holgate, 2005; McCollum and Findlay, 2015).

The richness of the data collected makes it essential to include a chapter on findings and analysis to help guide the reader through the answers to the research questions. One of the

methods for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns within the data is thematic analysis. As an implicit topic that categorises a group of repeating ideas, it is apt to answer the research questions in this research (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). It revolves around a thread of underlying meaning implicitly discovered at the interpretative level and elements of subjective understandings of participants from the organisation taking part in the data collection (Silverman, 2015). Each of the identified aggregate themes, following theme development, contain second-order themes and first-order codes as subdivisions to obtain a comprehensive view of data and to uncover a pattern around the participants' viewpoints (Aronson, 1994). The biggest results from the study comprise the struggles of new migrants and long-term immigrants, their stories, the commonality in their vulnerability, yet the unexplored differences in their points of view.

The discussion and conclusion of this data link the insights from the organisation to the wider labour market and external factors which can influence attitudes, making us realise there can be various barriers to the integration of new migrants which could have remained untapped in the field. Finally, the Notes for Practice provide the reader, the case study organisation, and other migrant-reliant industries with recommendations to help overcome their challenges and the underlying problems through implementing measurable and appropriate changes in HR practices.

Thus, this thesis will add to the identified gaps in knowledge with in-depth exploration to the research questions and objectives whilst being a reflection on key insights drawn from the data and research experience.

2   LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   INTRODUCTION

Understanding migrant relations requires understanding the presence and impact of migrants within the labour market and society at large. Similar to other countries, altered demographics due to increased migration, are evident in the UK (Lomax et al., 2020; Vertovec, 2007; Vertovec, 2019). Language, gender, nationalities, recentness of arrival, age, legal status, education, and ethnicity create mixed dynamics that impact how migration affects both the migrant and host country (Arango, 2000; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Joppke, 2007; Lomax et al., 2020; Patterson, 1969). The continuous inflow of migrants is shown to have a significant impact on national politics, labour markets, and existing and new workplace communities (Dustmann et al., 2017; Shankley and Byrne, 2020; Vertovec, 2006; Wadsworth et al., 2016). The increasing realisation and adoption of super-diversity in the host society (Vertovec, 2015a; Wessendorf, 2014) portrays the existence of a new demographic reality with parameters beyond ethnicity and country of origin; hence, it has a vital place in overall migrant societal relations and settlement (Brubaker 2006; Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 2018; Schiller 2009).

Though, many regard migration as a temporary arrangement, some may settle into permanent residency (Knocke, 2000) while others are unable to return to their country of origin because of political instability (Brockmann, 2002). This suggests it is essential for studies analysing migrant motivations to realise aspirations can change over time (Horolets, 2018; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Other reasons for changing aspirations may include a need to avert threats to life caused by human pressure, demographic pressure, and environmental degradation (Chukwu, 2012).

The reasoning behind an individual migrating considering the most common reasons reported, as detailed in Table 2.1.

PUSH FACTORS	PULL FACTORS
Economic Poverty: Immigrants may want to escape the economic disparities within their country of origin.	**Economic Opportunity**: Immigrants may experience better work opportunities and hope for higher-paying jobs.
Political Reasoning and War: Immigrants may be escaping oppression experienced in their country of origin.	**Higher Tolerance**: Immigrants may face less oppression in the UK in comparison to in their country of origin.
Religious Persecution	**Religious Freedom**
Lack of Opportunities	**Better Opportunities**: Immigrants hope to attain a better standard of living and education opportunities in the UK.

Table 2.1: Push and pull factors for migrants entering UK (The Migration Observatory, 2017)

Migration propensity is affected by many factors, including life satisfaction and happiness, with which it has a higher correlation than with GDP per capita of the origin country (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009). Nevertheless, opposition towards new migrants is often solely attributed to a perception of them as an economic threat due to their perceived depreciative effect on wages, decreasing employment opportunities (Dennison and Geddes, 2019; Dustmann et al., 2013; Goodwin and Milazzo, 2017; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019), and increased competition for social services such as housing (Andreescu, 2011; Simon 1987). As discussed later in the thesis new migrants' social identity also evolves in relation to both their employment and society. Conversely, by reducing overall wage disparities (Dustmann et al., 2013), offering access to a wider, more flexible labour market and reducing recruitment difficulties by often occupying the low-level, low-status occupations, migrants potentially support economic growth in the UK (Fassio et al., 2015; Haque et al., 2002). Greenwood and Hunt (1995) suggest that less-skilled immigrants and migrants fill job gaps that the domestic

labour force perceives as undesirable; hence, they do not directly decrease opportunities in terms of employment and wages (Wills et al., 2009). Borjas (2001) also emphasises that large immigration flows do not pose an economic threat. Blanchflower and Shadforth (2009) suggest the proportion of migrants who may substitute a member of the existing labour force is significantly small or virtually non-existent. Hunt (2011) argues migrants have a positive impact on the labour force due to their entrepreneurial and innovative skills which give rise to increases in capital accumulation rates and profit maximisation. Fernández-Reino et al., (2020) further point out, though there is a lot of focus and evidence on the positive effects of immigration on the UK economy in higher occupational/status roles and a little on their roles in the lower sectors. It is the vagueness of the proportion of immigrants needed to positively make a change in each occupational role that truly gives policymakers the opportunity to change the narrative of Britain to that of an immigrant-friendly or anti-immigrant country. The economic impact and social integration of immigrants in UK organisations are determined by their level of integration into the labour market (Alberti et al., 2013; Dustmann et al., 2005; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019). It further suggests support within the organisation could positively affect organisational culture, improve organisational performance and commitment. Hence, new entrants successfully integrate into society through positive social and psychological environments while also developing their socio-economic growth (Zolberg, 1991). Yet, regardless of the existence of data that suggest otherwise, the fear of migrants as an economic threat remains prevalent in response to changes to the ethnic composition, economic and social structures. An individual is more fearful of unemployment the longer they are affiliated with a particular job or workplace; therefore, long-term immigrants with stagnant career growth in UK workplaces are likely to oppose new migrants for fear of losing their existing jobs and facing further economic hardship (Blanchflower, 2009). Fear is also possibly rooted in the unfamiliar, such as cultural differences and language barriers, thus hindering the integration of newcomers within existing social and workplace communities (Hack-Polay, 2008a; Spencer and Cooper, 2006; Stansfield and Stone, 2018; Vertovec, 2010).

Migrant relations and performance in any sector cannot exist without consideration of the perception of political structures within the host country. There has been an increase from 0% to 45% of British people ranking immigration or race relations as an important issue in the country within the past 20 years (The Migration Observatory, 2020b): in a face-to-face survey conducted in 2013, 77% of British people believed immigration should be reduced, while 44%

continued to stay in favour of reduction in 2019 with 39% preferring the levels to stay the same, suggesting opposition has been moderately high with a slight softening shift in attitudes (The Migration Observatory, 2020b). A significant factor behind the immigration rise in the UK may be attributed to changes in immigration policies (Hopkins, 2009). Based on historical events, the population is often aware of the politically charged conflict that may arise from ethnic affiliation (Abrams and Travaglino, 2018; Laganà et al., 2013). However, one may argue, individual national identity changes over time, and cannot be dictated because one's affiliation with the national culture i.e., ethnic affiliation and community changes; the nation becomes a symbolic community, as the national culture influences actions and self-conceptions, with the power to create a national identity inherent to comparison with images of other nations (Solomos, 1998). This allows migrants to adopt a transnational identity[10] or the host's cultural identity.

As such, migration has been a recurring and contentious topic in debates in the UK for many years (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009), with key discussions surrounding integration, economic and social impact, labour market discrimination, and involvement in workplace communities. By understanding the necessity of migrant labour in the UK workforce, this chapter explores the experiences of migrants entering established UK workplaces, the perception of better pay, perceived threat, fear, ethnocentrism, ethnicity, and integration. The researcher pays particular attention to the argument that migrants are essential to the UK economy (Alberti et al., 2013; Fernández-Reino et al., 2020; Haque et al., 2002; Hunt, 2011; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Raess and Burgoon, 2015; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019) to reduce overall wage disparities and raise productivity levels in organisations. The study will contribute towards enhancing the understanding and implications of diversity among new migrants for both integration and migrants' work/life trajectories.

To understand the creation and maintenance of workplace communities and the impact of new migrants, this literature review engages different theoretical approaches, debates, and issues, to build a contextual picture of UK migrant workforce. It presents the economic and

---

[10] Transnational migration can be defined as the movement and settlement process across international borders, in which immigrants simultaneously settle into the host country whilst maintaining or building various networks of connection to their origin country (Schiller and Fouron, 1999; Upegui-Hernandez, 2014). The common conception of transnationalism and transnational identity within Europe, following Morawska's framework, as defined by Lucassen and Böcker, (2001, cited in Mirdal and Ryynänen-Karjalainen, 2004, p.7) is of a condition beyond state-bound national identities, such that it comprises EU membership, religious solidarities, and ethnic communities in a nation, as examples (Mirdal and Ryynänen-Karjalainen, 2004).

social impacts of migration to help explore the necessity of migrants in the society via their integration into the workplace. This is followed by 'Labour Market Dynamics' and experiences of migrant workers which illustrates the battles faced by migrants at societal and organisational levels. All the sections are eventually tied up and summarised with the main points in the 'Discussion and Conclusion'.

2.2 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

The impacts of migration are visible in all spheres of our society. Vertovec first introduced the concept of super-diversity in 2007, describing it as a 'transformative diversification of diversity' (Vertovec, 2007, p.1025). Super-diversity connects ideas regarding different origins of people with diverse elements shaping their opportunities and lives and is, thus, conceptualised as the diversity of population in various aspects (Vertovec, 2007; Wessendorf, 2014), including social capital (Kindler et al., 2015), willingness to form relations with the host society, extent of association with country of origin (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2017) and inclination towards migration (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 2018). As such, despite some disputation (Back, 2015; Ndhlovu, 2016), super-diversity has shifted beyond multiculturalism into an analytical lens which describes multiple differentiations as a demographic reality.

Multiculturalism (Ivison, 2001) is a state of society or world with numerous distinct ethnic and cultural groups that can be viewed as politically relevant and are further promoted in the society. While Clayton (2020) gives this term a broader meaning as the existence of uneven or different power relations among the population regarding geographical, ethnic, racial, and religious factors that deviate from the norms. These different definitions create the understanding for this study that multiculturism refers to people of various races, culture, language ethnicities, and nationalities living together as a unified society. While superdiversity in essence is multi-faceted beyond multiculturism, spread across more than socio-legal and political status; economic status; ethnicity; and socio-cultural diversity (Grillo, 2015; Vertovec, 2015b; Wessendorf, 2014).

Becoming an integral part of the society, thus the contribution of migration to the host economy, is measured by successful labour market participation (Borjas, 1995; Borjas, 2008). Hence, to generate a substantial understanding of the economic impacts of migration, which vary by place and time, it is essential to consider factors affecting migrants' place in UK

organisations (Borjas, 1995; Borjas, 2008; Phillimore et al., 2017; Vertovec, 2019). Migrants face challenges in entering the job market due to difficulties in credential recognition, recognition for previous work experience, and obtaining credible references (Borjas, 2006; Borjas, 2008)**.**

As mentioned previously, there is a strong and influential narrative of fear about the negative economic impact of migrant labour on the UK's workforce. Economic self-interest as argued by Andreescu (2011), highlights the priority given by migrants to economic concerns relating to themselves, which can be inferred to encourage opposition or indifference to other migrants (Harwood, 1986). Fear of economic decline and deprivation creates opposition towards new migrants as a sense of competition for jobs prevails in an unpredictable economic climate (Andreescu, 2011; Dustmann and Weiss, 2007; Fahey and Randall, 1998; Haubert and Fussell, 2006; Sobczak, 2010). However, Fetzer (2000) also notes that a perception of economic threat is less strong as one's level of education and skill increases (Andreescu, 2011; Dustmann and Preston, 2007; Helbling and Kriesi, 2014). Thus, O'Rourke and Sinnott (2006) present negative perceptions towards migration as a reflection of one's nationalist sentiment alongside economic self-interest, as the existing workforce projects their personal fear of an inability to sustain themselves and lack of confidence in their personal skills onto their attitudes towards migration.

Therefore, a reciprocal relationship is evident between the national economic variables and the attitudes towards new migrants. Kehrberg (2007) explores the impact of national economic variables under collective economic theory: including variables of GDP, economic growth rate, national economic status, public purchasing power and unemployment; and under individual theory: focusing upon economic variables including individual income, social status, and employment status as effectors of attitudes. In stagnating economies, migrants appear to increase competition in the labour market, acting as a perceived threat, resulting in negative attitudes towards new migrants during periods of economic downturn (Hack-Polay, 2008b; Kehrberg, 2007). In contrast, during periods of growth, rates of migration are more directly proportionate to the increased national income of the host country as the migrant community's per capita income and purchasing power increase, resulting in more tolerant attitudes towards new migrants (Haque et al., 2002; Kehrberg, 2007; Zolberg, 1991). However, as Grande et al. (2019) suggest, one's nationalist sentiments which are tapped into and worsened by independent periods of politicisation of the issue further affect the attitudes displayed.

Furthermore, they are completely unrelated to the true national economic characteristics of the country at the time.

Even in times of economic prosperity, there is a primitive fear of the perceived threats posed by migrant labour. For example, there is the notion of supply shock (Dustmann et al., 2017) in the labour market due to the increasing flow of new migrants, which further induces fear of unemployment among the existing labour force (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009) even though it has been noted that the majority of new migrant labour enter the labour market in low-skilled/low-paid jobs that are not desired by UK nationals. Migration does not impact youth unemployment, as often perceived (Bansak et al., 2016; Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009); they are less likely to claim benefits (The Migration Observatory, 2022) or use social and health services. Furthermore, migrants record no higher average usage of NHS facilities when compared to a native (Wadsworth, 2013), with little effect on NHS waiting times (Giuntella and Mazzonna, 2015). They are also less likely to use social housing due to their neighbourhood's demographic, economic and regional circumstances (Wadsworth et al., 2016). Stansfield and Stone (2018) further argue that EU migrants may be perceived as a criminal threat regardless of the lack of significant increase in any crime; and the idea of migrants posing a criminal threat has a greater effect on the favouring of curtailment of migrant rights than does the idea of an economic threat.

Alternatively, Haque et al. (2002) argue that migrants increase output (Altonji and Card, 2018) and GDP by expanding worker supply (Hack-Polay, 2006) and filling recruitment difficulties by often occupying jobs with lower employment levels in terms of socio-economic status. Further, Dustmann et al. (2013) report a small decrease in the wages of the bottom 10% of the pay distribution and increased wage gains for those in the middle of the pay ladder because of increased migration flows. From another perspective, Castles and Kosack (1973) present migrants as a necessity to maintain lower wages. Thus, they are a capitalist tool for profit maximisation and production as they act as the reserve army of labour (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005, Dennison and Geddes, 2018; Yen et al., 2021). Upon continuous study in the field of economic effects of immigration since 1999, Portes (2018) expresses the fall in unemployment before COVID-19 pandemic, below 4%, combined with the persistent high immigration levels. Conversely, upon raising productivity and enabling specialisation, migration is shown to increase overall national wages (Wadsworth et al., 2016) as this is fostered by new migrants filling gaps in the skill composition of the workforce (Dustmann et

al., 2005), and raising wages for the native workforce with complementary skills (Borjas, 1995).

Migration is embedded in our world history (Hickman et al., 2008; ONS, 2020a), rather than being a new phenomenon; however, there is a lack of portrayal of migrants as economic builders rather than as a danger to society (Hack-Polay, 2016). It is suggested that new migrants allow existing employees to gain higher positions and wages, which is evident in the statistic that a 1% increase in migration is reflected in a 2% increase in non-migrant wages (Haque et al., 2002; Peri, 2016). In addition, migrant workers add skill and value to the UK economy, i.e., they presently represent 28% of workers in hospitality, 25% of workers in technology, 26% in transport and storage and 21% in the healthcare sector (The Migration Observatory, 2022). Conversely, Felbermayr et al. (2010) argue that there is only a 2.2% per capita gain from a 10% increase in migration. However, Boubtane et al. (2016) found that the UK's productivity growth would decrease by 0.32% per annum, with a 50% net immigration decrease and that, with a potential reduction in EU migrants because of Brexit, the UK's productivity growth would decrease which is predicted to lower the GDP per capita by 1.6% within a decade of Brexit (Boubtane et al., 2016). It is proposed that increasing the average skill level of migrants increases overall productivity (Boubtane et al., 2016; Fernández-Reino et al., 2020; Peri, 2016).

Despite continuous debate regarding the pros and cons of migrant labour market participation, ample research suggests migrants make a visible and substantial economic contribution to the UK. Thus, this highlights the importance of ensuring polices, especially related to post-Brexit, that support the UK as an attractive place where people want to come and work (Borjas, 1995; Mitaritonna et al., 2017). However, for new and existing immigrants, the fear of Brexit outcomes and the current complexity of employment legislation restricting the right to work may persuade them to abandon the socialisation process into workplace communities.

2.3   LABOUR MARKET DYNAMICS

Brennan and McGeevor (1990) argue that a lack of consistency in the implementation of equal opportunity policies results in limited employment opportunities for new migrants (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009; Hack-Polay, 2007). Conversely, Wills et al. (2009) highlight that the labour market is constantly remade by the intersecting decisions of workers,

government, and employers, thus simultaneously increasing, and eroding opportunities, subjective to each individual.

Even though direct racism is not always encountered or recognised, the fear of such among new migrants is evident through a behavioural portrayal of strict obedience and silence in aspects of employment and organisational settings (Blanchflower, 2009). Racism as a process of systems, attitudes, policies, and actions can result in inequitable outcomes and opportunities for people based on their race. It pushes beyond prejudice in thought or action, as it occurs when prejudice coincides with the power to oppress, limit, or discriminate against the rights of others (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2022). New migrants are often unwilling to stand up against these actions for fear of losing their jobs due to the competition, often generating low self-esteem and an accepted sense of inferiority (Hack-Polay, 2008b). But most discourse implies integration being beneficial to the host country, often supported by the host country's nationals and migrants; yet a sense of doubt prevails among new migrants about the integration process in that they do not envision a long-term future in the UK (Vathi and King, 2013). This is also exacerbated through a lack of knowledge of employment rights among new migrants, especially forced migrants, as they often eschew any form of confrontation regarding promotion, conditions of work or employment rights (Hack-Polay, 2007). The development of flexible employment is further facilitated by this increase in well-perceived workers tolerant of the employment conditions which are shunned by the domestic labour and long-term immigrants, alongside reducing labour shortages (McCollum and Findlay, 2015). However, due to the growing feelings of alienation stemming from discrimination, (Datta et al., 2007; Hack-Polay, 2008b; Haque et al., 2002; Vathi and King, 2013), many new migrants perceive it to be beneficial to abandon the employment socialisation process due to socio-cultural boundaries (Hack-Polay, 2016) or turn towards self-employment if possible (Clark and Shankley, 2020). According to McLaren (2001), existing immigrants can obstruct the growth of new migrants because of their misinformed perceptions influenced by the host country's cultural historic events, as this characteristic of new migrants may not be stereotypically associated with their profession.

Racialisation and segmentation are common among EU migrants hired, with central and south EU migrants often ending up in low-paid, poor-quality jobs, giving rise to labour division (Felbo-Kolding et al., 2019) in the labour market.

2.3.1 **Theoretical and conceptional aspects on Labour market segmentation**

A segmented labour marketplace is not a modern predicament; it is one which, unquestionably, pre-dates large-scale migration (Davies, 2019; Jarosz and Gugushvili, 2020; McCollum and Findlay, 2015). Labour market segmentation occurs when the forms of employment relationship or work contracts reflect the divide in the labour market. It is linked with the division amongst core and atypical employment at times, and among formal and informal employment at other times (Deakin, 2013). In other words, segmentation identifies the distinction between a formal sector of employment which is regulated and stable, and an informal sector of casualised work which are changeable, undocumented, and to a varied extent beyond the scope of legislative protections. Furthermore, the rise in atypical part-time employment is an indication of increasing flexibility in the labour market. However, Kratzer (2001) affirms that flexibility is nothing new, in a post-Fordist sense, standard normal employment by itself is previously a form of flexible employment. Labour market is considerably ever changing. But it also gives rise to consideration of any link between atypical work and precarious working and living conditions (Hinterseer, 2013).

The term "precarious" is frequently utilised in relation with atypical working conditions, creating vagueness and difficulty in distinguishing these terms. As argued by Brehmer and Seifert (2008, p. 502) "Occasionally the borders between atypical and precarious become blurred in a synonymous equalisation". Brehmer and Seifert (2008) developed the categories on precarious work as a working condition which should be operational by way of the factors including job security, income, social security, and employability. It is identified that the blend of these, or rather accumulating these various dimensions, gives rise to precarious work conditions. On the other hand, atypical work for example temporary agency work or non-permanent, temporary part-time work could offer a beginning for a stable working condition and therefore is not automatically be classed as precarious work. In other instances, such work could also primely set a basis to social insecurity, instability, and difficulties. However, with the rising number of people, living and working in precarious conditions reveals that there is a higher possibility of risk in working and living conditions which can be atypical (Keller and Seifert, 2011).

The limiting of high-quality professions to those in a secure core or formal employment and the subsequent marginalisation of others is related to inequality, income, earnings as well as towards continuation of discrimination centred on age, ethnic origin, and gender.

Segmentation has its implications on efficiency. (Deakin, 2013). Consequently, labour market segmentation is complicated due to its connection with discrimination and inequality.

When looking at an overview of different labour market segmentation theories based on economic standpoints, dual labour market theory was highlighted in the 1970s as division of the labour market into primary and secondary segments. The primary segment refers to employment which is stable in firm-specific internal labour markets, while the secondary segment refers to unskilled, short-term, and low-paid jobs (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). The employment in vertically integrated firms appeared to be rooted in bureaucratic and formal procedures and rules. Whereas the secondary segment is dictated by uninhibited competition (Edwards, 1979). This theory portrays some of the foundations of the above common understanding of labour market segmentation today, hints of which can still be seen. The dual labour market theory was also compatible with the human capital theory which suggested that contexts where workers and firms mutually invested into firm-specific training, resulted in wage upliftment and long-term employment relationships (Becker, 1964; Oi, 1962). Similarly, as per transaction cost economics, asset-specific capabilities contributed to stable employment. Employers may be less keen to lose these assets, unlike low-discretion and low-skill jobs associated with market governance and spot contracting (Williamson et al., 1975), implying migrants employed heavily in low-skilled jobs may be in a tricky position.

Furthermore, as per the efficiency wage theory proposed in early 1980s, the wages in the primary sector are to an extent reflective of external market prices but are also fuelled by the need in firms to create incentives for the workforce through job security arrangements and internal payment systems (Deakin, 2013). Asymmetric information results in employers being unable to fully assess the qualities of the workers due to inability to without cost monitor motivation and aptitude (Deakin, 2013; Stiglitz, 1987). With firm investments being at stake, employers thus set to increase the wages, incentives, and benefits for the opportunity above the market-clearing levels in the primary sector.

However, consequently, as the wages are not truly reflective of prices in the primary sector, labour is displaced into the secondary sector where competition is further intensified (Yellen, 1984). The result of the efficiency wage theory is such that workers in the secondary sector cannot 'price themselves back' into jobs despite being willing to accept lower wages, in turn worsening job insecurity and inducing involuntary unemployment (Solow, 1990). The exacerbated disciplinary threat of job loss in the primary sector due to the existence of the

reserve army of secondary market labour, makes the above effect a welcome side effect of bargaining strategies for primary sector employers (Bulow and Summers, 1986). The negative effects of low wages, unemployment in the secondary sector, and the immobility of labour across the divided primary and secondary sectors, outweighs the positive effect of efficient behaviour and higher productivity in the primary sector (Deakin, 2013).

Lindbeck and Snower (1988) suggests one of the theories that further tries to explain the segmentation in the labour market extends from the efficiency wage theory, the insider-outsider theory which suggests trade unions play a role in segmenting labour markets, partly due to the organising strategies to increase wages in the primary sector by controlling the labour market. Though various authors argue that trade unions aim to counteract the segmentation effects (Sengenberger, 1981). Thus, it can be implied that the laws and policies in the labour market affect the segmentation, such as the extent of support given to inclusive union organisation strategies (Rubery and Wilkinson, 1981).

This can further be inferred to also apply to the modern day super diverse society where migrants often find themselves in segmented positions in the labour market. Furthermore, economic and sociological factors are also suggested to influence labour market segmentation (Deakin, 2013). For example, the labour market experiences of men and women are systematically different, often being more beneficial to the former, which is reflected through the unequal training access, differentiated job stability, dissimilar employment-related benefits, and occupational segregation (Deakin, 2013; Walby, 1986).

UK labour market is characterised as heterogeneous in structure of liberal and flexible legislation policies (Bradshaw et al., 2010). In fact, it is characterised as acquiring high numbers of workers with jobs which are unstable, i.e., for example with less than one year term contract (Chung, 2005).

As a result, the UK has an interesting dimension within its labour market with the increase in income inequality for the last two decades within Western Europe (Francis-Devine and Stephen, 2023). Majority of this increase is due to the shifts in its employment and occupational structures. There has been a substantial growth in the UK's low wage workers in the last two decades, which has had noteworthy influence on widening labour segments (Bonoli, 2007; Elias, 2004; Yoon and Chung, 2016). The liberal labour market settings and relaxed policies of employment in UK include high economic inequality (Deakin and Reed, 2000) i.e., a proportion of working population without adequate income levels and low wages

in general (Bennett, 2014). Accordingly, many studies states that the UK's proportion of upwardly mobile workers in terms of wages and occupations, is decreased over time (Bonoli, 2007; Deakin and Reed, 2000; Machin, 2011). Pavlopoulos et al. (2012) claimed there is little prospect for many to be able to switch from low-paying jobs to high-pay segments as the UK's low wage mobility continues to significantly diminish than initially anticipated.

A crucial concern for UK policy makers is what happens to migrants after their arrival at the UK. Some new migrants get jobs, housing, and other services they require without hindrances, leading to construction of new social networks. However, other migrant groups, such as refugees, experience housing and health disparities (Gidley and Jayaweera 2010) alongside their low labour market participation (Kone et al., 2019). The UK does not have a comprehensive policy on migrants' labour market integration; however, the 2019 Home Office Integration framework emphasises that positive labour market consequences are essential for migrants' wider integration processes (Fernandez-Reino and Rienzo, 2022, p.4). Another disproportionate public perception about migration suggests that some migrants are reluctant 'to integrate' for example to enhance English language abilities or mix within society with individuals from outside of their immediate community (Broadhead, 2020). Thus, integration is a series of processes rather than one (Fernandez-Reino and Rienzo, 2022).

Policies that could affect how highly migrants integrate and perform in the labour market range from employment regulations, and occupational licensing, to welfare, work skills and on job training (Piton and Ruyssen, 2022). Unlike many EU countries, new arrivals are not identified as priority access for services, information, or advice under the UK national policy. Many authorities and service providers at the local levels take their own initiative to provide information and advice to migrants. Some policies involving discrimination and provision of important services such as English language tuition include migrants within their remit. Regarding education and health services, some specified provision focuses on meeting the particular needs of migrants.

However, it is argued by the Parliament's All Party Policy Group on Social Integration that the policy approach towards migrant needs and integration in the UK is remarkably non-interventionist, compared to other EU countries (Bell et al., 2017). The intertwined responsibility for integration policy among agencies and central government departments alongside a lack of consensus on the role of local government within the policy, has led to this approach (Bell et al., 2017; ONS, 2015). Policy development therefore requires giving bigger

attention on advocacy for national inclusivity, various identity combinations, and maximising migrants' potential consisting of more than one identity to overpass intergroup gaps.

Migrants in the UK have many civil rights, such as the right to a fair trial and freedom of speech on arrival. Yet, when considering rights which affect their day-to-day life, such as access to social housing and services, right to work, to avail welfare benefits, to family reunion and to vote, vary based on their nationality and immigration status along with their length of residency in the UK (Broadhead, 2020). This raises the question does immigration policy within this respect hinder or foster integration. In the sphere of social integration should all residents be the target of policy intervention or only certain groups. The pattern of civil and human rights with restrictions has its own complexity and is constantly evolving. This in turn makes it challenging for service providers, employers, information agencies and migrants to precisely understand the status of each entitlement. It is difficult to tell where the balance lies in rights or restrictions suggesting a trade-off between the benefits of allowing access to foster integration, for example, to protect public health versus the financial cost (Broadhead, 2020). Immigration access can be denied with justification of control, i.e., to persuade those not entitled to live in the UK to leave or to deter potential migrants who are attracted solely by the availability of services in the UK. Thus, it is difficult to assess if the restrictions are proportionate to achieving the intended policy aims or counterproductively limit integration (Pobjoy and Spencer, 2012). Hence, policy practices and rhetoric focus greatly on the obligation among migrants to integrate than on tackling barriers that they face during the period of transition and integration (Fernandez-Reino and Rienzo, 2022).

These facts emphasise the significance of acquiring an understanding of consequences and causes of international migration and of the impacts of different policies on immigration. A large set of literature has highlighted these issues (Blau and Hunt, 2019; Dustmann et al., 2016; Hanson, 2009; Kerr and Kerr, 2011; Nathan, 2014; Peri, 2016). The main obstacles lie in the collective nature of migrant shocks, which inhibits a straightforward identification of the individuals who are affected or unaffected, and this complicates the selection of migrants into countries, with the varied estimation of their causal impact on receiving societies (Fasani et al, 2020). This also implies that the importance of policies for the self-selection of new migrants has become specifically obvious in recent times. Many countries including the UK have expanded the selectivity criteria in their immigration policies with aims to attract more skilled migrant workers (Fasani et al, 2020). These policies often differentiate migrants in terms of

their educational qualification. According to, Bertoli and Stillman (2019) selecting migrants based on education levels does not essentially support in attracting many skilled workers. In fact, when its randomly selected a low and a high-educated migrant from the same country of origin, it is often observed that the low skilled migrant earn more, as well as the effectiveness of such policies depends on the reaction of the local labour market. Accordingly, the most relevant research in the last few decades indicates that the supplies of migrants in different skill sets influence in determining their impact on wages and employment of the natives (Borjas, 2003; Card, 2001; Card, 2009; Fasani et al., 2020). This impact also differs on the substitutability level between migrants and native workers (Manacorda et al., 2012; Ottaviano and Peri, 2012), specialisation in tasks (Peri and Sparber, 2009) and, technology adoption (Lewis, 2011).

Yet, diversity is associated with an enhanced production function in an organisation (Alesina et al., 2000) due to an increase and variety in individual skills, as per the Dixit Stiglitz model (Lazear, 1999). There is an identified trade-off among the costs associated with difficulty in communication due to employing new migrants and the production benefits of cognitive diversity[11] (Lazear, 1999). Thus, though an increase in diversity may result in less communication and more conflict, it may induce higher productivity (Bhala et al., 2020; O'Reilly et al., 1997; Suedekum et al., 2014; Vertovec, 2015a). Therefore, as per team theory, homogeneity in complementary jobs and heterogeneity in dissimilar jobs has positive effects (Blanchflower, 2009; Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009; Ford, 2011).

2.3.2 Labour Market Discrimination and connecting organisational practices.

Diversity in the labour market is hindered by discrimination due to preconceived perceptions about different races and ethnicities. Vandenhole (2005, p. 33) suggests that there is "no universally accepted definition of discrimination" (Foran, 2022). Discrimination is said to consist of policies, actions and practices based on social group characteristics of the ones discriminated, which have existence to be socially salient (Lippert-Rasmussen, 2006). Social salience of a group refers to when the group 'structures interactions in important social

---

[11] According to Landemore (2013), cognitive diversity can be summarised as multiple intelligence, or diversity in seeing and interpreting problems, and adapting solutions to these problems in the world, rather than individual competence. It denotes diversity in perspectives, interpretations, heuristics and predictive models. Among humans, it is determined by multiple factors, including genetic makeup, cultural factors, and life experiences. In contrast, Miller (1990) suggests it is the variation in cause-effect relationship beliefs and preferences concerning organisational goals, among employees, especially executives, directly influencing a firm's performance.

contexts' (Hedges, 2022, p. 4), explaining why one may be considered to be discriminated based on characteristics such as race and gender but not hair colour (Altman, 2020; Hedges, 2022; Holroyd, 2017). The condition of social salience allows to capture specific discriminated notion, which is used to explore various kinds of unfair treatment such as based on different racial minorities, religious communities, age and gender groups. These different social identities clearly formulate social hierarchies and constitute social interactions within a range of societal context and broader sense of social disadvantage. This aspect of differential treatment which involves patterns of action generating disadvantage and expresses hostility with sense of inferiority, gives rise to group discrimination. Group discrimination underpins mechanisms for occurrence of overall discrimination as it enables to track and structure our social identities (Al Ramiah et al, 2010). In other words, social identity has its importance and significance to identify the ways in which society is structured and the nuances of discrimination. Yet, Eidelson (2015) argues that social salience is not a requirement, and rather discrimination is made wrongful due to the lack of respect it manifests in the process against the discriminated and dependent on how the challenge is resolved. As personhood is broken down into two dimensions of all people having equal and intrinsic value, and everyone being an autonomous agent; consequently, according to Eidelson (2015), the discriminator only needs to respond to any kind of perceived difference between the victim and others, explicitly dispensing the need of social salience. But with this definition the line between wrong acts of discrimination and those not normally characterised as discrimination becomes blurred (Altman, 2020). Discrimination imposes disadvantage or harm on the people who it is directed at (Hellman, 2011); hence those treated more favourably are not viewed as victims of discrimination (Altman, 2020), but some scholars may argue it can be morally neutral formed because of perceived comparison and favours (Eidelson, 2015; Foran, 2022). Therefore, discrimination is generically defined as disadvantageous differential treatment (Altman, 2020; Eidelson, 2015; Lippert-Rasmussen, 2014). However, this may not always be apparent as discrimination acts as a continuum varying in subtlety, formality, and intentionality, direct and indirect and so forth (Altman, 2020; Cossette-Lefebvre, 2020; Jones et al., 2017).

Rather, given that discrimination takes place when one is unable to enjoy their human or other legal rights equal to others due to an unexplainable distinction in policy, treatment or law; it is evidently illegal to overtly discriminate in the workplace, especially on any of the protected characteristics (Foran, 2022; Jones et al., 2017; King and Cortina, 2010). Alongside being

socially unacceptable to openly discriminate against employees (Perry et al., 2015), as a result, subtle discrimination may be a lot more prevalent in the workplace so as to not violate social norms and expectations noticeably, whether intended or not (Crandall and Eshelman, 2003; Jones et al., 2017). Consequently, the targeted individual is left disadvantaged, but the cause of the inequity is unclear. Jones et al. (2017) further highlights that organisational and employee functioning can be undermined by discrimination, especially when subtle.

Subsequently, at work everyone is accountable for the process of discrimination even if not directly inflicting it, and thus has some responsibility in acknowledging and rectifying it (Jones et al., 2017). Therefore, with discrimination being a lot more complex than the above summary and inherently having an impact on organisational practice, this study moves forward by defining discrimination overall as unfair treatment of a person or a group of people because of their personal characteristics such as education, working abilities, age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation, mainly focusing on any discrimination that may perpetuate and reproduce potentially existing oppressive and inequal social structures within the workplace.

For instance, racial discrimination is prominent in the labour market, across industries and occupations, as witnessed, for example, in the fewer call-backs for African ancestry compared with their Caucasian counterparts (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004). Moreover, an explanation could not be found based on an employer's stereotypical judgements (Jones, 2002). This could suggest that recruitment training programmes would not, alone, be sufficient to ease the gap caused by racial discrimination in the workplace.

Conversely, gender dimension is another serious shortfall for the labour market and migrant human capital. Although equal opportunities for both sexes may remain limited in the host country, new male migrants originating from stringent patriarchal social structures are often wary of working within a mixed environment, retaining strong beliefs that women should follow traditional roles in the household. Despite working within different cultural spaces and new female migrants aspiring for flexible career opportunities (Raess and Burgoon, 2015), opposition to female emancipation remains, resulting in negative attitudes among migrant communities (Hack-Polay, 2008b). Through this, women immigrants may experience pressure flows within the organisation stemming from their sense of isolation coupled with the greater responsibility they feel to prove their capabilities due to the conventional culturally ascribed

roles (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005; Clark and Shankley, 2020; Khoudja and Platt, 2018; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; Lucassen, 2005). An explicit gender dimension is necessary within research and policy-making that acknowledges the specific factors which may cause the exclusion of women in turn preventing them from being part of a united community. For example, the provision in organisations of childcare and language training (Hack-Polay, 2007), with integration processes being more dominant among groups and organisations dominated by men (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008).

Consequently, labour market discrimination is an issue related to various aspects, including race, ethnicity, and gender, and not exclusive to migrant status. Reverse discrimination may result in hiring through non-formal protocols, further hindering employees of any race or ethnicity gaining entrance to employment (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004). Weber's (1947 in Evan, 1976) rational bureaucracy portrays a systematic division of labour with a formal hierarchy, regulating conduct through imposed rules, administrative staff distinguished from the managerial positions/ownership of production means, ability to formulate rules and make decisions, and hire employees because of technical ability and remunerating them with fixed salaries (Evan, 1976). In such, the organisation must function routinely, efficiently and reliably, as a goal-oriented entity; however, this is disturbed by ethnic hiring and workplace discrimination. This study expresses ethnicity as a common group identity people express themselves through, due to their affiliation with different geographic and social factors such as their cultural backgrounds, nationality, historical events, and religion. However, administrative organisation, in its technicality, aims to, and is capable of attaining the highest efficiency within a system, making it superior to any other form on the basis of stability, discipline, reliability, and precision (Evans, 1976) and, of course, its reliance on technical bureaucracy is meant to remove bias and discriminatory practice. Yet, it is argued by Darity and Mason (1998), based upon economic theory, employers have different tastes and preferences and hire people on the basis of their skills, that is some have a preference for migrant workers with higher credentials; thus, emphasising the importance of skill acquisition in the workplace community, as proposed by many, including Borjas (1995), Dustmann and Glitz (2011), and Nowicka (2014).

There is not enough literature on workplace communities (Chalofsky and Griffin, 2005; Gozdz 1995; Manning et al,; 1996; Nirenberg, 1995) with some explanations of meaning in different contexts such as companies, education, human resources, and teaching (Dixon et al.,

2015). Such as McMillan and Chavis (1986) define the sense of community as a feeling of belonging among members, of feeling valued by one another and within the group, and having their needs met through commitment of unity. Wile (2001) agrees by interpreting workplace community as "A philosophy of organisational culture that believes if you take care of the people in your organisation, they will take care of your organisation, product, and customers. A community environment is one that is described with terms like family; having a strong sense of belonging and sharing the same values" (Wile, 2001, p. 2). Similarly, Davis and Sumara (2001) suggest workplace communities are dynamic, robust and adapt efficiently. They are critically viewed as a learning community implying that the environment and circumstances are constantly influenced by the actions of those within the community. In particular, collaborative work leads to the sense of community, agency, and solidarity. Hence, workplace communities flourish as per Chalofsky and Griffin (2005) when there is a sense of everyone being part of the organisation together, socialising and finding their work meaningful. Artificial motivators become expendable as employees begin to feel that their efforts and talents help towards achieving the purpose of their community. The focus is on a work-life balance where the needs of the employee and the organisation are both valued. The members of community are united through mutual engagement forming a social entity (Brouwer et al., 2012). Thus, the workplace community could be evaluated by four elements: the extent of identification with the group among members; room for multiple perspectives; mutual trust, security, and social responsibility; and the strength of social bonds within the group (Admiraal and Lockhorst, 2010; Brouwer et al., 2012).

Subsequently, Dixon et al. (2015) define community within the organisation as a feeling of affiliation with a group (McMillan and Chavis, 1986), essential to understand the relationship between subjective norms and perceptual factors such as the sense of togetherness. As a result, most researchers define communities in the workplace context as entities with which the employees affiliate themselves with components of need fulfilment, group belonging, impact, and social exchanges and attachments (Dixon et al., 2015; Poplin, 1979; Reich, 2010). In such, organisations with a stronger workplace community sense benefit from stronger social connections and bonds between the employees, allowing the subjective norms to become salient to organisational members (Dixon et al., 2015).

This is not to say that smaller groups do not form in the larger community, but rather that often through management theory, these nuanced structures have been disregarded in favour

of controllable constrained arrangements (Davis and Sumara, 2001). The interpretation of organisations and communities in the workplace is more about redefining than restructuring. As highlighted by many previous researchers (Brouwer et al., 2012; Chalofsky and Griffin, 2005; Dixon et al., 2015; Wills et al., 2009), viewing organisations as a hierarchy of numbers and power does not appreciate the subtle complexities in human relations, which also tints this study. Consequently, following the scholars as discussed earlier, this study moves forward by simplistically defining workplace communities as diverse groups of nuanced and complex individuals from different walks of life and backgrounds who work together in varied working environments which in turn impacts their lives, socialisation, and shapes their personality as well as the group identity in the society and organisation.

Under the formal analysis of workplace communities, the concept of extreme and specialised manual division of labour is focused upon by Taylor (1911) who, after examining manual labour in various conditions, suggests employing based on one's suitability to carry out required tasks. According to Weisboard (1985) Peter Drucker asserted that "Taylor, among all his contemporaries, truly deserved the title humanist" (p. 5). It indicates his belief in matching the worker's capabilities with their job complexities. He encouraged workers' outlook and suggestions, in turn believed in appropriate job training. He described that management is responsible for worker restriction or decrease of output at workplace which could rather lead to worker inferiority, and hence giving people feedback to help them change is useful to enhance individual performance. "In short, Taylor sought humane and sensible antidotes to the degradation of work which, like smog and pollution, was an early by-product of the industrial revolution" (Weisboard, 1985 p. 5) Such ideologies are, later, described by Weber (1947 in Evans, 1976) as progressive rationalism of society and the economy, including industry developments which are, in fact, affected by the organisational culture embodying attitudes among employees.

Many employees need sense of inclusion, which remains a key factor in their decision to remain as employed at a workplace (Mor Barak and Cherin, 1998; Mor Barak, 2000). Often if they feel excluded, they leave the organisation; because if they intend to stay in the organisation, they may feel that their potential is not utilised fully. Their overall job satisfaction and well-being is influenced by their work environment, the perceived fairness in organisational policies and procedures, extent of support received from supervisors and colleagues, and perceived levels of stress and pressure at the workplace; eventually also

affecting their longevity in the organisation (Bettencourt and Brown, 1997; De Jong and Schaufeli, 1998; Mor Barak, 2000; Tyler and Cushway, 1998).

Ample research tells us that no matter the structure, discriminatory practices remain the norm (Bolton, 2004). According to Kossek and Zonia (1993) that non-Caucasians of ethnic minorities and caucasian women felt discriminated since they have been excluded from upper and middle organisational levels for many decades. Likewise number of scholars have found that the larger extent of diversity in an organisational sub-unit, gives rise to the less integrated groups, and emergence of higher felt exclusion (Bhushan and Karpe, 1996; Milliken and Matins, 1996; Tsui et al., 1995). People from diverse groups are often excluded from important information leading to hindered career progression (Barak and Levin, 2002; Cox, 1994; Ibarra, 1993). Furthermore, Chemers et al. (1995) discovered that individuals who are labeled as minorities are suggested to possess lower sense of well-being, as a result of their perceptions and experiences of lack of opportunity for upward mobility and unfair treatment in an organisation (Barak and Levin, 2002).

Hack-Polay (2008a) proposes that unspoken discrimination within the workplace limits employment opportunities for migrants no matter their work background and experience and creates marginalisation. Davies (2019) argues that, in the food industry, workplace mistreatment can easily be overlooked in the shadow of severe exploitation and does not remit any criminal justice intervention, making it essential to strongly emphasise the routine labour exploitation of migrant workers. Marginalisation, on its own, is too broad to define, with various intricacies and differing concepts. Cernea (1996) suggests that marginalisation occurs when a social group loses its economic power and its economic status decreases. This does not necessarily mean a complete absence of employment, as it could also include other commodities; however, it is a state which would be considered lower relative to their previous socio-economic position. In contrast, marginalisation is also defined as excluding or impelling groups to the periphery of the social structures of the host and immigrant community due to their differences, upholding suppression of language as one of the elements underpinning the marginalised status (Hopkins, 2015; Ormond et al., 2006; Ubalde and Alarcón, 2020).

Thus, this study considers marginalisation as the ignorance of, or aversion to, socio-cultural differences, without necessarily belittling them, which may result in the exclusion of minority groups from the socio-economic structures of society. It is said that adaption often

requires new migrants to embrace acculturation (Hack-Polay, 2008b), as those refusing to adapt face more disadvantages and isolation (Hack-Polay and Mendy, 2017). Meanwhile, acculturation is a psychological and cultural change that emerges from continuous interaction between groups or individuals of distinct cultures (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 2018; Zou and Petkanopoulou, 2022). This study refers to acculturation with the meaning of one losing or majorly letting go of their own culture to embrace the new culture of the host society to help them navigate and adapt into the new society. Hong et al. (2013) suggests it occurs among the minority to be equipped for successful navigation in the majority culture, acknowledging the cultural cues and multicultural minds i.e., possessing cultural adaptation; as sharing such dominant patterns allows for a higher well-being for them than of those deviating from the dominant cultural patterns or those unable to find common ground (Becker and Cabrita, 2014). But acculturation can present conflict between communities, specifically the host and the immigrant communities (Hack-Polay, 2008a). The threat of acculturation is more prominent for new immigrants as they try to integrate into the society, resulting in the loss of cultural identity as they extensively adapt to the differences especially due to the pre-existing attitudes among long-term immigrants and the host community. However, the perception of a divided society due to the social and cultural conservatism could result in the immigrant community being unwilling to adapt due to the stability achieved without the adaptation, hence not integrating into the host culture, unless the host community further adapts resulting in the acculturation of the host community (Hack-Polay, 2008a). These further impacts employee behaviour in organisational practice as the external factors influence the internal wellbeing, as acculturation is defined by Selmer and de Leon (1993) as changes in the work values of employees in a foreign country. Consequently, extreme acculturation can result in loss of value. Loss of such intellectual diversity in the workforce can decrease performance due to inhibiting organisational practice and innovation. Therefore, there appears to be a reciprocal relationship in terms of acculturation with locals and immigrants which prevails with a sense of threat unlike integration (Friedberg and Hunt, 1995; Lucassen, 2005).

Possibly, these individuals happen to experience marginalisation, assimilation, and separation (Berry et al., 1989; Costoiu, 2008). It is argued that integration is an approach whereby individuals maintain their original cultural and ethnic identity concurrently, often interacting with the host society (Berry, 1992); further implying that migrants are a substantial part of various societies (Castles et al., 2013). These processes exclusively occur along the

mutual adaptation of migrants, host society and host country (Berry, 1997). New migrants can be placed in a weaker labour market positioning due to their unpreparedness to face cultural change, leading to socio-economic disadvantage and isolation (Simms, 2017). This is not to say that long-term immigrants do not face marginalisation or discrimination in the labour market, but that they have had more time to acquire skills specific to the organisation and country. Adaptation is not about expecting complete consensus on values and practices; rather, it is about negotiating the right balance in expressing difference and unity in local areas, organisations, and the host society (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 2018; Phillimore, 2011). This does not mean that migrants must completely forego their own identity to integrate, but that integration requires striking a balance between both communities as it is a dynamic, two-way process.

2.3.3   Between the lines of Us and Them - creating a social divide

There is extensive literature on racism, segmentation and forms of discrimination faced by migrant workers in which social identity theory shows how advantaged groups gain collective esteem by being driven to maintain their prestigious and prominent social identity (Shepherd et al., 2018; Tajfel and Turner, 1979), but may feel threatened by disadvantaged groups (Jetten et al., 2004), leading to aversive behaviours including increased prejudice (Esses et al., 2013; Outten et al., 2012; Shepherd et al., 2018; Stephan et al., 2005; Wohl and Branscombe, 2009). However, it is specifically in these situations that identity is driven by social status, acceptance, and ethnicity.

These aspects of social identity theory can be highlighted as relevant. Social identity theory is originally about intergroup relations between the lines of 'us and 'them' (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) exploring the issue of conflict or peace and cooperation between large-scale social categories. It's about group of people who categorise themselves as belonging to the same social category and adopt the category's social identity with attributes to define and evaluate themselves. These attributes support in capturing and accentuating intragroup similarities and intergroup differences (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Therefore, in terms of group behaviour from the perspective of social identity rather than seeing themselves as unique individuals people tend to identify with a group and—viewing themselves as a group representative in relation to the group's attitudinal and behavioural norms (Klein et al., 2007; Reicher et al., 1995). This could relate in terms of this study to migrants' groups of different

backgrounds, social and legal status, language, ethnicity and educational levels. However, it is this categorisation of groups that can result in unequal power dynamics leading to different forms of segregation in the labour market. As this study infers segregation is an outcome of the creation and acceptance of separate group identities, defined as 'us' and 'them'; thus, creating a social divide between the groups. Being a part of a group can also be a source of emotional connection, an encouraging and motivating factor to raise individuals' self-esteem. Therefore, it is relevant starting point in terms of identifying attempts of discrimination, segregation and differentiation between individuals and groups.

From this viewpoint, social identity theory in particular is able to capture minority groups search for equality and behaviour differences in terms of conflict or peace with majority groups of migrants. It can also enable this study to understand the influence of status hierarchies among migrant groups, role of conflict and intergroup power relations in an organisation and which in turn help form social structures.

2.4   EXPERIENCES OF MIGRANT WORKERS

The complexity and diversity of migration in the way it transforms lives, and builds links across national boundaries, gives an important insight into the differing migrant experiences and communities (Migration Advisory Committee, 2014). Strang et al. (2017) distinctly specify that despite migrants' aspirations to live in the host country, they can face deprivations, hardships, poor living conditions, and exclusion combined with disarray in social networks and experiences of racial and discriminative behaviours, which are anti-integrative (Bommes and Morawska, 2005).

The distinguishing factor of the new migrant workforce is its specifically expressed vulnerability, as new entrants have less understanding about and fewer rights within the UK, with many relying on agencies to guide them through finding a continuous flow of work (McDowell et al., 2008). Occupational divisions of labour in the UK can further translate into wage differences (Felbo-Kolding et al., 2019). Migrant agency workers, particularly in hospitality and cleaning, experience low wages and uncertain employment conditions, alongside harassment, bullying, and long working hours (Alberti, 2016; Lucas and Mansfield, 2010; Matthews and Ruhs, 2007; McDowell et al., 2008), and encounter little success in

workplace bargaining. One in five workers have a precarious[12] work contract (Anderson et al., 2006). Further, it can be argued that employees who are subject to harassment or discrimination based on gender, legal status, or skin colour, and do not feel they can seek legal remedy possibly for a variety of reasons, are also in a precarious position (Clark and Shantley, 2020; McDowell et al., 2008).

To engage with the economic restructuring and migrant division of labour effects (Alberti, 2016; Wills et al., 2009), whereby new migrants appear to occupy the bottom end of the labour market, some UK trade unions have been actively collaborating with organisations that are community-based (Alberti, 2016). Alberti (2016) highlights, along with other literature (Evans et al., 2007; Holgate and Wills, 2007), that living wage campaigns and community initiatives have the potential and capacity to confront issues beyond a specified workplace, reaching out to low-paid and contingent workers. This is as living wage campaigns are able to establish a moral argument in support of low-paid migrant workers by unifying media institutions, corporations and political authorities at a local level (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010). However, Gall (2010) argues that the characterisation of union recognition by mostly 'nascent, not mature, workplace unionism' (Gall, 2010, p. 11), makes it more susceptible to triggering the employer's opposition to trade unions. Migrants tend not to join trade unions as conditions often include no bonus, offer limited career progression opportunities (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009), temporary or uncertain contracts, lack of formal education (Duncan et al., 2013) and minimum holidays. Holgate's (2005) study on a sandwich factory employing migrants in London highlights these issues, as they openly search for people who are willing to endure tough work surroundings and low pay. Furthermore, these stereotypes of low pay and tough work are further pointed out in the hospitality industry by Duncan et al. (2013, p. 2-3), with the industry often being perceived to host 'low'-skilled jobs and negative lifestyle conditions. This contributes to difficulty in attracting employees, high turnover, social stigma and subsequent perception among employees in this demanding and evolving consumer expectation market. The issues provide explanations for why migrant employees seldom categorise employment in the hospitality and tourism industry as a 'choice' towards their career. Rather, it is considered as a 'stop gap' as they seek 'better options' (Baum, 2008; Duncan et al., 2013, p. 3; Richardson,

---

[12] Precarious work connotes short term, casual, temporary, zero hours' contracts or agency/third-party work, i.e., concerns indirect employees, providing the contracted service at low salaries that could stop workers from achieving a high living standard; it is less well paid, uncertain, lacks job security, and offers limited social protections and fewer benefits, which are not able to support a household (McDowell et al., 2008).

2009). Though, it has also been observed that, for many young migrants, undertaking tourism and hospitality work gives a combination of work and pleasure (Duncan et al., 2013). Nevertheless, they anticipate economic insecurity and instability due to the aforementioned low pay, leading them to often be employed in several jobs simultaneously (Holgate, 2018).

Alongside, the research on job satisfaction explicitly demonstrates that lack of rewarding work conditions, resources and absence of supervisors/ co-workers support along with high work pressures more likely produce dissatisfied employees (Mueller and Wallace, 1996; Tyler and Cushway, 1998). Numerous studies have found that diversity characteristics among workforce has negative correlation with job satisfaction (Barak and Levin, 2002; Long, 1998; Wesolowski and Mossholder, 1998). Employees expect organisational decisions to be fair and just whereas contrary to which engage in negative reactions when they realise that they are victim to unjust and unfair treatment (Barak and Levin, 2002; Tata and Bowes-Sperry, 1996).

However, the argument concerning the inequities faced by migrants in existing workplace communities is occasionally downplayed by the migrants themselves. As Holgate's (2005) study portrays, the reconciled recognition of being employed in a low-status, low-paid occupation is paralleled with grievances over unfair treatment in a workplace (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009) and the structural forces shaping the expectations among migrants regarding their experiences at work. Burrell (2016) argues that migration appears to solve more than an initial need; it resolves the original difficulty of insufficient income and lack of opportunities while also offering a chance of enrichment by local standards; an aspiration to earn extra and for a better standard of living. Whereas accumulation strategies may conjoin survival strategies for some, to begin with, others eventually find that accumulation replaces survival as the objective (Burrell, 2016; Pickup and White, 2003).

Though various migrants appear to be overqualified in elementary and low-skilled occupations (Hickman et al., 2008; ONS, 2020a; Johnston et al., 2015; Nowotny, 2016; The Migration Observatory, 2022), some were found to be satisfied with the perceived higher wages (Hack-Polay and Mendy, 2017; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Wills et al., 2009) compared to their previous occupation in their country of origin; meanwhile, others suggested the work was better than anticipated. In the words a respondent in MacKenzie and Forde's (2009, p. 152) study, Jaan, "It is better than we expected – in our minds it is better than we imagined. A lot better. The money is better. Packing bottles, it is not too bad. At home what we were doing was not too good". With the echoes of better pay, regardless of it barely meeting the minimum real

living wage estimated in the UK[13], the employment was also favoured for the longer hours of work because the ability to work long hours presented as providing the opportunity to earn a better living (Hack-Polay, 2016); thereby, providing an incentive to voluntarily waive working time protection to earn more (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009).

An added appeal for migrants to continue to work in poor employment conditions is anticipation of improvement in their host language proficiency skills. However, this rarely happened as, due to employment occurring through migrant networks, very few migrants interacted with non-migrant workers in the elementary occupational workplaces and very few were exposed to the host country's socio-cultural characteristics (Andreescu, 2011; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2005; Hack-Polay, 2007; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Wills et al. (2009, p. 259) suggest that employers are reluctant to employ their 'own kind' to fill unsafe, tough and labour-intensive occupations for low wages; it appears easier to employ those termed as 'other' (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003, p.40). One example of this, amongst many others (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Holgate, 2018; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009), is highlighted by Wills et al. (2009) who observe a strong preference in the cleaning sector for particular nationalities of workers, with Eastern Europeans and Portuguese frequently mentioned as loyal and hardworking. Similarly, Scott (2012) identifies a preference for migrants rather than UK nationals for low-wage, labour-intensive horticultural occupations, with an acknowledgment of the added value of migrants possibly rooted in the migrants' human capital, youth and expectations of upward mobility (Anderson and Ruhs, 2012).

Such notions thus question the hiring strategies in organisations. Interestingly, amongst the various case studies considered (Alberti, 2016; Datta et al., 2007; Duncan et al., 2013; Holgate, 2005; Holgate, 2018; Kingston et al., 2015; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; McDowell et al., 2008; Sambajee, 2015; Wills et al., 2009), a consensus appeared among most organisations whereby they responded to claims of retention of employees being ruled by necessity among migrants rather than high job satisfaction, with statements which reiterated the valued work ethic of migrants, terming them as less easily replaceable (Datta, et al., 2007; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Wills et al., 2009).

---

[13] For example, the minimum wage predicted for 2022 for 23-year-olds and over is £9.50 (HMRC, 2022); however, the estimated living wage for London is £11.05, whilst it is £9.90 for the rest of the UK (Living Wage Foundation, 2021). Whilst prominent organisations such as Nestlé, Oxfam, and Nationwide Building Society participate (Living Wage Foundation, 2021), it can be argued that this remains an organisational choice rather than a legislative requirement.

In contrast, Holgate's (2005) study highlights the alternative picture whereby migrant employees complained of being reminded constantly that they were little valued. In the words of Tundi, a respondent in Holgate's (2005, p. 468) study, "They don't respect people. They are always abusing the staff. It is like we are not human… because we are different". Workers in Holgate's (2005) case study explained how managers constantly told them that if they did not like the job, they could get another one and they could be replaced by new staff. Hence, it raises the doubt: could the picture painted by the organisations in question be attributed to their utilisation of the migrants to maintain a competitive advantage through minimisation of labour costs, and their lack of reliance on the local labour market (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). The increased use of temporary agency workers, as a profit-maximising, cost-cutting strategy in response to the growing national and international market competition has contributed to the workforce in London being negatively differentiated and contractually fragmented (Alberti, 2016; Dutton et al., 2008; Seifert and Messing, 2006; Vanselow et al., 2010). A stronger association of organisational productivity with faster growth with greater differentiation, and low capital intensity, is displayed through high-performance working practices. Some argue the employer's hiring decisions are the result of a lack of information about minority groups (Pager and Shepherd, 2008), resulting in them substituting the absent evidence with matched social psychology on stereotyping, where it typecasts beliefs about a group of workers such as lethargic, quick, clever, intellectual, fierce, or temperamental. Meanwhile, others argue that the tactic is faulty and leads to inflexible generalisations (Kingston et al., 2015; Pager and Shepherd, 2008) seeping through the hiring practices into workplace community relations.

The culture of the wider society is somewhat reflected in and reinforced by the culture within the organisation (Mennino et al., 2005) in terms of changes of different stereotypes, historical events, societal structures and political influences. These societal changes can impact employee behaviours and mindsets which they carry into the organisation subconsciously. As organisations are made of people and thus form social units; organisations have their own culture, own views, and behaviours constructed by the employees, but one cannot separate the societal influences on these views. Yet, the existence of subcultures in the organisations as organisations have their own dynamics, does not entirely reflect the complex and contradictory culture of the society. The workplace is a semi-autonomous entity as workplace culture incorporates behaviours and values contributing to the unique social and psychological

workplace settings (Ackroyd and Thompson, 1999), though what happens in a workplace might be indirectly an example of what happens in the society.

Andreescu (2011) presents support of custom, authorities, or law (Pettigrew, 1998), intergroup cooperation, common goals, and equality in status as four key aspects of positive intergroup connections, i.e., contact theory, which suggests that hostility towards new migrants, especially in existing workplace communities, may stem from a lack of interpersonal relationships between different groups (Andreescu, 2011). As organisations each have their own identity, they change and develop at individual points of progress (Manley et al., 2011), with differences in predicted job satisfaction, workforce commitment, individual performance, and stable functioning of workplaces alongside stages of change as it is a continuous process (Hoppe, 1990; Li et al., 2008; Matić, 2008). However, while closer mixed relationships may reduce differences and intolerance among cultures as per contact theory, they can also strengthen ethno-centric views alongside an increase in social and cultural conservatism in an organisation which, DiGiusto and Jolly (2009) suggest, over time, can heighten opposition to migration. In a case study of a chocolate factory (Hopkins, 2009), the agency staff members' names were not on their uniforms as they were temporary, not permanent, workers. Some said that permanent workers did not speak to them, initially thinking they were different and not directly employed, especially as the employer changed the line of work for the temporary staff members each morning, thereby reducing the opportunity to form social groups. The new agency workers eventually found themselves part of the group of existing agency workers and did not mix with the rest of the staff. The temporary workers performed the same tasks as permanent workers; however, their differing contractual status fragmented them into groups. Nevertheless, diversity in contact groups may also further positive attitudes, as Andreescu (2011) notes: as optimism was interlinked with the group dynamics, an increase in a migrant population correlated with decreased racial antipathies and xenophobia (DiGiusto and Jolly, 2009). On the other hand, with cultural marginality theory, it is proposed that marginalised groups are empathetic towards those equally marginalised (Fetzer, 2000), as seen in the chocolate factory case study (Hopkins, 2009), helping create unity (Beall, 1997; Gonçalves et al., 2021). These studies concerning groups in precarious work conditions suggested such conditions lead to unity among groups. Marginalisation can take on a form of and contribute such precarity.

However, the social exclusion of migrants is not only attributable to their exclusion from the host society, i.e., the mainstream white English society, it may also be attributed to their exclusion from other migrant workplace communities (Datta et al., 2007). The Indian diaspora[14] in Mauritius, having successfully deployed some of its culture from its Indian roots to sustain its identity in the host country, reflects the typical example of hybrid communities (Sambajee, 2015). Preferences for personalised relationships are also reflected as hostility, causing the divisional space of 'ours' and 'theirs' (Sambajee, 2015, p. 398). This is indicated in Sambajee's (2015) study, in which the Indian diaspora in Mauritius was perceived negatively, mocked and derogatory comments made toward them, by employees from the two ethnic groups, i.e., French and English, in spite of the diaspora's language potential in French and English and them occupying better occupational positions. Despite the Indian diaspora's efforts to engage with other ethnic groups, the derogatory language eventually caused them to socialise only within their own community. Access to organisational resources was hindered or unequal, due to the limited use of Creole or French by the Indian diaspora in rural regions; thus, hindering the migrants' ability to ascend the organisational ladder (Sambajee, 2015). Though receptive of such languages at work, the group were not able to gain equal respect due to their persisting traditional values and intra-ethnic bonding; their behaviour created an ambivalent and highly contested space, requiring them to constantly negotiate their identity when engaging with unequal power relations. Power influences who gets what, when and how. Similar to politics and social sciences, in management settings, power can influence and control employee behaviour, with the term authority legitimising the perception of power in the social structures present (Morgan, 1986). Managers use the organisations under their legitimised umbrella to pursue a variety of tasks, career advancements and extramural interests.

Conversely, Datta et al.'s (2007) case study emphasises that a majority of migrants and immigrants felt excluded from other migrant communities regardless of the frequent interaction in the workplace. In workplaces, migrants were wary of speaking out against any issues, practices, or discrimination when they feared immigrants from the same community or another would not support them. For example, a respondent of the study, Portia, explained that she did

---

[14] In a discussion, Vertovec illustrates the variation in understanding of the complex and multifaceted nature of the concept of migration, by simplifying and defining diaspora as the consciousness of being connected with the traditions and people of their origin country and with migrants in the host country from the same origins (Mirdal and Ryynänen-Karjalainen, 2004). This suggested migration can occur without the concept of diaspora and transnationalism, but diaspora and transnationalism were always caused by migration, and unable to occur without it (Mirdal and Ryynänen-Karjalainen, 2004).

not speak up against any exploitative work practices as she had "no Africans behind her" (Datta et al., 2007, p. 423). Work life has more dimensions than simply work commitment and performance, with each employee harbouring unique future aspirations, visions, personalities, values, beliefs, preferences, and commitment apart from work; all shaping their affiliation to the organisation as the extramural interests shape their adaptation to their jobs and career (Morgan, 1986). However, as discussed in the previous section, one may also argue that immigrants and migrants fail to unionise due to the perceived fear of job insecurity resulting from uncertainty about their legal status and stagnant career growth; their failure to unionise hinders their integration (Gall, 2010) into the host society.

2.5 INTEGRATION

Integration, in principle, reasonably permits diversity to prevail in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, and beliefs. It is a conjoint process which requires impartial access to the labour market, providing opportunities for new migrants within welfare, educational, and training systems alongside incentives for immigrants (Hansen, 2012). The explanation of integration does not assume that it produces a unitary, harmonious, and uniform workplace community, society, or culture (Clyne and Jupp, 2013; Lucassen, 2005). There is a need to rethink integration. Undeniably integration has its limitations, with various definitions ascribed in the consciously evolving and rapidly changing societies (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016). However, it continues to act centrally in policymaking and discussions about adaptation and settlement of migrants (Castles et al. 2003, Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2018). The nature of migrant integration suggests that, though integrated in their country of origin, they experience the different structures and values of the host society (Luthra et al., 2020; Platt and Nandi, 2020); hence, a new process of integration begins and unfolds over time (Lucassen, 2005). They are forced to accept the loss of their home in order to have a valid claim on a new life, but this requires them to let go of their attachment to their home to integrate into an alien place, an experience of great pain for some (Hack-Polay, 2016). This process is unsettling and becomes unachievable when new environments and experiences are characterised by workplace exploitation, growing discrimination, and increasing inequalities (Craig, 2015; Levels et al., 2008).

However, promoting communities and fostering open communication amongst managers and staff, i.e., workplace communities, can encourage more foresight and issues that are

generally ignored or unvoiced to be confronted (Jones and Kelly, 2014). The alignment and understanding of employee work values assists in the development of effective reward systems, clear communication (Varner and Beamer, 1995), and organisational performance (Connor and Becker, 1975), aids negotiation, and affects the approved leadership and management styles in workplaces (Connor and Becker, 1975; Hofstede, 1980; Matić, 2008). Migrant labour is also underutilised in higher levels of occupations, thus excluding, and shunning the readily available workforce from participative integration despite their qualifications (Hack-Polay and Mendy, 2017, The Migration Observatory, 2022). The absence of confrontation from new migrants in the organisations, as discussed in the labour market discrimination section, with concerns of their reserved behaviour and lack of knowledge of employment procedures due to the lack of useful structures pertaining to integration, reflects a gap which is a hindrance towards new migrants' inclusion and confidence; a challenge as this study considers inclusion to be the first step towards integration due to its aims to involve different people or groups into the same singular task, working community or social setting.

Recruitment practices may include employers hiring through alignment of national stereotyping with suitable categorised roles instead of individual merits (McCollum and Findlay, 2015). This leads to indirect or direct discrimination, which furthers the ethnically ordered hiring[15] queues implicit in the hierarchy of nationalities, which is developed by employers based upon their desired workforces (Scott, 2012; McCollum and Findlay, 2015). However, Andreescu (2011) also portrays religious beliefs, societal attachment, and political behaviour as further influencers of attitudes (Andreescu, 2011; DiGiusto and Jolly, 2009). Andreescu (2011) concludes that residents in urban settings with high levels of education, and often educated parents, are more accepting of migration than those from rural settings with minimal education. Furthermore, those with a parents born abroad, and foreign-born individuals, also hold a more positive perception of the contribution of migration to the host economy and country than natives; yet financial difficulties within a particular economic environment as explored in more detail in the discussion on economic impact, and agreement with anti-immigration politics are more likely to result in an individual opposing migration (Andreescu, 2011).

---

[15] Ethnically ordered hiring refers to the preference for specific ethnicities, resulting in judgements based upon national stereotypes of these specific groups of workers, which may differ for each immigrant.

This leads back to the crucial consideration, according to Lucassen (2005): integration to what extent, what domain and at what speed. It is not a process which is neutral, nor is it an end state; integration portrays the ever-changing relationship between the host community, workplaces, and new migrants, as the conceptualised process takes place in diverse domains: political, cultural, social, and economic (Penninx, 2005; Thomas R.R., 2006). Integration is a two-way process requiring both host community and migrants to adapt in accordance with their interaction with each other and internal relations over time (Hack-Polay, 2008b; Joppke, 2007; Lucassen, 2005). It is a long-term, and intergenerational rather than linear process (Lucassen, 2005).

The integration processes of migrants within all dimensions and domains are affected by a range of factors (Bommes and Morawska, 2005; Rudiger and Spencer, 2003; Yen et al., 2021). Hence, the trajectories within and of migrant groups are significantly different after arrival (Hack-Polay, 2019; Rudiger, 2006). In order to transform organisational practices, fundamental changes in behavioural patterns and mind-sets are required; they reflect the beliefs, assumptions and values accepted by migrant workers in workplaces (Manley et al., 2011). Moreover, a negative attitude towards new migrants is furthered by the perception of illegal status among the host population (Zincone, 2001). In 2018, the UK had the strongest opposition to EU free movement immigration in comparison to other EU countries (Vasilopoulou and Talving, 2019). Additionally, the indicators which positively influence the integration processes in communities and workplaces include language aptitude, community adaptions, skill level and employment rates (Cebulla et al., 2010; Craig, 2015; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019).

Initially, new migrants may earn less due to their lack of country-specific skills (Borjas, 1995; Ottaviano et al., 2018). It can be argued that migrants are predisposed to having lower employment and socio-economic status in the host country, despite their qualifications and experiences, as compared to their country of origin (Basedow and Doyle, 2016; Bell, 2015; De Lara et al., 2016; Hack-Polay and Mendy, 2017), but that this is masked by their needs and future aspirations for better living. However, in due course, the migrants are able to acquire further skills specific to their workplace, resulting in quicker wage growth and reduction in wage disparities in organisations (Borjas, 1995; Dustmann and Frattini, 2014); thus, supporting integration into the organisation, workplace community, society and host economy. A key issue that affects migrants in the process of social and economic integration is host language

proficiency (Card, 2005; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Dustmann et al., 2005; Hack-Polay, 2007; Haque et al., 2002; Mateos, et al., 2007; Sambajee, 2015; Webber and Mateos, 2007; Ubalde and Alarcón, 2020). Integration is also hindered as migrants appear to derive less satisfaction from social life in comparison to natives (Jarosz and Gugushvili, 2020). Haque et al. (2002) summarise language fluency as greatly influential for new migrants in UK workplaces due to its contribution in aiding them in communication and comprehension, enhancing their employment probability by 22% and increasing wage levels (Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003). Language is the most consequential barrier in migrant employment (Marshall, 1997) as the choice of employment is strongly motivated by language abilities (Hack-Polay, 2008b; Ubalde and Alarcón, 2020). However, language fluency does not guarantee reduced discrimination, or an increase in positive attitudes, as understood by Sambajee's (2015) study. Hence, such findings also suggest that language fluency and proficiency, which improve with the length of residence, are able to reduce the economic gap between Caucasian natives and minority immigrants (Haque et al., 2002).

By aiding the acquisition of occupational and language skills, education is a route to integrating the migrant, i.e., a route assisting in all dimensions of integration, especially structural and social (Platt and Nandi, 2020; Rodrik et al., 2004). New adult migrants often informally encounter such education-based integration in social settings or at work; however, they can also acquire job training, language skills, and social orientation through formal introduction programmes, alongside giving them access to communication and participation within the new organisation (Hack-Polay, 2007). Nevertheless, it is noted that education is not an acculturation strategy, as migrants integrating into the social and economic structures through education do not necessarily experience detachment from their country of origin, without undermining other aspects of integration. Thus, migration-friendly countries often measure the integration process on the basis of civil and political rights; family reunification; organisational access; social security rights; and security of residence and employment status (Spencer and Cooper, 2006); measurements reflected in organisations as a microcosm. This is seen as an integration paradox which will tend to disappear over time as mixed cultural identities become more prominent (Castles et al., 2013; Fossati, 2011).

New migrants face the dilemma of determining the extent to which they identify themselves with other migrants, or if they should share a collective identity with the host community (Vertovec, 2012), forming an intricate part of integration in particular (Avery et

al., 2008; Carroll et al., 1994; Scheepers et al., 2006). Cultural diversity is influenced by aspects including ethnicity, gender, class, legal status, religion and region (Constant, and Zimmermann, 2008). It can be argued that, in the current era of economic and political uncertainty and job insecurity, fear and anxiety amongst the existing workforce about losing their jobs exudes from and is a part of the culture or environment of a workplace (Mennino et al., 2005; Rubin and Brody, 2002; Rubin and Smith, 2001). Cultural practices are more widely dispersed due to globalisation, i.e., advancements in transportation and communication technology (Vertovec, 2010); thereby presenting the necessity and growth of transnational identity in recent decades (Bader, 2001; Faist, 2000) in entering existing workplace communities. Therefore, in order to integrate, rather than staying static, migrant cultures evolve in response to the exogenous factors affecting UK organisations, i.e., economic, social and political structures of the host society (Dustmann et al., 2016; Spencer and Cooper, 2006).

Understandably, migrants possess different priorities and needs dependent on their varying stages of life, gender and age. The continuum of integration and settlement includes the fulfilment of such needs including housing, education, and healthcare; thereby, completely gratifying participation of new migrants within the labour market and community and retaining a sense of belonging and identity (Murphy, 2010). It is essential, however, to define settlement and integration. Settlement, similar to integration, is a long-term, dynamic, interactive two-way process; one which focuses on freedom of participation and equality in society for new migrants, i.e., providing access to society with full human resource potential within its migrant communities (Omidvar and Richmond, 2005). Integration promotes new migrants as complete functioning members of the host society, through:

- the retention of employees aligned with individual background and skills set,
- engagement in multicultural organisations,
- time offered towards community,
- participation in the UK's political domain such as voting, and
- acceptance of UK values (Murphy, 2010).

Integration is multi-directional (Cheung and Phillimore, 2013; Cheung and Phillimore, 2016) and multi-dimensional (Ager and Strang, 2008) which involves adaptation of the migrant and host community, requiring both communities to equally uphold responsibility and support one another. The concept of a welcoming community interlinks with this continuum of settlement and integration as it refers to the extent to which societies promote inclusivity and

integrate new migrants (Moss et al., 2010). This includes the support given by the community in the process of settlement and integration, by adapting policies and approaches across organisations and social structures to ensure cultural competency and acceptance (Murphy, 2010; Ubalde and Alarcón, 2020).

Migrant settlement and integration are problematised as a concern that the new migrants will jeopardise existing British cultural norms or even increase crime rates. Such concerns undermine the bases of shared histories, social solidarities and identities, which involve belonging and citizenship as well as organisational commitment and job satisfaction (Soysal and Soyland, 1994; Williams and Anderson, 1991). Hence, positive community relations of tolerance and mutual support alongside encouragement of active participation in social networks, with high levels of interpersonal trust (Andreescu, 2011) belonging, and a mutual sense of identity, are sustained within a cohesive society. Key to organisational change, operational leadership (Bate, 1994) demands scrutiny of the workplace communities (Jones and Redman, 2000), through employee engagement, effective policies, achieving a common vision, and being a role model of mutual values (Manley et al., 2011). The embodiment of integrated leaders within work cultures and communities is essential to aid the alignment of organisational values, culture, and goals, with new migrant employees (Hack-Polay, 2007).

The social disruptions caused by immigration may be reflected in crime rates; however, Bell et al. (2013) demonstrate that the 2004 Eastern European increase into the UK, had no effect on reported crime. Furthermore, immigration presented no negative effect on educational attainment; instead, the possible disadvantage of not being fluent in their second language, in this case English, as compared to their peers was fuelled by the higher motivation among immigrants to succeed in their education (Gabrielli et al., 2021; Wadsworth et al., 2016).

Reconciling competitive immigrant and host community tendencies, particularly in smaller workplaces, is a challenge faced by communities upon promoting integration (Zetter et al., 2006), with one side of the coin embracing the differences to use those differences to reject integration and the other demanding acculturation to aid the diverse cultures, faiths, and ethnicities in order to align their aims with the shared goals and values, rather than focusing on the differences. However, Zetter et al. (2006) argue that cohesive policies in the last two decades have failed to portray the first side of this coin in practice, in society and organisations, promoting inclusive notions of identity, belonging and citizenship, rather than acknowledging and respecting differences (Castles et al., 2002; Zotti, 2021); thus, failing to promote cross-

cultural understanding and dialogue, i.e., value recognition and social integration, which appear as a theoretical gap. This is also noted by Hack-Polay (2007) in terms of English for Speakers of Other Languages courses. Such acknowledgement is essential in order to reduce fear among new migrants about losing their sense of identity, values and culture. Regardless of the imbalance, policies concerning the two sides of the coin appear only on the surface level, with a lack of implementation deeper into organisations, thus implying the need for this study to understand why organisations may fail to do so.

Zetter et al. (2006) suggests that there is a lack of evidence for the presence of the bridging capital among new migrants and other settled ethnic groups envisaged in the government's cohesion policy (Grande et al., 2019). The extent to which people of similar ethnicity are consolidated through bonding presents the sense of common values and purposes. Conversely, ethnicity manifests from the shared aspirations and needs of specific groups, rather than being an independent variable. Therefore, integration should not require the merging of communities as a homogenous group (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003). Contrarily, it is implied that it is achievable within a pluralist society through the interaction between diverse communities, building a bond through recognising their differences and interdependence upon one another (Zetter et al., 2006).

2.6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The literature portrays a need for migrants in the UK in order to maintain a flexible labour market and workplaces (Bhala et al., 2020; Dennison and Geddes, 2018; Haque et al., 2002; Hunt, 2011; Raess and Burgoon, 2015; McCollum and Findlay, 2015). Furthermore, migrants form a significant part of the workforce in the WRHR sector (ONS, 2017a; The Migration Observatory, 2022), suggesting their absence would not only decrease the overall human capital, but also create setbacks in issues countered by migrations. These countered issues include reducing overall wage disparities (Dustmann et al., 2013; Dustmann and Frattini, 2014; Borjas, 1995; Peri, 2016; Wadsworth et al., 2016), cultivating further opportunities through entrepreneurial and innovative skills (Hunt, 2011), giving rise to capital accumulation rates, profit maximisation (Hunt, 2011; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005; Alberti, 2016; Fernández-Reino et al., 2020; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019) and reducing labour shortages by filling recruitment difficulties via occupying low-level, low-status occupations (Altonji and Card,

2018; Haque et al., 2002; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; CIPD, 2015; Portes, 2018) deserted by UK-born nationals (Wills et al., 2009).

EU net migration has dropped, since 2012, to its lowest level (ONS, 2020a), which will be a real concern for businesses that are already struggling with labour shortfalls, productivity challenges, and an inability to meet gaps in skills shortage, all of which may worsen with the aging national workforce of the UK (CIPD, 2015). Businesses may face difficulties that could hinder their growth and damage their global competitiveness (Brooking, 2018). However, it also suggests this dependency is, in fact, part of the interplay between the individual, i.e., the migrant, and society, including immigrants.

Most migrants enter the workforce through employment agencies which largely offer low wage jobs in low status occupations often unrelated to the migrants' prior education and experience (Alberti, 2016; Hack-Polay, 2016; Holgate and Wills, 2007). Nonetheless, often, these migrants are not provided with adequate training, including training in workplace diversity issues, thus making integration both with locals and with other migrants complicated.

The discussions around what might prevent migrants from integrating in workplace communities including migrants' diversity experience and cultural attachment, means a propensity to cluster with those in cultural proximity is created (Hack-Polay, 2019) on the basis of their social identity. Workplace communities are not merely about the social setting but about people and communities that influence people's behaviour, i.e., social action. Prevailing attitudes of existing communities have a significant impact on how new migrants may integrate into a new society, community and workplace (Andreescu, 2011; Datta et al., 2007; DiGiusto and Jolly, 2009; Haque et al., 2002; Holgate, 2018; Lucassen, 2005; Sambajee, 2015; Ubalde and Alarcón, 2020; Zolberg, 1991), with attitudes towards new migrants often categorised using three different explanations: contact with migrants, economic self-interest, and cultural marginality (Andreescu, 2011; Datta et al., 2007; Fetzer, 2000; Hack-Polay, 2008a; Kehrberg, 2007). Indeed, due to the perceived increase in competition, migrants themselves may hold hostile attitudes towards each other (Andreescu, 2011; Arango, 2000; Dustmann and Weiss, 2007; Simon, 1987; Zetter et al., 2006).

Established migrants can perceive younger arrivals as a threat (Hack-Polay, 2008b; Spencer and Cooper, 2006; Vertovec, 2010) due to young new migrants having higher qualifications and potentially greater language abilities (Boubtane et al; 2016; Darity and Mason, 1998; Peri, 2016; Sambajee, 2015). Migrant women's emancipation through the entry

of many into the workforce also challenges some migrant cultures where there are strict gender role separations. Thus, the participation of migrant women in employment in factories could be perceived as a threat to jobs, wages and financial security among immigrant men (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 2005; Clark and Shankley, 2020; Khoudja and Platt, 2018; Lucassen, 2005; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; Raess and Burgoon, 2015). These issues become sources of conflict within the migrant workforce. Both established and new migrants enter antagonistic relationships due to a shared fear of unemployment, legal status uncertainty, and high financial needs (Blanchflower, 2009; Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009; Constant and Zimmermann, 2008; Hack-Polay, 2008a; Platt and Nandi, 2020). For established long-term immigrants who have built some form of relationship with their employer, opposition is about a struggle to protect their privileges and shield themselves against further belittling of their qualifications and language abilities in the face of the challenge from new migrants (Hack-Polay, 2008a; Kehrberg, 2007; Wadsworth et al., 2016; Zetter et al, 2006).

A pattern of ethnocentrism (Andreescu, 2011) is also prominent, as not only does the bias affect attitudes towards migration, but it can also influence major decisions such as hiring practices in a workplace (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Kingston et al., 2015; Pager and Shepherd, 2008). The ethnically ordered hiring queues present the prominent discussion of attitudes and preferences being influenced by organisational practices (McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Scott, 2012). The pattern evidently forms part of the social structure and is one which is accepted by society as understood and recognised among migrants (Holgate, 2005) through their socio-economic status and experiences in the host society. It is essential to understand that xenophobia is not an issue only present in the workplace, or in the UK; it is one which can be witnessed in all walks of life in almost every country, dating back to long before mass immigration began (Beauchamp, 2018). However, the rapid increase in immigration is one that brought this into the limelight as politically potent and capable of fuelling an anti-immigration backlash (Abrams and Travaglino, 2018; Andreescu, 2011; Beauchamp, 2018; Grande et al., 2019; Spolaore and Alesina, 2003).

Through this, politics emerge as a sub-category which can influence workplace attitudes. The anti-immigrant dialogue upholds its position as politically potent such as the UK Independent Party (UKIP), deemed an irrelevant anti-EU party in the early 1990s, momentarily became the party with the third-largest national vote of four million in the 2015 election and won one seat in parliament (BBC, 2015). While positive attitudes inferred from the political

debates towards immigration may increase workforce integration (Andreescu, 2011; Anderson, 2010; DiGiusto and Jolly, 2009; Grande et al., 2019; Lucassen, 2005), the negative attitudes inferred would decrease the workforce due to failed integration, sometimes leading to skills shortage, reduction in the country's productive capacity and, occasionally, a rise of politically charged conflicts in the organisation, local communities, and wider society due to ethnic affiliation. The present uncertainty caused by Brexit makes this consideration even more interesting with the day-by-day change in the political context. EU nationals form up to 13% of the WRHR workforce, (The Migration Observatory, 2022), meaning organisations need to be ready to take a hit post-Brexit. Clearly, employers cannot be expected to replace EU workers with UK nationals in unskilled or skilled positions in an instant. Furthermore, as understood by the Experiences of Migrant Workers section, organisations have little appetite or ability to explore other alternatives such as automation (CIPD, 2015).

The study acknowledges that the multifaceted nature of ethnicity is more complex than a simplistic characteristic. On its own, it presents as another major subject in the literature review, forming an aspect of social identity and the basis of discrimination evident through various issues faced by new migrants. These issues include lack of structures to aid facilitation in existing workplace communities, lack of knowledge about services available, language barriers hindering access to and use of services, and failure of the service in addressing the differing needs among the diverse ethnic groups involved (Castles et al., 2002; Lucassen, 2005; Vertovec, 2010). Other barriers towards integration include restrictions and hostile attitudes due to their migrant status, (Andreescu, 2011; Arango, 2000; Dustmann and Weiss, 2007; Hack-Polay, 2008a; Simon, 1987; Ubalde and Alarcón, 2020; Zetter et al., 2006), lack of awareness of the UK labour market and workplaces, gender (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 2005; Arango, 2000; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Clark and Shankley, 2020; Hack-Polay, 2008b; Khoudja and Platt, 2018; Lucassen, 2005; Phillimore and Goodson, 2008; Raess and Burgoon, 2015), employment procedures, and fear of discrimination (Blanchflower, 2009; Clark and Shankley, 2020; Vathi and King, 2013). Job-training, language skills, and social orientation (Hack-Polay, 2007) through formal introduction programmes, or education-based integration, give new migrants access to communication and participation within the new organisation. Regular development programmes are first to come to mind for successful implementation; however, these are less likely to appear in smaller organisations due to the associated resources.

It is essential to understand existing immigrants possibly disseminate attitudes of marginalisation onto new migrants, which they had once experienced themselves, thereby creating negative perceptions of the community (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005; Costoiu, 2008). The psychological barriers of anxieties, pressures, and separation through ethnic fragmentation within the migrant community due to prevailing pejorative views, together, further hinder the opportunities for migrants within an organisation (Datta et al., 2007; Hopkins, 2009; Mennino et al., 2005; Rubin and Smith 2001; Rubin and Brody 2002). Successful integration is impeded by a sense of inferiority (Dustmann and Preston, 2007; Hack-Polay, 2008a) or lowered self-esteem, especially if the migrants remain unemployed for long periods or are not able to advance in their career (Blanchflower, 2009) but, also, if they fear they are not a part of the community (Datta et al., 2007).

When discussing psychological barriers such as strict obedience among migrants, it is not to label reservation as abnormal because being introverted is an understandable human characteristic. The issue arises when such reservation not only hinders the working relationship between migrants, and others but, also, differs from their usual behaviour, per se, in any other organisation in their origin country. Thus, failing to voice issues in the workplace due to the fear of unemployment and lack of a psychological support mechanism such as social groups consisting of existing immigrants. This highlights the responsibility of long-term immigrants as public educators (Hack-Polay, 2008a). The gatekeeping conception remains consistent with the theories within social discrimination of preferred demographic homogeneity within workplace communities, thereby suggesting that it is not organisational position or individual ability which determines one's role but, rather, access to social networks arising from demographic similarities and dissimilarities (Avery et al., 2008; Scheepers et al., 2006). Integration evidently appears to be an essential premise to facilitate new migrants, through reducing the sense of uncertainty (Arango, 2000; Murphy, 2010), and a quicker access to workplace communities and alignment of values. However, though migrant networks offer reassurance in the initial pressures of integrating into a new workplace community (Phillimore et al., 2017), they are not immune to conscious or subconscious alienation from the new host culture, furthering their economic, educational, and cultural/social exclusion (Hack-Polay, 2019). Hence, entrance into employment via migrant networks can be critiqued for often resulting in work involving manual and unskilled labour. The groups, especially new migrants, are racialized due to the lack of inter-ethnic bonding, thereby hindering their complete

participation in the host society. While the support of long-term immigrants is important for the integration process, the extent of exploitation of social networks, including socio-cultural boundaries (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005; Brennan & McGeevor, 1990), affects the integration of immigrants and new migrants into an organisation. This emphasises integration is a two-way continuous process involving the host community and immigrants or new migrants to adapt and accommodate to changing social and racial geography (Hack-Polay, 2008a; Joppke, 2007; Patterson, 1969). This concept of adaptation may prove to be crucial in the WRHR sector due the consistent interaction of the sector with various cultures.

With the WRHR sector forefront being based upon workplace and consumer relations, especially as the biggest employer of immigrants, it becomes essential for this study to understand attitudes towards new migrants integrating into the sector as, while a higher sense of community may prevail, a higher sense of competitiveness may also follow.

Hence, it is reasonable to state that the learning taken from this literature review comes with debates and reflections for this study, portraying the overall complexity of the issue. In summary, the literature review highlights the influence of immigrants and new migrants on the UK labour market, making this study consider the changing workplace relations in response to migration into the biggest employers of the non-UK national community: elementary occupations and the WRHR sector. With a higher percentage of EU nationals in the suggested sectors, this study also witnesses the effects on attitudes during a constantly changing political and economic climate due to Brexit. The suggestion of historic events and psychologies as barriers or facilitators also presents a broader avenue to this study to understand that factors apart from politics, ethnicity or economics may also affect integration when investigated and secondary effects of failed integration are also inevitable. Finally, with hints of education, training, and language proficiency, further implementation of policies gives this study hope that certain factors which could slow down integration are actually controllable and can be improved upon, aiding workplaces, organisations and, in the long run, the UK economy, when considering the proposal that immigrants and new entrants offer positive economic and social impacts.

Though a limitation of this literature review is that within the time available not all available case studies were explored, enough were reviewed to identify the need for further investigation. Andreescu (2011) and Ubalde and Alarcón (2020) follow a similar direction in terms of the attitudinal context towards migrants; however, Andreescu focuses upon attitudes

specifically expressed towards anti-immigration policies in countries and society, while Ubalde and Alarcón focus on attitudes within the society leading to labour market disadvantages to varying extents dependent on external factors including the country of choice and its openness towards immigrants as the host country. Neither consider attitudes within migrant communities; rather, they look at the effects of attitudes from the perspective of natives and both are quantitative studies. Furthermore, most of the literature focuses on the attitudes within the host society rather than focussing upon the attitudes within a working community, i.e., an organisation; a gap this study aims to fill. We do not have a simple answer for why there are large remaining differences between immigrants of different origin, conditional on observable characteristics. Who gains and who loses from immigration depends on the skill mix of immigrants relative to other workers. Thus, immigration has led to a redistribution of the UK workforce, harming some, but leading to gains for others.

While some studies talk about attitudes of existing migrants to new migrants, the literature review often appears to have to stretch in order to make connections between the existing hindrances and facilitators for integration and the support from long-term immigrants, as no studies look at this, particularly in depth. Hence, this will be the value of this study. Therefore, to conclude, the focus of the thesis is to explore the facilitators and hindrances alongside the attitudes of long-term immigrants affecting the integration of new migrants into workplace communities. The thesis will establish a new base for future studies focused on the difficulty among new migrants and long-term immigrants in employment structures and workplaces in the UK.

3   METHODOLOGY

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The beginning of all answers to the never-ending questions regarding knowledge commences with the concept of research. We are not born with inherent knowledge; knowledge in itself is something we learn from the world around us, forming the reality we know through cues, imitation, experiments, and discoveries. Invariably, research refers to our search for knowledge (Enfield and Levinson, 2006) and could possibly be classed as an art of scientific investigation (Kothari, 2004) as the innate nature of inquisitiveness in humanity continually pushes us to discover and understand the unknown. Academically, it is recognised as manipulating symbols, things, or ideas, for the reason of illustrating new perspectives or generalising to correct, check, or extend knowledge, whether the subsequently gained knowledge contributes to practising the art or to theory building (Kothari, 2004). How new knowledge is gathered and understood, or even how knowledge itself is perceived, depends on different views of the world and humanity. The methodology is, therefore, essential to reveal the assumptions that may underpin research designs and, consequently, to help structure such research into a coherent and transparent approach (Weber, 2017). For instance, the first layer of research, research philosophy, reflects the assumptions and systems of beliefs about knowledge development held by the researcher which dictates their approach to the research (Saunders et al., 2019). These assumptions shape all aspects of a research project, with every step requiring the researcher to make different types of conscious or unconscious assumptions (Burrell and Morgan, 2017), including those about reality, human knowledge, and values influencing the research (Crotty, 1998). Hence, each philosophy contributes a unique and valuable way of seeing the world.

The position of this research is clarified by the research objectives and questions, with the exploration of both attitudes and policies demanding the presence of objective and subjective thinking that is further justified and explored in this methodology. This supports an understanding of multiple realities of individual experience within different communities. Thus, the appropriate methodology proceeds bearing this in mind. Of particular interest is the experience of unskilled/semi-skilled workers and how new workplace communities are built and, potentially, disrupted by the impact of migration. Additionally, the impact on industries that are reliant upon migrant labour is an important focus of the research. Of the UK workforce,

18% comprises foreign-born employees. Therefore, the food processing industry is of special interest due to its high dependence on unskilled migrant workers (Scott, 2012; Anderson and Ruhs, 2012; The Migration Observatory, 2022) and forms the empirical site for this research, with fieldwork taking place in a production site of a large UK food-processing organisation. The research design places importance on the ability to engage with people working in one particular organisation to understand the creation (Mangan et al., 2004) and maintenance of workplace communities along with the impact of new entrants into the communities. Therefore, in this chapter, different dimensions of research are explored, including the different assumptions, philosophies, approaches, and methods, which shape the foundations of the research process, including data collection, empirical fieldwork and theme development, ethical implications, and analysis.

3.2   THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL RESEARCH AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

To achieve the explicated research objectives, various assumptions were made consciously and subconsciously at every phase of the research (Burrell and Morgan, 2017). Research philosophy is defined as assumptions and beliefs combined as one system that informs the advancement of knowledge (Hughes and Sharrock, 2016) and which emerges as a newer understanding when addressing, within an organisation, a particular problem. Acting as a light through which the world is seen and understood, philosophy is concerned about knowing the existence of different things and our wish to know them; while social research is concerned with their research properties (Saunders et al., 2019). Philosophy for the researcher thus possesses the potential to construct a reference framework as it aids to elucidate concepts, serves to exceed disciplinary limits, and inquires and questions the very things frequently taken for granted (Thompson, 1995). However, one cannot talk about light, without talking about its source and shadows. Similarly, philosophy cannot be talked about without mentioning its two prominent branches of philosophical assumptions, i.e., ontology and epistemology - the study of being and the study of knowledge respectively (May and Williams, 2002). These converge to shape how research questions are understood, and influence the methods used and how to interpret research findings (Crotty 1998).

Ontology concerns the nature of assumptions underlining scientific theories (May and Williams, 2002) and questions the nature of political and social reality that is to be investigated (Hay, 2002; Hay, 2006; Hughes and Sharrock, 2016). Such an understanding questions where

knowledge originates and whether it is reliable (Emmett, 1964). This in turn concerns the branch of epistemology which aims to understand how to form knowledge, about how we know what we know, and other justifications for knowledge claims. Whereas ontology is the beginning of all research, it is followed logically by epistemological and methodological positions. Methodological decisions are henceforth implicitly epistemological and ontological, with necessary moral considerations taken by philosophers, citizens, and researchers (May and Williams, 2002). The ontological basis of this research explores the working relations and any conflict present between long-term immigrants and new migrants in a workplace community, while considering existing organisational policies and a management approach. Conversely, the epistemological basis of this research is to understand why these relationships exist, whether they are causal and, in doing so, to understand the impact of different barriers and facilitators facing new migrants as they attempt to integrate into new communities.

The method of understanding and investigating philosophies of research is to question the thoughts and behaviour of the researcher and to learn to analyse and scrutinise the researcher's own beliefs just as the researcher would concerning other's beliefs, i.e., adopt the skill of reflexivity (Archer, 2010; Haynes, 2012). For this methodological review, the urge to reflect on one's own beliefs and initiate more informed and active philosophical assumptions were set out concerning the debates involved in various philosophies of research: critical realism, positivism, postmodernism, pragmatism, and interpretivism (Johnson and Clark, 2006). It, therefore, became crucial as a researcher to develop reflexivity; to be actively aware of shaping the relationship between commencing research activity and the philosophical position (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009).

3.2.1 Beyond Objectivism vs. Subjectivism: The Road to Chosen Philosophy

Philosophies in business and management research, each inevitably underpinned by different assumptions, can be scattered across the multidimensional continuum between the two extremes of objectivism and subjectivism (Niglas, 2010). The objectivist end of the spectrum argues the external nature of social reality, adopting the assumptions of natural sciences (Thompson, 1995). It embodies an ontology which considers social entities as independent of and external to social actors. It further focuses on observable and measurable facts, thus professing to achieve a value-free and detached research, especially as it is believed values may result in bias. However, the absence of acknowledgement of the influence of social

actor experiences and interpretations of the existing social world suggests that only one true social reality exists and is experienced universally (Thompson and McHugh, 2009). Objectivism views social structure as relatively unchanging and independent of influence from those who live within it. Whereas, at the other end of the spectrum, subjectivism incorporates an understanding of social realities through actions and perceptions of social actors. Opposite to the extreme of objectivism, subjectivism embraces nominalism suggesting social actors create structure and order through the social phenomena of language, actions, and perceptions (Hughes and Sharrock, 2016). It further suggests, rather than one true reality, there is no underlying social reality apart from that attributed by people which, thus, can constitute multiple realities due to unique individual experiences and perceptions. Subjectivism focuses on different social accounts and opinions, written or spoken, attributing meaning to each and, hence, it is value-bound. Researchers cannot detach themselves and should, but often do not, openly acknowledge, question, and reflect upon their own independent views in what is known as radical reflexivity (Cunliffe, 2003). Thus, upon contemplating beyond the confined definitions and understanding of objectivism and subjectivism, the social phenomenon appears to be in continuous flux and revision as social interactions are a continual process. Therefore, for this research, it was crucial that the community in which the migrant workers were employed be studied in thorough detail by the researcher to better understand the realities they experienced (Blaikie, 2000; Bryman, 2001). Hence, the continuum between objectivism and subjectivism supports comparison of the various philosophical approaches a study could adopt. Next section explains the chosen philosophy for this research; keeping in mind existence of different philosophies hence, through understanding their nuances and their suitability to this research and, finally, defines the philosophical approach adopted.

3.2.1.1 The Chosen Philosophy: Critical Realism

Many writers label research philosophies as a choice between two extremes of the continuum: objectivism and subjectivism (Collier, 1994). Critical realism defies this dilemma of stereotypical opposition by utilising aspects of both extremes (Pratschke, 2003). Emerging in the context of the post-positivist crises in the natural and social sciences in the 1970s and 1980s, critical realism represents a broad alliance of many social theorists and researchers such as Roy Bhaskar (1978), Margaret Archer (1982), and Andrew Sayer (2000), who tried to develop a distinct post-positivist social science. Critical realism situates itself as an alternative paradigm both to scientific forms of positivism: concerned with regularities, regression-based

variables models, and the quest for law-like forms; and to the strong interpretivist or postmodern turn which denied explanation in favour of interpretation; with a focus on holding on to the insights of both while trying to avoid the pitfalls of either.

That is to say, no specific form of knowledge is favoured over the other by a realist as they believe there are reliable procedures to obtain knowledge about events (Ackroyd and Fleetwood, 2000). They take different forms but can be summed up as claiming that things in the world have real existence independent of our perceptions about them (May and Williams, 2002). Critical realists propose an ontology that assumes the existence of a reality in a world out there which exists and operates independent of our awareness or knowledge of it (Easton, 2010; Gilbert and Stoneman, 2016; Sayer, 1992). In turn disagreeing with positivists, social constructivists, and even pragmatists. But this assumption is surely performative (Easton, 2010). It directs our attention to the fundamental nature and capabilities of the things we research rather than simply their measurable properties. It requires a shift from epistemology and methodology to ontology.

Ontologically critical realism adopts various assumptions including that the world consists of generative mechanisms and intransitive entities; thus, if something had a causal efficacy it could make a difference (Archer et al., 2013). Entities have causal powers. Causality as coined by Sayer (1992) is a subtle and disputed concept which attempts to capture by a process of interpolation. He argues "To ask for the cause of something is to ask, 'what makes it happen', what 'produces', 'generates', 'creates' or 'determines' it, or, weakly, what 'enables' or 'leads to' it" (Sayer, 1992, p.104). Sayer also argues, "particular interpretations (of causality) can only be justified in terms of their compatibility with our most reliable beliefs". Therefore, it is concerned with the understanding of reality, the concepts used and the theoretical commitments about everything from causation to identity. Hence, critical realism mirrors the language and procedures we routinely adopt and the explanations that we create.

Another assumption in critical realism occurs based on analytical dualism (Archer, 2010). This suggests a complex interplay between separable agency and structure which is independent of people's views, imagination, or language. Structure is "a set of internally related objects or practices" (Sayer, 1992, p.92). For example, an organisation may comprise a series of other entities such as departments, people, processes, and resources, all of which can affect one another. Structures are nested within structures. For example, entities can be organisations that have departmental structures and relations and, within them, individuals who have varied

characteristics. Structures as social systems (Luhmann, 1995) includes factors such as gender, social class, ethnicity, religion, age, customs, etc., which form and shape social life (Giddens,1979). It is an abstraction or summary of human activities in particular times and places. Social structures consisting of culture, material, networks, organisations, hierarchies, mechanisms, laws, etc., are necessary conditions. They are understood as systematic stable patterns that arise from repeated behaviour of individuals who form agency, also known as agents or actors i.e., those with a capacity to act deliberately in the occurrence of the different situations by making their independent distinct choices.

The concept of agency itself is very important to critical realists and they see mind as an emergent part of matter and reasons as causally efficacious in producing actions (Bhaskar, 1978). Agency as in human agency is necessary for the reproduction and transformation of social structure. Additionally, according to Hays (1994) agency is active, contingent, random and individualistic, while structure is static and collective.

Hence, various ideas, beliefs, and practices take place in response to different situations either consciously or more often subconsciously govern behaviour which actors learn to follow. These behaviours are closely tied to socialisation and are part of everything from organisations to discourses to moral systems, even to the way agency actors hold themselves, which finally accounts for structure focusing on the relations among social positions and social constructs. Structure enters simultaneously into the constitution of the agent and social practices, and "exists" in the generating moments of this constitution (Giddens, 1979: p. 5). This involves an image of society as a continuous flow of conduct, not a series of acts which changes or maintains a potentially malleable social world.

Thus, taking this into consideration, in this research the existence of the organisation as a social structure and migrant workers' lived experiences as agency's point of views to capture lived reality, could have similar and comparable interplay. This includes organisational policies on equality, integration, English language classes, country specific skills, and job progression, and their impact on the agents' actions and behaviours i.e., experiences of migrants. One might think of an organisation as a boarder entity that is not reducible to variables, practices, rules, or interactions, but has a relatively autonomous existence and logic of its own. It is a result of roles, relations, and positions that actors find themselves thrown into and represent structures are a stubborn and objective reality that make it difficult to change through simple shifts in

behaviour or belief. These structures exist and exert distinct causal effects entering relations between different positions and has residual traces of human activity.

Consequently, using a realist approach in this research allows the consideration of aspects that could inform findings and reveal unbiased factors of importance; unlike postmodernism's sole focus on the language and power relation (Booth et al, 2003; Gilbert and Stoneman, 2016). It essentially draws upon and describes the different human life structures whilst understanding human life. It may be argued postmodernism attributes a higher emphasis to power relations and language roles (Tierney, 1996), which are crucial when considering migrant experiences, however, it fails to explore the different dynamics that affect attitudes with equal emphasis and the power of active agency is under-emphasised. The sole focus on power and discourse is a distorted view of reality, thereby rendering postmodernism unsuitable for this research. Whereas critical realism recognises that dominant views are not always the truth. Critical realism, hence, supports the research by recognising workplace communities, culture, attitudes, and how the migrant community aids or hinders the integration of new migrants by exploring underlying mechanisms that affect the deep social structures influencing daily organisational life (Reed, 2005). Social structure is ultimately a human product, this product in turn shapes individuals and influences their interaction.

Critical realism does not always aim to understand or determine the cause. This exists because various events can be counteracted or codetermined by an array of differing causes. It, instead, looks at the relative contribution of the mechanism, an ideology which helped this research in further determination and exploration of the conflict between working relations; supporting the fulfilment of the research objectives (Danermark et al., 2005).

Similar, to positivism, critical realism essentially follows a structure. However, unlike positivism, it achieves this without risking dehumanising reduction to a number. Positivism, searches for fundamental laws and causal explanations for an existing measurable reality and it reduces a holistic view to its simplest elemental form to facilitate analysis via quantitative data (Easterby-Smith and Thorpe, 1991; Fotheringham, 2006; Plummer and Sheppard, 2001; Remenyi et al., 1998; Schwandt, 2001). Unlike positivism, the statement in objectivism is a depiction of purely existential facts, with the means of verification not equal to the statement's cognitive meaning (Von Mises, 1951). That is to say, the law of logic in objectivism embodies only fundamental ontological facts; as one says, the universal truth, which is an important consideration in this research. However, positivism can be distinguished as it focuses on

utilising these fundamental facts to test and verify or falsify our claims and understanding of the knowledge; it essentially defines humanity as a number, as part of a bigger structure (May and Williams, 2002). While it is understood that positivism aims to be value-free and unbiased, it is this disregard for different attitudes which renders it unsuitable with the focus of this research associated with potential bias, prejudice, and attitudes. It was inevitable that to gain multiple perspectives on migrant interactions and attitudes, a linear empiricist approach could not capture the human complexities involved in workplace communities (Kuhn, 1962) unlike through critical realism. Subsequently the social world is a mix of different forms of social behaviour, institutions culture, language, economies, beliefs, and practices. All of which make it more heterogeneous, contingent, and complex than anything in the natural world that can be represented by or through mathematical formulas or understood through straightforward use of methodologies which might misguide and lack the existing reality.

Though, in extension to the objection to positivist approach to research, gives rise to the consideration of the qualitative interpretivist movement which also had the aim of humanising social sciences (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Weber (1947) links interpretivism to the Verstehen approach. The word 'verstehen' itself translates as 'to understand' in German, highlighting the aim to understand the meaning behind actors and their actions. It is a philosophy primarily concerned with searching for and understanding the meaning of social action (Weber, 1947), particularly focusing on reconstructing social actors' self-understanding and motives to obtain greater understandings. Individual experiences are indeed essential and subjective (Thompson, 1995), treating organisational and social lives as negotiated orders. However, it is argued that interpretivism fails to recognise the greater contextual environment in which an organisation exists alongside the alternatives to negotiation such as manipulation and coercion (May, 1999). As such, this negates examination of the existence of organisational issues such as unfair policies, power, and politics shaping organisational structures (Mills et al., 2010); being aspects which this study cannot neglect due to its focus on attitudes. A classic example of interpretivist approach is seen in Roy's Banana Time (1973) which is a beautiful description of a workplace community in action. It presents subjective reasoning confined to the organisational setting by suggesting workers within workplace communities may cope with monotony through the creation of work-social interactions in the form of games. Workers create a new reality through their actions and shared understandings. However, when critically understanding this philosophy, it is apparent that, while subjective experiences enable objective knowledge with

69

observational and experiential information (Geertz, 1973) as seen in Banana Time (Roy, 1973), it fails to account for the impact of capitalist hierarchies leading to an over-reliance on recurring patterns of reciprocal subjective influences in work groups. Its neglect of objective realities outside the workplace community i.e., outside the system hence presents an unclear and incomplete picture of the true and complex reality (May, 1999), highlighting the need for critical realism when investigating attitudes for its consideration of subjective and objective understandings outside and within the system. While an interpretivist approach may be useful for the research question regarding attitudes at the micro-level for this research, it is not quite enough to understand the overall complexities of migrant lives especially with regards to external factors and the research question on influence of organisational policies and management approaches which needs an objectively wider point of view to solve it. Hence, interpretivism does not present a complete picture of reality and, therefore, like positivism, is insufficient to answer the research questions exploring the lived experiences of new migrants within workplace communities.

Subsequently, critical realism is transformational as it demonstrates the way things can and do change, opening the possibilities of emancipation and engagement (Easton, 2010). Causal powers of social formulations can be modified by social agency, which enables individuals to act independently and be flexible to make their own choices (Archer, 2010). Whilst it also recognises that knowledge of reality is historically situated, a product of and specific to its time, which stems from social conditioning (Emmett, 1964).

Debatably, pragmatism can explore the flexibility in choice as it is inherent to both qualitative and quantitative research (Morgan, 2014). Peirce (1905) describes it as a core of knowledge that is altered, but rarely negated as a set of concepts. However, unlike critical realism, it conveys that only when concepts support actions are they relevant (Kelemen and Rumens, 2008), rendering pragmatism unsuitable as experiences have a subjective, complex, and rather abstract nature to test, measure and investigate. It focuses on the outcome rather than the process and might not capture the in-depth lived reality of migrant workers (Rorty, 1982); for which critical realism is deemed more suitable as it aims to test any conclusions and claims against potential and existing evidence while taking into account both subjective and objective viewpoints. In such, critical realism provides the ability to identify and respond to any plausible threats of validity to causal explanation (Maxwell, 2012) within and outside the system. Thus, in the social sciences, prediction, causality, and explanation concepts are just as relevant as in

the physical sciences (Bohman, 1999). Especially when investigating complex and undefined concepts, such as attitudes as in the research question, it is important to utilise critical realism and under this approach to be aware of how experiences and socio-cultural background might influence the study to further take steps in mitigating the risks of researcher bias (Bohman, 1999). This means that the notions of causality in critical realism cannot be reduced to quantitative methods and statistical correlations (Harré and Secord, 1972). It is this understanding which allows the research to explore employee engagement, social structures and power relations within the workplace community alongside providing an independent identity to the people.

Hence, the critical realist philosophy is fit for purpose, answering specific questions, and offering tools to explore and achieve outcomes regardless of the means of knowledge (May and Williams, 2002). This indicates that the critical realist approach includes not only a description of social relationships but also accompanying explanations and re-descriptions with the general objective of uncovering layers of social reality (Bhaskar, 1979).

Specifically, the focus on attitudes, biases and prejudice in this research demand an objective and subjective point of view from inside and outside of the system, which critical realism can aptly provide.

3.2.1.2   Understanding the Opposition: Quantitative vs. Qualitative

Quantitative research considers the problem through numerical representation and manipulation of data to explain the phenomena involved in observations (Sukamolson, 2007). It thrives on the trust of strong academic traditions in numerical representation of concepts and opinions (Amaratunga et al., 2002). It is said to be engaged in social life via experiments and surveys as part of the research design, alongside predetermined data collection instruments to provide the research with statistical data (Bahari, 2010; Bryman and Cramer, 2005). In contrast, qualitative research investigates the data from its source: involving direct observations of the fieldwork, with in-depth written documents accompanying open ended or semi-structured interviews (Patton, 2015). Qualitative research mould rich descriptions of the study, by engaging in a naturalistic enquiry in studying the real-world settings of these narratives (Patton, 2015). While quantitative data explains the phenomena through collection of numerical data analysed via methods based mathematically (Sukamolson, 2007), qualitative data can develop effective models for detail in natural settings (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). This results in the

researcher being highly involved with authentic experiences. The world thus becomes more perceptible through the interpretative practices as the multi-method approaches the subject with a viewpoint that is naturalistic (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011), allowing it to be more efficient in portraying the complexity of abstract phenomena.

The process of analysis and data collection must have rigid guides as the reality is defined objectively in quantitative method (Sukamolson, 2007). For instance, it is associated with systems theory in organisational analysis. Systems theory was initially introduced as a shift in the scientific paradigm which contrasted the existing mechanical and analytical paradigm of classical science at the time (Von Bertanlanffy, 1956). It progressed to look at organisations as a living biological organism (Miller, 1978) as a means of describing and explaining how organisations work *(*Mele et al., 2010; Ng et al., 2009). As a holistic approach when understanding the phenomenon, the system's behaviour is independent of the element's properties. One of the most-celebrated examples is the Aston studies which were a succession of comparative investigations during the 1960-1970s that focused on organisational structure (Loveridge, 2013) suggesting that to gain universality, organisational structure must be tailored to the operational context in some way dependent on conditions. As such, the Aston studies contributed to the literature with insight into the relationship between organisational size and performance (Loveridge, 2013). Aston studies embody systems theory by focusing on the interconnected dynamic relation between organisations and the environment; essentially viewing the system as greater than the sum of its parts (Miller and Miller, 1992).

Though systems theory has moved beyond its initial conceptualisation in the 1970s with Senge (1990) and Checkland (1981) claiming to include people in their analysis to account for weaknesses in earlier systems theory, such as Pugh and the Aston Studies; soft systems fail to acknowledge the imbalance in society's economic and political levels. This leads to the presence of unequal intellectual resources causing powerful ideologies to be imposed upon the vulnerable actor, making it confined to work in the constraints of these societal existing arrangements and skewing the discussions of conceptual models of systems and action to be taken to bring change (Ackoff, 1975; Checkland, 1981; Jackson, 1982). Though this understanding of the interactions between the organisation as a system or organism and the environment was essential to organisational analysis, it failed to provide an insight into the finer workings of the organism, i.e., insight into the people within these structures and their

experiences (Donaldson, 1976), which the focus on experiences through qualitative research can offer.

Additionally, the continued widespread focus on quantification and ability to 'manage' people into carefully defined measures meant that the approach continues to fail to capture the dynamics of organisational life (Hasan, 2011). It is unable to deal with diverse human activity systems when considering conflict and differences in values in human/social organisations (Jackson, 1982). Therefore, overall, systems theory has its weakness in establishing uniqueness of the subject matter, i.e., human beings, which disables the inclusion of the essential subjectivity revolving around social life (Jackson, 1982). Whilst this provides insights into organisational structure and relations, it is restricted in its application in the areas that deal with human behaviour and is not enough to encapsulate its complexity. This inability of quantitative research to capture human experiences, attitudes, and behaviours accurately without reducing them to a number makes it unsuitable for this study. An understanding of human experiences is crucial to this study and its objectives which focus on attitudes within workplace communities. Consequently, the necessity of this research, and the necessity of inquiry into working relations, commanded qualitative method due to its ability to explain processes and patterns of human behaviour that can be difficult to quantify. Aspects such as experiences, attitudes, and behaviours can be difficult to accurately capture quantitatively, whereas a qualitative method allows participants themselves to explain how, why, or what they were thinking, feeling, and experiencing at a time or in a situation. It gives deeper insights into real-world, exploring the complexities of attitudes experienced by new migrants and long-term immigrants and helps answer the research questions and objectives efficiently using philosophical lens of critical realistic philosophy. Hence, the focus shifts away from quantitative methods towards what qualitative research may offer, aiding the fulfilment of research questions depicting relationships, prevailing biases, working attitudes, and prejudice. Qualitative data is rich in a real-life context. These human stories can be represented with the focus on individual experiences and perceptions, through the richness of qualitative data.

3.2.2 Case Study Method

Evidently, the most widely utilised approach in qualitative research is the case study method (Myers, 2019; Orlikowski and Barodi, 1991) as its immersive and judicious nature, especially utilising semi-structured interviews, makes it well suited in understanding

organisational life. Critical realism is particularly fitting as a companion to the case study method. It justifies the study with the main unit of analysis in this research as the organisation and relationships among individuals, significantly between the migrants. These are difficult to access and complex in structure, as a result a case study approach offers insights into the nature of the phenomena. Critical realism with case study approach clearly binds complex phenomena such as organisations and interorganisational relationships It involves process of thoughtful in-depth research with the objective of understanding why things are as they are. The nature of research questions requires a comprehensive and in-depth understanding with respect to critical realist ontology, making it easier to demonstrate how it can provide both a philosophical justification for case research and a guide to its use in practice to understand the phenomena in depth.

Yin (2003) suggests the popularity of case studies stems from the human aspiration to understand the complexity of social phenomena. Case studies allow for an understanding of the meaningful and holistic attributes of events in real-life such as organisational, operational, and managerial processes. Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that not all case studies can be generalised (Lee et al., 2007), making it essential that the researcher does not delude themselves to believe the case study is simply a sample of typical cases but, rather, recognises that via analysis it does reveal certain realities and creates potential for further investigation (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Stake, 1995). The case study method embodies the realist approach, as it is an empirical enquiry relying on multiple evidence sources as the boundaries between the context and phenomenon may not always be clearly defined (Yin, 1999). By not involving any explicit manipulation or control of variables, it focuses on gaining an in-depth understanding within context with rich descriptions (Cavaye, 1996; Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2003), which made it essential for this research focusing on the complexity of attitudes in workplace communities (Cavaye, 1996). As suggested previously, it is only possible to understand social phenomenon by recording and analysing the associated events that take place as a result of the actors acting. The events can be recorded live or exist in records of the past including the memories of those human actors who can attest to the events, which links and ties in ways where each has its own structures and relationships. When developing explanations of causal powers and potentials of organisational mechanisms it is useful to start with ontological claims about what an organisation is and how it is formed. Here, the realist concept of relational emergence is particularly useful (Elder-Vass, 2010). Organisations, after all, are made of people, who form

74

the parts of emergent organisational structures. A critical realist approach to case study facilitates more informed interpretations of particular social realities. It can communicate the multiple and frequently conflicting perspectives of diverse social agents. Social processes within nest of social structures become useful to unfold subjective and independent point of view of agents and how these lead people towards particular actions. These are highly crucial to explore and answer this study's research questions which has overall focus on attitudes and experiences, actions of the migrant workers as agents, employee bias and prejudice and impact of existing policies within organisational structures. It might have multiple outcomes which can be interrelated, sequenced or contextual however, case study development gets tilted either towards structure or towards action, a slippage which has gathered its momentum over time. Hence, critical realism as a coherent, rigorous, and novel philosophical position that not only substantiates case research as a research method but also provides helpful implications for both theoretical development and research process.

However, it is possible the significance and nature of the case study only becomes apparent in the late stage of the research (Bryman and Bell, 2011), after the analysis, rather than during the process, as seen in Buchanan (2012).

Despite its few limitations, the success of case study method can be notably seen in the classic study by Holgate (2005) which focuses on a sandwich factory employing mainly Black and Minority Ethnicities (BME). The use of a qualitative case study approach under the critical realist philosophy in the sandwich factory allowed the study to explore precarious work conditions, as it became known when interviewing about migrant experiences that the employees were valued little by the organisation. The case study approach in this classic example also highlights the prominence of ethnically ordered hiring queues (Scott, 2012), which appear to be an accepted social structure due to prevailing socioeconomic status and experiences in the host society (Holgate, 2005). Indeed, often, prominent case study methodologies appear to adopt an inductive approach at the core. This can be seen in Eisenhardt (1989) who highlights the versatility of qualitative inductive case studies, bringing to light the differences and similarities of empirical data, and in Yin (2015) regarding the understanding of pattern-spotting, however critical realism tends to be based on retroduction.

Hence the case study method, specific to organisational settings, can define the constructs of the research further by developing theory/ knowledge which can then be corroborated in future studies (Eisenhart, 1989; Gable, 1994). This also appears in McCollum and Findlay's

(2015) study exploring migrant labour distinctions and employer practices-produced employment relations. Practices included national stereotyping further leading to ethnically ordered hiring queues, via conducting a range of interviews to reveal that the migrant experience issues can be a much wider problem (McCollum and Findlay, 2015). In qualitative analysis, especially those of case studies, a rather contextualised and self-aware approach is required in knowledge generations (Barratt et al., 2011; Dubois and Gibbert, 2010; Piekkari et al., 2009). Furthermore, it is essential to choose an organisation to support the realisation of the research objectives regarding workplace communities. Though a multi-organisational approach could be adopted, this research only focuses on a single organisation as it ensures the organisational setting, cohesiveness in data, and is conducive for the research. Thus, this research utilised the case study method and semi-structured interviews, having seen its use in proven examples exploring problems like migrant experiences and integration, and forming themes across studies as they emerge, such as in Bell (2001), Eisenhart (1989), Holgate (2005), McCollum and Findlay (2015) and Scott (2012).

3.2.3 **Mapping Out: Research Data Collection Techniques and Methods**

The next step is collection of data research design usually involves clarifying and specifying the way data are collected, constructed, interpreted, coded, and analysed (Bellamy, 2011). The research design for this research provides a structure for data collection and analysis, reflecting the choice of priority judgments for a variety of related aspects. It broadly fits within a qualitative research approach and embodies the philosophy of critical realism. When looking at data collection techniques, it is further understood that, unlike quantitative research, which utilises statistical methods via surveys, questionnaires, etc., qualitative research utilises semi-structured interviews, observations, archive documents, and other forms of interactive data collection techniques (Merriam, 1998). Research with a qualitative element encompasses various practices, making it a multifaceted interaction between the study and academic. It concerns an instinctive knowledge of research method processes and activities (Hobbs and May, 1993).

In order to select the most appropriate research process for this study, the next section of this chapter reviews chosen cross-sectional approach and chosen technique of semi structured interviews for data collection (Zibarras and Lewis, 2013).

3.2.3.1 Chosen Data Collection Techniques- Semi structured interviews.

As Stake (1995) explains, case study is essentially heterogenous with respect to the kind of data that might be collected. More often case study is equated with qualitative data collected by semi structured interviews. The strength of this method is that it is highly flexible. Hence, data collection technique on semi-structured interviews were selected for this research as they qualitatively captured the depth of migrant experiences, necessary to help understand the attitudes and behaviours experienced at FoodPro.Co. According to Dunn (2005), interviews are a verbal interchange among interviewee and interviewer, through which the interviewer obtains data (Longhurst, 2010). Unlike predetermined standardised questions following a fixed format and structure in structured interviews, and forms such as oral histories in unstructured interviews with the conversation solely directed by the informant, semi-structured interviews are in the middle of the continuum of these two extremes. It is widely accepted by scholars that semi structured interviews embody the best of both by retaining some order of loosely predetermined questions whilst allowing the participant freedom in how they address the topics (Dunn, 2005; Raworth et al., 2012) as was seen through the transcripts [see Appendix D]

It may be argued that focus groups can allow the same as they are characterised by the interactions of group members (Cameron, 2005; Morgan and Krueger, 1998) emphasising informal discussion of a particular topic of interest as chosen by the researcher (Longhurst, 2010; Merton and Kendall, 1946). Researcher acting as a mediator or facilitator, the process is non-directive which freely allows the participants to explore the multifaceted topic (Bryman and Bell, 2011). However, the often-homogenous nature (Goss and Leinback, 1996) of focus groups limits research in exploring differing viewpoints; it has also been noted that as views become more cohesive, the groups begin to think less critically of the topic of concern (Janis, 1982) and develop near-irrational views. This is particularly unhelpful, when the concerning topic on diversity of attitudes for this research requires participants to reflect and articulate their emotions in response to questions asked rather than groupthink. Whereas the one-to-one approach of semi-structured interviews avoided this problem as the participants were given the time and space to critically approach a topic (Raworth et al., 2012). In focus groups, the researcher also has less control over the proceedings, which may lead to inadequate coverage of topics of concern as not all sub-aspects are addressed (Bryman and Bell, 2011). In the chosen semi-structured format of interviews as opposed to unstructured, some control was retained by the interviewer to help keep the focus maintained on their lived experiences rather than the

randomness of anything else and have opportunity to explore their opinions in depth. Furthermore, reticent speakers threaten the balance of expressed views (Krueger, 1998) and a major limitation of focus groups is illustrated in Asch and Guestzkow (1951), as individual subjects conceded to group judgement, rather than offering their own legitimate perspective, reflecting group conformity. This highlights the difficulty in expressing individual views when contradicting the views of other members out of fear of creating disagreement (Madriz, 2000), increasing especially when they must continue working together in the future (Bryman and Bell, 2011), making it unable to explore all attitudes freely. Given the sensitivity of the topic, participants may not have felt comfortable sharing intimate details in a group, acting as a threat to the transparency and, in turn, validity of data collected, alongside affecting essential confidentiality (Alderson, 1998; Cameron, 2005), making focus groups unsuitable for this research. On the other hand, the semi-structured format of interviews allowed the participant to speak in detail in confidentiality with emphasis on their individual journey.

It is important to note, the semi-structured format did not mean the participants were stifled or restricted in their views; as it can be seen in the transcripts, the interviews were more like a conversation, and not heavily reliant on structure, allowing the participant to stir the conversation while the interviewer listened and ensured it did not go off the tracks completely. This is confirmed by the interviews carried out for this research, in which the voice of the interviewees, was expressed in response to the questions asked. By taking time to create the safe space and opportunity for the interviewee to speak without being interrupted or by remaining silent at key moments interviewees seemed to take the opportunity to reveal aspects of their lived experience in their own words.

Similarly avoiding a strictly structured format, allowed the interviews to explore the depths of these lived experiences. Additionally, semi-structured interviews were chosen as a key fieldwork tool rather than quantitative surveys, as surveys are unable to offer participants freedom in answering by restricting them to closed statements (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Survey questionnaires may point in the direction of topics of further investigation through the collected data, but the data in itself would not be rich enough (Saunders et al., 2019). Interviews, on the other hand, can include different follow-up questions to achieve a rich description (Thomas D.R., 2006) and as was seen in the transcripts [See Appendix D]. The researcher has acquired substantial data and the interview questions were highly successful and the respondents were extremely willing to speak about the issues and the researcher had no difficulty in producing

more than 500 pages of transcripts for analysis. They offer the chance to observe the reactions of people, the way they interact, and their behaviours on a much more humanly interactive level.

As a primary source of information, semi-structured interviews provided comparative as well as detailed qualitative data while providing some context to this explanatory study (Saunders et al., 2019). Though, this approach was a little time-consuming, with a long process of establishing access, contacting participants, conducting interviews, transcribing, and analysing (Alsaawi, 2014; Dörnyei, 2007; Robson, 2011; Seidman, 2012); the flexibility of this technique of inquiry enabled participants to express their views freely while allowing the researcher to investigate focused topics (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Being especially useful in exploring any underlying mechanisms, which may be harder or even impossible to investigate by simply observing, a semi-structured format offered interviewees the confidence to confide about sensitive matters as was demonstrated later in the findings and analysis chapter and through the transcripts [See Appendix D]. An example of this can also be seen in the literature, such as Bell (2001) who investigated payment systems in the chemical industry, which were not possible to explore among the observations of shop floor practices. Interviews fulfilled the aim whilst also providing an insight into the cultural context of payment systems. While observations allow the researcher to become immersed into the group over an extended period, focusing on behaviours and noticing the subtle differences in interactions (Bryman and Bell, 2011) observed behaviours may become incorrectly depicted, downplayed, or lose or gain importance as the dual role of the observer as participant creates subjective interferences in interpretations of observations (Barker, 1980). Participant observation is also hindered by the necessity of longer timeframes (Bryman and Bell, 2011), making it impractical in this study. The complexity of attitudes is such that they cannot solely be understood via observations due to the possible hidden causal mechanisms, which affect their portrayal, alongside factors outside the system. Furthermore, also being relatively non-invasive in nature, interviews were still able to investigate conflicts, which may have already occurred and cannot be guaranteed to occur during observation but are also relatively less time intensive. The lived experienced as represented by the voice of the interviewees is not the same as the lived experience of the interviewees revealed by participant observation. Nor would it be the same as revealed by unstructured conversations. However, the interviewees were able to reveal what is for them their day-to-day experience of life, at least to an extent through the semi-structured interviews.

It is argued by scholars that the final interpretations of interviews are specific to the researcher who is conducting and analysing the data alongside the impact of the context, time and place of the interview. This is due to their influence on the approach to questioning, opening remarks, appearance and body language determining if the interview is open and comfortable in nature, the researcher's behaviour during the interview, listening skills, recording data accurately and fully, prevailing biases, ability to summarise and approach to difficult situations (Bell et al., 2018; Creswell and Creswell, 2017; Saunders et al., 2019). Thus, unintentionally, or intentionally, unseen baggage is carried by the researcher to the interview which could alter the data interpretations and analysis (Alsaawi, 2014; Scheurich, 1997) possibly affecting the reliability (Gunasekara, 2007). Yet, all methods of research have limitations, and these only make it essential to conduct interviews with careful preparation alongside the researcher recognising their role in the research to help mitigate biases (Saunders et al., 2019).

What is important for this project, however, is that the semi structured format allowed the interviewee to be guided to revealing life experiences related to the differences between established and new migrant workers. It was satisfactory in understanding lived experiences in depth whilst having range of responses seen via the different understanding on issues such as conflicts, discrimination, job progression and English language proficiencies which could have never been able to achieve if the researcher used any other method of data collection for example focus group and surveys. Alongside keeping in mind the restriction of time and opportunity, this method was more apt than unstructured interviews to adhere to the production demands and work commitments of the participants of the factory.

These interviews were collected as part of a cross-sectional approach to this study. This is as cross-sectional approach gives a snapshot into time, being evocative of the time, situation, and place of research (Kesmodel, 2018; Saunders et al., 2019; Wang and Cheng, 2020). This was beneficially descriptive in accessing the prevalence of different attitudes among long-term and new migrant groups and analytical in assessing its occurrence and outcomes at that point of time. As within this study's remit on time restrictions and limited cost to access the data, it was the most-suited quick and inexpensive approach to conduct with the help of semi structured interviews (Saunders et al., 2019). It also provided flexibility to measure multiple factors simultaneously by collecting the data once not numerous times, The researcher had more control over the measurement process in terms of analysis, with the help of multiple factors,

outcomes and eventually generating patterns and themes. In turn allowing the findings to create an in-depth research study without the need to measure change over the period (Wang and Cheng, 2020). It is noted by authors that cross-sectional studies can be limited in their ability to establish causal relationships (Hemed, 2018; Spector, 2019), however, causal relationships are frequently of less consideration when the underlying causal event, such as new migrants entering the organisation, has already occurred, with the effects in process, such as the attitudes and mixed relationships invoked towards these new migrants (Mitchell and James, 2001; Spector, 2019). This approach was also essential in conjunction with the semi-structured interviews when establishing knowledge in a relatively new field (Spector, 2019), such as trying to grasp an understanding of the existing attitudinal differences expressed by long-term immigrants and its impact on new migrants; rather than the changes in it over time as this knowledge has not got a baseline to assess against yet. Here factors and outcomes were simultaneously assessed without establishing the temporal relationship thus far.

3.3 EMPIRICAL FIELDWORK

Planning for the empirical fieldwork, various large organisations in the UK food processing industry were contacted via emails, phone calls and meetings. However, FoodPro.Co[16], the food-processing organisation, was selected for this research as it is one of the top 15 food producers in the UK and, much like its competitors, circa 85% of its workforce is made up of migrants. The company expressed a welcoming and open approach to the research, declaring their curiosity about, and willingness to engage with, the new insights gained. A large amount of qualitative data in the form of primary and secondary datasets was collected as part of the fieldwork for this research, as seen in Table 3.1. Hence, it helped to explore the complexities of the case study organisation FoodPro.Co and its dynamics.

---

[16] Given a pseudonym to maintain confidentiality.

	LIST OF DATA	SOURCE OF DATA
Secondary Data	Years of service	Provided by company
	Employee turnover percentage	
	Reasons for turnover	
	Nationality status	
	Organisational charts	
	Working shift pattern	
Primary Data	Field notes	Factory tour and participants' interactions
	Memos	Semi-structured interviews conducted
	50 interview transcripts	

Table 3.1: List of Data available (Researcher's own created list on data collection)

After the researcher gained access to the organisation to initiate the research via the company's Communications and Customer Relations manager, the secondary data, as listed in Table 3.1, were provided by the HR business partner of FoodPro.Co to support the purpose of this research [see Appendix F] before commencing the fieldwork, allowing analysis to begin before primary data collection. As a result, an initial understanding was gained and fully utilised by the researcher to establish comparison on various data fields with the help of formula, calculations, and pivot tables; further aiding in segregating and identifying the demographics of overall data and selected samples. The secondary data obtained assisted in identifying trends such as employee turnover and retention, as well as data fields, for example, length of service, level of education, job title, and migrant status with various others. These were useful to gain further insight which built a picture of FoodPro.Co and supported the formulation of interview questions [see Appendix A]. Hence, the researcher did not go into the field blindly, due to being well-informed with the help of the company documents prior to starting the interviews.

Following the critical realist philosophy therefore both objective and subjective perspectives were combined. By bringing together company documents, with a scholarly view of the current economic and political situation in the UK and of policies/norms of the industry, coupling these with a tour of the factory, helped in establishing an objective point of view. The semi structured interviews thus served the purpose of providing the subjective perspective. The main unit of analysis in this research was the organisation as the locus of the individual relationships, particularly between the migrants. These objective and subjective perspectives were combined in a qualitative study of the organisation and the lived experiences of the

migrants working at FoodPro.Co, with special consideration given to working relationships between long-term immigrants and new migrants.

3.3.1 Company Background and Initial Observations

FoodPro.Co. was founded in 1943 as a food processing company specialising in meat products. Its head office is in Northern Ireland and there are six factories operating in the UK, three of which are in England. One of these sites, located in the Midlands, is the focus of the empirical fieldwork. Best known for its fresh, locally sourced produce, FoodPro.Co has an integrated supply chain and number of associated farms, making it one of Europe's leading meat producers. It is also the leading producer and processor of organic meat in the industry. It has partner channels, including major brands and independent distributors alongside its own labelled meat products. FoodPro.Co has circa 1060 people at the chosen site as of August 2019, as per the data shared by Food Pro.co, 85% of whom are migrants, making them the majority, with 34% female and 66% male employees. There are 39 different nationalities working at FoodPro.Co, with Romanians making up the largest majority at 27%, followed by Slovakian at 15%, 9% Polish and 8% Latvian. Among different occupational levels in the overall workforce, approximately 1% work in top management; 3% are in middle management; 2% are administrators and assistants; 6% are in lower management; and 88% are operative/entry level. The breakdown of different types of job roles under each occupational level is provided in Table 3.2.

Occupational level	Job roles under each level
Top Management	General Manager; Complex Manager; Factory Manager; Human Resources Business Partner; Healthy, Safety, Environmental Senior Manager; Technical Manager; Finance Manager; Engineering Manager; CI Operational Excellence Manager; Senior QA Manager
Middle Management	Account Manager - International Sales Manager; Assistant Engineering Manager; Purchase Manager; Food Safety and Quality Manager; Broiler Farms Manager; CI Operational Excellence Facilitator; Despatch Manager; Health, Safety & Environment Officer; Hygiene Manager; Maintenance Manager; Operations Manager; Planning Manager; Production Manager; QA Manager; Shift QA Manager; Site Services Manager; Supply Chain Manager; Stores Manager; Occupational Health Technician; Site Accountant; Electrical & Site Services Manager; Section Leader
Lower Management	Planner; Senior Technician; Quality Auditor (QA); IT Support Analyst; Hygiene Team Leader; Agricultural Engineer; Electrical and Site Services Engineer; Operations Team Leader; PDC Team Leader; Trainer; Higher Technician; QA lead Auditor; Technical Leader, HR Officer
Administrative and Assistants	Receptionist; Technical Administrator; Accounts Administrator; HR Administrator; HR Trainee; Engineering Administrator; Training Co-Ordinator; Training Assistant; Production Coordinator; Stores Assistant; Staff Shop Assistant; Assistant Accountant; Planning Assistant; Shop Co-Ordinator; Technical Co-ordinator; Senior Accounts Administrator
Operatives/Entry-level	Cleaner; Despatch Operative; Effluent Plant Operative; Engineering Apprentice; HGV Driver; Hygiene Operative; Intake Operative; Machine Minder Operative; Occupational Health Technician; PDS Operative; Production Operative; Scale Operative; Shipping Clerk; Line Controller; Process Controller; Purchasing Controller; Stock Controller; Shunter Driver; Site Maintenance Operative; Stores Operative; Technician; Electrician Operative

Table 3.2: Jobs under each occupational level (generated from the secondary data shared by FoodPro.Co)

The organisational workforce at the chosen site consisted of 29% long-term immigrants[17], 56% new migrants[18] and 15% natives[19]. Of these natives make up 100% of the top management team, in this case Caucasian British. In contrast, at the operative/entry level, 62% of the workforce are new migrants, 30% are long-term immigrants, and only 8% are

---

[17] As mentioned in the earlier chapters, this study considers long-term immigrants as those residing in the UK for between five and thirty years.

[18] This study defines a new migrant as someone who has entered the UK and has resided here between six months and five years. While the terms migrant and immigrant are exchangeable (Oxford University Press, 2018), the study defines them as distinctly separate to aid in classifying the data.

[19] Hence, this research's focus of interest revolves around the impact of migration on working relationships among the long-term immigrants who have lived in the UK between five and 30 years, new migrants from six months to five years, and 'natives' as anyone living in the UK since birth, i.e., UK born or a UK citizen living in UK for 30 or more years

classed as natives at the chosen site. High numbers of migrant labour are typical of the food processing industry, especially in elementary/low-skilled occupations (The Migration Observatory, 2022), comprising 40% of the overall UK migrant workforce in this specific sector (ONS, 2017a). This is due to job disparities caused by the low-paid, low-skilled nature of the work and difficult working conditions associated with the sector; hence, foreign workers fill these job gaps (CIPD, 2015; Greenwood and Hunt, 1995).
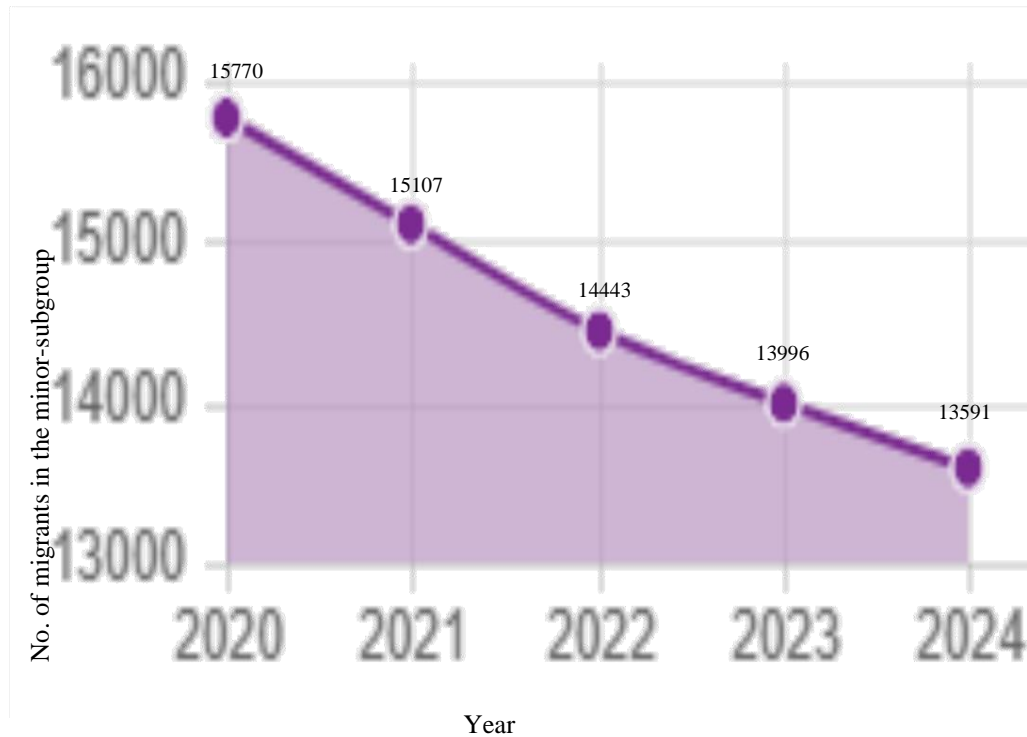
Figure 3.1: Growth or Decline (SCG, 2022)

However, there has been a steady 7.6% decline in the number of employees in the sector overall between 2019 and 2021, as well as 8.4% decline between 2020 and 2022 as seen in and this is further predicted for the next two years due to a lack of workers coming into the UK (SCG, 2022). Hence, FoodPro.Co is also being affected in the same way as the industry as a whole, and as a result is suffering high labour turnover, particularly affecting migrant employees, as demonstrated in company documents [See Appendix F]. The labour turnover is very high in the first three years of service and highest under one year of service at the chosen

site of FoodPro.Co. The overall voluntary[20] and involuntary[21] labour turnover is 58% and 42% respectively. Of note are Band 4 voluntary leavers consisting of mainly operatives and entry-level positions which comprise the highest turnover of 40% in less than a year of joining FoodPro.Co.

In terms of recruitment practices, operative-level jobs can only be applied for via an agency rather than directly to the company. This is due to the essential need for agency support to fill the job disparities through the migrant workforce alongside the need to explore low-cost labour (Altonji and Card, 2018; CIPD, 2015; Greenwood and Hunt, 1995; Haque et al., 2002; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; The Migration Observatory, 2021; Wills et al., 2009). The agency works as a mediator for hiring people from different countries where operative workers are recruited on a three-month agency contract. The interview process is conducted by both agency and company personnel. Once an agency candidate is hired, after 12 weeks of continuous employment in the same role, if the worker is considered apt for FoodPro.Co, they are hired as a permanent employee with a full-time contract. At this point they will have the same entitlement as any other permanent worker at that level in the industry as per the company's terms and conditions; the company abides by industrial standards on these occupational levels for example, pay scale, working hours, night shifts, breaks and annual leave. New agency workers are often put on the weekend rota before being made permanent. Additionally, permanent full-time workers can opt to work overtime alongside their regular shifts, due to the factory's dependence on completion of production orders; this makes it attractive for some migrant workers. Comparatively, positions above the operative level such as middle and top management can be applied for directly or through job sites; they are not, however, accessed through an agency. These jobs are permanent, and employees are mainly on full-time contracts from the beginning, unless specifically stated otherwise.

Nevertheless, given the turnover rates, the recruitment process is also being accelerated in the company at the time of writing. For example, rather than trialling one batch of agency workers for three months before trialling the next batch, FoodPro.Co began to trial a new batch

---

[20] Voluntary labour turnover is when an employee leaves a job voluntarily, due to various reasons, such as new employment, internal transfer or retirement.

[21] Involuntary labour turnover is when an employee is terminated from a position. Employees may be let go for a wide range of reasons, including unsatisfactory job performance or inappropriate behaviour or conduct; it includes layoffs of employees and terminating poorly performing employees.

every week to maintain workforce levels. To help migrant employees integrate into their new environment, the organisation provides the following:

- English language classes.
- Translators on the factory floor to help in further understanding any guidelines if not understood due to absence of English proficiency.
- Information leaflets on noticeboards across the organisation in different languages.
- A faith room for the various religions practised by the diverse workforce.
- The monthly employee induction programme, which introduces the working environment, acquaints new starters with the business. It is a mandatory part of FoodPro.Co's knowledge management process and is intended to enable the new starter to become a useful, integrated member of the team. During induction, new starters are made aware of the equality policy and health & safety at work, given support for any legal and regulatory requirements such as setting up payroll details, opening new bank accounts, and being introduced to key members of the team specific to their job-role training.

The cultural diversity of the UK dates back decades, representing its ethnically diverse and multicultural aspect and UK immigration has been continuous (Hickman et al., 2008; ONS, 2020a). Consequently, FoodPro.Co has an equal opportunities policy to guide decisions for ensuring organisational performance in developing, recruiting, and retaining the most skilled and talented employees irrespective of race, gender, age, disability, sex, religion, or nationality. The policy aims to ensure that no job applicant or employee receives less favourable treatment. Hence, FoodPro.Co strongly holds the values of harnessing the skills and experiences of its employees to create a stronger, more efficient working community and enabling performance to thrive.

3.3.1.1 Factory Tour

To gain an initial understanding of the working conditions and environment prior to the interviews and provide another objective perspective in conjunction to the earlier mentioned policies and turnover/recruitment issues, the researcher took a factory tour during August 2019. The factory operates three shifts -morning, afternoon, and night over 24 hours all through the week over seven days. While automation is present, the workers work long hours in difficult working conditions, constantly on their feet, wearing wellingtons and protective clothing,

performing a given manual task repetitively on the assembly line, such as packaging. Though systematic, the work on the shop floor appeared physically hard, including heavy lifting, requiring physical skills e.g., manual dexterity, movement, and coordination in a noisy and stuffy factory environment. Supervisors undertook long periods of supervision alongside strict vigilance towards workers by standing observing them and using CCTV. Despite being a well-lit and ventilated factory, the operations are such that employees are in a cold and malodorous environment, due to the constant presence of waste substances such as blood in allocated areas, or drainage, which created a constant underlying stench, even leaving an odour on the workers' uniforms. Additionally, due to the bitter cold in the freezer storage, workers had sore fingers from the cold meat and sharp bones. However, the working conditions are considered appropriate for the supply chain as per the industry standards, including the British Retail Consortium (BRC) and International Food Safety (IFS) (Lelieveld and Holah, 2016), and are seen as being organised and efficient to work in.

During the tour, the sound of silence made the biggest impact. Workers were focused and dedicated, barely talking to each other, and unbothered by changes in their surroundings as the tour took place on a random day without warning to capture a glimpse of a normal day at the factory. The researcher made sure not to interfere or speak at any point, simply watching the environment. Walking into the pantry, where the workers went during a break, it was noticed that there were leaflets in different languages about health and safety, while the employees sat in groups of their own nationalities, speaking in their respective languages instead of the common official language of English, highlighting the ethnicity-based cliques in the company.

The background provides context to the organisation and offers an external understanding of the work environment in FoodPro.Co to help create a comprehensive outlook on the organisation which is not limited to the subjective perspectives internal to the system as explored through the interviews. Furthermore, the mention of policies helped the researcher to understand the objective realities of the organisation, alongside the factory tour and secondary documents introducing the need to explore the research questions and objectives, to help comprehend the complete reality.

3.3.2   Interview Schedule and Sample size

Following the insight gained through the secondary data, the interview schedule, once in place [see Appendix A], contained questions deliberately generalised to avoid subconsciously influencing the responses.   Moreover, the current era of politics, national attitudes, news, and media demanded an understanding of patterns emerging in ever-changing environments. The sensitivity of this topic made it inevitable that the climate in work settings is also affected and ever changing, with external factors being equally as influential as internal factors, especially during the Brexit crisis (Easton, 2019). Therefore, the interviews during August 2019 provide a cross-sectional snapshot of the time, situation, and place of the interviews, helping to contextualise the research findings in which Brexit is an important dimension affecting views of workers.

This made it a dynamic research process and while not seeking to make statistical generalisations required that the sample size be reasonably representative of the population of possible interviewees (Saunders et al., 2019) within the inevitable time and resource limitations. This meant aiming to interview about 5% of the total population of 1060 at FoodPro.Co but selecting interviewees by simple random sample, with each interviewee having an equal probability of being chosen. This was an attempt to reduce selection bias in the sample (Saunders et al., 2019) while accepting it would also be influenced by availability and willingness of participants at the time of interview. In practice nobody invited for interview refused and fifty semi-structured interviews of employees [see Appendix B] of FoodPro.Co were achieved. Each interview lasted 30 to 90 minutes depending on the information shared by the participant and their time availability. All interviews were audio recorded and remained very useful to refer to, time and time again, as it allowed an opportunity to explore the different responses of the participants, who expressed their unique and diverse views. As the random sample was representative of the main population, it had a majority of participants from elementary occupations, alongside a number of managerial and administrative staff who were also interviewed. Essentially, the interview data sample had workers from every occupational level across FoodPro.Co, which represented diverse perspectives [see Appendix B]. Interviewing new migrants, long-term immigrants, and natives[22] while focusing on their

---

[22] Hence, this research's focus of interest revolves around the impact of migration on working relationships among the long-term immigrants who have lived in the UK above 5 years to 30 years, new migrants from 6 months to 5 years, and 'natives' as anyone living in the UK since birth or a citizen living in UK plus 30 years.

different occupational levels, alongside looking at the organisational policies and events, allowed this study to capture a snapshot of the case. Triangulating the various sources helped build the researcher's own perspective.

As mentioned earlier, fifty semi structured interviews were nearly 5 % of the total population of 1060 employees at the site, which gave the researcher a chance to interview a significant proportion of the entire population within limited time constraints of the research. The researcher could not conduct more than 5% due to the time limitations and did not choose to perform less than 5% so as to have as much data and perspectives as possible, also it enabled reducing the risk of bias. With time constraints as an essential aspect of the interviews, to improve the utility of data in gaining an understanding of trends and patterns, interview questions were rephrased slightly where this helped clarify them for the interviewee. One may say it was a privilege, as interviews were less intrusive in nature and, thus, the participants chose to be transparent and share intimate details, whilst also further elaborating on their point of view (Zibarras and Lewis, 2013). Though, all interview questions remained largely consistent some were also altered in the context of the participant responses to explore issues and variations between interviewees.

In comparison to the previously mentioned demographics at the chosen site, the selected sample of fifty interviews consisted of 74% males and 26% females. The factory employs more males; hence, the sample size was proportionate to the gender of the working population on the shop floor. Within the sample of participants, 4% belonged to top management; 14% belonged to middle management; 28% were from supervisory shop-floor roles; 42% were operatives/entry level employees; and 12% administrative and assistants [see Appendix B]. They were working at various departments of FoodPro.Co such as production, human resources, quality assurance, supply chain, purchase, planning and operations, with lengths of service ranging from two months to 35 years. Of these, 36% were new migrants, 38% long-term immigrants and 26% natives and education levels ranged from completing primary school to post-graduate degrees.

To remain true to its critical realist philosophy it became essential to understand the different cultural influences, societal norms, and monetary gains, which the participants prioritised. To mitigate the language barriers between the researcher and the non-English speakers/ new migrants with lower English proficiency, translators were utilised. There were three participants who required a translator at the time of the interview. The translators had

expertise in both the languages, they were experienced in their field and had been working in the FoodPro.Co for a long period. They were outsourced individuals from an external third - party agency, already working for the purpose of translation on different matters in departments on the factory floor at FoodPro.Co as per the requirement. Hence their services were already tested by the staff prior to researcher using their expertise for the interviews. They were reputed for precision and accuracy in their translations. The participants had confidence in translators' services and shared a mutual trust on the ongoing basis as they had been associated with each other for many more operational tasks than these interviews. Hence, translators had already established a good relationship with the participants. Therefore, it eventually helped the researcher to mitigate the risk of bias as well capture the exact rapport and response without any hesitation on behalf of the participant. Both the translator and participant were made to duly sign separate consent forms and agreed on non-disclosure of confidential information, like all other participants. It was helpful in situations wherein sensitive information was shared by the participant to the researcher.

The recorded interviews were manually transcribed [see Appendix D], allowing the researcher to become more familiar with the data. The transcripts of the interviews, along with extracts from research notes/diary, aided in getting to know the data, and allowed ideas about possible themes, codes, patterns, and their relationships to emerge. In this research, it was essential for a process of immersion in the data to take place before forming assumptions of codes or conclusions from interview data, and to keep an open mind to emerging issues over the period (Lacey and Luff, 2001) to mitigate the risks of researcher bias.

3.3.3 Theme Development

Thematic analysis sought to understand the factors leading to barriers and facilitators underpinning immigrants' attitudes and actions as per the researcher's questions and objectives. As it is a process used to encode qualitative data for easier analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006), the data fully explored the phenomenon with its qualitative richness; though the researcher was cautious of any "analytical interrupts" (Lofland and Lofland, 1971; Miles and Huberman, 1994). With this knowledge, the researcher went through the empirical data part by part and thematically coded it manually. The coding involved categorising in terms of descriptive or analytical definitions that could reflect the involvement of behaviours, beliefs, actions, ideas, interactions, conditions, etc.; thereafter, fluidly searching for themes as per the

91

participants' responses during the interviews (Silverman, 2015). Similarities emerged which were coded into categories, sub-categories, and themes [see Appendix E and G]. Grouping the codes helped to form and understand the patterns (Aronson, 1994) in the form of three prevailing aggregate themes as seen in Figure 3.2.

The themes were manifest or latent, i.e., observed directly within the interview data, thus describing, and organising the possible observations underlying the different aspects of phenomena (Jankowicz, 2005). The consistency and direction of the interview schedule helped to ensure that most themes were linked to the research questions, though those disparate to the original research questions such as motivations, opportunities, and cost, were also given equal due consideration following the realist philosophy, but also to help understand the overall organisational setting and culture. This offered a systematic approach to qualitative data analysis. While software packages for qualitative data analysis could increase research productivity, they could not replace the human role in this critical process of analysis and interpretation. As the interviews were semi-structured, codes were equally dependent on context and current situations at that point in time. Thus, the researcher was able to more accurately manually code, since the researcher experienced people and the organisational settings during the interviews, hence understanding the tones and context in which the words were spoken, which was necessary for thematic coding.

First Order Code (i.e., sub-codes)

- High Turnover and People Retention
- Hiring Challenges and Preferences
- English Language Proficiency

- Lost Opportunities
- Misrepresenting Individuals of the Communities
- Stereotypes in Societal Structures
- Groupism and Difficulty Breaking in

- Economic Conditions of Country of Origin
- Employment Compromises
- What future holds?

- Family Commitments
- Myth of Better Future

Second Order Themes (i.e., codes)

- Human Resource Issues
- Discriminatory Dynamics
- Segregation
- Economic Self-interest
- Overall Betterment

Aggregate Dimensions (i.e., themes)

- Challenges faced by FoodPro.Co
- Workplace Relationships and Attitudes
- Motivations, Opportunities and Cost

INTEGRATION

Overarching Theme

Figure 3.2: Theme Conceptualisation (generated from researcher's empirical fieldwork)

Consequently, as seen in Figure 3.2, portraying the process of theme conceptualisation, themes and codes emerged from the empirical fieldwork in addition to those that may have emerged from the literature and those guided by this study's research question and objectives. It can be said that with the help of qualitative research, and comparing and contrasting themes (Braun and Clarke, 2013), it became clear that the empirical fieldwork held surprises. In some respects, the themes emerged dissimilar to those in the literature, whereas others were similar.

Therefore, there is a combination of both which is discussed through the course of the analysis and helped in developing a rich storyline (Hancock and Algozzine, 2017; Miles and Huberman,1994).

The theme development, with the help of evident patterns in interviews and backed-up by the literature review, began with noticing the concept of integration prevalent throughout the interviews, which is also part of the original research question and objectives. Integration emerged as a two-way process (Hansen, 2012; Lucassen, 2005; Pörtner et al., 2006) which is not always harmonious. This has its importance in the literature, such that the new migrants experience different values, customs, and structures in the host country to those in the origin country in which they are already integrated; commencing a new process of integration for new migrants, which occurs over time (Guest and Stamm, 1993; Lucassen, 2005). It is dependent on all parties, i.e., long-term immigrants, new migrants as well as the organisation, to give workers the support system to integrate. Hence, it developed into a concept of individuality and ambiguity as subjective experiences became harder to compare yet essential for the purpose of analysis. Thus, integration is considered as an overarching theme as the basis of all aggregate themes considered. This was followed by looking into the difficulties faced by the organisation that shape the employee culture and can affect the pressures experienced, channelling into the attitudes displayed in workplace communities. The challenges classed as the second-order theme of 'Human resource issues' are thus objectively detailed in the first aggregate theme on Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co. This theme is also essential, (Bate, 1994; Jones and Redman, 2000; Manley et al., 2011), as key to organisational change includes scrutinising workplace communities, by focusing on the employee engagement inferred via turnover and retention; policies inferred via hiring preferences and recruitment; and achievement of common vision and values inferred via communication levels. Hence, the second-order theme encompasses first-order codes of High Turnover and People Retention; Hiring Challenges and Preferences; and English Language Proficiency, as seen in Figure 3.2.

While policies and management approaches as per the second research question are addressed in Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co, difficulties also appear to exist at a closer level, addressed in the next aggregate theme of Working Relationship and Attitudes, answering the first research question. Often, the themes overlapped as concerns expressed by the workers could not always be neatly categorised into one theme or another. However, going through the data helped to sort through the complexities involved in the raw data and highlighted key

themes. General differences in workplace communities became apparent (Alberti, 2016; DiGiusto and Jolly, 2009, Hopkins, 2009; Lucassen, 2005; Lucas and Mansfield, 2010; Matthews and Ruhs, 2007; McDowell et al., 2008; Vertovec, 2010), rendering this theme important to discover if conflict or attitude differences specifically exist between long-term immigrants and new migrants' working communities in organisations which is yet to be explored and is the existing gap in the prevailing literature. Most existing empirical work is centred on racial discrimination and conflict between the native population and migrants. This has, therefore, ignored the issues encountered between various immigrant groups themselves in the workplace (Hack-Polay et al., 2020). It also considers the facilitators and hindrances to integration present in FoodPro.Co. The aggregate theme goes on to consist of two second-order themes of 1) Discriminatory dynamics including first-order codes of Lost Opportunities, Misrepresenting Individuals of the Communities, and Stereotypes in Societal Structures; and 2) Segregation including first-order code of Groupism and Difficulty Breaking In, as per Figure 3.2.

The objective and subjective understanding of migrant attitudes and experiences in the bigger and smaller picture are coupled with the subjective understanding of migrant determination through the aggregate theme of Motivations, Opportunities and Cost, which details the incentives for new migrants to immigrate to the UK and long-term immigrants to continue to stay in the UK despite many difficulties faced. The necessity of migration is well understood (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005; Bhala et al., 2020; Borjas, 1995; Boubtane et al; 2016; Castles and Kosack, 1973; Dennison and Geddes, 2018; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2005; Peri, 2016; Valverde and Latorre, 2019; Wadsworth et al., 2016), with migrants choosing to continue with precarious work conditions and elementary jobs due to the perception of better pay and lifestyle (Arango, 2000; Chukwu, 2012; Holgate, 2018; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; The Migration Observatory, 2017; Wills et al., 2009), bringing to light the second-order themes of Economic Self-interest, and Overall Betterment. Notably, economic factors are known to influence attitudes (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009; Dustmann and Weiss, 2007; Harwood, 1986; Haubert and Fussell, 2006; Kehrberg, 2007; Sobczak, 2010; Wadsworth et al., 2016; Zetter et al., 2006), further shown among migrants in the interviews; hence, the second-order theme of Economic Self-Interest is created. This consists of first-order codes of Economic Conditions of Country of Origin and Employment Compromises, as seen in Figure 3.2

Politics currently continues to affect the economy and migrant influx in various ways such as the exchange rates as seen through the interview findings. It also implies attitudes, and, in such, facilitators of integration can be influenced via political behaviour and societal beliefs (Abrams and Travaglino, 2018; Alesina and Zhuravskava, 2011; Andreescu, 2011; Beauchamp, 2018; Bommes and Morawska, 2005; DiGiusto and Jolly, 2009; Dustmann et al., 2016; Lucassen, 2005; Ruhs and Anderson, 2010; Spencer and Cooper, 2006; Thomas R.R., 2006); thus, What Future Holds is a first-order code also included under Economic Self-interest. Migrant status influences the motivation, which is explored through the first-order codes of Family Commitment; and Myth of Better Future under the second-order theme of Overall Betterment under the aggregate theme of as Motivations, Opportunities, and Cost, demonstrated in Figure 3.2.

However, it is of note that while some themes did stem from the literature studied as mentioned above, they are also rooted in the interview findings and driven by migrant experiences discovered, as discussed in the next chapter of data analysis.

Thus, after the thematic development mentioned in the methodology, the analysis begins with the aggregate theme of 1) Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co, which portrays the difficulties experienced by the company alongside prevailing organisational policies and practices, followed by 2) Working Relationships and Attitudes, which expresses the attitudes and support among long-term immigrants and new migrants of different ethnicities; and, lastly, 3) Motivations, Opportunities and Costs, which reflects on migrants' determination to stay despite understood hindrances or anticipated difficulties. All three aggregate themes were also essential to help acknowledge the facilitators and hindrances of integration in the organisation, together answering the research questions and objectives as discussed.

3.4   ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS

It was imperative, especially when utilising the explanatory approach, to strive to minimise the intrusive nature of the research to the extent that the required data were gathered without undermining the autonomy of participants (Agar, 2006; Morrow, 2001; Sanjari et al., 2014). Informed consent was integral to ensuring an ethical approach, making it the responsibility of the researcher to enlighten participants of topics of collection and how they would be used (Hoeyer, 2006; Orb et al., 2001). In accordance with FoodPro.Co's site protocol, the participants, randomly selected by the researcher, were approached by HR to be involved

whilst keeping the factory working as the participants took a voluntary break to participate in the interview. It was made clear to the participants and any translators, they could say 'no' to being a part of this research. All participants and any translators were provided with the appropriate consent form to be duly signed before the interview [see Appendix C]. Personal information collected was anonymised and remained as such to ensure participants remained unidentifiable during any phase of the research and beyond. Participants were made aware and agreed to be cited anonymously in future publications and in the thesis. Use of personal data involved continuous confirmation of consent (Hoeyer, 2006), which could be withdrawn at any point with a request for the data to be destroyed even after the interview had taken place, especially as attitudes focused on personal experiences and attributes, they may not feel comfortable sharing, at each point valuing their privacy.

Maintaining integrity and objectivity was essential to maintain an ethical stance. Though ethically correct, some may argue making participants aware of the research is a gamble for a qualitative researcher due to the possibility of the Hawthorne effect[23] in these methods (Mayo, 1933; Payne and Payne, 2004). The challenge, here, remained for the researcher to identify changes in behaviour, as participants might hide feelings and actions to avoid others finding out, exaggerate their actions for better noticeability, i.e., participant bias, or mould their actions to what the researcher wants (Payne and Payne, 2004). To mitigate the risk, it was ensured that participants were aware that no incentives such as monetary gains were provided, and complete confidentiality and anonymity of participants was offered.

It was also important to recognise the researcher's responsibility towards the respondent. This was vital for this research as the researcher had to be reflective about their role with the participants due to sensitivity of the topics and time pressures due to interviews taking place whilst participants were at work. The approach taken required sufficient recovery time for both the researcher and respondent, reducing the risk of emotional exhaustion whilst also providing the necessary time for analysis of complex attitudes.

---

[23] People change the way they behave when they know they are being studied (Payne and Payne, 2004; Mayo, 1933). The Hawthorne effect refers to the participants performing better when they are aware they are being observed or with the sense of management caring for employee welfare (Mayo, 1933; Payne and Payne, 2004). The awareness of being studied can be enough to invoke this sense of employee care. According to the effect, knowing the output level is important might make them increase their output (Mayo, 1933). Further knowing the increased output will be rewarded with higher pay acts as another incentive to alter behaviour and attitudes (Parsons, 1974).

Since this research involves sensitive feelings, stories, concerns, and attitudes of participants it was essential to keep the data collected strictly confidential (Trevino and Nelson, 2016). The interviews were conducted within the organisation in an empty, designated meeting room to allow privacy and confidentiality during the interview with only the researcher and the interviewee present in the room. Field notes with confidential participant information were shredded immediately after anonymised digital inputs of the notes. The selected organisation is given a pseudonym 'FoodPro.Co' to maintain continuous anonymity.

3.5   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Methodology is a process through which knowledge claims are generated, including the concepts and theories underlying any approach (Bryman and Bell, 2011). When looking at prominent examples of research design in the literature, it was essential to consider if the research design was apt to obtain participants' unique perspectives and insight into any present biases. Hence, this chapter travelled from philosophy to methodology to method, arriving at a realist programme of investigation. This made qualitative research integral due to the focus on attitudes and human experiences which the rigid guidelines of data collection and analysis in quantitative research would have been unable to achieve (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Assessing the integration of new migrant employees and employee relations in this research was accordingly met by qualitative research, which showcased the meaning employees bring to a company (Bell et al., 2018; Creswell and Creswell, 2017) aiding the fulfilment of research questions depicting relationships, biases, attitudes, and prejudice. The debate between qualitative and quantitative helped to retrospectively comprehend the critical failure of the quantitative design to distinguish social institutions and people from the world of nature as expressed by Schutz (1996), which highlights its negligence in acknowledging that people may interpret the world differently. However, it should be emphasised that research methods were determined by the research objectives and questions. That is not to say quantitative research or other specific approaches and methods did not have their advantages or could not be utilised in this study (Trevino and Nelson, 2016). Instead, that given the current knowledge and understanding of the research topic, its objectives and its questions inherited by the researcher, a qualitative research approach appeared to be the most apt.

Additionally, organisational structures are understood within a thick and complicated web of interactions as a socially constructed and negotiated phenomenon (Reed, 1992). Despite

social research containing logical evidence about the social world, the problem of how to apply this information becomes a matter for social values and political relationships, considering the realities outside the system (May and Williams, 2002). A realist approach, in essence, was the most viable for this study by looking at various realities subjectively and objectively. It allowed the study to clarify the extent to which the outcomes were attributable to workplace communities, such as in studies by Duncan et al. (2013), Kingston et al. (2015), Hack-Polay (2016), and Holgate (2005).

Consequently, the necessity of this research, and the necessity of inquiry into working relations, commanded a case study method due to its immersive nature to help explore the complexities of attitudes experienced by new migrants and long-term immigrants within the context of one particular organisation. Favourably, the case study method gave the opportunity to explore any factors without bias that may emerge via the interviews in reflection of the research objectives and questions. The retention of meaningful and holistic characteristics of real-life events under the case study method, as seen in McCollum and Findlay (2015), helped to assess underlying structures, for example hiring through alignment of national stereotyping with suited occupations over individual merit, which can be a reflection of influenced attitudes (Scott, 2012). Hence, when looking at its applications as part of the bigger picture, the case study method was beneficial in understanding relationships and their consequences, highlighting the insights gained into people and their experiences at FoodPro.Co.

The chosen research design was finalised after establishing its evident success in previous literature and a thorough consideration of philosophies, approaches to theory development, methodological choices, strategies, time horizons, and techniques and procedures (Saunders et al., 2019). It also enabled the researcher to paint a bigger picture exploring and gaining an understanding of human activity (Amaratunga et al., 2002) through emphasising migrant life and experiences. In application, during the data collection, the presence of semi-structured interviews allowed the establishment of explicit patterns and trends (Bryan and Bell, 2011) by gaining an understanding of the phenomena at vertical and horizontal levels, and by analysing the interconnections between the levels as previously seen in Bell, (2001); Holgate, (2005); and McCollum and Findlay, (2015). This further accentuated the structural qualitative nature of this study; essential due to its history of capturing experiences to see how organisations and communities are impacted (Patton, 2015). This was alongside the cross-sectional approach which suitably encompassed this studies goal to fill a gap in regard to attitudes and behaviours

of migrants, as also argued by Spector (2019), Saint-Germain (2012) and Saunders et al. (2019). Thus, interview transcripts, interview coding, and thematic analysis were the key processes to this qualitative approach, as discussed, setting the base for the next chapter of findings and analysis.

4   FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Many organisations have fragmented cultures made up of competing interests and where people say one thing and do another (Morgan, 1986). After all, organisations are social units made up of people (Hailey and James, 2002; Reed, 1992), thus involve complex attitudes, experiences, and organisational settings. Furthermore, they are political entities including power struggles to control organisational decision making and its outcomes. Therefore, the critical realist analysis commences with an understanding of the company background based on the development of the case description by introducing some common issues faced by the company, and its practices and policies, to help layer the understanding of the later interview findings and prevailing literature.

Generating themes and identifying patterns among them is witnessed through the strategy of case material analysis (Dyer and Wilkins, 1991; Eisenhardt, 1989). The prevailing literature from prior research is also referred to in a general sense to compare this study's empirical data; it is a construct which creates meaning by linking empirical patterns i.e., themes, events, and processes to each other to form a holistic configuration as a case study (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2015). As such, this chapter acts as a pivotal point in the research (Tellis, 1997), involving the development of themes at the end of the methodology chapter that occurred across the dataset and the integrated data drawn from interview transcripts and notes. Through thematic analysis, it offers an orderly and logical yet flexible and accessible approach (Saunders et al., 2019; Silverman, 2015). The three main aggregate themes constructed comprise: 1) Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co; 2) Working Relationships and Attitudes; and 3) Motivations, Opportunities and Costs. Therefore, this section discusses and scrutinises FoodPro.Co, its organisational structures and approaches, and employees' working relations, via their lived experiences.

4.1   THEMATIC ANALYSIS- DISCUSSION

4.1.1   CHALLENGES FACED BY FOODPRO.CO

As per the interviews and company documents, FoodPro.Co presented three main difficulties faced by the management. These were classed under the aggregate theme of Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co, collectively falling as the first-order code of High Turnover and People Retention; Hiring Challenges and Preferences; and English Language Proficiency, under the second order theme of Human Resource Issues, as seen in Figure 3.2 in the

methodology chapter. As such, looking at the bigger picture, i.e., the macrocosm of the organisational challenges, the underlying understanding of the barriers in forming a coherent circle of inclusion becomes apparent.

4.1.1.1 Human Resource Issues

i. High Turnover and People Retention

As P19[24], native, British, HR Business Partner stated in the interview: "[the] challenge we are facing is, we need to make sure that people stay long enough, because the turnover rate is so high, we have to recruit people every three months." Furthermore, P2, native, British, Electrician Operative commented: "I see different people every day". This supports the first-order code of High Turnover and People Retention under the second order theme of Human Resource Issues. Evidently, FoodPro.Co faces the challenge of high turnover, which can negatively affect organisational productivity and economics (Samuel and Chipunza, 2009).

It is a costly proposition to fill any occupational role, especially when involving agencies who are paid more frequently for staff recruitment due to the high turnover. According to Porter (2011), continuous recruiting, interviewing, agency costs, downtime, orientation, and induction, costs a company a substantially high capital amount, for example, an entry-level position can cost an organisation about 50 to 100% of the employee's wage. In contrast, by retaining employees, companies can form a higher-calibre workforce that positively influences the bottom line. The negative effects of turnover have been the focus of FoodPro.Co's top management as such a high labour turnover is one of the most expensive and difficult workforce challenges faced by the company. Additionally, the high turnover has resulted in a large reduction in the number of workers at FoodPro.Co which impinges on the remaining staff members (Samuel and Chipunza, 2009). As seen in the secondary data of company documents [See Appendix F], labour turnover is highest within the first year of service and it has increased compared to the previous year's data. High labour turnover, hence, raises the question of whether there are company policies, management issues and/or infrastructural changes which influence the workers' longer-stay intentions.

---

[24] This style is consistent throughout this chapter where 'P' refers to 'participant', followed by the participant number [See Appendix B], as per the required confidentiality of data. For example, as seen here: P19 = participant 19. The detail of the participant is seen as PXX, Long-term/new migrant/native, nationality, position) next to quotes for nuance.

The primary causes of the highest voluntary turnover within less than one year of service of Band 4 staff, who are mainly operatives and entry-level staff, include competition for labour amongst employers, which leads operatives to change jobs more frequently, long/costly journeys to reach the site, and the lack /inability of progression in pay over the period. These reasons are stated in FoodPro.Co documents [See Appendix F] which were shared with the researcher. Furthermore, though no flexibility in employee contracts was followed by FoodPro.Co and commonly across competitors in the industry in accordance with the industrial and company policies; it was highlighted as a dealbreaker when examining the voluntary turnover reasons. Staff were not allowed to take six to eight consecutive weeks of summer holiday in a year and return to work on the same contract. Employees are given a maximum of three weeks' holiday, with no extra days in conjunction possible; hence, large numbers of employees voluntarily leave their jobs, as explained by P19, native, British, HR Business Partner:

"They want to get more [than] three weeks' holiday in summer [additional to

the three weeks which are permissible to them] because they want to spend time with

their families. Contracts and the way we manage the factory don't typically allow us

that… so either people leave… or they take three weeks… holiday [as is approved

under the company policy] so they just go, and they don't come back to work [as

they are expected after the leave finishes] or they say they're off sick [and] they put

in sick notes… But actually, if we were more open minded to think how can we better

plan the factory to allow more people to take [a] longer time off over the summer

[i.e., six to eight weeks], that way we would be retaining people."

Hence, the interviews and secondary documents [See Appendix F] implied that the wish to take additional holidays on top of the standard assigned days caused employees to have lower intentions to stay; thus, company policies appeared to have a direct effect on labour turnover. However, if there is a consideration to make an amendment in policy to allow extended holidays, these employees would be more likely to stay. Organisational needs, i.e., organisational production requirements necessitate work with strict round-the-clock shift patterns, which are invariably and sometimes necessary to maintain operations, prioritised over

employees' personal needs. Additionally, gradual improvement in country-specific skills and acquiring UK work experience makes the migrant workers more marketable in the host country; hence, they can gain new opportunities elsewhere in the industry's labour market. This links with the statement made by P24, native, British, Complex Manager:

"In terms of high turnover rate, it is because of when they come here as workers, they get to learn from us the work, their English-speaking skills and so on, and once they are improved, they become more marketable, so they leave for better jobs; it's a concern for us."

This also suggests that some migrants may not be interested in staying and, therefore, integrating (Dustmann et al., 2016). This is because they realise that it is a short-term income source and, thus, do not see the point of investing effort when they do not plan to stay; they aim to gain the finances needed before either returning home or relocating for high pay. Economic conditions appear to affect not only migrant integration but can also have a role in migration influx (Dustmann et al., 2016). Furthermore, immigration policies impact labour market integration of migrants such as their access to housing and other services and shape the composition and size of migrant inflows (Fernandez-Reino and Rienzo, 2022; Piton and Ruyssen, 2022). These effects may then affect employment of migrants in the host country and their intention to stay. This is supported by P37, new migrant, Latvian, Production Operative: "I don't want to stay here for life, I want to make money and go back to my country, because I don't like the work, I do… I am not given a house [from the local authorities] ... and rent is very costly in here". The effects of economic and political conditions are discussed later in this study.

There also seems to be a consensus that the harsh working conditions on the shop floor influence people's willingness to leave the organisation, and that this is also due to the absence of recreational team activities, aligning with Robone et al. (2011). In this case, the company documents also recognised the nature of the work, suggesting people leave the organisation because of difficult conditions and repetitive tasks. For example, the Kill Plant, where the animal as the source of meat is butchered, has higher voluntary turnover than the Processing Plant. As further expressed by P7, long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller:

"but if we don't have some group activities, like to go to different places as

outings, then people will leave, because we work so hard, you know. For eight to

nine hours every day, it's very hard, you know [the participant gestured as though

they felt sick], we need to have some team outing to relax."

P9, native, British, Agency Supervisor added:

"Some people leave because it's too cold for them in the factory, they don't

like the rules of working in the factory… some people start at six in the morning and

by half past nine they leave because they don't like the job…"

As per the secondary data of the company documents [See Appendix F], these reasons are in conjunction with the causes of monotonous and strenuous roles; inadequate footwear due to the slow PPE ordering process; and breaks not being long enough to change, eat and smoke, thereby disallowing employees from changing out of their uniform before eating and smoking. Additionally, the causes for the organisation seeking to reduce the headcount based on performance, the lack of basic amenities such as air conditioning in some parts of the plants, and food in the canteen during nightshifts, add to the pressures experienced and the dissatisfaction among employees, further leading to high voluntary turnover.

Key to the organisational structure, people retention is reflective of the hierarchical practices and arrangements acting as an incentive for employees to stay with its reliance on the discussion of employee requests and issues (Azeez, 2017). However, as mentioned in the company background, while voluntary turnover is 58%, there is also 42% of involuntary turnover [see Appendix F]. Hence, when understanding the root of this challenge for involuntary turnover, among various other reasons, the increased standards required by customers and the organisation, with the demanding physical nature of the harsh work conditions leading to rising capability dismissals, needs to be considered. P44, native, British, HR Officer, working for eight years at FoodPro.Co, voiced the HR practices in the company:

"In this capability scenario, in some cases we consider as a conduct issue

where carelessness, negligence, or lack of effort affects performance and sometimes

workers are affected due to a lack of knowledge, skill, or ability. We try to handle

the issue informally first, then we write a letter to them…. We wish to conduct a meeting with them to outline steps to improve, moving forward, and we can help. If the problem is due to insufficient training, we follow our company procedure to try and assist the workers… [and] provide them with the time to improve… this is because the relevant support will then allow you to re-assess their situation. If this does not work, then we have the right to dismiss them on capability grounds."

Furthermore, adding to the involuntary turnover reasons revealed through the company documents [See Appendix F], in an organisation already struggling with workforce numbers, workers being absent from the organisation for long periods without official notice can severely impact the organisation's productivity and performance. As this goes against company policy it, thus, results in automatic dismissal/involuntary turnover. Finally, the declining calibre of agency labour [See Appendix F] with an absence of English proficiency skills, further discussed in the next first order code of "English Language Proficiency", leading to reduced understanding of procedures and policies whilst also affecting performance, can also pose a very great risk to health and safety at work. Consequently, this leads to dismissal.

As discussed above, high labour turnover, considered a challenging issue in business, occurs for a variety of reasons (AlSayyed and Al Braiki, 2015; Shamsuzzoha and Shumon, 2007) and has become a continuing problem over several years for FoodPro.Co. According to Robone et al. (2011) employee turnover is typically very high in low-paying jobs, usually due to poor work conditions, disparity in work hours, and lack of respect workers may experience from their employer or other employees. However, such loss is not limited to elementary occupations; it also affects managerial positions. As P2, native, British, Electrician Operative stated that, "Over [the] last two years, they have had 35 managers leave the company". Furthermore, P19, native, British, HR Business Partner observed that:

"If an engineer is earning 60,000 pounds a year and if he is an UK national, nothing is stopping [him from going] to Europe, to cross [the] UK border to earn more in euros… I am more careful [about the turnover with the cost associated by losing a manager] … if I lose factory managers, technical managers, quality

managers, the impact [of] that is huge, rather than losing an operative; it's a higher loss."

While managerial turnover can also be influenced by new market openings, industry consolidation, new legislation introduction, or new technology arrival (Garrett and Pavan, 2012), the reasons can also be rooted in subjectivity, including their organisational experiences. This also links to negative work conditions, which could result in psychologically detached managers, leading to decreased commitment and performance; thus, affecting organisational output (Corin et al., 2016).

Therefore, negative, or adverse working conditions significantly influence turnover intentions (Arnoux-Nicolas et al., 2016). Furthermore, lack of personal development and resources are associated with the same. Such high turnover intrinsically contributes to the uncertainty created around workplace communities as employees, but especially migrant employees, find it difficult to connect with new hired employees, particularly when balancing added work pressures in the workplace. Additionally, with lack of personal development being a growing critical factor in turnover intentions (Freund, 2005), economic factors can also play a role in this high turnover, as later discussed in the third aggregate theme of 'Motivations, Opportunities and Cost'. Therefore, together, these reasons illustrate high turnover as a challenge faced by FoodPro.Co holistically, at all levels and by every member at its core.

ii. English Language Proficiency

The reluctance among some to integrate further manifests itself into realities such as refusal or lack of time to learn the English language despite such classes being provided by the company. This main country-specific skill gives rise to the first-order code of English Language Proficiency under the second order theme of Human Resource Issues. As supported by P7, long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller: "Some of [the] people who have recently arrived, they don't want to learn English, they just want to get money".

In fact, in the data provided, HR expresses concern about the language ability of management team members because it is such a vital issue (Polezzi, 2012). Like the literature, where it has been argued that increased language proficiency could result in a 22% increase in employment probability, increased wage levels, and better communication in the organisation (Chiswick and Miller, 1995; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019),

many participants recognised the importance of having good language proficiency. As stated by P6, native, British, Site Services Manager: "if they can understand English and talk good English, you can say 'This is not safe; that's not safe; do it this way; do it that way'. They understand, don't they? But if they don't understand". Hence, the management understands the need for language to communicate between employees, especially for health and safety reasons, making it a recurrent statement of importance.

However, different employees have their own unique lived realities. Not all migrants entering the UK desire to acquire similar levels of English proficiency; as echoed by P20, a long-term immigrant Line Controller who came to the UK from Iraq, has worked at FoodPro.Co for 14 years, and has a family of six children and a wife who eventually also settled in the UK. Among the six children, the two eldest are now working in the UK, the middle two are in secondary school and the two youngers are still in primary school. Though the parents do not speak English to each other – they speak in Kurdish, the language of their home district – the children, brought up in the UK, speak Kurdish with their parents, but English with their friends. Hence, four groups are established in this situation. (1) The parents, including P20, who have learned English only while in the UK but, because they did not need to speak English in their country of origin, are not fluent in English, and are comfortable to speak in Kurdish; thus, they have accepted their own positioning as unskilled migrant workers with limited opportunities for advancement. (2) The two elder siblings, who have learned English and were partially educated in Iraq, are able to achieve slightly higher-skilled positions than their father. (3) The two siblings studying in secondary school are fluent in English, due to their more comprehensive UK education, also giving them broader capabilities and employment opportunities. And, lastly, (4) the two younger siblings studying in primary school, for whom English is their major linguistic environment (at school and with friends), and who have a positioning only marginally different from their English classmates; consequently, they should have the opportunity to achieve the same competence and capabilities in the workplace as the natives. Thus, the demarcation of positioning is clearly different between these four groups of the same family, presenting the generational disparities in acquiring English proficiency skills that form a position which is situational and, hence, acts as a barrier to their career growth.

Therefore, this bleeds into the organisation, as participants represent different levels of eagerness among new migrants, several also strive to learn the language to better fit into the organisation. Among some, as stated by P5, a long-term immigrant, Polish, Trainer: "I am

happy that I am working and learning English". P35, a new migrant, Slovak, Hygiene Operative expressed that: "I like… I have improved in it [English language] and I like talking to English people and going to English shops" and P41, long-term immigrant, Polish, Machine Minder stated that: "I will no more feel lonely… I do not need translators!" Yet, in saying so, P41 also highlighted that there is a sense of loneliness or isolation created by the inability to communicate in the English language as the common language of communication within the organisation (Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005). Essentially, when coupled with the high turnover, it furthers the uncertainty of having a stable workforce. Participants agreed that the lack of proficiency in English also acted as a barrier in communication among different ethnicities and communities, fuelling differences, creating inefficiency, or sometimes even being a health and safety concern. This was recognised by P44, native, British, HR Officer: "I think communication is a massive issue", backed by P6, native, British, Site Services Manager:

"With factory workers, I face a barrier with some of them; some of them are

not able to understand English, it is hard for me to obviously understand them. By

not knowing our local language, I mean it creates differences in groups of other

people."

P19, native, British, HR Business Partner expressed that:

"[Maybe] it's because you have a large group of people together who speak

the same language. …so that, it feels excluded because… you can't join in and share

in the conversation because it's not happening in the language that you understand…

the perception has been that they are excluded… that could be both ways… they all

speak the same language so they're feeling more comfortable. And then, just because

they're feeling comfortable, they're not speaking the language which he knows [the

one who is feeling excluded]. So, he is feeling excluded, so that happens very

naturally."

To this extent the organisation, as a social category, embodies these behaviours which are prototypical of its workers. Hence, as per social identity theory these individuals identify with these social groups who speak same language partly to enhance self-esteem (Hogg and

Turner, 1985; Turner, 1978). This is understandable in view of the relational and comparative nature of social identities.

P33, an African new migrant working as Despatch Operative, added:

"they talk in their own language but what do I do…? [I feel helpless and can't join in the conversation.] I feel very much… I stay separate. I don't know how to put it [I don't know if others experience the same as me]."

Whilst P4, native British, HR Administrator provided another insight:

"Definitely for health and safety. Yeah. Just imagine. I can't imagine being in a country where I couldn't understand any of the language… I wouldn't feel safe here if I couldn't understand about [the] fire alarm."

In addition to skill level, employment rate, and community adaptations, language aptitude is factor which positively influences the integrating process (Craig, 2015) though it does not always guarantee a decrease in discrimination (Sambajee, 2015), which is later discussed in the aggregate theme of Working Relationships and Attitudes. It becomes imperative, however, to understand that language proficiency can be a matter of choice for many workers (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003), whether that is in terms of employees' willingness to learn the language to progress in their work with other life commitments, or that they feel no urgent need to learn, as they feel comfortable with their work skills, have busy work schedules, and do not need language proficiency. In accordance with the literature (Andreescu, 2011; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2005; Easterlin, 1974; Hack-Polay, 2007; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009), due to hectic work schedules, higher priority of economic self-interest resulting in longer shift hours, and restricted work, migrants do not get time to learn and may even seldom be exposed to the host's socio-cultural characteristics or interact with those proficient in English. For example, P5, the long-term immigrant, Polish, Trainer mentioned that: "…one of my friends does not want to learn; he works daily double shifts and only one day off, he gets tired." Furthermore, the presence of a translator and surrounding people from the same ethnicity may create this false sense of security for many workers, as evidently inferred from P29, new migrant, Polish, Production Operative: "There is someone always to translate for us… No, I work in the factory. I know my work, why should I learn English, there are many

translators and I know little English. No problem." And P38, new migrant, Polish, Line Controller stated as voices of many echoed that:

> "I think I have no problem to live because I get Polish advisers and Polish people working in councils and selling tickets for Stagecoach and translators here in the company, I don't feel I have to learn. I have Polish TV, radio, friends… why should I learn English?"

Additionally, as witnessed during the researcher's factory tour, the organisation also provides leaflets explaining health and safety in different languages; and workers tend to sit only with others who speak their same respective language at break-times. As pointed out by P42, native, British, Planner: "You need to be careful with supplying everything because they need things to learn to integrate". This is not to say that the organisation does not provide support, as many participants explained, such as P12, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Operations Team Leader: "You have the opportunity [speaking regarding English language classes] if you don't grab it, so you don't want it… I listen about other companies; they don't do so much". Similarly, P14, native, British, Purchase Manager elaborated:

> "I know people want to do better for themselves… the company is supporting… and the business is trying to adapt to what people want because… they [are] set on English lessons… which I think is good for the business… [and] supports their career moves."

However, it can be argued that, among the stresses and work anxiety of their new employment, often being able to speak in their own language in their established identities/units was one of their comforts. New migrants are susceptible to experiencing pressure flows as they try to integrate themselves into the new environment (Phillimore and Goodson, 2008). This was expressed by many participants, but particularly by P6, native, British, Site Services Manager who conveyed that it gave a sense of homeliness:

> "When you're working, you're under pressure and then you know you're talking to people in [your] own language and tend to get comfortable and ease out the pressure"

And P32, Romanian, Production Operative, a new migrant conveyed: "I do not know English, so I am with other Romanians…. They helped me… it is not easy to work in this factory".

As this first-order code points out, new migrants already have various financial needs and social pressures to cope with, whilst also trying to navigate the system. Others felt under pressure to learn a different/new language which also possibly deterred them. Ironically, this unwillingness to learn could further distance them from integrating within FoodPro.Co due to the lack of proficiency as it becomes more difficult to establish and understand shared beliefs that are critical to the development of trust (Lauring and Selmer, 2010) which is necessary for better employee performance and progression. Thus, in agreement with the literature (Card, 2005; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Dustmann et al., 2005; Hack-Polay, 2007; Hack-Polay, 2008a; Hack-Polay, 2008b; Haque et al., 2002; Mateos et al., 2007), lack of language proficiency reasserted the motivation for migrants to endure precarious working conditions. This could further be inferred as being not only a choice, but also a matter of priorities among migrants to learn English; their sense of willingness is affected by their individualistic situations in terms of their aims in life. However, undoubtedly, the organisational work environment is also disturbed by the intricacy at the root of this lack of proficiency and communication. Therefore, it allows an understanding of the difficulty in achieving integration in a working community at FoodPro.Co by facing external challenges disallowing the workforce from merging as one community.

iii. Hiring Challenges and Preferences

High turnover and lack of English language proficiency contribute to hiring challenges in an organisation already subtly laced with hiring preferences, leading to the first-order code of Hiring Challenges and Preferences under the second order theme of Human Resource Issues.

Regarding race and ethnicity, Britain has segregated the market due to prevailing stereotypes and amount of labour supply from particular races and ethnicities by specifically recruiting people from the migrant workforce to fill jobs at the lower end of the labour market (Anthias, 1992; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005; Cockburn, 1991) but without equal benefits, continuing the narrative of a segmented labour market (Deakin, 2013). P42, native, British, Planner echoed the fact that immigration into the UK has been a continuing reality for decades (ONS, 2020a), affecting economic output (Fernández-Reino et al., 2020), whilst contributing

to the dependence created in organisations (Hickman et al., 2008): "I mean, Britain as a nation has been very adaptive and very welcoming to migrants and as such, you know… Over the last 10-15 years… [they've] just like, yeah, come in and [then soon gone] out", highlighting the periodic influx experienced at FoodPro.Co. This can create a sense of security for the supply chain among the permanent managerial-level staff, as stated by P8, long-term immigrant, Polish, Production Manager: "There are many people leaving, but new people are coming… we are always hopeful for new groups of migrants to join us… to allow efficiency" and further explained by P14, native, British, Purchase Manager, who has worked at FoodPro.Co over 15 years:

"One time, we'll have an influx of Croatians. And then we'll have an influx of Portuguese, then we'll have an influx of Romanians and so on. Yeah… and then you'll see people from the Czech [Republic] and [then they] will disappear again with all the Croatians… I'm not sure why… it seems to be a constant thing I've just noticed over the years… then there'll be another influx... It's weird how it works."

Given the recruitment process in the organisation, new migrants could be seen as cheaper human capital, versus those working for a longer time; this leads to a sense of job insecurity in some long-term employees since it could be linked to concerns over their employment (Janta et al., 2011; Scott, 2012); meanwhile, it gives rise to better career options for others. P31, native, British, Supply-Chain Manager mentions, as do many others: "The Polish are leaving, and Romanians are coming because Polish are getting jobs with higher wages elsewhere and Romanians need jobs with any kind of money". Yet, despite this acceptance of periodic influxes, hiring challenges and preferences are still prevalent in the company. The challenge of a decreased workforce is unyielding, as P4, native, British, HR Administrator added:

"In [the] case of Brexit, the implications would be that we are not going to get [the migrant workers] back… the demands for these workers are not only in the UK, they are also in France and Germany, so everybody wants to be fishing in the same pond.… We tried people from here, we advertised [for] people to work in a

factory, in [the] local newspaper, on our website, and, indeed, only four people,

White British, came for interview, and they didn't last more than three shifts."

This expresses the higher opportunities available for natives, leading to their lack of interest to fill jobs offering fewer advantages, making migrants essential for filling these disparities and combating the prevalent hiring challenges (The Migration Observatory, 2022). Ironically, at the time of writing, in conjunction with the fear of Brexit creating uncertainties with regards to migration and hiring staff (Brooking, 2018), there is a further reduction to only one third of the migrant workforce remaining in the food industry due to the COVID-19 pandemic prohibiting any migration into the UK because of border closures (Sky News, 2020).

Such desperation in recruitment prevents the organisation from ensuring migrants entering the company are equipped with country-specific skills (Benton, 2013; Hack-Polay, 2007; Iara, 2006), leading to the involuntary turnover, as discussed in the previous first-order code. This scarcity has left FoodPro.Co with no choice in terms of availability and matching when hiring migrants, and likely leaves no allowance to be judicious. The need is further expressed by P1, native, British, HR Trainee: "I think, as per the government policies… recruit people for the jobs that we need from anywhere". P9, native, British, Agency Supervisor also said: "While hiring I can see [on] their faces, who will work and who will not, but I give [in] because of the count [to meet number of new recruits as requested by the HR management]". This suggests that, like other organisations, they have to hire people to meet a quota to fill the job disparities, regardless of whether they know that some of those hired will not stay in the job for long, lack country-specific skills, or may leave quickly due to short-term monetary gains. Not only does this lack of choice further indirectly contribute to the perception of new migrants often as inferior and inadequate at work due to the lack of skills, but it can also act as a massive disadvantage for the migrants themselves, as they are unable to progress aptly (Baum, 2008; Cebulla et al., 2010; Craig, 2015; Duncan et al., 2013; Phillimore et al., 2017; Richardson, 2009).

Furthermore, it was suggested in this study's literature review that hiring preferences exist towards certain ethnicities and there is a prevalence of hiring queues (Kingston et al., 2015; Pager and Shepherd, 2008). This is seen partially in the field. Recruiting decisions according to racial stereotyping are around the conceptions of acceptability for the job type, despite the applicant having relevant skills. Different ethnic groups are ascribed certain cultural

traits that are praised or condemned, and which influence perceptions of their ability to fit in (Kingston et al., 2015; Pager and Shepherd, 2008). For example, P31, native, British, Supply-Chain Manager working at FoodPro.Co for over eight years, stated that: "Polish were better people for those jobs which are now taken by Romanians… I [do not like] to work with Romanians". P31 along with many others, considered Polish workers to be more hardworking than Romanians and, hence, would have preferred new Polish workers in his team were it not for the current hiring challenges due to the lack of workers. Nevertheless, the organisation outwardly appears insistent on providing equal prospects. When focusing on this study's research objectives, the organisation emphasised inclusivity as per their equal opportunity policy and as also argued by P32, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative: "Here they don't look for culture, or skin colour, or which country you are from; they look for skills". Additionally, as expressed by P14, native, British, Purchase Manager in terms of policy adherence: "Somebody who shows more willingness to become a QA or things… we do quite a bit of internal hiring, internal job creation for staff with good ability."

However, many employees, such as P38, new migrant, Polish, Line Controller disagreed:

"How can you give [the job] to someone who came from the agency, within

one month becomes permanent and, in a month, he gets a QA job. Sometimes they

don't go by the rules, and people do nothing".

Occupational segregation along the lines of managers' personal preferences continues, rather than recognition based on internal protocol, i.e., job role requirements and skills development. Thus, clearly, hiring preferences appear to seep into the attitudes experienced by certain migrant employees at FoodPro.Co. Noting the gap of consistent treatment through the semi-structured interviews clearly reflects a shift in this underpinning ideology, further restricting integration, containing a mix of cases where the traditional equality initiatives are restricted to simply adapting the language of equality versus actual evidence, which is missing, and hiring with ethnic preferences and work traits. Contrary to the image displayed, in practice, equal treatment is no more than a name in the policy where recruitment and training are open to all, as is further evidenced from the viewpoint of migrants in the next first order code, 'Lost Opportunities', in the next aggregate theme, 'Working Relationships and Attitudes in Workplace Communities'.

The complexities of each of these barriers make it essential to dive deeper into workplace communities to understand migrants' lived experiences, working relationships and attitudes.

4.1.2 WORKING RELATIONSHIPS AND ATTITUDES

Upon closer observation, a more nuanced understanding is gained of the subconscious factors further affecting these management challenges, giving us a microcosm view of migrant experiences in workplace communities. The aggregate theme of Working Relationships and Attitudes begins to illustrate further barriers to integration faced by new and long-term migrants in workplace communities which thereby affects the work culture.

4.1.2.1 Discriminatory Dynamics

To understand workplace community effectiveness, through interpersonal relationships, sense of identity, shared norms, values, and reciprocity, it is important to identify the underlying dynamics of these communities (Drucker, 2013). These dynamics are complex, and the study's interview results have revealed several influences, which include external and contextual surroundings, and the availability of resources (Bamel and Bamel, 2018; Deutsch et al., 2009; Drucker, 2013). Through these dynamic orientations, instead of linking work attitudes directly to migrants' needs within FoodPro.Co, it emerged that every individual has a different perception and so acts accordingly in the varying situations at different times; giving the action a subjective pattern. When the working communities and structures are confronted with the migrants' problems and needs, the attitudes and actions triggered are dependent on each migrant's attachment to the situation through their assessment and awareness of responsibility (Verkuyten, 2018). As such, the overpowering underlying dynamic in the workplace community at FoodPro.Co appears to be discriminatory in nature as migrants have frequent disputes via behavioural practices; these take place as a normal, accepted practice in the organisation, which results in three first-order codes of 'Lost Opportunities', 'Misrepresenting the Community', and 'Stereotypes in Societal Structures', under the second order theme of 'Discriminatory Dynamics'. This theme represents discriminatory behaviour in various forms – covert and overt, between the company and employees, between groups of employees, and then between individuals. Such behaviour results in diversity being only a numerical achievement rather than lived reality, as segregation and long-standing attitudes persist.

i. Lost Opportunities

Contrary to the image displayed, from the perspective of migrants, one of the many barriers to growth that participants appear to face at FoodPro.Co is 'Lost Opportunities'. Interview data reveal that new migrants and long-term immigrants are often overqualified but continue to work in jobs due to necessity, which coincided with the literature (Johnston et al., 2015; Nowotny, 2016; The Migration Observatory, 2022). This finding reflected that differences in working relationships can be manifested due to variances in job credibility and education levels, losing the opportunity to be employed in higher jobs. This is also noticed by P19, native, British, HR Business Partner:

> "There are a number of people who've got degrees… But coming here they are stuck into a job which is much more [a] manual labour job. I think [this is] because their capabilities are not that recognised when they reach here, and they did not have any experience in [the] UK [due to which they do not get the opportunity to take a higher job] and when they reach [here] they just have to take any job."

Despite the existence of equal opportunity policies, not all employees experience the benefits, suggesting they are not implemented in depth throughout the organisation. Limited employment opportunities for new migrants are often influenced by a lack of consistency in the implementation of equal opportunity policies in organisations (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009; Hack-Polay, 2007; Hudson et al., 2017; Wrench and Modood, 2001). The belief of new migrants that they are losing opportunities is much more widespread, as seen during the interviews, with reasons such as they would not fit in. Certain individuals, as expressed by P7, long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller as many other migrant employees, experienced the organisational culture formed differently:

> "I am never made a team leader… I want to write emails like my boss. I feel they don't have anyone like me to work as process controller, that's why they want to use me. I have tried many times for [the] team leader job but they never give [it to] me… other people who have [only been here] for three years, they are team

leaders now, I am not [having been here five years] … but I want to grow…how are

they equal [in the equal opportunity policy]"

It is possible the management has a valid reason for this decision, as argued by P44, native, British, HR Officer: "We think they're incapable of performing the tasks required of them, while they feel they are performing adequately". But this perception is still countered, as P38, new migrant, Polish, Line Controller echoes many other migrant employees: "At least give me the chance to show I can do that; give me the chance [for] at least for three months in [a] new job. If I don't change anything, then put me [back] in the same position". P13, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative said: "I don't find it is of any use… in apply[ing] for [a] new job in this company… my boss will not let me go for training… four to five times before, I spoke to him, but he did not hear me". Furthermore, as P36, long-term immigrant, Romanian, Process Controller continued:

"I have trained seven people to do my job if I am on holiday or if I get new

position, but my boss does not want them… It's the same work for years; I want to

do something more …otherwise [I will leave] this factory!"

Therefore, it is clear from the interviews that there is a lack of interest among participants in responding to new internal job postings or any training needs. The company values include policies on organisational equality with the social justice rationale, whereas the picture in practice is mixed; in a few instances, they are partial and contingent. Despite the understanding of the need for migrants and heterogeneity of knowledge among different organisational levels (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009) for higher productivity, in essence, the wide range of disparities in skills, knowledge, and opportunities created via the internal preferences, leads to hindering the integration of workplace communities, with room for disrespect and lack of perceived equality. Further, this is backed by P48, a new migrant of African ethnicity, Despatch Operative who has been working for 14 months:

"I am killing myself for a job that would replace me in a week... I feel my

boss does not care about my certificate. I have experience to handle computers and

handheld devices. I can become a shift supervisor or move into quality control."

His co-worker, P50, long-term immigrant, Slovak, Despatch Operative echoed this:

"When I first came here… I had skills certificates but did not know these systems and had difficulty in get[ting] into them. I was not told how to use my skills for my new job, I felt they did not care for my skills."

However, the reality is somewhat different: native workers and migrants differ in their country-specific human capital, such as language fluency, country specific skills, professional networks, and social and cultural knowledge (Card, 2005; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Hack-Polay, 2007; Haque et al., 2002; Webber and Mateos, 2007; Sambajee, 2015), which also affects migrants in social and economic integration. Initial skill differences make new migrants imperfect substitutes for country-specific skilled labour while, also as debated in the literature (Borjas, 1995), these differences mean migrants bring culturally unique and complementary skills and knowledge to the business. As expressed by P44, native, British, HR Officer: "They bring different skills along with them... which are very valuable for us", and P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor reflected that: "They say I bring new vision from someone who is outside the system and that I bring new vision to the old problems".

Unstated discrimination in the workplace tends to limit migrants' employment opportunities (Hack-Polay, 2008a; Jones et al., 2017; Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016). From the migrants' perspective, salaried employees and senior line managers are mainly White British, and it is they who get to be a part of these processes at FoodPro.Co. Thus, on this basis it can be said that there have been complex and subtle processes of unintended discrimination in employee appraisals and hierarchical growth. However, at the same time, the organisation recognises that the quality of migrant workers is limited. The lack of migrant workers in top management, as seen in the empirical data, may contribute to this discriminatory mind-set, but it is alongside the possible limitability of country-specific skills among some migrants, making it difficult to say with conviction that discrimination is at play.

As P45, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative, who has worked for the organisation for 18 months expressed:

"I lived in Romania, I studied [for a] degree and have done course on [being a] machine minder but my boss thinks I am not as good as I think I am. Yep, it happens. I am doing… [it's] not an easy job and you got to stand up to a 12-hour shift. Maybe because I am not, [unlike] my boss, English but I need to know I can

work good and maybe get work [as a] machine minder. I can repair and maintain machines... [but right now] no one knows about my course."

Regardless, migrants often accept lower-skilled jobs to seize the opportunity that the host country offers them even though these jobs tend to be segregated in unskilled occupations and exposed to higher risks of over-qualification. Moreover, new migrants experience considerable job insecurity and, on arrival, get placed in occupations characterised as having less advantageous working conditions (Keller and Seifert, 2011; Kone et al., 2019). Overall, new migrants are particularly vulnerable (Nowicka, 2018; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019). Nevertheless, there is increasing awareness of the crucial role played by migrant workers in the economic growth of the organisation, but greater attention needs to be paid to the migrant workers' career growth and working conditions to ensure efficiency and their retention in the organisation. Some workers view these low-skilled jobs as temporary and a means to an end, alongside not usually qualifying for any welfare payments or salary benefits upon arrival.

Hence, labour shortages and job vacancies can co-exist. However, because of mismatches between job opportunities and migrants' abilities/qualifications/work experiences, these clashes occur, dependent on differences in country-specific skills and education levels. Yet, the need for foreign workers is apparent in the organisation, which is different to the literature, where it was assumed that organisations were ignorant about this requirement, or unwilling to appreciate the migrants' contributions (Borjas, 2006; O'Rourke and Sinnott, 2006). Rather, as per the 'lost opportunities' experienced by migrants, FoodPro.Co fails to accept the diverse credibility of migrants, creating the absence of a more open and comfortable environment where everyone fits in, feels valued and can contribute their best.

ii.   Misrepresenting Individuals of the Communities

People from different countries establish different kinds of social networks, influencing their adjustment levels in the organisation (Watson, 2017). It is the lack of tolerance because of generalisations that link migrant workers to typical attributes or behaviours which accelerates the first-order code of 'Misrepresenting Individuals of the Communities'.

In essence, this can manifest itself in derogatory language, where the use of racist jokes and humour between cliques reinforces and reproduces typecast beliefs about different ethnicities as well as leading to migrants' negative experience of the organisation as they begin

to become cautious of their different identity. This can further hinder the integration of new migrants (Matras and Leggio, 2017; McGarty et al., 2002). For example, it may be composed with the image of self as inferior, feelings of rejection and aim to please others (Chen et al., 2011). It decreases confidence among new workers due to the derogatory language often being associated with their every action and job possession, especially when they have not even had time to establish themselves in the organisation. This was echoed by many respondents, such as P45, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative, who had been working at FoodPro.Co for 18 months: "I have got a Romanian's car – Dacia. One of the Lithuanians made [a] joke and said, 'Gypsy car'. I felt bad. I do not work hard for this, to hear this!"; P30, new migrant, Slovakian, Assistant Planner, who had been working in FoodPro.Co for six months, explained "One of my co-workers occasionally tells a racially based joke. I've asked him to stop, but he just tells me to 'loosen up a little'... Polish people dislike Slovaks."; and P25, long-term immigrant, Polish, Quality Auditor, who has been working in the company for seven years, like many others reflected:

"We work in a job where everyone uses foul language, including racial slurs, with each other. There is no point [in] complaining, everyone starts using [foul language eventually]. Obviously, they don't want to be part of this hostile environment [where nobody will talk to them, so some do it to fit in]."

Hence, this forces them to use the same language towards others as they progress to become long-term immigrants in the organisation. Since it is the initial attitude they witness, they assume it is the accepted and necessary behaviour (Ackroyd, 2016) to stay in the organisation; thus, the same process is carried onto others, i.e., new migrants, to help them 'integrate' into the workplace community; creating a vicious cycle of organisational behaviour.

This, likewise, could lead to its pervasiveness. However, the participants who experienced such misrepresenting behaviours preferred not to escalate this to the management due to fears such as disapproval or job loss. As P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor, said: "Obviously, [I] experience bullying but that is not really… my main concern… I do not [tell] anyone [because] I need to work.". P28, a long-term immigrant, French, Operations Manager, working for almost twenty years in the organisation said:

"Of course!! Of course, I did [experience bullying]. When I worked initially, they used to bully me and grab my accent and keep making mockery of my language, even the senior bosses used to make fun of me. [But I just kept working]." P28 came from France, joined FoodPro.Co as a despatch operative, now an operations manager. As she liked it in the UK, she wished to find work in something other than her previous job of styling hair which she used to do in her country of origin. She learnt the English language by watching TV news every day and worked hard to gain all the country-specific skills needed for her role. Though she has a strong resilience, the extensive training undertaken to reach the middle management position from self-motivation and determination makes the derogatory comments disrespectful to her hard work. The comments were a continual attempt to demean her identity. These included comments made towards her by her peers and superiors such as 'Why not call her Ola Ola?' and, 'Bloody fools like her,' in an attempt to mock her accent despite her ability to speak English fluently.

Hence, personal needs and motivations often override any breakdowns experienced in FoodPro.Co by new migrants; inclusion is, therefore, important to form powerful informal networks to help alter or negate these behaviours, as discussed further in the first-order code of 'Groupism and Difficulty in Breaking In' under the second order theme of segregation.

Furthermore, misrepresenting also takes the form of targeting and labelling. This seems obvious but, as many generalisations appear in this study through the interviews, some long-term immigrants follow this common practice to target other migrant employees in particular ways. For example, P16, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Senior Technician identifies as gay, and works in a job with skill shortages. He is competent but has been asked to transfer to another department by his boss. He mentioned feeling targeted, as conveyed in the interview:

"I can no longer tolerate the taunts from my team workers… this [has been]

happening with me for three years and my boss is not taking my complaint seriously.

I am sure he does not like me… my own people [team] also make fun of me… who

I treat as my brothers."

P16 was hired at the operative level in FoodPro.Co. He wanted a life where he could earn a living and pursue his dream of having freedom to be himself by living in the UK as he is homosexual. So, he worked hard for a better future, despite precarious work conditions, and

acquired country-specific skills. Now, he is part of the lower management as a Senior Technician and wishes to progress more but still feels targeted.

This further portrays the presence of differences in attitudes through misrepresentation within the workers' ethnic communities, and a possible lack of support experienced from long-term immigrants, sometimes based on the differing social values, status, and personal characteristics, as is also seen in a societal context (DiTomaso, 1989; Kirton and Greene, 2015). As social identities are understood in terms of regionalism, culture, ethnicity, and social class (Lapwoch and Amone-P'Olak, 2016; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Hence with the focus on social identity considering social and ethnic characteristics, and group membership may result in conflict.

However, it needs to be noted that attitudes do not always embody degradation or targeting; some labels are descriptive of performance and may evolve as the person's orientation changes, as demonstrated by P41, long-term immigrant, Polish, Machine-Minder, who was widely regarded by supervisors as a "poor worker" and as, sometimes, a "troublemaker". His girlfriend became pregnant, they got married and he not only settled to his training but also applied himself to his work in a way which helped him achieve eventual promotion, enabling him to rid himself of his original label for that of a "hard worker". This further suggested that labels could also be based on a situational context.

Additionally, diversity is unable to avoid the vice of cultural and generational differences giving rise to conflict. There are downsides of diversity, particularly when it exclusively focuses on individual differences and avoids recognising the potentially more negative aspects of working with a diverse workforce, which often involves the realities of discrimination, prejudice, and unfair treatment (Ford, 1996; Jonas, 2007; Kirton and Greene, 2015). For example, one participant of Asian-British ethnicity, P23, Planner, who has been working in the organisation for fifteen years, felt misrepresented and targeted:

"I am working in this large organisation… my boss, because I am from Asia, has spoiled my dignity… harassed me… I mean a lot of things which definitely, you know, on the way you look, I felt degraded and humiliated and never like the environment around me. About my boss, [they] made fun [of] what I bring for lunch, what I eat, how I laugh loudly… my culture… of my good work. I saw my

counterparts getting more favourable treatment and promotion because he or she is not the way I look… I stayed calm and every morning I woke up and came to work… thinking I have my house mortgage to pay and have a family... I have to go to work.”

However, little did everyone understand that, by being born in the UK, P23 is second generation and a UK citizen; truly a native of the UK equipped with all country-specific skills including English language proficiency. Furthermore, P23, the native, Asian- British, Planner continued:

“My dad came [to] this country in 1969. I am second generation. I [was] born in [the] UK and my kids are studying in primary school here. My dad says when they came it was more difficult than today.”

This also countered our understanding of the lack of country-specific skills and language proficiency driving discrimination (Davda et al., 2018) as the differences could be as subtle as ethnicity discounting them from being equipped with all the country-specific skills including language fluency (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Sambajee, 2015), or even being native to the country. However, P23 has climbed the performance ladder regardless of being the victim of harassment, being misrepresented, or having a lack of support from long-term immigrants. Among all, it is seen that these migrant workers, overall, in the organisation, are very determined and hardworking and have a positive attitude to development, exploring skills as needing to be extended or added, when and where necessary, and taking action to upgrade their expertise.

Hence, it is obvious that these insights are reflective of the many generalisations emerging from situational patterns, which are subtly and subconsciously present in the work environment, through derogatory language and targeting reflected via the first-order code of ‘Misrepresenting Individuals of the Communities’.

iii.   Stereotypes in Societal Structures

The UK, as an ethnically diverse country, has a more or at times less welcoming social environment for the different migrant groups (Platt, and Nandi, 2020). This is partially dependent on the stereotypes that people have regarding others which, in turn, shape their own

behavioural tendencies to support or discriminate. It is likely that various new migrant groups of different ethnicities face different welcoming treatment, which can be operationalised by the attitudes of other long-term employees at FoodPro.Co. Furthermore, unwelcoming environments give rise to negative or conflicting behavioural tendencies (Rice et al., 2020) and consequently play an active role in the overall integration process at FoodPro.Co. Conflict among the migrant community, as understood through the first order codes 'lost opportunities' and 'misrepresenting individuals of the communities', indirectly furthers internal differences reflected in the attitudes expressed, contributing to stereotypes held. Hence, these attitudes experienced and displayed are further explored through the first-order code of 'Stereotypes in Societal Structures' under the second-order theme of Discriminatory Dynamics, as witnessed by various participants such as P27, long-term immigrant, Polish, Engineering Administrator: "There are nationality clashes among newcomers and workers who [have been] in the company for [a] longer time."

The societal environment ends up influencing internalised norms (Tatarko, 2019), including attitudes among long-term immigrants towards new migrants, which are reflected in the behaviour experienced and opinions expressed. A stereotype may be so consistently and authoritatively transmitted in each generation from parent to child that it seems almost a biological fact (Boskin, 1988). Comments such as the following, from P13, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative that "Some people don't like us because we are Gypsies… they do not talk to us" represent the stringent stereotypical behaviours experienced. This hinders the integration of new migrant groups and thereby shows the society that these groups cannot equally participate. Hence, newcomers are often concerned with building a self-definition, of which the social identities are likely to comprise a large part. The individuals identify with the group, practices and values of the in-group which becomes more perceived and salient as well as distinctive and unique (Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Tajfel, 1969). Attitudes demeaning the ambition as experienced by migrants, however, are multi-layered and require understanding of the inevitably linked perspective of those displaying these attitudes (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989). These attitudes can be denied, controlled, and obscured at various levels while helping gain a better understanding of the relationships at play. Such tendencies fuel understandings which affect attitudes in the form of anger, as further expressed by P2, native, British, Electrician Operative: "But I just join in with them, I laugh with them, you got to, but they cannot take [my] rights of my country."

Here the participant mentions interacting and laughing with migrants to maintain professionalism; however, he is angry that though they are not born in this country, he feels it is unfair that they can experience some of the same benefits as him, who is a born Englishman, of living in this country. This comes from the stereotype that migrants enjoy a nice life and social benefits (McLaren and Johnson, 2007) even though they are less likely to claim benefits, as evidenced in the literature, compared to natives (The Migration Observatory, 2022). Additionally, these intentions are also reflected by competition or perceived threat to the group's societal, political, or economic power (Jetten et al., 2004). The prevailing image in the media, which portrays new migrants being a 'threat' to jobs, is so deeply embedded that it fails to leave the workplace attitudes at FoodPro.Co, as expressed by P15, long-term immigrant, Polish, Food, Safety and Quality Manager:

"The problem we have is that people who have a low IQ will always think

migrants are going to take their jobs… they will not grow in the company… whereas

the truth is new migrants are taking jobs that natives do not want."

P11, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Operations Team Leader echoed this: "I come from a country where we accept people, have very friendly people, but here [it's not the same] they say we take away their jobs, trust me it's everywhere." portraying the influence of economic self-interest on attitudes expressed (Andreescu, 2011). This aligns with social identity theory, whereby advantaged groups gain collective esteem by being driven to maintain their prestigious and prominent social identity (Shepherd et al., 2018; Tajfel and Turner, 1979), but may feel threatened by disadvantaged groups (Jetten et al., 2004), leading to aversive behaviours including increased prejudice (Esses et al., 2013; Outten et al., 2012; Shepherd et al., 2018; Stephan et al., 2005; Wohl and Branscombe, 2009). However, it is specifically different, here, in that identity is driven by social status, acceptance and ethnicity.

A distinction in FoodPro.Co can be made between ascribed and achieved social identities, with the former defining an individual seen as acceptable for a job, with stereotypes influencing organisational processes (Kirton and Greene, 2015) acting as a hindrance. However, not all the groups are stereotyped alike, as also observed during the interviews at FoodPro.Co: Polish were often stereotyped as "hard working", "reliable" and preferred over Romanians; Asians were stereotyped as "hard workers", "ambitious" and "standoffish", but "competent"; and despite being the majority, Romanians were stereotyped negatively as "not hardworking" and

"Gypsies". For example, as said by P19, native, British, HR Business Partner: "It's the Romanian community, whether they're part of the Romanian Gypsy or not, there is still a perception that they're not… as hard working or [a] highly valued member of the team." Over the course of history' Eastern Europeans have experienced a lot of negative representation and reception in the media, unlike their counterparts (Favell and Nebe, 2009), with tabloid headlines often associated with benefits, pressures on public services, crime, or job insecurity (Fox et al., 2012). However, as mentioned earlier, the periodic influx of Romanians is recent too, as they were restricted from the UK labour market until 2014 as the country only transitioned into the EU seven years ago (Lulle et al., 2018). As such, their migrant community has not had long to dispel the stereotypes surrounding their ethnicity, such as mentioned previously, which puts them at a disadvantage when facing discrimination. This manifests the notion of political and societal stereotypical influence (Abrams and Hogg, 2010; Hurwitz and Peffley, 1997) on migrant attitudes.

Furthermore, racial profiling stereotyping (Behnke, 2017) contributes towards actions undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection that rely on stereotypes about race, colour, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin rather than on reasonable suspicion, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment. This was also experienced by P43, new migrant, Pakistani, Operation Team Leader, who used to dress in his ethnic attire outside the factory when he first migrated to the UK: "For housing [I have met] many racist [people]… [they] turned me away as their tenant, [and I was] not granted equal access to maintenance and repairs [just because I am Muslim]." This stemmed from the unjust stereotypical belief that people from Muslim countries commit more crimes, furthering the influence of the media in the formation and exaggeration of stereotypical beliefs (Saleem et al, 2017).

Thus, stereotypes refer to false generalisations of groups linking 'typical' behaviours or attributes to the members of said group (Kinzler et al., 2010); reflective of social identity and differing social capital. Hence society functions effectively through the networks of relationships among people who live and work together.

4.1.2.2   Segregation

The innate nature of integration is such that the new migrants at FoodPro.Co were dependent on both long-term immigrants and other new migrants. P19, native, British, HR Business Partner pointed out that:

"There is no room for differences and if the dominant group of migrants continue to treat new employees as different and if you yourself specify you are different… then equality will be nowhere".

While organisational policies are in place, as mentioned, it is expected that new migrants will make an equal effort, i.e., show eagerness to integrate into the organisation. This is essential, as integration is often referred to as a two-way process (Klarenbeek, 2019), as P8, long-term immigrant, Polish, Production Manager, said, "It's time consuming but there is a need to adapt from both sides".

Hence, it is difficult to face the various dynamics of discriminatory attitudes, which are often driven by the workers in the organisation who are against each other, and, rather than integration, the result is segregation. Collective identities can arise even in the absence of interpersonal interaction and yet have a powerful impact on affect and behaviour which indicate how individuals' identity groups shape their perceptions and behaviours in different settings (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). Therefore, the main reality of workplace communities highlighted through this research is the second-order theme of Segregation. Segregation appears to act as a major determinant in migrant experiences, contributing to the microcosmic problems experienced, as noted in the aggregate theme of Workplace Relationships and Attitudes. Thus, this is explored via the first-order code of 'Groupism and Difficulty Breaking In'.

i.   Groupism and Difficulty Breaking In

New migrants take comfort in knowing that they are not alone. In FoodPro.Co, such groups can be viewed as responses to pressures in many situations. They are interpersonal and social tools or even an action mechanism through which individual employees' ends are achieved which are beyond their perception of personal power (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). Realising the importance of individual identity and self-esteem (Martiny and Rubin, 2016), group identity can become salient (Ferguson and McKeown, 2016). Meanwhile in the

literature review, we discussed that long-term employees possibly mistreat new migrants with a prevailing assumption of none or little support from long-term immigrants to new migrants (Holgate, 2018; Wills et al., 2009); the literature also predicts different ethnicities may group together in precarious conditions (Roy, 1973; Wills et al., 2009). However as per the interviews, and in contradiction of the prediction in the literature, different results are seen in the field. Regardless of migrants having almost similar motivations and opportunities and facing similar challenges in working conditions, the one thing which came as a surprise, here, was that they were forming groups with only their own ethnicities. New migrants mentioned how they felt supported in a group with people of the same ethnicity. As echoed by P4, native, British, HR Administrator: "They feel kind of lonely... they expect someone from their country to support them", and P41, long-term immigrant, Polish, Machine Minder, a long-term immigrant who had been working in the organisation for six years, echoed the opinions of many:

"I feel it's good to have groups because, if you need friends in the company,

you have [a] lot of support from our own country's people, otherwise it's not simple

to make friends with other countries' people because they don't speak my language."

The conflict portrayed does not necessarily exist between long-term immigrants and new migrants of the same ethnicity but specifically between long-term immigrants and new migrants belonging to different ethnicities, further accelerated by language differences, and creating different ethnic groups. It can be inferred that ethnic affiliation affects the level of support a new migrant experience from long-term immigrants in the organisation, affecting both their confidence in voicing their opinions and the level of integration, as also expressed by various participants such as P6, native, British, Site-Services Manager:

"I've seen that when people come new, they are hesitant, and they have

worries about coming to [a] new place in the sense that they definitely have [a]

keenness to work but they are feeling that the workers who [have been] here for [a]

longer time of service have uncertainties [about] them. They want people from their

own country [so] they can keep their own position."

P6 expressed the view that long-term immigrants felt threatened by the influx of cheaper labour and new migrants from different countries alongside stereotypes surrounding their ethnicity, perceiving that their own jobs could be at risk through favouritism towards the newer ethnicities due to their cheaper labour cost. However, while ethnic affiliation also affects the support experienced by new migrants when trying to integrate into FoodPro.Co as part of one working community, groupism occurs, which acts as a barrier. As such, this acts as one of the factors manifesting differences in attitudes in working relationships. Ethnic affiliation seems to suggest that support is available from long-term immigrants to new migrants of the same ethnicity which, in turn, can facilitate new migrants integrating into the organisation. Yet, groupism, as seen in this first-order code, can simultaneously contribute to segregation at FoodPro.Co, resulting in a lack of support from the long-term migrants to the new migrants who do not belong to the same ethnicity. This creates a sense of isolation for new migrants of different ethnicities to most workers from larger ethnic groups, with the absence of people of their own ethnic identity resulting in lesser support available, making it harder to break into the workplace community and integrate into the organisation.

As various 'cliques' or 'groups' are formed by long-term immigrants, a persistent culture exists at FoodPro.Co of excluding 'others' i.e., of different ethnicity to secure their own positions at work; to combat their feelings of uncertainty and further their collective esteem through bonding with their 'own country' people. As P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor said: "The groups and communities do not bring us up; they bring us down". However, while several workers mix with colleagues of their own ethnicity, this is not to say different groups cannot still form within the same ethnicity dependent on new and long-term migrant status. In a few cases, conflict does exist between long-term immigrants and new migrants of the same ethnicities as they, among themselves, have formed different groups based on their differing personal beliefs and characteristics. This was seen with P16, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, and P13, new migrant, Romanian, who were both excluded by their own ethnic groups for being gay and Gypsy, respectively, alongside being unknown to their ethnic groups due to being 'different'. As P13, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative expressed:

"There are some people from my own country who don't like us because we

are Gypsies, but I don't know why. I don't care now. When I came new, I wanted to

130

fight with them; then [other people from my country] who are Gypsies [my group friends] told me it is useless to care about this, because we all have come here to make money and not to fight."

However, conflict within the same ethnicity was rarer due to frequent ethnic affiliation, as discussed earlier, whereas conflict between long-term immigrants and new migrants of different ethnicities was recurrent. While workers of the same ethnicities had differences in their personal beliefs and characteristics, conflicts between different ethnicities were fuelled by mainly language barriers, ethnic identity and stereotypes, alongside other factors. It also implies that there is a connection between individual identities and social structures; people become attached to the members of their identity groups such as ethnic or racial groups (Tajfel, 1982). In turn, this shapes the way individuals interact with others of their own identity groups or other groups (Tajfel, 1981, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987). According to intergroup theory, individual's perception on the social reality is largely determined by their group memberships such as on accordance to ethnic or racial affiliation (Alderfer, 1982). It follows that individuals' views of organisational actions and policies will be affected by their identity groups.

In fact, in turn, this groupism provides those who are part of the group with a high level of confidence to exclude and target another individual or minority due to their mutual dislike towards the individual/minority. P19, native, British, HR Business Partner expressed it as follows:

"What we have noticed recently is that we are getting low-level noise on things like theft from lockers and arguments in the factory, people shout at each other, [at people from] different groups, [and we have] issues, arguments and discomfort among people working together from different ethnicities and new migrant workers."

This highlighted that conflict is prominent between long-term immigrants and new migrants from different ethnicities. Such conflict extends behaviour through groupism and can take the form of unfair actions and unequal treatment in the organisation. P4, native, British, HR Administrator further expanded on the conflict: "Large groups might complain about the individual". Therefore, isolation through conflict manifests itself in further negative attitudes

131

being displayed towards someone who chooses to interact and is a new migrant of a small ethnic group. This further hinders new migrants from truly displaying their skills in the organisation with confidence and leads to insecurity to divert from their pre-determined social networks based on their ethnicity, as echoed through voices of many. P29, new migrant, Polish Production Operative conveyed: "When you come in new, you can see people have their own groups and friends. I felt out of place." P48, new migrant, African, Despatch Operative added that: "I am excluded from [my] team." Similarly, P33 new migrant, African, Despatch Operative also expressed:

"I don't [complain to anyone] but when I go to talk [to my team, who are all Romanians and not my ethnicity] during breaks, they go away from me. I don't have anyone to talk to, you know. I sit alone and eat my food. [I feel alone and excluded]."

Verkuyten (2018) demonstrates that group-based attitudes can be partially dependent on cultural similarity (Ford, 2011), skin tone and language (Hopkins, 2015), work and educational skills (Helbling and Kriesi, 2014), nationality (Laganà et al., 2013), and religion and economic contribution (Bansak et al., 2016). However, confrontations of such attitudes are dependent on social responsibility, peer acceptance, age, occupation, monthly salary, and self-directedness, among others (Moisuc et al., 2018). Consequently, and unsurprisingly, migrants are less likely to confront or combat this segregation, as they are still wary of their social capital and surroundings, desperate for peer acceptance, and often in lower-paying jobs. Their need for a job, and often ambiguous non-stringent organisational action against prejudice and discrimination, leads to a mind-set of minding their own business and carrying on working, i.e., it further drives them to live with the discrimination they witness, or handle it informally, leading to acceptance of exclusion being the cultural norm at FoodPro.Co.

Eventually, this leads to difficulty in breaking in as P6, native, British, Site Services Manager observed:

"Romanians, being in their own group, and the Albanians, being in different [their own separate] groups… they're more comfortable [in their own groups] because they're coming new [to the organisation]".

P1, native, British, HR Trainee stated that:

"By being together with their own people… they do [that] because they can

speak their language, they know their culture better, it kind of makes them separate

and [they do] not communicate [with] everyone else."

The difficulty in entering workplace communities, as experienced by new migrants, results in a lack of a support network for the migrants to rely on when trying to understand the workplace culture, feel integrated and having the confidence to address their concerns in the correct manner. This is not to say that long-term immigrants do not face these challenges in the labour market, but that they have had more time to acquire skills specific to the organisation and the host country. This comes as a surprise, because the literature suggests disparities in workplace communities give rise to generalised groups in any organisation (Beall, 1997; Roy, 1973; Wills et al., 2009) rather than different cliques forming, and with the lack of communication during work with only four short breaks of 15 minutes for interactions, as witnessed on the factory tour; the aberrant segregation was not initially obvious on the surface of FoodPro.Co.

The framework of power which can lead to dominance, emerging from favouritism or differences in attitudes against different groups in a workplace, at various levels, focuses on organisational group politics among various ethnic groups through which organisational control is sustained and accomplished. As P16, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Senior Technician observed:

"So, when new people come in, they feel like they aren't being liked by the

other groups… such as if people from their own country come, they will feel happy,

but if people from a different country come, they won't pay much heed… it's all part

of the game plan to help their own country's people."

P50, long-term immigrant, Slovak, Despatch Operative also had the same perception as many others:

"I think my manager never liked me, he shouts at me in front of other workers,

threatening to take my job, he is disparaging me in front of other workers. I feel like

leaving this factory but then I need to earn money for my family. I know that I am

fed up. Here, people are with their own country groups, and they don't want to help.

My manager is Polish; he wants to give more work to his own country's people."

It is not uncommon for new immigrants to think of power in a negative way in FoodPro.Co. They felt conscious of the power being exerted over them when they were coerced into doing something they did not wish to do. Complete support for new migrants by all the long-term immigrants without consideration of a new migrant's ethnicity is almost impossible, as perception of social norms is known to influence one's tendency to stand up against or acknowledge evident biases or discrimination (Gibbs, 1981; Moisuc et al., 2018; Nolan, 2013). This creates a restricted picture of diversity. For instance, some migrants want to be part of different groups but cannot, due to pressure from their own ethnic group. Power plays a significant role, here, as it navigates attitudes among long-term and new migrants. As P19, native, British, HR Business Partner expressed:

"It's different nationalities but that change in attitudes among the groups of

nationalities that are arriving is present... The bigger groups have dominance over

the small groups… it's to do with high volumes and… the long-term migrant

workers, who are from existing large groups."

Furthermore, P14, native, British, Purchase Manager, who had worked for the company for almost 15 years, when talking about different group clashes, said:

"I think sometimes new ones seem to be a bit quieter, totally get to know the

place and the people. They do tend to keep themselves to themselves… in this

business, we have different cultures, and they clash. The new workers don't

understand why the workers who [have been] here for [a] long time from different

nationalities, they don't like them, they threaten them with knives. Yes, I have seen

that, we have solved many such situations… they have fights…. The new one has

experienced many such situations from big groups… who don't want them in the

team, and they can do everything possible to make him go out of the company…

yes… they shout at somebody who is only two tables away just to make him

frightened. The long-term workers in large groups do not care for the new ones from

other nationalities… their intention is to pressurise them to leave work.”

Hence, among newcomers there is a feeling of reluctance to stay in the job due to experiencing unwelcoming attitudes, contributing to the earlier mentioned human resource issues; and they long for job security. As P44, native, British, HR Officer mentioned:

"They feel insecure about being in somebody else's country and some of them

do get discriminatory comments and behaviours towards them but keep mum [i.e.,

they don't say anything about it]."

Power, here, acts as the ability to affect migrant employees' attitudes but, equally often and more subtly, it means affecting the ways in which they think and feel about each other. As P32 Production Operative, a Romanian new migrant, like many others, observed:

"When I came in new, one of the Polish team leaders who [has worked] in the

factory for eight years never liked me. He wants all the new Polish people in his team;

he tells his boss not to give jobs to any Romanians. It is not good… Romanians don't

like to work with him. But I want to work and need [the] job, need the money. I was

put under him; I did not like it."

The requirement of new migrants to meet their personal needs, therefore, forms the basis of the power and challenges faced by them in their overall performance. It is important to note how the migrant workplace communities manage their discomfort zones (Lee and Lawrence, 1991). For new migrants, discomfort is embedded in anxiety because of the fear of exclusion; ignorance about the issue not only risks diluting their performance, but it also risks diminishing their image in the organisation. The feeling of exclusion and anxiety, especially due to an avoidance of dealing with unpleasant, difficult situations, and instead enduring them, actually created a skill disparity in FoodPro.Co. New migrants are in turn unable to confront any of their concerns, alongside ignoring personal drawbacks such as their lack of English language proficiency, up-skilling themselves with the skills apt for the job, and job training, which eventually leads them to live with the continued awkwardness in workplace relationships and, ultimately, earn less due to their lack of country-specific skills. This not only creates a lack of

confidence but also a fear of confrontation (Ruhs and Anderson, 2010). Workers expressed that they felt the pressure to be part of groups to avoid being left out. The pressures created by not having a support network manifest into a necessity to conform to the prevailing norms to avoid isolation. As such, it became a work culture in FoodPro.Co. Hence, unlike the literature, which suggests migrants avoid any confrontation due to their lack of knowledge (Hack-Polay, 2007), this study finds that it also stems from fear of isolation, desire of ethnic affiliation and support, lack of English language proficiency, feelings of anxiety, and lack of enthusiasm to integrate, as inferred from the interviews. As P11, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Operations Team Leader mentioned:

"I am with my Pakistani friends all the time… because others keep talking in

their own language… I know some words of [the] Polish language and I like them

[the Polish workers] but they are not with us."

Therefore, this theme clearly portrays conflict between long-term immigrants and new migrants; and, specifically, when belonging to different ethnic communities.

4.1.3 MOTIVATIONS, OPPORTUNITIES, AND COST

Invariably, the challenges new migrants face leads us to question the motivations of migration influx and opportunities provided to migrants, as explored in this aggregate theme. Migration is driven by the desire for a better life (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009; Lomax et al., 2020; O'Reilly and Benson, 2009). The movement of people from their place of origin is often influenced by diverse factors such as poverty, war, or conflict, but also the desire for better living standards or to experience other cultures (Newland and Patrick, 2004). Migration for work has become an increasingly common situation that is observed to exist as a strategic plan for human development and improving their socio-economic status. Migration to the UK offers both opportunities and hardships. A driving rationale for migrant workers is to stay in the UK for better pay and living standards, as seen further in this aggregate theme as they start to see the UK as a more permanent opportunity for a better future.

4.1.3.1   Economic Self-Interest

   i.   Economic Conditions of Country of Origin

Historically, migration has been a source of opportunities for people to improve their lives. There is often a large difference of pay between the country of origin and host country, which continues to motivate people to combat poverty with the help of migration (Murrugarra et al., 2010). Long-term immigrants and new migrants suggested that poorer economic conditions in their country of origin such as low wages, economic decline, low GDP, etc., also motivated them and made them determined to migrate and later stay in the host country. The common stories of economic insecurities, hardships, and difficulty in entering well-paid occupations in their country of origin were echoed by many migrants during interviews (Lulle et al., 2018). Such economic self-interest is noticed, as P9, native, British, Agency Supervisor explained: "The ones who want to stay are usually the ones who need money, and they don't get [it] in their own countries… their primary settlement need is money." P10, new migrant, Romanian, Production Coordinator confirmed that: "Here I can have more money than what I get in Romania… I like to stay here also because it is better than Romania." And P32, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative was pleased with the situation in the UK:

> "I don't want to sound like a fanatic, but I would never have found such a job
>
> in my country, so... It has given a different meaning to my staying here. I can work
>
> and get money. In my country there is nothing, I do not have [a] job, no money and…
>
> here I get money every week."

The interviews confirm the literature which proposes that various immigrants migrate with hopes and prospects of better pay and living standards, i.e., better economic conditions, enduring any challenges they face to escape economic disparities (Arango, 2000; Chukwu, 2012; Holgate, 2018; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; The Migration Observatory, 2017; Wills et al., 2009). Economically influenced determination is portrayed, especially at FoodPro.Co, as new migrants face various challenges when trying to enter the job market (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009); as such, a better economic status gains even more importance for migrants (Hack-Polay, 2007) to combat prevailing biases. Economic factors not only influence migration flows but, also, the performance of employees; thereby affecting their zeal to integrate at FoodPro.Co. As explained by P11, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Operational Team Leader,

who was justifying his overtime hours: "I have [a] good life in [the] UK, I am not rich, but I have good life, I like the work [that] I am doing". This coincided with the literature where it is suggested that migrants favour employment with longer working hours and the incentive of better pay and living, despite the pay barely satisfying the costs of estimated minimum real living wages in the UK and resulting in migrants voluntarily waiving their working hour protection to earn more (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009).

However, a decreasing exchange rate, inflation, higher living expenses (Valverde and Latorre, 2019), and economic decline (Inman, 2020) lead to annoyance among new migrants as these factors begin to influence a comparison of two lifestyles as they begin to view the country of origin as equal or better than the new one; thereby planting the seed of returning home, which contributes to the pressures and turnover in the organisation. Migrants seem to regard home countries as natural comparators, which grounds the idea of relative deprivation underlying the decision to migrate (Akay et al., 2017). As witnessed by P16, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Senior Technician: "Here, people run away… especially one or two every day... no-one wants [to] work here, they have [a] lot of taxes to pay, and no benefits." P29, new migrant, Polish, Despatch Operative further explained: "But we should be paid more money [above the industrial standards][25] because if I go to work in Germany in a cold and noisy factory it will be more money for me".

As migrants witness the slow-paced or lack of opportunity for economic self-growth, they become demotivated. Since the largest influx of migrants is Eastern Europeans affected by Brexit, economic factors appear to be deterring new migrants, who are more economically insecure when they enter a new country; as seen by P21, new migrant, Romanian, Hygiene Operative: "Pound and euro exchange rate is almost [the] same now, so it's no good to work in this country. I can go to Germany". As such, they appear to be migrating to countries nearer to their country of origin, as they can earn almost the same amount, along with the benefit of being closer to home. This seems to unsettle many migrants due to the financial uncertainty being introduced (Andreescu, 2011) and, as such, affects migration influx as fewer migrants are moving to UK. The number of people arriving from EU countries to work for the year ending December 2019 had fallen to its lowest level since 2004 (BBC, 2020a; ONS, 2020b)

---

[25] The average hourly rate as of the time of the interview was £8.50 for band 4 production operatives in FoodPro.Co; typical of industry standards but is not found sufficient due to higher expenses and low exchange rates in UK experienced by most participants.

and has continued to fall in 2020, with 364,000 fewer EU nationals working between July 2020-September 2020 (ONS, 2020c). As echoed by P11, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Operations Team Leader:

> "Now I have started thinking that here I earn 1300 pounds and suppose in my country I earn 800 pounds, yet its good [there] because of [the] low rent, petrol is cheap, so it does not work for me here."

Furthermore, the high migration influx highlights the function of migrants as flexible labour in UK workplaces (Fassio et al., 2015; McCollum and Findlay, 2015). Eventually, the impact of migrant workers' recruitment is broadly positive in the labour market (Borjas, 2001; Wills et al., 2009), which suggests that these workers tend to go where the demand is higher, and this tends to be beneficial to the economy in addressing labour shortages and skills deficiencies and having a positive effect on output.

ii. Employment Compromises

Economic self-interest integrates with determination as the analytical first-order code of 'Employment Compromises' comes to light. The fear of unemployment (Blanchflower, 2009) is persistent due to the desire for better economic status. As P7 long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller said: "I work here for money. If [the] money is not enough, I will go to the other company". But others, such as P5, long-term immigrant, Polish, Trainer, made a different argument: "Every week [there is a] payment in my account. [There is] never a problem. I have money to pay my bills". Therefore, it is evident that their drive and need for money prepares them and makes them more tolerant of the poor working conditions, including working in a cold factory; working long hours; filling job disparities by continuing to work in precarious conditions whilst deprived/restricted from some employment benefits, yet determined to earn and meet their financial needs. Employment compromises were emphasised in the interviews, as P2, native, British, Electrician Operative states: "There are technicians down there [in the factory], they don't get sick pay, which I think they should get, they are working to earn little money." And P25, long-term immigrant, Polish, Quality Auditor said: "The way I see it, if I want the rainbow, I got to put up with the rain". This was further reflected on by P32, new migrant, Romanian Production Operative "You have to work hard. I have lifted heavy sacks of chicken so many times, 30 kg, and put [them in] the bin of waste, but I do it all." Though,

concurrently it can sometimes make them intolerant towards new migrants as they perceive their personal economic progression opportunities to be threatened.

As supported by P44, native, British, HR Officer:

"The relationship… among different employees possibly see that as a threat. … [I] presume that a person who's ... a long term worker ...takes a new person as a threat ..because long term worker is there .. has experience but new person is kind of threat to them ... to grow ...it's a danger to their employment [since they have not yet grown and are given more opportunity in the company]".

As expressed by Urano and Yamamoto (2008), migratory processes can be seen as affirmative, intentional, and planned sets of actions with concrete achievements in which the decisions taken by individuals are based on knowledge of the opportunities available to them, responding to broader social and economic changes. Migratory processes are seen as gradual and tough with nuanced characteristics; at times it is difficult to identify any clear strategies (Alberti et al., 2013; Das et al., 2020; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019). Consequently, new migrants reinvent their behaviour and courses of action according to changes in the life environment and adapt their mind-set for a better future, which could sometimes entail overcoming present difficulties through any employment compromises, slow professional progression, or reduced support from their family due to distance from country of origin, in pursuit of economic stability and self-interest.

As per the literature review, an absence of financial gains could influence migration flows (Andreescu, 2011; Harwood, 1983; Horolets, 2018; Lomax et al., 2020; O'Rourke and Sinnott, 2006). However, the fieldwork surprisingly further added to this study, in that sometimes there is a change in priorities among migrants, such as stability in life, which can persuade them to stay in precarious working conditions. Such changes in motivations indicate that the basic essence of performing their job is not only the prospect of convenient working conditions and high salaries in the future but includes interplay with their personal factors and enhancement in socio-economic status, as displayed in FoodPro.Co.

iii. What the Future Holds

This brings us to the first-order code of What the Future Holds. Some interviews indicated the participants' profound and generally negative reaction to Brexit and, therefore, uncertainty regarding their plans concerning future mobility. As expressed by P12, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Operations Team Leader:

> "I think this is really negative for the country. I will not live in the UK anymore. I have found a new job in Berlin. I think I will never move back to [the] UK. I do not want to live in a country that has those kinds of feelings for us. I am really shocked."

Although immigrant workers are more susceptible to acceptance of precarious conditions, it is hard to predict migrant behaviour in changing conditions. As Meardi et al. (2012) argue, uncertainties in employment can manifest in unexpected mannerisms among workplace communities. However, it can be said that attitudes displayed in the organisation are, thus, also influenced by Brexit, especially due to the uncertainty regarding Brexit during the fieldwork and as suggested by the interviews. Consequently, these uncertainties because of Brexit, especially at the time of the fieldwork, further influenced mannerisms displayed at FoodPro.Co. Brexit is one of the most defining political events to take place in the United Kingdom, removing it from the EU single market. After three years of tossing and turning, Brexit was finally confirmed on 31st January 2020, after which the UK entered the transition period for another 11 months as negotiations continued, before Brexit took place with a signed deal on 31st December 2020 (Helm, 2020). The lack of clarity on proceedings at the time of the interviews, as they were conducted just before these events, caused respondents to focus on uncertainties regarding economic conditions. The toughening economic conditions influenced by the political turmoil deterred new migrants, decreasing the influx of migrants, and creating a challenge for organisations faced with a shortage of labour. As P24, native, British, Complex Manager said:

> "In the traditional country, Poland, Slovakia, the local economy has gone better, the exchange rate has decreased by 12 to 15%... and then the uncertainty as a result of Brexit, so they decide to go home, and look at another country."

With Brexit looming at the time of the fieldwork, it had also been repeatedly shown that any conservativeness of Britain's openness to these workers would have substantially negative effects on the economy (Portes, 2018; Brooking, 2018). Despite the fluctuating migrant influx, UK labour markets were close to full employment at the end of 2019 (Bell and Blanchflower, 2020). In contrast, at the time of writing, there had been a reduction to one third of the migrant workforce remaining by the start of the second quarter of 2020 in the food industry due to the COVID-19 pandemic disallowing any migration into the UK by closing the borders (Sky News, 2020). However, the uncertainty of work for new migrants contributed to the scarcity witnessed, which has also been furthered over 2020 with lockdowns and not all migrants being eligible for furlough, making them desperate to get back home (Yen et al., 2021). The increase in emigration and decrease in immigration could be attributed to the decreased job security as uncertainty due to Brexit also threatened various occupations; also, uncertainty concerning how an organisation would react to this, contributed to anxieties and pressures experienced, as seen in this section.

This was expressed by P10, new migrant, Romanian, Production Coordinator, a new migrant: "I cannot imagine [being] without [a] job because of Brexit". In fact, with the dire economic effects already starting to occur, some new migrants were even less keen to continue working in the UK, as expressed by P29, new migrant, Polish, Production Operative: "I pay more taxes than what I get money… I am not happy". P36, long-term immigrant, Romanian, Process Controller continued:

> "Yes, I have heard about [Brexit, but] I am not going to go back. I have to
>
> work. [If I can't stay here] then I will go to Germany. [But] I will not go back to
>
> Romania. [However,] the money I make here is no good now. [We pay] more taxes
>
> here [so I don't understand] why this country [is] asking us to go [when we contribute
>
> so much to their economy… So, if I find an alternative with good money outside this
>
> country, I will take it]. Because I need money to live."

P4, native, British, HR Administrator admitted that workers are feeling insecure: "[A] lot of people are going home because they are frightened of Brexit [because of no financial gains]". As per Probst and Jiang (2017), millions of EU workers in the UK and UK workers in the EU were left in doubt about their employment future due to Brexit. However, this also meant, as

per P40, long-term immigrant, Indian, Stores Operative, that: "The longer[-term] UK-based migrants are not [very] keen on the new arrivals". Evidently, the long-term immigrants were beginning to foster political views reflected in the society, with distaste towards the influx of new migrants due to its influence on many realms in their lives such as economic, political, and societal, making social interactions between the new and long-term immigrants harder, and deepening the distinction of us and them in certain situations. Various opinions are being shaped by the political climate, leaving some distressed, some disappointed and some torn, thus possibly decreasing morale and creating a tense atmosphere. Such tensions have affected the migrant community in turn, as P26, long-term immigrant, Romanian, Trainer expressed furiously:

"We did not invade [the] UK. We had to obey certain rules when we arrived

to make sure we did not become a burden on them. Now, why are we made [to feel]

useless [when we contribute so much to the economy], this is a lie [that we do not

help the economy]!"

This participant highlighted their defensiveness. Though racism did exist before the 2016 Referendum, it admittedly became more recognised after the vote for Brexit (Rzepnikowska, 2019). This can fuel a fear among these workers that they will be excluded by society (McKenzie, 2017), as was also seen in the interviews.

The scarcity of labour has left no choice for the FoodPro.Co management in terms of the migrants' availability and hiring, stopping them from being judicious. The politicised shift in labour markets means changes in the employment structures are also considered. One such change wondered about by a few is automation. P24, native, British, Complex Manager said, "…we can minimise the high turnover rate with the help of automation", and the efficiency of robots was also praised by P19, native, British, HR Business Partner: "Robots at our factory do the jobs of four workers in one shift…". It is believed that, in order to address this shortfall in workers, it will be essential to increase the use of robotics (Wilson, 2019). On the other hand, P4, native, British, HR Administrator added her views on the topic, stating that:

"I don't think so, automated, yeah… that machine may end up doing

[people's] jobs because we're not going to get people to work.…. [But] at what cost?

[We could replace human capital with it, but the cost of doing that would be too

143

high.] It is very expensive and also it cannot do what an individual worker does. It is just a machine, [so it] does not have human instincts."

However, tensions have also resulted in a determination to stay for many workers. Various participants have a plan already set in mind in terms of how they will tackle Brexit. Though the independence of Britain 'taking back control of our borders' was celebrated by many pro-Brexiters, the migrants at the heart of the debate did not necessarily experience joy, as soon they began to experience the growing nationalist environment (Lulle et al., 2018), representing that in one way the Brexit vote was a vote against migrants coming to work in the UK. However, EU workers have also started to express various forms of resistance (Lulle et al., 2018; Rogaly, 2020). This includes economic and social factors that could influence such determination, as seen by the interviews, almost denunciating any views or attitudes that dictate their presence at a place. This was seen, for example, in a statement from P5, long-term immigrant, Polish, Trainer: "I don't care about Brexit. I am paying my taxes, [so] why should I leave?" Furthermore, P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor stated: "That's the only thing which will make me leave this country, if I can't provide for my kids, and not Brexit… I have lived [through] the recession. I am not scared". P50, long-term immigrant, Slovak, Despatch Operative added:

"We have looked after them and their economy, so they need to look after us. I will not leave if Brexit happens. I have worked here for so many years... I want to make more money I [want my son to study] … in [an] English school."

And, as P25, long-term immigrant, Polish, Quality Auditor stated:

"I did treat the UK as if it were part of my own country. I want to buy a house. I paid my taxes, made friends, got involved with the community and felt like it was home. How very dare he [the UK prime minister] ask us to leave! I don't think it is fairly correct. I am not going anywhere!"

These are among many such comments. However, others were ready to migrate, such as P13, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative: "If they kick me out of this country, it is not bad, because I can go to Spain, somewhere warmer and sunnier."

Such dividing opinions (Meuleman, 2009) can lead to both attacking and defensive attitudes, in which this determination not only stems from economic reasoning, but also includes personal reasoning in terms of the benefit of others reliant on them. This links to whether these motivations among migrants to remain in the host country are also fuelled by myths of a better future, as explored later. It is interesting to see that the motivations of some migrants are not affected by Brexit, as P5, long-term immigrant, Polish, Trainer expressed: "I buy my groceries from a Polish shop. It is [already] expensive; later, it will be more expensive after Brexit, about 30%, so I will go to Lidl". This suggests that some migrants are not ignorant of the possible harsher futures they might encounter, causing them to change their practices, but are still determined to stay for a brighter future. Those willing to adapt and remain in Britain may adopt "micro-tactics of belonging" (Robinson, 2002, p.37) in home making or negotiating distinctive notions of belonging (Scott, 2012). Notably, new migrants not only consider staying in the UK or going 'back' to their home country, but also moving elsewhere in Europe or even further afield.

Regardless, this only forms the broad-brush strokes of a future reality that would possibly be faced by both long-term immigrants and new migrants of FoodPro.Co. Therefore, the social and economic impacts are continuously evolving every single day whilst contributing to the shift in dynamics of the UK's migrant labour market.

4.1.3.2 Overall Betterment

Such understanding of endurance eventually leads to an understanding of the second order theme of Overall Betterment, which drives many migrants. Despite the compromises, new migrants are delighted for their opportunities and the better economic status achieved. For example, P13 Production Operative, who was a Romanian new migrant, clearly expressed his sense of contentment, pride and economic comfort:

"Everything is comfortable here. … If I want to get a phone here, I can go to

buy it. I take my money every two weeks, the phone cost, like, 500, yeah. I go out to

get it, yeah. In my country, if I like something [and] I don't have money, what am I

to do? Because it's too much money there and in my country… I have, like, a 150

per month and I must save money for food, for transport, or for [a] phone…. I don't

145

know what to do. No. Here it's better. If I want to get the shoes, every week I go to buy. I can take my family to the market and go to eat out for some time. Because I have money... I get money in my account. That's why I work here, because in my country I don't have money."

Though in the literature this was generalised towards migrants (Hack-Polay and Mendy, 2017; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Wills et al., 2009), the statement remained true for new migrants but less so for long-term immigrants as they strived to progress, as also mentioned by P3, the long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor: "I want progress".

The second order theme of Overall Betterment explores the first-order codes of Family Commitments, and Myths of Better Future.

i. Family Commitments

Many migrants are community- and family-driven, as suggested by the first-order code of 'Family Commitments', fuelling their determinations to migrate, stay in specific employment conditions or change occupations. A central role is played here by one's household (Kabeer and Joekes, 1991) as processes of decision-making regarding who moves and who stays are grounded in the existing system of the domestic unit (Horolets, 2018; Tacoli, 1996). This theory manifested itself in the field as participants, such as in P8, long-term immigrant, Polish, Production Manager who recalled: "I worked very hard in tough situations [for my family]. I used to leave my son with my mother and not see them for months, and I used to go to night college here to finish my degree". Some participants also echoed that their motivation to move was solely rooted in 'family' factors, such as P10, new migrant, Romanian, Production Coordinator: "I want to stay here for my children. I want to make them study in college". Native, British P17 IT analyst working at FoodPro.Co for over eight years, also observed: "Through personal experience, a majority of migrant workers risk everything just to provide for their families, they are very hard working and have aspirations to grow." Though it can be questioned whether 'family' is the only consistent motive for them to stay in the UK, family commitment as a reason for coming to the UK is triggered by economic drivers. This was expressed by P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor: "I came here because I couldn't find [a] job in my country and I couldn't provide for my kids"; even P44, native, British, HR Officer noticed: "They get money so that they can send some money home."

Thus, migrants strive for a higher socio-economic status in the host country, whether they aspire to help their family financially or move for any other reason related to their circumstances. It acts both ways, as a loss and deterrent, which is discussed later; but, also majorly, as a pull factor for people immigrating to the UK. It is multi-faceted, taking various forms at FoodPro.Co. For example, through the earlier mentioned quotes and as continued by many participants, such as P8, long-term immigrant, Polish, Production Manager:

"I see many from Poland and we all come here to become somebody and support our families... Earlier, I had no choice but that feeling of facing difficulties made me work hard and that pushed me to do better for myself and my family. I had taken [a] lot of risks, I didn't care about my health working in the factory… it was very tough, but I did not stop [working] here."

And P32, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative stated that: "I have to support my kids to study here."

The wish among migrants to support their family is evidently demonstrated in the above quotes. Furthermore, they themselves become someone with a higher status who is providing security and is a bread earner who provides a source of stable income for the family, which makes them content.

Nevertheless, some new migrants are also left in a dilemma as the stringent contracts and costly travel makes them concerned about visiting their families in the country of origin. This was echoed by P29, new migrant, Polish, Production Operative who desperately wanted to visit his family but was short of money: "I have to pay taxes and there is nothing, not much money to live with my family", and as P16, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Senior Technician continued:

"You know these Europeans can go for two weeks' holiday; we [non-EU migrants] can't do that within two weeks. We need at least four weeks' holiday; then our tickets are like £700-800 for one person. If someone has a family, and is working here, how will he go? Very difficult."

Conversely, some long-term immigrants chose not to go back to their family in the country of origin and remained in the UK instead. Eventually, their lives are built and settled, with them choosing to achieve a better lifestyle, making it less of a priority to visit their country of origin. For example, as reflected by P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor:

"My father died this year, a couple of months ago, and I told my mother, 'If you want to come, I have a room for you. I'm not going there'. Well, it's up to her… I [said] to myself that I'm going to make enough money… I mean, yeah, I want to do as people in England do, do much better than ever."

And another participant P23, native, Asian- British, Planner stated that:

"Like, mom still talks about going back to India [as a whole family], but I think when, if you go back to India, you're not going to have what you have here. I mean, all the comforts you have here…. Obviously, my mom, my dad, my dad really wants to go but he knows he can't get back because he's got houses here, he's got business."

This portrays that several immigrants are in an emotional conundrum whilst facing the pressures of choosing to stay in or depart the host country, leaving them with difficult decisions to make due to the perceived positive effects of staying in the host country on their economic and social surroundings.

Migration is wrenching, disruptive, demands hard work and can cause personal disruptions outside the organisation (Timotijevic and Breakwell, 2000). It is not about immigration; it is purely about a mind-set of determination. For example, P10, new migrant, Romanian, Production Coordinator explained: "I [have] to stay here also because it is better than Romania". This point was further emphasised by P7, long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller: "When I came here, we left our families thinking we will get work and make a house, buy things and have money…."

There is a longing for betterment and a simultaneous nostalgic longing for the comfort of home among long-term immigrants. However, their desire for a better socio-economic status overrides their longing for comfort, making them stay in the host country regardless of the hardships as mentioned in earlier codes, to pursue that betterment. As per Holton (2016), the new migrants' perception of the world is threatened as they lose their homes upon migrating, displacing the feeling of belonging somewhere, including place and people. Moving away from their country of origin exposes their blanket of emotional and physical security (Holton, 2016). It is no wonder they must re-orientate and reinvent themselves when entering the host country, portraying the various layers to migrant integration, which is a tedious process (Castles et al., 2001). Yet, given their determination, they make many compromises, such as witnessed by P14, native, British, Purchase Manager:

> "I think they work hard, leave their families... And things like they send money home… [even though] I wouldn't say they are paid brilliantly, no matter [that] everybody is probably underpaid whatever they do. But this is the industry standard."

The laborious nature of their occupations is not necessarily reflected in their wages but is compliant with industry standards. The need among long-term immigrants and, over the period, new migrants, therefore, as mentioned earlier, runs deeper than just a few jobs; it currently forms the essence of the lives of these people for overall betterment, who make up most of the workforce at FoodPro.Co.

ii.   Myth of a Better Future

This brings us to the other face of this second-order theme: the first-order code of 'Myth of a Better Future'. This second-order theme of Overall Betterment appears to be a coin with two sides, one where people realistically notice a progression; and the other side where such progression remains a mere myth. Some migrants choose to stay in precarious working conditions and away from their families in the hope of a better future. But this was established as a myth as only few managed to achieve these better conditions. After filtering out employees with country-specific skills, who had upskilled themselves to be employed in higher occupational roles; out of those not equipped with country-specific skills and unwilling to adapt, only few were able to achieve better living conditions, with many waiting for years to progress. Similarly, long-term immigrants left the organisation for similar jobs in different

organisations. However, it was established, as seen in this code, that the working conditions remained similar across all organisations (Wills et al., 2009). As P2, native, British, Electrician Operative said: "This company is [the] same as any other competitors, they hire and fire people; this place is no different than anybody else". The aspect of not knowing the future, as discussed in the previous first-order code of what the future holds is, hence, also linked to this code.

Intrinsically, migration can involve loss (Leavey et al., 2004), regardless of migrants moving voluntarily, since they move with the future in mind. They appear to be nostalgic, but often grateful for their current situations, even if they are in precarious working conditions. This was sombrely reflected on by participants, as P7, a long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller said:

"As migrants we leave home in search of a future, but we lose our families at home. I cannot go for any of my cousins' marriages, any christenings, funerals. I cried for my life that's been lost… Huge parts of my childhood and youth that I could no longer explain to anyone."

It emerged that the loss experienced in migration is a double-edged sword engraved with both bitterness and nostalgia of loss and the hopefulness of having a better future, providing a better life, or escaping dire conditions in the country of origin. The desire to shift stems from the understanding that migrants make a self-investment when migrating, and especially working in this sector with precarious conditions but, thus also, manifesting into a form of 'sacrifice' or 'capital' (Anderson et al., 2006; Eade et al., 2006; Janta, 2011). As P12, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Operations Team Leader explained, he missed his family:

"But I can't stay here for life. I need to go back because my son is in Portugal. If it was not [for] my son, I would stay. I would stay because I [have] already [been here for] five years… Unfortunately, today we need money for our lives, so to give a better… I need to stay here for now…"

This poses the question of what migrants' class as better living conditions. In chasing the socio-economic perspective out of economic self-interest or family commitments, the migrants lose the perspective of love and support of their families by migrating. This is a sacrifice, to say the least. This is not an uncommon perception to find, for who is to say if this hope for a

better future or better working conditions is a myth when no-one knows which side the coin will land? Clearly, for some, this myth became their reality as P8 a Polish long-term immigrant; P15, a Polish long-term immigrant; and P28, a French long-term immigrant, all managed to upgrade themselves from operative levels to managerial positions of Production Manager, Food Safety and Quality Manager, and Operations Manager respectively, at FoodPro.Co despite the hardships and sacrifices they faced when they arrived in the UK, even if it took them longer compared to their favoured peers.

Hence, while the current changes to the UK economic and political climate in What the Future Holds and Employment Compromises are starting to slightly change the wave of thinking for some migrants to emigrate, Economic Conditions of Country of Origin motivate most to endure any precarious conditions considering their Family Commitments among other factors such as higher socio-economic status, better living standards and improved working skills, i.e., a better future. Thus, it is no wonder many new and long-term immigrants are willing to endure the conflicts and difficulties discussed in this research.

4.2 CONCLUSION

To conclude, this chapter has provided some key insights in terms of migrant relations and attitudes displayed in the organisation setting. The challenges faced by the organisation in terms of high turnover, hiring issues and English language proficiency, as seen in the first aggregate theme of 'Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co' are not new; rather they were expected due to the high influx of migrants into the workforce as per their need to work despite precarious conditions or lack of country-specific skills. However, the rapid decrease in numbers during the past few years due to current political scenarios, as seen in the third aggregate theme of 'Motivations, Opportunities and Costs', and the migrants' intention to be part of their own ethnic groups with little desire to mingle with other ethnicities, as seen in the second aggregate theme of 'Workplace Relationships and Attitudes' as a new point of view of social identity theory, are clearly seen as major issues in terms of successful integration. The themes of 'Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co', 'Workplace Relationships and Attitudes' and 'Motivations, Opportunities and Cost' represent the overarching theme of integration and the barriers and facilitators of the process in answering the research questions and objectives. In response to the first research question and objective, through the actions displayed in the first aggregate theme of 'Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co', and the behaviours and attitudes

discussed in the second aggregate theme of 'Workplace Relationships and Attitudes', it is clear that a conflict is present between long-term immigrants and new migrants, especially through the formation of distinct ethnic groups, discovered as a surprise, as opposed to existing literature which had suggested unity in precarious conditions among migrants (Fetzer, 2000; Gonçalves et al., 2021; Hopkins, 2009; Roy, 1973; Wills et al., 2009). Though, as a surprise, it is also seen that this conflict is tinged with layers of ethnicity and language. This is as the conflict appears to be more prominent between long-term immigrants and new migrants of different ethnicities rather than among same ethnicities, as each tries to establish the power of their own group which, in turn, takes the form of discrimination. The second research question is answered through the commentary on the organisational policies and management throughout the chapter at different points, in which it is seen that, while equality policies, English classes and HR procedures for escalations are in place, these are not adhered to or utilised due to the differing attitudes in the workforce. Meanwhile, the third aggregate theme of 'Motivations, Opportunities and Cost' portrays a deeper understanding into why migrants continue to endure these conditions. Therefore, a reassessment of organisational values and needs alongside an alignment of employee values and needs, with focus on merging the organisation as one community, is necessary as is further elaborated in the next chapter of discussion and conclusion.

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study is a qualitative analysis of an organisation and lived experiences of working at FoodPro.Co, with special consideration given to working relationships between long-term immigrants and new migrants along with examined organisational approaches. The researcher enjoyed privileged access to a large food processing company that is among the top 15 food producers in the UK food processing industry and a major employer of migrant workers. The company, with their consent to perform research, shared their data and allowed the researcher to interview their labour force at all levels to share their day-to-day lived experiences along with their hopes and dreams. This largely supported the research in exploring the research objectives and questions which are aimed at investigating any conflict between long-term immigrants and new migrants and how organisational behaviours and policies facilitate or hinder the integration of new migrants in the workplace.

Therefore, by utilising a case study method in this cross-sectional research (Silverman, 2000; Stake, 1995; Bryman and Cramer, 2005), following the philosophy of critical realism and qualitative technique of semi-structured interviews, it is realised that the work life of migrants always involves more than just doing one's job. It illustrates the required presence of objective and subjective thinking, justified, and explored through the help of interview data and company documents, and the understanding of multiple realities. Absence of subjective insight would have resulted in no link or understanding of the relation/conflict among migrant workers and absence of objective insight would have resulted in not finding out the influence of external factors such as anxieties about Brexit or families and finances and the complexity of attitudes in relation to the policies. At FoodPro.Co, new migrants not only bring new aspirations and visions, but they also bring their different personalities, values, preferences, beliefs and sets of commitments from outside into the workplace. This allows their extramural interests to shape the way they adapt in relation to both their job and a new society as social beings (Bolton, 2004), furthering the importance of attitudes and relations during their integration as new migrants into the new work environment. As such, this research involves multiple sources of information and is rich in a real-life context (Braun and Clarke, 2006), providing a holistic and in-depth description (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). The methodological review establishes a coherence to this research by reviewing different aspects of methodological reasoning and research design that supports an exploration of the research

questions and objectives. This built on existing knowledge of conflict and integration through imperative understanding of assumptions and social reality as critical in making explicit decisions. Hence, as part of the original research questions and objectives, integration blooms into the concept of individuality and ambiguity as subjective experiences become harder to compare, yet essential to this study.

5.1 MIGRANT EMPLOYMENT CONTRIBUTION AND SKILLS AT FOODPRO.CO

There is a need to first form a deep understanding of the attitudes within the migrant community. The lack of research into attitudes within migrant communities and workplace organisations alongside their integration drove this study to explore the lived experiences of migrants, further encouraging consideration of external factors such as social, economic, and political. It was clear from the existing literature that many studies exist concerning the differences between permanent and agency staff (Alberti, 2016; Dutton et al., 2008; Hopkins, 2009; Lucas and Mansfield, 2010; Matthews and Ruhs, 2007), and between migrant and native workers (Holgate, 2005; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Scott, 2012; Wills et al., 2009). However, no literature was found that explored the work relations between long-term immigrants and new migrants in organisations. Therefore, this study is distinct and necessary in order to fill this gap, to advance knowledge for future studies.

Migrants are portrayed in the literature review as a clear necessity to the UK labour market, especially at the bottom levels, ensuring the employment structure does not collapse by filling in areas of high job disparities. Contributions of flexibility in the labour market, reduced labour and skill shortages, reduction in wage disparities, opportunities cultivated via their innovative and entrepreneurial skills, and profit maximisation (Alberti, 2016; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005; Borjas, 1995; Dustmann et al., 2013; Hunt, 2011; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Peri, 2016; Wadsworth et al., 2016) clearly cannot be left unacknowledged. However, the literature review brought to light issues regarding the integration of migrants, including, lack of progress, lack of support, unexplored attitudes within migrant communities, discrimination, hiring problems, ethnocentrism, and political biases. It also suggested aspects of economic decline, unemployment and perceived threat which questioned if these mindsets differ or are the same towards UK national migrants and non-UK national migrants.

The migrant workforce is determined as they ultimately desire better jobs, monetary gain, liberty, and freedom to pursue opportunities for their families and themselves. Leaving one's home requires courage, inventiveness, and sheer determination. It also requires a significant amount of learning, adapting, and proving oneself to be successful in a completely new culture and consistent hardship.

Some of the most powerful narratives expressed by research participants during collection of data centred on their motivation to come to the UK. Overwhelmingly, new, and long-term immigrants cited their desire for a 'better life'. Despite clear issues in the working relations experienced and excess work pressures, decision making among migrants is more economically driven than emotional. A hope for a better life alongside comparative economic factors and responsibilities appears to fuel their determination to stay in precarious conditions. Furthermore, economic factors such as Brexit, economic decline, decreasing exchange rate, high living expenses, all of which affect economic self-interest, evidently have a large influence on reducing numbers, i.e., the rate of influx of new migrants.

Subsequently, Brexit has adversely disturbed European and worldwide economic market conditions which continue to contribute to fluctuations in global financial markets. The data and literature clearly state that there will be further shortfalls of migrant workers at FoodPro.Co in the years to come due to Brexit and now also due to the COVID-19 pandemic (King, 2021; Partington, 2021). It is seen during the fieldwork that people working at FoodPro.Co are becoming more cautious of the changing political climate. Perhaps their length of stay and hard work in the host country resulted in this cautiousness as the host country becomes their second home, one where their dreams are fulfilled, and they have a brighter future.

Despite some feeling annoyed about the situation of Brexit at FoodPro.Co, most of the migrant staff were not bothered by Brexit because they were determined to not let their hard work for a better life go to waste. They were prepared with alternate plans, be it either going to another host country, or making the UK their permanent residence following changes in the law, regardless of Brexit. This demonstrates how far one can push oneself and how strong one can become in the process of migration. While, for many, this does not encourage them to go back to their home countries; the job uncertainty experienced via increasing turnover, lack of organisational policies to help with the changing economic and political environments, along with a lack of respect and credibility leading to lower socio-economic status, acts as a barrier to integration. It is asserted that economic disadvantage at the community level indirectly

influences unfavourable views of immigrants towards others because precarious economic conditions generate high levels of intergroup occupational competition, leading to negative reactions and perceived threat toward people from different ethnic origin. Therefore, these tales of overcoming hardship through leaving their own country are stories about the human spirit and less about the political and economic views, though these factors are still influential.

Indeed, the interview data was also contrary to suggestions in the literature that some people may be against migration due to a lack of understanding of the needs of migrants (Blanchflower and Shadforth, 2009; King, 2020). It rather revealed a new pattern of awareness of migrants' importance as a workforce through this study among the employees at FoodPro.Co. However, despite this awareness of their importance, migrant labour is also underutilised in top and middle management in FoodPro.Co as they are undervalued, thus excluding, and shunning the readily available workforce from participative integration (Hack-Polay and Mendy, 2017). It is essential to remember FoodPro.Co mirrors the labour market in that migrant workers tend to dominate lower skilled roles. Top and middle management argue that the number of migrants with adequate country-specific skills and language proficiency is limited, leading to a debate about ignorance of available opportunities versus loss of opportunities for further career progression among new migrant workers at FoodPro.Co. Thus, the inclusion of top management and natives in this discourse about migrant relations allowed this study to spot the subjective realities witnessed outside the hemisphere of long-term immigrant and new migrant communities in lower levels of employment.

Contrastingly, by including random participants from different occupational levels, it is discovered in this study that a few long-term immigrants have established themselves in the organisation and hold promoted posts contrary to the prominent literature in the field (Brennan and McGeevoer, 1990; Hack-Polay, 2007; Hickman et al., 2008; Hudson et al., 2017; Nowotny, 2016; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019). Similar to other migrants, they abandoned everything they had ever known in their country of origin to come to the UK because they knew they could have a better future for themselves and their families. In retrospect it apprears the attributes such as acquiring English language proficiency, training in country-specific skills, acquiring higher education levels, and proactiveness towards better career prospects, despite the precarious conditions, helped these migrants to prosper at FoodPro.Co. These, in turn, led to building professional networks and connections in the host society, thereby overcoming personal hardships and fears. This evidently depicts how migrants can progress from basic to

better positions, i.e., from operative levels to lower and middle management. They kept their focus, conquered hurdles, gained all country specific skills and navigated their way to climb the organisational ladder to progress to higher positions and that what they wanted to be. As a reflection of the greater society, this new data should act as inspiration for future migrants. However, the data suggest that not many new migrants have entered the organisation with valuable existing skills or been placed in higher level positions than the standard entry level operative. The number of migrants achieving higher level entry positions is small; further questioning whether discrimination and segregation hinders opportunities for the majority.

While some migrants managed to progress and fulfil what they had dreamt; overcoming a lot of barriers such as English language proficiency, discrimination, and lack of supportive networks in the process; other migrants who haven't yet climbed the organisational ladder, were still grateful as they believed they have better living conditions and pay in the host country than in their country of origin. However, several others felt unsatisfied and expressed a desire to leave due to worsening economic conditions, extensive discrimination, or inability to progress in their career. They felt constantly excluded, battling the odds to be heard by their peers, especially by the management who were unwilling to acknowledge their skills acquired from the country of origin, which increased for many the desire to leave the organisation. This was classified among the barriers to integrate and eventually a gap in the labour retention practices at FoodPro.Co. As migrants act as the reserve army of labour in the UK fulfilling job disparities by many bearing the precarious working conditions (Castles and Kosack ,1973), the discrimination and exclusion only in conjunction with the aforementioned economic conditions constitute as the trigger to drive them away due to the importance placed on economic factors for stability in everyday life and undeterred motivation for better life. For example, with the now minimal difference in exchange rate between Sterling and Euro, due to the occurrence of Brexit, they felt they are better off moving to Germany or any other country which would be closer to their home country and would allow them to save more of their earnings as well as the possibility of not having to work in harsh conditions like in FoodPro.Co. Nevertheless, their motivation to achieve a better life and to survive no matter what, is majorly consistent among all scenarios.

Consequently, the inconsistency of opportunities for new and long-term migrants, and the difficulties faced in achieving them, portrays gap in equality policy at FoodPro.Co in offering consistent and equal support across the organisation for migrants, and lack of equal

157

opportunities, reflecting the lost opportunities and mismatch of people's qualifications with their jobs. The expense of living in the UK, with respect to its fluctuating economy (BBC, 2020b) and uncertainty in employment, have left new migrants with tough choices to make in these challenging market conditions. This not only affects attitudes but also places finances at risk due to uncertainties faced because of employee lay-offs that occur in a fluctuating labour market (Bertola et al., 2000). One could argue, therefore, that flexible demands, post-Brexit, could place low-skilled employees at greater risk (Trenz and Triandafyllidou, 2017). Yet, along with the financial impact experienced, and the growth of populism and nationalism post-Brexit referendum, it is also essential to acknowledge the experiences, need of support and economic demands of new migrants and long-term immigrants (Lulle et al., 2018).

Therefore, despite hinderance in migratory processes, often the need to sustain families prevails. Though family commitments appear as a motivation, for a majority economic drivers are at their root alongside the desire for a higher socio-economic status. However, this is not to disregard the emotional dilemmas both new migrants and long-term immigrants face from time to time which contribute as factors to their displayed attitudes. Furthermore, social relations and interactions influence the influx of new migrants collectively towards or away from integration, through various dimensions such as trust, norms, and networks of association. These networks are present at various levels in the society in which an individual feels affiliated (Kilby, 2002), including community, host country and profession; thus, further affecting the propensity of migrant settlement. This understanding of their motivations, strategies and dilemmas, sheds light on why migrants are determined to withstand the longing for their country of origin and continue to work in situations of job disparities (CIPD, 2015; Greenwood and Hunt, 1995; Haque et al., 2002; McCollum and Findlay, 2015; Wills et al., 2009).

5.2   NUANCES OF MIGRANT ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES

The impact of support networks on integration, makes it impossible to ignore the main finding of this research, i.e., inter-group conflicts within the migrant community. Upon exploring workplace dynamics deeper, focussing on attitudes, it is seen that different ethnic groups experience different discriminatory dynamics.

As explored through the codes in the second aggregate theme of working relationships and attitudes, the lack of support to integrate or progress for new migrants, peer pressures, inequalities, and derogatory language embody the pre-existing biases and stereotypes in varied

aspects of the society. In turn, this lack of policies on valuing diversity and integration acts as a barrier to integration by allowing the differences in experiences to persist. Some individuals from different ethnic groups follow the practice of typecasting other fellow migrants and express negative attitudes to help themselves integrate with their peers, since it is the only lived reality experienced by them; thus, fuelling a toxic norm. Additionally, economically, regardless of a fear of unemployment among both groups as initially expected (Blanchflower, 2009), it is understood from the interviews that opposition to migration also arises due to perception of unemployed migrants claiming state welfare benefits.

With limited time with the participants, the original focus of the objectives on long-term immigrants and new migrants becomes a little blurred by a greater emphasis on segregation and difference based on language and cultures. While the literature suggests that different ethnicities come together as one group in precarious conditions (Beall, 1997; Fetzer, 2000; Hopkins, 2009; Roy, 1973; Wills et al., 2009), contrariwise, as per the interviews, different results are seen at FoodPro.Co. Therefore, the phenomena of organisational structures are a condensed and complex web of interactions with an importance among individuals and groups with varied interests (Reed, 1992).

The main take away from this study is found in responding to the first research objective: that conflict is, indeed, present among long-term immigrants and new migrants despite the precarious conditions. However, the conflict portrayed does not necessarily exist between all long-term immigrants and new migrants but, specifically, between long-term immigrants and new migrants belonging to different ethnic groups, further accelerated by language differences. Whether or not the long-term immigrant is a UK national does not change these conflicts; eventually, it contributes towards segregation.

It is possible to say that growth in the number of migrants appears to coincide with growth in groups along the lines of nationalities and so disparities in terms of language and culture grow larger as well as holding more substance, thus further influencing segregation. The newer migrants and long-term immigrants form discrete ethnic groups, as the generational, social, political, and economic differences from periods of their respective migration differ, making each experience unique to the time when the group migrated. For example, the attitudes and difficulties a long-term immigrant from Poland, faced when initially joining FoodPro.Co would be different to those faced by a Polish new migrant, as the current new migrant has more support in the form of long-term peers from the same ethnic origin and does not need to break

down as many stereotypical barriers. Whereas initially the long-term immigrant, being part of the first wave of Polish migrants when they came to the UK, had to combat their own set of unchallenged media perceptions that affected their workplace relations. Similarly, it could be argued that, through persistence, a new migrant of a new minority group such as Africans at FoodPro.Co., though few, are starting to pave the way for fellow future migrants of the same ethnicity as they currently combat the obstacles to feel valued and a part of the team. Hence, the changes in migration patterns over the years, alongside constantly changing external factors such as politics and media outlook, and the amount of influx of a particular ethnicity at a given time, results in each ethnic group of new migrants and established long-term immigrants being unique in the experiences and challenges they face. Clearly the problem with the idea of integration, going back to its core with diversity, is that it promises more than it can deliver (Kirton and Greene, 2015).

As seen, alongside answering the first research question, ethnic affiliation between long-term immigrants and new migrants of the same ethnicity can translate into support and interpersonal trust facilitating integration, which is otherwise absent among different ethnicities. According to contact theory (Fetzer, 2000), hostility towards migrants can result from a lack of interpersonal relationships and discomfort between different groups. It suggests that prejudice and conflict between groups can be reduced if members of the groups interact with each other. However, despite working with various ethnicities, this theory failed to present itself in this research as the attitudinal differences/ discomforts and direct conflict between different ethnic groups were apparent regardless of sometimes having the four pillars of the optimum conditions present i.e., equality in status, common goals, support of law and authorities, and cooperation. Similarly cultural marginality theory suggested that marginalised groups are empathetic towards those equally marginalised, a theory seen at play in various studies such as in Hopkins (2009) and Wills et al. (2009). These studies concerning groups in precarious work conditions, though precarity is not distinctly linked to the theory, suggested such conditions lead to unity among groups. However, though this study acknowledges the precarious work conditions, despite having similar migrant motivations and experiences, a unity in the whole migrant group failed to display with FoodPro.Co illustrating a lack of strategies for increasing employee engagement, further hindering integration.

Though surprising compared to the literature suggesting unity amongst different ethnicities in precarious conditions and where various groups face

discrimination/marginalisation, it does make sense that migrants compete for higher positions amongst themselves within a community which has underlying insecurities always present due to fears that someone newer could replace them for cheaper or more skilled labour. Yet, they ride on the sense of comfort in the familiar and draw from their own ethnic groups to refresh from what is an alien environment with harsh working conditions. This creates varying degrees of discrimination via dynamics between groups based on a power which focuses on the economic and political constructions established through larger ethnic groups proficiently maintaining organisational control. As such, this study portrays a new perspective for social identity theory. With considerations of subjective and objective point of views, the social identity theory sufficiently portrays a realist attitudinal context to the study. While racism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and other forms of discrimination, ranging from subtle and unintentional to overt and calculated, have been previously linked to this theory due to the innate distinction of intergroup similarities and intragroup differences (Tajfel and Turner, 1986); there is yet to be mention of attitudes and relations between migrant groups in workplaces through this lens. It was essential to understand that social identity theory in itself does not suggest conflict for it mainly is representative of people basing their self-identity on their membership to ascribed social groups (Leaper, 2011; Tajfel, 1981). It is how individuals may define and create their own place in the society (Ellemers, 2022). But rather the heightened differences and the code of groupism seen in this study are inherently underpinned by this theory. This is as it is common for group members to evaluate themselves as positively distinct to relevant out-groups (Ellemers, 2022), creating a sense of social competition (Abrams and Hogg, 2010), be it through enhancing in-group perceptions or highlighting out-group perceived negative attributes (Ellemers, 2022). In doing so, the inclusion appears to create a sense of comfort, increase their self-esteem as they link it to the group's esteem and belonging in an already segmented labour market.

Nevertheless, the support of long-term immigrants is critical for not only positive organisational culture, performance, and commitment (Zolberg, 1991), but also to help combat pressures experienced in the workplace community, as per the interviews, where many conveyed that they stick to their own groups to get about in the organisation as they feel supported. While there can be minimalistic communication and understanding among other groups, they are more reliant on the support of their own group to help combat any challenges due to similar cultural differences faced, a common language and an essence of trust created

based on ethnic affiliation. Ethnicity and language are central to humankind acting as basic elements of identity and individuality. It can be argued that the uniting factors of dissimilar life experiences are most importantly its temporariness, vulnerability, and inclination to constant change (Bauman, 2000). Being in a world consisting of vulnerability and precariousness, migrants are not inherently vulnerable, nor do they lack resilience and agency. Rather, vulnerability is the result of multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, inequality, structural and societal dynamics that lead to diminished and unequal levels of power, contributing to formation of these groups.

The fundamental motivation of the necessity to give importance to cultural diversity in policies and practices is noted at FoodPro.Co rather than making it just a numerical factor in the unobserved equality policy in the organisation. Alongside, there is an explicit need to work with inclusivity as one big working community to gain the benefits of a diverse workforce. The unfair and unjust treatment, discrimination and bullying from their peers, superiors and even their juniors, continued even for few long-term immigrants who had put in the hard work to acquire country-specific skills and, after many years of struggle, eventually reached higher positions in lower and middle management from self-motivation and determination. The comments were a continual attempt to demean their identity as they were neither UK-born nor a part of a bigger group in the organisation. Similarly, the cases of direct conflict were present in other parts of the hierarchical structure for instance many other migrants in the operative levels, also experienced negative behaviours and hiring biases. The workers were left without any representation to help them voice their concerns without fear of retribution or losing their jobs, creating an environment focused more on survival than prospering. Ignorance of this conflict among some workers also appears to emerge, portraying the varying perspectives among the workforce such as viewing it as individualistic problems versus a joint sense of responsibility towards the workplace community. This fills the gap in the literature where none have investigated the conflict between the two groups, i.e., long-term immigrant and new migrant workers that impacts the organisational culture and performance, especially among workplace communities. Furthermore, the focus appears to shift from elementary occupations as it is realised that discrimination and segregation are at play across all horizontal and vertical levels in the organisation. Looking into the future, it is necessary to understand that, with the growing anti-immigrant political climate, migrants are becoming more dependent on support and policies by their employers for their economic interests (Andreescu, 2011; Haubert and

Fussell, 2006). This is especially as the lack of recognition of the credibility of migrants' previous work experiences (Edwards et al., 2016; Lulle et al., 2018) makes it hard for them to seek alternatives in the toughening labour market with limited employment routes (Hack-Polay, 2008b; King, 2021). In other words, integration is more complex than just eagerness among migrants to stay or facilitating organisational policies to avoid mere high turnover, as the integration issues are more varied and run much deeper into the work culture.

In further exploring the second research objective, attitude differences from long-term immigrants of different ethnicities and groupism give rise to discomfort zones, which tend to overshadow the self-development and career growth of new migrants in terms of learning and training in country-specific skills, thereby cultivating difficulties in breaking into the new organisation's environment. Thus, this leads to a lack of opportunities internally manifested within the community. These microcosmic challenges in working relations and integration therefore contribute to the initially witnessed macrocosmic challenges of high turnover, hiring challenges and English language proficiency. However, the determination among new migrants is enabled by the attitude that seeks to maximise their effectiveness in any way possible: the higher they aim, the more important all this is. It is about consciously taking the bull by the horns, setting out to be uncomfortable and seeing what one can achieve. Valuing dissimilarities acknowledges that some differences are socially based which are significant in perpetuating inequality.

The attitudes of some new migrants at FoodPro.Co indicated that it was not the alienation from their inherited country of origin's culture but, rather, the lack of knowledge of the new culture that hindered their integration. However, integration is not solely about adaption in knowledge, skills or understanding; it is also dictated by economic variables, which motivates migrants to endure precarious work conditions and integrate themselves into the workplace community, with a desire for further progression. Furthermore, as seen in the interviews with FoodPro.Co migrant workers, and backed up in the literature (Scott, 2012), migrants voluntarily moved from their poor origins to wealthier destinations such as the UK, seeking better opportunities for themselves and their families. In doing so, they face countless obstacles such as learning a new language and working in jobs for which they are overqualified (Easterlin, 1974; Johnston et al., 2015; Nowotny, 2016). However, the presence of recognised higher education did put new migrants in the position of being able to access better job opportunities after developing country-specific skills, allowing them to have a higher socio-

economic position, facilitating integration in the workplace. Nonetheless, integration would be better facilitated if new migrants received support from long-term immigrants, as this would help them to develop the confidence to step out of their comfort zones and adapt.

5.3 MIGRANTS' WORKPLACE INTEGRATION

Subsequently, based on the semi-structured interviews, literature, and existing organisational policies, in answering the second research question, organisational management policies and approaches of FoodPro.Co appear to have an impact on the integration of new migrants. The data analysis depicts the differing layers and shades to the overarching theme of integration through a macrocosm of issues faced at FoodPro.Co, before focusing on workplace communities, presenting the microcosm of working relations experienced there, and underlying motivations and attitudes. It is seen that the problems concerning the majority of FoodPro.Co-migrants, experienced by and visible in FoodPro.Co management as seen in the data, include language barriers leading to lack of communication, high turnover, physical stress, and difficulty in establishing their own identity. The pressures from challenges in the operational arrangements can be said to channel into workplace attitudes. Hard working conditions in the processing plant with cold temperatures, repetitive work, standing for long hours, low morale, surrounding incivility and high expectations, all contribute to stress and pressure experienced by the migrants. The feeling of a hard life pushes many to resentment as in process they strive to improve their condition, though some are able to accept their conditions and pursue their dreams and some are not, making them occasionally quit.

A facilitator which impacted the integration of new migrants was the specialised job training in country-specific skills provided by FoodPro.Co, such as becoming a certified trainer, which further promotes progression, as expressed by the FoodPro.Co management during the interviews. However, while this has helped few employees progress further in the organisational ladder, it has not been without their unique challenges. The high turnover and hiring challenges with hiring policies not crediting previous foreign certifications or equal opportunity of training for everyone, still contribute to higher responsibility for the remaining staff. Though, the equality policy at FoodPro.Co is meant to act as a facilitator, which intends to reduce the pressures experienced by the new migrants and the preferences exhibited, the interviews reflect that it is not deeply implemented in the organisational structures at all levels. The presence of hiring preferences adds more pressure on the unfavoured migrant groups as they believe they need to work harder to gain similar career advancement opportunities as their

peers, despite the presence of the equality policy which, ultimately, hindered them from feeling valued and their integration. Therefore, these pressures confine migrants to their small groups as the process of socialisation requires a lot more trust to be expended in unknown situations when all they crave is comfort.

On the other hand, lack of language proficiency results in communication difficulties, making them stick with only certain individuals or groups as mentioned earlier, alongside creating other risks such as health and safety, making it clearly a big issue. It is obvious that an overall proficiency in the English language is necessary to achieve high social status and well-paid occupations at FoodPro.Co. Thus, the management policy of providing English language classes for employees came across as very helpful to facilitate the integration and progression of new migrants. It enhanced the understanding of foreign culture, promoted host language proficiency, and provided support for entering the new labour market conditions. Yet, though the policy of provision of English language classes has facilitated integration for some, the lack of prioritisation of English proficiency among new migrants for various reasons such as focus on working overtime to gain monetary stability for a better life or discomfort and feelings of acculturations by learning a new language, indicate that these facilitators, like the equality policy, are not embraced deeply in the work culture.

Conversely, the absence of any one facilitator transforms into another barrier to integrate at FoodPro.Co. These include lack of equal opportunities, language proficiency and exaggerated socio-cultural differences, hindering interactions within the workplace community, and resulting in inadequate understanding of and immersion into the organisational culture. Though the policy of providing translators on the shopfloor initially acts as facilitators to integration, eventually they hinder the process by creating a false sense of security among the new migrants as they believe they can establish themselves without having to understand English. There is a requirement to provide translators' service in moderation and at various magnitudes. Lack of English further falls under the broader umbrella of lack of country-specific skills, hindering career progression and integration into the workplace community. There is a need for the migrants to be competent in country-specific skills which many new migrants lack on their arrival to the host country. The main hinderance to integration as seen in the theme of working relationships and attitudes, is groupism at FoodPro.Co, leading to isolation which, in turn, along with hindered communication, leads to a lack of support from long-term immigrants. Many migrants felt abandoned; furthermore, others shun them even when they

attempt to mingle past the language barriers. This resulted in feelings of being devalued, excluded and alone in the organisation highlighting the need of a diversity and integration policy. They experience difficulties in breaking into groups when they first enter the organisation as a minority group in FoodPro.Co. Groupism develops into a lack of interpersonal trust among different ethnicities, the conflict inducing another barrier as it disallows the alignment of organisational values with individual needs and values, decreasing the new migrants' interest in integration. Such misalignment also links to the barrier of lack of effective employee engagement strategies in FoodPro.Co, contributing to high turnover and lack of language proficiency.

Thus, migrants experience different societal values and structures in the host society, requiring a new process of integration to begin and unfold over time (Lucassen, 2005), as opposed to their existing integration in their country of origin. Integration is highlighted in the interview data, portraying an ever-changing relationship at FoodPro.Co between the unfamiliar working environment and new migrants; it is indicated as mutual, something which is time consuming, has constant struggle, is not harmonious (Lucassen, 2005), and takes place in diverse spheres: political, cultural, social, and economic (Penninx, 2005). The various barriers and facilitators discovered and discussed through this study portray the complexity of this theme as there is no single set answer or factor to make it the most efficient or why it is not currently such at FoodPro.Co. However, it is clear that the conflicts underpinned by the social identity theory explored are a big factor that influence other elements such as employee engagement and well-being, affecting the process for new migrants, especially in these unprecedented times. While the concept of integration has limitations with its acceptability for the evaluation of developed and rapidly changing workplace communities and their societal disputes (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016), it continues to play a key role in policy making about migrants' adaptation and settlement (Bommes and Morawska, 2005; Castles et al. 2003; Luthra et al., 2020). It has emerged as a universal concept for describing the migrant lived experiences in settling with societal, political, and economic difficulties of host countries. Eventually it is understood through the multidimensional nature of social integration and multi-layered nature of attitudes displayed in the workplace communities, that effective integration of new migrants into workplace communities, including the evolving supportive relationship with long-term immigrants, can only be achieved through long term sustained effort. The recommendations for these efforts are consequently reflected on in the later chapter of Notes for Practice.

6   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The study was limited by time constraints, which led it in the direction of a cross-sectional approach, allowing it as strength to appropriately capture a snapshot in time with openness to all possible discussions. Due to Covid-19 pandemic and given the industry of concern for this research was food processing which was already under incredible stress facing the new combined restrictions of imports, exports and employment with both Covid-19 pandemic and Brexit at play, it was not possible to gain permission to extend this study. The study was further limited by scope and location, as the data focused on the attitudes of those working specifically at one site of FoodPro.Co in the UK, and so may not be entirely reflective of other organisations. If more time had been available, and circumstances had allowed, this cross-sectional study could have conducted the research at different organisations in the same industry, as well as in another industry under the WRHR sector, such as hospitality, to make this a comparative study with a broader insight through crosschecking the repeated and varied patterns of attitudes in the diverse migrant workforce, across industries. This could also have been facilitated with an even larger sample size. However, the presence of these limitations does not mean the study did not manage to justly represent the workplace communities at FoodPro.Co and their lived experiences.

Due to the above-mentioned limitations of time, place and scope, this study builds a base for future researchers to further explore this new field through the foundations of insights established here. This exploration of conflict and attitudes among different ethnic groups of long-term immigrants and new migrants is unique to this study and novel to the existing literature. Following this, further research could use a larger sample size, focus on examining intra-migrant group conflicts in workplaces, and even conduct comparative multi-company/multi-industrial studies in this field which has been under-studied and under-reported in the literature. This may help shed light on other sources of stereotypes, e.g., from within the same migrant group - whose riddance may be through a long, continuous process. Alternatively, a longitudinal approach may be used to establish causal relationships, and changes in attitudes over time. Nevertheless, although it is a big ask, such studies in the future might open new perspectives that could inform wider workplace integration strategies.

7   NOTES FOR PRACTICE

This study portrays how FoodPro.Co faces challenges arising from hindrances to new migrant integration. Barriers to integration come in various forms, such as stereotypes, lack of support from long-term immigrants, lack of career progression, long hours, etc. FoodPro.Co has made attempts to tackle a few of these issues in the past via English language training classes, internal recruitment opportunities for higher roles, and induction programmes. Nevertheless, several other underlying problems, such as less apparent support for new migrants, remain unrecognised. As a result, despite their efforts, FoodPro.Co has continued to face recruitment challenges, high turnover, and English language fluency problems. Not only are there issues with retention, FoodPro.Co is also struggling with attracting new staff that have the necessary capabilities and country-specific skills best-suited for the vacant roles. When exploring the multi-layered day-to-day realities contributing to the major challenges faced by a migrant-reliant organisation, the internally created differences in the migrant community are highlighted.

The key insights found from the study offer support to existing assertions that new migrants are not an actual threat to the position of established long-term immigrants in a workplace community and highlights that, despite such reassurances, new migrants are perceived as a threat and occasionally treated with suspicion, most especially by long-term immigrants of different ethnicities. There is strong evidence to suggest attitudes towards new migrants from long-term immigrants are influenced by political, economic, and social conditions, despite them having had similar motivations and experiences when migrating to the host country. Some long-term immigrants did not want to welcome newer migrants out of fear for their own position in FoodPro.Co and their reputation as a migrant in the organisation. This was a fundamental fear shared by many other participants. Ethnic affiliation, when coupled with negative biases towards specific ethnic groups, appears to be hindering the integration of new migrants. Conflict, driven by the differing ethnicities and languages among long-term immigrants and new migrants, is a contemporary issue that is not specifically covered in existing literature. Observed groupism fuels discrimination and segregation, where minority groups among new migrants emerge as the biggest victims, despite an apparent commitment to equality, and supportive training and development programmes being in place. Nevertheless, the arrival of new migrants offers a new energy to the organisation as they bring with them their aspirations for a better life and different skill sets. Furthermore, unlike previous

168

literature which focuses almost exclusively on the presence of migrants joining organisations often at lower levels, this study presents the possibility for migrants to progress in the organisation, despite facing various obstacles.

Nevertheless, in addition to insights regarding the micro-politics of an organisation and the conflict between different working groups, it is essential to understand the broader political economy and its impact on migration and the labour market. Factors include the debates in the current UK political realm, the sudden pandemic, new national and international policies, and economic conditions, etc. With the influence of recent political and economic changes on migrant motivations, Brexit was identified as one of the risks to FoodPro.Co because of its potential to adversely affect the operations and financial conditions of the business. It could impair their ability to transact business in the UK and in countries in the EU. Undoubtedly, FoodPro.Co is feeling the labour pinch.

If FoodPro.Co, which is the largest producer of meat in the UK and has a workforce largely made up of migrant workers, continues to face these issues, it is likely that they co-exist across the food processing industry, which is the most migrant-reliant industry in the UK. Familiar challenges with retaining workers will be compounded by new challenges of labour shortages and inability to attract new workers to what many people see as unattractive job roles. Other industries face similar difficulties. For example, the hospitality industry employs, on average, 35-40% EU workers (KPMG, 2017). As Brexit policies on limiting migration into the UK bite, some industries could reach crisis point in terms of labour supply. Making so-called 'bad jobs' more attractive, to attract and retain workers, will be a significant hurdle for industries such as food processing, hospitality, and retail as the majority of jobs are low-skilled and poorly paid. Hence, the biggest challenge, now, is to encourage people to join these industries by attracting people back into work and to play a larger role re-educating and supporting people who want to work. Retention becomes doubly important as replacing an employee can cost one and a half times their salary and once an employee has been replaced, it takes the new employee time to adjust to the role and start being productive. Hence, there is also a need to utilise real-world management HR practices to retain the maximum number of people in these industries.

Commitment to enlightened HR practice is evident in the Case Study organisation but micro-organisational dynamics, including conflict and discrimination between different groups of workers, often disrupts the very best of HR intentions. While some migrants continued to

stay at FoodPro.Co for materialistic gain, out of necessity, or social status in country of origin, many migrants disliked working at or left FoodPro.Co due to inflexible working contracts, less time with families during holidays due to contracted hours, repetitive and monotonous tasks, difficult working conditions, etc. For example, many people who left the organisation were working at the Kill Plant, where the animal as the source of meat is butchered, due to its difficult conditions and repetitive tasks. However, if there is a consideration to make in terms of an amendment in policies, alongside opportunities to diversify skills/roles, these employees may be more likely to stay. In terms of effective HR practices in FoodPro.Co, and which can be applied across industries that are migrant reliant, such as the food processing and hospitality industries, the main aspects of recommendation to consider are: 1) diversity and inclusion training, and 2) employee well-being.

7.1 DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION TRAINING

Effective diversity and inclusion training programmes, in conjunction with the current generic induction programme, is an approach that would support a reduction in prejudice and discrimination based on stereotyping due to an ignorance of other cultures and practices. Building awareness has been shown in HR best practice approaches to help facilitate an inclusive, equal, and positive environment. Conflict, as discovered between long-term immigrants and new migrants of different communities, exists as an undercurrent of problems within the workplace that were noticed in the Findings and Analysis chapter and discussed in the Discussion and Conclusion chapter. These include the conflict resulting in less support from the long-term immigrants towards new migrants despite the intense pressures; growing undermining of respect for diversity such as biases, discrimination, and racism; discrimination and pressures affecting migrant integration and hindering them from displaying their skills; struggle for dominance, etc. The biases further contribute to hiring queues and lost opportunities/often overqualification in roles and lack of progression. Diversity and inclusion training are expected to address these issues by focusing on the root, i.e., through influencing shifts in attitudes and enabling the adoption of important behavioural changes, resulting in inclusion (Shin and Park, 2013) and, hence, integration becoming a part of everyday life in the workplace. Decreasing the tendency to stereotype will further encourage increased collaboration, enhance interpersonal skills, encourage further recognition of skills, and empower underrepresented groups to feel more valued and respected at work. This can also address the language segregation issue, further improving communication between migrants,

employees, and management. Subsequently, the diversity and inclusion training programmes should be mandatory and can be implemented through a mixture of presentations, discussions, and interactive workshops from accredited outsourced equality and diversity training providers; addressing misconceptions of different ethnicities, unconscious biases and acknowledging the beauty in the differences highlighted in the diverse workforce. However, shifting attitudes, biases and perceptions can prove very difficult as it can be uncomfortable to critique oneself. It has been proposed to the management of FoodPro.Co that this diversity and inclusion training would need to include employees from all different occupational levels including managers, supervisors, administrative staff, and operatives, as the sample in this study had, since the findings illuminated that discrimination towards new migrants of different ethnicities took place at both horizontal and vertical levels. The trainings can be held both remotely and face-to-face depending on the preference and production needs. The workforce would need to be scheduled into small batches to ensure all participants from a wide range of diverse ethnicities and backgrounds, are given opportunities to share their experiences and learn from each other.

Prior to the viva, it was agreed with the management including HR business partner and complex manager at FoodPro.Co that once the examination process of this thesis is completed, a workshop would be carried out at FoodPro.Co with a select few from management and operative levels including new migrants and long-term immigrants, to help develop practical policy responses to the findings and practicalities of this training, addressing everyone's concerns. This workshop would be conducted with the support of senior academic of University of Stirling Dr Mike Walsh, who with the expertise on Operational Research methods, would guide the researcher in establishing the best methods with FoodPro.Co to tackle these uncomfortable scenarios for the employees, especially migrant groups. In the meantime, the recommendations remain somewhat speculative as the implementation is uncertain until the workshop and feedback from the organisation is established.

Nonetheless, alongside being applicable to the food industry, this recommendation for diversity and inclusion training is especially and equally applicable to the hospitality industry within the WRHR sector as, apart from affecting frontline relations, biases and discriminatory mind-sets can also subtly and subconsciously influence behaviours affecting relations with both customers and other employees, whilst also placing the corporate image at stake. However, it is insufficient and not a standalone solution to reduce inequality and bias, but it is an important

signal and a helpful way to prevent unintentional negative attitudes, and to raise awareness about the pervasiveness of stereotypes. Additionally, it can be a platform to share the impact of discriminatory forces at work and can offer employees guidance on how to overcome their own biases (Tate and Page, 2018).

While it can be widely implemented, its effects need to be assessed and measured, because how people act and think when they dislike being told how to act and think, is an important consideration to make while implementing this training programme. It is necessary to carry out the programme across all horizontal and vertical levels of the organisation for complete success and create a supportive environment especially for new migrants. Hence, it will be a good idea to measure actual behavioural changes after the training delivery per batch of employees, for example by the means of self-assessments and feedback forms (Blom, 2018; Kraiger et al, 1993; Leigh et al., 2010; Wallace et al., 2021).

7.2 EMPLOYEE WELL-BEING

In terms of the second aspect, it has been observed at FoodPro.Co that it is not just all about the money or pay outs; it is also how comfortable the employees feel in the workplace, how they feel around their co-workers and how the organisation feels about the value it provides to its employees. Different individuals act differently in different situations (Verkuyten, 2018); their attitudes and actions triggered in a situation are determined by their attachment to the problems and needs which are established on the bases of their subjective assessment. Some peers are willing to listen and accept that certain terms they use may make their colleagues feel less valued, however others get defensive, stating it is what everyone else calls them, or ignore the repercussions of normalised typecasting behaviour because it is not their problem or does not include people, they feel affiliated to. On the other hand, those experiencing uncivil behaviours may face it in different forms such as bullying, targeting, or labelling; and not all choose to escalate this to management due to fear of disapproval or the risk of losing their jobs. Regardless of similar motivations, there is a constant need among migrants to adapt to changing priorities and life environment, affecting their views in the world. Consequently, despite some migrants managing to progress past their difficulties, even if it took them longer compared to their peers, and the presence of the escalation policy within FoodPro.Co for raising concerns to management mentioned to the team during induction, most new migrants feel stuck and unable to integrate or confront their discomfort as toxic

organisational dynamics form along with an acceptance of precarious conditions, bullying, isolation, over-working, etc. As expressed in the discussion and conclusion, FoodPro.Co fails to implement effective employee engagement and wellbeing strategies which contribute to the increased feelings of pressures for new migrants and threat for long-term immigrants of different ethnicities, making them more likely to form closed groups in search for comfort and support. It is a subjective impression that has an influence on the objective opinions when it comes to working for the organisation Therefore, employee engagement in terms of communication, growth, and trust is essential.

As simple as it sounds, there is a need for effective communication among employees and management, which is already hindered by the failing policies to implement stronger English proficiency. This issue can be improved by focusing on creating a bond of trust among the migrants and the workforce as a whole by working with inclusivity to gain the benefits of a diverse workforce through formats of one-to-ones, informal interactions, and recreational team-building activities such as outdoor tours, indoor games, and fitness centres on the premises. Some long-term immigrants and native employees who have worked in FoodPro.Co state that a decade or so ago this was the company culture. Management did talk with the operatives and best performing employees were rewarded with a coffee evening. However, as the business has become more standardised and demanding, with labour crunch and pressing production needs, this level of engagement has disappeared and, rather, participants express the desperate need for group outings to maintain group morale and engagement - though, this suggestion was less as a reward and more as something to help the team's well-being.

It is important employees feel they are listened to by someone (Bolton, 2004), have interactions and they have some team-building events to bring them closer to each other at work, as one community, to reduce the issues of groupism, disputes, and bias by means of engagements. Currently this is not the case as they bottled up the pressures they experience, which emerge in the form of various negative attitudes. These kinds of activities are important in organisational life offering method of relief from pressures of work (Bolton and Houlihan, 2009).

Better engagement and well-being practices can also take other forms such as family-friendly work practices. It is highly likely that encouraging more time to spend with family, while being able to proudly work, especially for new migrants would help retain staff, combatting the high turnover issue as they would be less likely to burn out or be isolated in the

pressures they face. Flexibility in the work contracts may also help new migrants feel more comfortable in making requests such as extended six-week summer breaks and returning work afterwards on the same contract; this would help foster communication between the two levels and enhance employee engagement. Long-service bonuses could aid long-term employees, especially long-term immigrants from feeling less threatened by newer migrants as they are aware they are equally valued (Yam et al., 2018). Also, the promotion structures can be made more transparent by providing more clarity in required qualifications, skills, and key result areas to climb the career progression ladder at FoodPro.Co, along with openness when positions are available, and feedback upon unsuccessful applications. These changes, alongside a strict HR escalation policy to encourage open door practices for any kind of miscommunication, discrimination or hiring biases; could potentially reduce ethnic hiring queues and allow minorities in the workplace to see opportunities of career progression (Brennan and McGeevoer, 1990). Some may argue these are only materialist benefits; however, the aim is for increased employee satisfaction, and making them feel valued through clear, open communication, an open-door approach, and making changes to policies if possible.

With the presence of translators and English classes, poor communication, theoretically, should not exist at FoodPro.Co despite the different ethnic groups present. However, in actuality, its existence suggests the need for further employee engagement measures. It portrays the necessity of moderation and different magnitude levels of support with limited translators, limited leaflets of different languages and encouragement to speak English among workers and attend English classes by FoodPro.Co. This would also apply to other migrant-reliant organisations in the same industry such as in the hospitality sector, to remember moderation is key. In turn, ensuring interactive integration will take place once migrants recognise its need. Employee engagement, in terms of growth, promotes employee motivation and thus helps to retain them in the organisation. People become more motivated when they develop their skills and are given more responsibilities. Currently if employees wish to pursue personal development of skills, many have to explore the learning in their own time; discouraging many due to priorities such as needing to work overtime to help with financial needs of their family, lack of funding available, and exhaustion from pressures felt in the workplace. It is possible to address this issue by giving new migrants the opportunity to build on their country-specific skills, including their English language proficiency and upskilling their personal development with options including mentoring and talent development programmes available during work

hours which they are paid for. These trainings can Be approved by senior managers for interested employees at lower and middle levels of occupations at FoodPro.Co, with a training calendar in place for personal development, distributed during appraisals, through notices on the notice boards and in emails in the form of open communication. This would also help reduce the issue of language segregation, difficulty in gaining country-specific skills, lost opportunities and in turn help reduce groupism and market segmentation of skills. Although possibly more challenging and gradual than it would be with groups of workers who engage in interesting, creative, high skilled and well-paid jobs, it is not impossible. While the nature of work at FoodPro.co is restrictive and monotonous, with high demands, these development strategies could be communicated during appraisals. Gradually creating a supportive culture would give the migrants space to approach management when interested to ask for support and cover when they aim to develop their skills, reducing the risks of the migrants overworking or feeling overwhelmed whilst maintaining the smooth functions within the organisation. Likewise, delegating more responsibilities could enable them to enhance their capabilities and start building a foundation of trust among the migrant community and in the organisation. As a result, this will provide them with an upward movement on their career ladder. This would further push employees, like the few long-term immigrants who managed to break-through the cycle of low-skilled work, to gain similar attributes as their knowledge and confidence in their skills, team, self-esteem, responsibilities, and ability to appropriately escalate issues with trust in the organisation, grows. It is essential to build high interpersonal trust and a good organisational culture with high motivation and work ethics to establish one coherent workplace community harbouring a shared sense of responsibility, which has the support of the long-term immigrants. Eventually the organisation will be able to share its positive image in the industry with its employee-friendly culture. In FoodPro.Co specifically, this needs to take place alongside combating the discriminatory workplace relations and attitudes. This will help in attracting more workers from the existing labour market and encourage people to stay longer in the same organisation and be retained through the alignment of employee and organisation values.

It is understandable that this level of engagement to implement in an organisation focused on repetitive tasks is difficult, especially due to the need for more staff which they are already struggling with, more resources and inability to control how employees will react to this engagement. But the best FoodPro.Co can do is to have a trial period. Whether or not the

recommendations are effective, another discussion of the outcomes and what can be improved/changed should be due in six months following implementation of the recommendations. This would ensure the best practices are followed to assist with employee well-being.

Thus, in addressing the underlying attitudes and behavioural culture among long-term immigrants and new migrants within the workplace, with an understanding of integration and the similar motivations in the migrant community, the recommendations would also help address the three challenges initially recognised at FoodPro.Co - high turnover, English language proficiency and hiring challenges and preferences. After all, in today's world of economic uncertainty, engaging employees is critical to ensuring an organisation's longevity and profitability. It is not just about materialistic realities in the industry; but equally so about understanding external and internal influences, effective people, and employee satisfaction.

8   BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrams, D. and Hogg, M.A. (2010) Social identity and self-categorization. *The SAGE handbook of prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination*. pp. 179-193.

- Abrams, D. and Travaglino, G.A. (2018) Immigration, political trust, and Brexit– Testing an aversion amplification hypothesis. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *57*(2), pp.310-326.

- Ackoff, R.L. (1975) A reply to the comments of Keith Chesterton, Robert Goodsman, Jonathan Rosenhead and Colin Thunhurst. *Journal of the Operational Research Society*, 26(1), pp.96-99.

- Ackroyd, S. (2016) Organizational misbehaviour. *Encyclopedia of Human Resource Management*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

- Ackroyd, S. and Fleetwood, S. eds. (2000) *Realist perspectives on management and organisations.* Psychology Press.

- Ackroyd, S. and Thompson, P. (1999) *Organizational Misbehaviour.* Sage.

- Admiraal, W. and Lockhorst, D. (2010) *A descriptive model of teacher communities.* Annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA). Denver, Colo., April/May 2010.

- Agar, M. (2006) Culture: Can you take it anywhere? Invited lecture presented at the Gevirtz Graduate School of Education, University of California at Santa Barbara. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5(2)*, pp. 1-6.

- Ager, A. and Strang, A. (2008) Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 21(2), pp.166–191.

- Akay, A., Bargain, O. and Zimmermann, K.F. (2017) Home sweet home? Macroeconomic conditions in home countries and the well-being of migrants. *Journal of Human Resources*, *52*(2), pp.351-373.

- Al Jazeera Media Network (2021) *'Unprecedented exodus': Why are migrant workers leaving the UK? / Migration News / Al Jazeera*. Available: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/1/15/uk-twin-pandemic-and-brexit-crises-prompt-unprecedented-exodus [Accessed: 16 January 2021]

177

- Al Ramiah, A., Hewstone, M., Dovidio, J.F. and Penner, L.A. (2010) The social psychology of discrimination: Theory, measurement and consequences. In: L. Bond, F. McGinnity and Helen Russell eds. *Making Equality Count: Irish and International Research Measuring Equality and Discrimination.* Dublin: The Liffey Press, pp.84-112.

- Alberti, G. (2016) Moving beyond the dichotomy of workplace and community unionism: The challenges of organising migrant workers in London's hotels. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, *37*(1), pp.73-94.

- Alberti, G., Holgate, J. and Tapia, M. (2013) Organising migrants as workers or as migrant workers? Intersectionality, trade unions and precarious work. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management,* 24 (22), pp. 4132-4148. Available: https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2013.845429 [Accessed: 17 June 2021].

- Alderfer, C. P. (1982) Problems of changing white males' behavior and beliefs concerning race relations. In: P. S. Goodman, L.B. Kurke, C. Argyris, B.M. Staw and C.P. Alderfer eds. *Change in organizations*. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass, pp. 122-165.

- Alderson, P. (1998) Confidentiality and consent in qualitative research. *British Sociology Association Network*, pp.6-7.

- Alesina, A. and Zhuravskaya, E. (2011) Segregation and the Quality of Government in a Cross Section of Countries. *American Economic Review*, *101*(5), pp. 1872-1911.

- Alesina, A., Spolaore, E. and Wacziarg, R. (2000) Economic integration and political disintegration. *American Economic Review*, *90*(5), pp. 1276-1296.

- Alsaawi, A. (2014) A critical review of qualitative interviews. *European Journal of Business and Social Sciences*, 3(4), pp.149-156.

- AlSayyed, B. and Al Braiki, F. (2015) Employee turnover, causes, the relationship between turnover and productivity and recommendations to reduce it. In: *2015 International Conference on Industrial Engineering and Operations Management (IEOM)*, Dubai, 3rd to 5th March 2015. 5, pp. 649-654.

- Altman, A. (2020) Discrimination. In: E.N. Zalta ed. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Winter 2020 ed. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University. Available:

https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/discrimination/ [Accessed: 20 January 2023].

- Altonji, J.G. and Card, D. (2018) The effects of immigration on the labor market outcomes of less-skilled natives. In: M.M. Suárez-Orozco, C. Suárez-Orozco and D. Qin-Hilliard, eds. *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the New Immigration: The New immigrant in the American Economy*. Routledge, pp. 137-170.

- Alvesson, M. and Skoldberg, K. (2009) Positivism, social constructionism, critical realism: Three reference points in the philosophy of science. *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*, pp. 15-52.

- Amaratunga, D., Baldry, D., Sarshar, M. and Newton, R. (2002) Quantitative and qualitative research in the built environment: application of "mixed" research approach. *Work study*, 51(1)

- Anderson, B. and Ruhs, M. (2012). Reliance on migrant labour: inevitability or policy choice? *The Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, *20*(1), pp.23.

- Anderson, B., (2010). Migration, immigration controls and the fashioning of precarious workers. *Work, employment and society*, *24*(2), pp.300-317.

- Anderson, B., Clark, N. and Parutis, V. (2007) *New EU Members?: Migrant Workers' Challenges and Opportunities to UK Trades Unions: a Polish and Lithuanian Case Study*. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society.

- Anderson, B., Ruhs, M., Rogaly, B. and Spencer, S. (2006) *Fair enough? Central and East European migrants in low-wage employment in the UK*. Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

- Andreescu, V. (2011) Attitudes toward Immigrants and Immigration Policy in United Kingdom. *Journal of Identity & Migration Studies*, *5*(2).

- Anthias, F. (1992) Connecting Race and Ethnic Phenomena. *Sociology*, *26*(3), pp.421-438.

- Anthias, F. and Yuval-Davis, N. (2005) *Racialized boundaries: Race, nation, gender, colour and class and the anti-racist struggle*. Routledge.

- Arango, J. (2000) Explaining migration: a critical view. *International social science journal*, *52*(165), pp.283-296.

- Archer, M., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T. and Norrie, A. eds. (2013) *Critical realism: Essential readings*. Routledge.

- Archer, M.S. (1982) Morphogenesis versus structuration: on combining structure and action 1. The British journal of sociology, 61 (1), pp.225-252.

- Archer, M.S. (2010) Routine, reflexivity, and realism. *Sociological theory, 28*(3), pp.272-303.

- Arnoux-Nicolas, C., Sovet, L., Lhotellier, L., Di Fabio, A. and Bernaud, J.L. (2016) Perceived work conditions and turnover intentions: The mediating role of meaning of work. *Frontiers in psychology*, *7*, p.704.

- Aronson, J. (1994) A pragmatic view of thematic analysis. *The Qualitative Report 1994, 2*, 1. Available: http://www.nova.edussssQRBackIssuesQR2-1/aronson.html [Accessed: 11 May 2019]

- Asch, S.E. and Guetzkow, H. (1951) Effects of group pressure upon the modification and distortion of judgments. *Documents of gestalt psychology,* pp. 222-236

- Ashforth, B.E. and Mael, F. (1989) Social identity theory and the organization. *Academy of management review*, *14*(1), pp.20-39.

- Australian Human Rights Commission (2022) *What is Racism? | Australian Human Rights Commission*. Australian Human Rights Commission. Available: https://humanrights.gov.au/our-work/race-discrimination/what-racism [Accessed: 15 January 2023].

- Avery, D.R., McKay, P.F. and Wilson, D.C. (2008) What are the odds? How demographic similarity affects the prevalence of perceived employment discrimination. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 93*(2), pp.235

- Azeez, S.A. (2017) Human resource management practices and employee retention: A review of literature. *Journal of Economics, Management and Trade*, pp.1-10.

- Back, L. (2015) Losing Culture or Finding Super-Diversity?, *Discover Society*, 20(5).

- Bader, V. (2001) Culture and identity: Contesting constructivism. *Ethnicities*, *1*(2), pp.251-273.

- Bahari, S.F. (2010) Qualitative versus quantitative research strategies: contrasting epistemological and ontological assumptions. *Sains Humanika,* 52(1).

- Bamel, U.K. and Bamel, N. (2018) Organizational resources, KM process capability and strategic flexibility: a dynamic resource-capability perspective. *Journal of Knowledge Management*

- Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J. and Hangartner, D. (2016) How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers. *Science*, *354*(6309), pp.217-222

- Barak, M.E.M. and Levin, A. (2002) Outside of the corporate mainstream and excluded from the work community: A study of diversity, job satisfaction and well-being. *Community, Work & Family*, *5*(2), pp.133-157.

- Barker, K.N. (1980) Data collection techniques: observation. *American journal of hospital pharmacy,* 37(9), pp.1235-1245.

- Barratt, M., Choi, T.Y. and Li, M. (2011) Qualitative case studies in operations management: Trends, research outcomes, and future research implications. *Journal of Operations Management,* 29(4), pp.329-342.

- Basedow, J. and Doyle, L. (2016) *England's forgotten refugees: Out of the fire and into the frying pan*. London: Refugee Council.

- Bate, P. (1994) *Strategies for Cultural Change*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

- Baum, T. (2008) Implications of hospitality and tourism labour markets for talent management strategies, *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 20(7), pp. 720-729.

- Bauman, Z. (2000) *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- BBC (2015) Election 2015, *BBC News*, 8 May. Available: https://www.bbc.com/news/election/2015/results [Accessed: 23 August 2018]

- BBC (2020a) UK migration: Net migration from outside EU hits 'highest level', *BBC News*, 21 May. Available: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-52752656 [Accessed: 28 May 2020]

- BBC (2020b) UK growth slows again in October as rebound stalls, *BBC News,* 10 December. Available: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-55246706 [Accessed: 15 December 2020]

- BBC (2021) Michelin-star restaurant stops serving lunch due to lack of staff, *BBC News*, 22 June. Available: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-57555608 [Accessed: 22 June 2021]

- Beall, J. ed. (1997) *A city for all: valuing difference and working with diversity*. Zed Books.

- Beauchamp, Z. (2018), Brexit isn't about economics. It's about xenophobia. *Vox*, 24 June. Available: https://www.vox.com/2016/6/17/11963668/brexit-uk-eu-explained [Accessed 23 August 2018]

- Becker, F. and Cabrita, J. (2014) Introduction: Performing Citizenship And Enacting Exclusion On Africa's Indian Ocean Littoral. *The Journal of African History, 55*(2), pp. 161–171.

- Becker, G.S. (1964) *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education.* 1st ed. New York: NBER.

- Behnke, A. (2017) *Racial profiling: Everyday inequality*. Twenty-First Century Books (Tm).

- Bell, B., Fasani, F. and Machin, S. (2013) Crime and immigration: Evidence from large immigrant waves. *Review of Economics and statistics*, *21*(3), pp.1278-1290.

- Bell, D.N. and Blanchflower, D.G. (2020) US and UK labour markets before and during the Covid-19 crash. *National Institute Economic Review*, *252*, pp. R52-R69.

- Bell, E. (2001) The social time of organizational payment systems. *Time & society, 10*(1), pp.45-62.

- Bell, E., Bryman, A. and Harley, B. (2018) *Business research methods*. Oxford university press.

- Bell, J. (2015) Polish Migrants in Belfast: The Other Other?, In: *Polish Migrants' Experience of Life in the UK since 2004 Conference*, 17th to 18th April 2015. London: University College London School of Slavonic and East European Studies.

- Bell, R., Plumb, N. and Marangozov, R. (2017) INTEGRATION NOT DEMONISATION: The final report of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration's inquiry into the integration of immigrants. London: **APPG**. Available: https://socialintegrationappg.org.uk/2017/08/25/integration-not-demonisation/ [Accessed: 23 October 2022]

- Bellamy, C. (2011) *Principles of methodology: Research design in social science*. Sage.

- Bennett, F. (2014) The 'living wage', low pay and in work poverty: Rethinking the Relationships. C*ritical Social Policy, 34(*1), pp.46-65.

- Benton, M. (2013) Maximizing Potential: How countries can address skills deficits within the immigrant workforce. *Migration Policy Institute*.

- Berry, J. W. (1992) Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society. *International Migration*, 30 (s1), pp.69–85.

- Berry, J. W. (1997) Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology,* 46 (1), pp.5–34.

- Berry, J., W. Kim, U. Power, M. Young, and M. Bujaki. (1989) Acculturation Attitudes in Plural Societies. *Applied Psychology,* 38(2), pp.185–206.

- Bertola, G., Boeri, T. and Cazes, S. (2000) Employment protection in industrialized countries: The case for new indicators. *Int'l Lab. Rev.*, *139*, pp.57.

- Bertoli, S. and Stillman, S. (2019) All that glitters is not gold: Wages and education for US immigrants. *Labour Economics*, *61*, p.101749.

- Bertrand, M. and Mullainathan, S. (2004) Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination. *American economic review*, *94*(4), pp.991-1013.

- Bettencourt, L.A. and Brown, S.W. (1997) Contact employees: Relationships among workplace fairness, job satisfaction and prosocial service behaviors. *Journal of retailing*, *73*(1), pp.39-61.

- Bhala, N., Curry, G., Martineau, A.R., Agyemang, C. and Bhopal, R. (2020) Sharpening the global focus on ethnicity and race in the time of COVID-19. *The Lancet*, 395 (10238), pp.1673-1676.

- Bhaskar, R. (1978) *A realist theory of science*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Press

- Bhaskar, R. (1979) *The possibility of naturalism*. Brighton: Harvester.

- Bhushan, Y. and Karpe, S. (1996) Causes and consequences of familial role stress among working women: A case study in India. In: C. D. Spielberger and I. G. Sarason eds. *Stress and Emotion: Anxiety, Anger, and Curiosity, 16*. Washington, DC.: Taylor and Francis, pp.143-164.

- Bickhard, M.H., Cooper, R.G. and Mace, P.E. (1985) Vestiges of logical positivism: Critiques of stage explanations. *Human Development, 28*(5), pp.240-258.

- Blaikie, N. (2000) *Design social research: the logic of anticipation*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Blanchflower, D.G. (2009) International evidence on well-being. In: A. Krueger, eds. *Measuring the subjective well-being of nations: National accounts of time use and well-being*, 7th to 8th December 2007. University of Chicago Press. pp. 155-226

- Blanchflower, D.G. and Shadforth, C. (2009) Fear, unemployment and migration. *The Economic Journal*, *119*(535), pp.136-182.

- Blau, F.D. and Hunt, J. (2019) The economic and fiscal consequences of immigration: highlights from the National Academies report. *Business Economics*, *54*, pp.173-176.

- Blom, T. (2018) Organisational wellness: Human reaction to change. *South African Journal of Business Management*, 49 (1), pp.1-10.

- Bohman, J. (1999) Theories, practices, and pluralism: A pragmatic interpretation of critical social science. *Philosophy of the social science*s, 29(4), pp.459-480.

- Bolton, S.C. (2004) *Emotion management in the workplace*. London: Palgrave.

- Bolton, S.C. and Houlihan, M. (2009) Are we having fun yet? A consideration of workplace fun and engagement. *Employee Relations*, 31 (6), pp.556-568. Available: https://doi.org/10.1108/01425450910991721 [Accessed: 16 February 2022].

- Bommes, M. and Morawska, E. (2005) International Migration Research: Constructions, Omissions and the Promises of Interdisciplinarity. 1st ed. London: Routledge.

- Bonoli, G. (2007) Time Matters: Postindustrialization, New Social Risks, and Welfare State Adaptation in Advanced Industrial Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies, 40* (5), pp.495-520.

- Booth, W.C., Colomb, G.G. and Williams, J.M. (2003) *The craft of research*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago press.

- Borjas, G.J. (1995) The economic benefits from immigration. *Journal of economic perspectives*, *9*(2), pp.3-22.

- Borjas, G.J. (2001) Does immigration grease the wheels of the labor market? *Brookings papers on economic activity*, *2001*(1), pp.69-133.

- Borjas, G.J. (2003) The labor demand curve is downward sloping: Reexamining the impact of immigration on the labor market. *The quarterly journal of economics*, *118*(4), pp.1335-1374.

- Borjas, G.J. (2006) Native internal migration and the labor market impact of immigration. *Journal of Human resources*, *41*(2), pp.221-258.

- Borjas, G.J. ed. (2008) *Issues in the Economics of Immigration*. University of Chicago Press.

- Boskin, J. (1988) *Sambo: The rise and demise of an American jester*. Oxford University Press.

- Boubtane, E., Dumont, J.C. and Rault, C. (2016) Immigration and economic growth in the OECD countries 1986–2006. *Oxford Economic Papers*, *68*(2), pp.340-360.

- Boulding, K. E. (1956) General systems theory-the skeleton of science, *Management Science*, 2(3), pp. 197–208.

- Boyatzis, R.E. (1998) *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Sage.

- Bradshaw, J., Bennett, F. and Mayhew, E. (2010) *In-work poverty and labour market segmentation: A Study of National Policies*. European Commission DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. Available: https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:39d50d7d-2986-4a77-b5e1-81e895a40471/download_file?file_format=pdf&safe_filename=WorkPoverty.pdf&type_of_work=General+item [Accessed: 12 December 2022]

- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *3*(2), pp.77-101.

- Braun, V. and Clarke, V., (2013) *Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners*. Sage.

- Brehmer, W. and Seifert, H., (2008) Sind atypische Beschäftigungsverhältnisse prekär? Eine empirische Analyse sozialer Risiken . *Journal for Labour Market Research, 41*(4), pp.501-531.

- Brennan, J. and McGeevor, P. (1990) *Ethnic minorities and the graduate labour market*. London: Commission for Racial Equality.

- Broadhead, J. (2020) *Integration*. Policy Primer. Oxford: The Migration Observatory. Available: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Policy-Primer-Integration.pdf [Accessed: 13 January 2023]

- Brockmann, M. (2002) Towards a model of quality of life for older ethnic minority migrants in Germany, Austria and the UK. *European Societies*, *4*(3), pp.285-306.

- Brooking, P. (2018) What happens when freedom of movement ends-CBI. *Expanding Trade*, 22 August 2018. Available: http://www.cbi.org.uk/businessvoice/latest/what-happens-when-freedom-of-movement-ends/ [Accessed: 24 August 2018]

- Brooks, N. (2013). Emergent Cross-Case and Cross-Sectoral Themes from the Megaproject Portfolio.

- Brooks, T. (2009) A critique of pragmatism and deliberative democracy. *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society: A Quarterly Journal in American Philosophy*, 45 (1), pp.50-54.

- Brouwer, P., Brekelmans, M., Nieuwenhuis, L. and Simons, R-J. (2012) Community development in the school workplace. *International Journal of Educational Management, 26*(4), pp.403-418.

- Brubaker, R. (2006) *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.

- Bryman, A. (2001) *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2011) Ethics in business research. *Business Research Methods, 7*(5), pp.23-56.

- Bryman, A. and Cramer, D. (2005) *Quantitative data analysis with SPSS 12 and 13: A guide for social scientists*. Psychology Press.

- Buchanan, D.A. (2012) Case Studies in Organizational Research. In: G. Symon, and C. Cassell, eds. *Qualitative Organizational Research: Core Methods and Current Challenges*. Los Angeles: Sage.

- Bulow, J.I. and Summers, L.H. (1986). A theory of dual labor markets with application to industrial policy, discrimination, and Keynesian unemployment. *Journal of labor Economics*, *4*(3, Part 1), pp.376-414.

- Burrell, G. and Morgan, G. (2017) *Sociological paradigms and organisational analysis: Elements of the sociology of corporate life.* Routledge.

- Burrell, K. ed. (2016) *Polish Migration to the UK in the 'new' European Union: After 2004*. Routledge.

- Calas, M.B. and Smircich, L. (1997) ¿ Predicando la Moral en Calzoncillos?: Feminist Inquiries into Business Ethics. *The Ruffin Series in Business Ethics*.

- Cameron, J. (2005) Focusing on the focus group. *Qualitative research methods in human geography*, *2*(8), pp.116-132.

- Card, D. (2001) Immigrant inflows, native outflows, and the local labor market impacts of higher immigration. *Journal of Labor Economics*, *19*(1), pp.22-64.

- Card, D. (2005) Is the new immigration really so bad? *The Economic Journal*, *115*(507), pp.300-323.

- Card, D. (2009) Immigration and inequality. *American Economic Review*, *99*(2), pp.1-21.

- Carlson, M.D. and Morrison, R.S. (2009) Study design, precision, and validity in observational studies. *Journal of palliative medicine*, *12*(1), pp.77-82.

- Carroll, C.D., Rhee, B.K. and Rhee, C. (1994) Are there cultural effects on saving? Some cross-sectional evidence. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *109*(3), pp.685-699.

- Castles, S. and Kosack, G. (1973) *Immigrant workers and class structure in Western Europe*. London; New York: published for the Institute of Race Relations, London, by Oxford University Press.

187

- Castles, S., de Haas, H., and Miller, M. J. (2013) T*he Age of Migration: International Movements in the Modern World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Castles, S., Korac M., Vasta E., and Vertovec S. (2003) *Integration: Mapping the field*. Home Office Report, no.28/03, London: University of Oxford. Available: https://pure.mpg.de/rest/items/item_3012138_1/component/file_3012139/content [Accessed: 02 February 2021]

- Castles, S., Korac, M., Vasta, E. and Vertovec, S. (2001) *Integration: Mapping the Field,* Report of a project carried out by the Centre for Migration and Policy Research and Refugee Studies Centre. Oxford: University of Oxford.

- Castles, S., Korac, M., Vasta, E. and Vertovec, S. (2002) Integration: Mapping the field. *Home Office online report*, *29*(03), pp.115-118.

- Cavaye, A.L. (1996) Case study research: a multi-faceted research approach for IS. *Information systems journal,* 6(3), pp.227-242.

- Cebulla, A., Daniel, M. and Zurawan, A. (2010) *Spotlight on Refugee Integration*: *findings from the Survey of New Refugees in the United Kingdom,* Home Office Research Report. No 37. London: UK Home Office. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/spotlight-on-refugee-integration-findings-from-the-survey-of-new-refugees-in-the-united-kingdom [Accessed: 23 February 2020]

- Cernea, M.M. (1996) Understanding and preventing impoverishment from displacement. In: C. McDowell, eds. *Understanding impoverishment: the consequences of development-induced displacement.* Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp.13-32.

- Chalofsky, N. and Griffin, M.G. (2005) *Work-Life Programs and Organizational Culture: The Essence of Workplace Community*. The George Washington University. Available: https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED492293 [Accessed: 20 January 2023].

- Chandra, K. and Wilkinson, S. (2008) Measuring the effect of "ethnicity". *Comparative Political Studies*, *41*(4-5), pp.515-563.

- Checkland, P. (1981). *Systems Thinking, Systems Practice*. Chichester: Wiley.

- Chemers, M. M., Oskamp S. and Costanzo, M. A. (1995) *Diversity in organizations: New perspectives for a changing workplace.* Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

- Chen, S., Boucher, H. and Kraus, M.W. (2011) The Relational Self. In: S. J. Schwartz, K. Luycks and V. L. Vignoles eds. *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*. New York: Springer, pp.149-175.

- Cheung, S. and Phillimore, J (2013) *Social networks, social capital and refugee integration*. Research Report for Nuffield Foundation. Available at: http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/social-policy/iris/2013/nuffield-refugees-integration-research-report.pdf [Accessed: 07 February 2021).

- Cheung, S. and Phillimore, J. (2016) Gender and Refugee Integration: a Quantitative Analysis of Integration and Social Policy Outcomes. *Journal of Social Policy*. 46(2), pp.211-230. Available: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279416000775 [Accessed: 07 February 2021]

- Chiswick, B.R. and Miller, P.W. (1995) The endogeneity between language and earnings: International analyses. *Journal of labor economics*, *13*(2), pp.246-288.

- Chukwu, D.S. (2012) Experiences of Labor Exploitation: Case study of some male migrant workers in Finnish facility service industries. Bachelor, Daconia University of Applied Sciences. Available: https://www.theseus.fi/handle/10024/39754 [Accessed: 13 May 2018]

- Chung, H. (2005) Different paths towards flexibility: Deregulated employment protection or temporary employment: A study of cross national variance on employment protection legislation and temporary employment in 19 OECD countries. *Making Social Policy in the postindustiral age*: ESPAnet conference. University of Fribourg, Switzerland. 22nd-24th September 2005. Available: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=940369 [Accessed: 14 December 2022].

- Chung, H. (2013) Mind the gap: Impact of labour market institutions on the insecurity inequalities between insiders and outsiders. *Social Policy and Economic Development*: 11th Annual ESPAnet conference. Poznan University of Economics, Poland. 5th-7th September 2013. Available: http://espanet2013.ue.poznan.pl/index.php/papers [Accessed: 12 December 2022].

- CIPD (2015) *Workforce Demographics UK | Reports | CIPD*, Available: https://www.cipd.co.uk/knowledge/work/trends/ageing-workforce-report [Accessed: 04 September 2018]

- Clark, K. and Shankley, W. (2020) Ethnic minorities in the labour market in Britain. In: B. Byrne, C. Alexander, O. Khan, J. Nazroo, and W. Shankley eds. *Ethnicity, Race and Inequality in the UK: State of the Nation.* Bristol, UK: Policy Press, pp. 127-148.

- Clayton, J. (2020) Multiculturalism. In: A. Kobayashi eds. *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, *9*(2). Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 211-219. Available: https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-102295-5.10296-3 [Accessed: 12 December 2023]

- Clyne, M. and Jupp, J. (2013) *Multiculturalism and integration: A harmonious relationship*. ANU Press.

- Cockburn, C. (1991) *In the way of women: Men's resistance to sex equality in organizations* (No.18). Cornell University Press.

- Collier, A. (1994) Critical realism: an introduction to Roy Bhaskar's philosophy.

- Comte, A. (1855) *The positive philosophy of Auguste Comte*. Calvin Blanchard.

- Connor, P.E. and Becker, B.W. (1975) Values and the organization: Suggestions for research. *Academy of Management Journal*, *18*(3), pp.550-561.

- Constant, A.F. and Zimmermann, K.F. (2008) Measuring ethnic identity and its impact on economic behavior. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, *6*(2-3), pp.424-433.

- Corin, L., Berntson, E. and Härenstam, A. (2016) Managers' turnover in the public sector—The role of psychosocial working conditions. *International Journal of Public Administration*, *39*(10), pp.790-802.

- Cossette-Lefebvre, H. (2020) Direct and Indirect Discrimination: A Defense of the Disparate Impact Model. *Public Affairs Quarterly*, *34*(4), pp.340-367.

- Costoiu, A. (2008) Modes of Minorities' Integration: Explaining historical, economic and political factors. *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, *2*(2), pp.2-17.

- Cox, T. H. (1994) *Cultural diversity in organizations: Theory, research and practice*. San Francisco, Calif.: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

- Craig, G. (2015) *Migration and integration A local and experiential perspective* (7). IRIS Working Paper Series.

- Crandall, C. S., & Eshleman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological Bulletin, 129*(3), 414–446.

- Creswell, J.W. and Creswell, J.D. (2017) *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Sage publications.

- Crotty, M. (1998) *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process.* Sage.

- Cunliffe, A.L. (2003) Reflexive inquiry in organizational research: Questions and possibilities. *Human relations, 56*(8), pp.983-1003.

- Danermark, B., Ekstrom, M. and Jakobsen, L. (2005) *Explaining society: An introduction to critical realism in the social sciences*. Routledge.

- Darity, W.A. and Mason, P.L. (1998) Evidence on discrimination in employment: Codes of color, codes of gender. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *12*(2), pp.63-90.

- Das, G. G., Marjit, S. and Kar, M. (2020) The Impact of Immigration on Skills, Innovation and Wages: Education Matters more than where People Come from. *Journal of Policy Modeling*, 42 (3), pp. 557-582. Available: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpolmod.2020.02.003 [Accessed: 20 December 2021].

- Datta, K., McIlwaine, C., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., May, J. and Wills, J. (2007) From coping strategies to tactics: London's low-pay economy and migrant labour. *British journal of industrial relations*, 45(2), pp.404-432.

- Davda, L.S., Gallagher, J.E. and Radford, D.R. (2018) Migration motives and integration of international human resources of health in the United Kingdom: systematic review and meta-synthesis of qualitative studies using framework analysis. *Human resources for health*, *16*(1), p.27.

- Davies, J. (2019) From severe to routine labour exploitation: The case of migrant workers in the UK food industry. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, *19*(3), pp.294-310.

- Davis, B. and Sumara, D. (2001) Learning communities: Understanding the workplace as a complex system. *New Directions For Adult And Continuing Education, Winter 2001* (92), pp.85-96.

- Dawley, S. and Stenning, A. (2008) Placing Migrant Workers in Peripheral Regions: A8 nationals and labour market intermediaries in the North East of England. In: *AAG 2008 Annual Conference*.

- De Jonge, J. and Schaufeli, W.B., 1998. Job characteristics and employee well-being: a test of Warr's Vitamin Model in health care workers using structural equation modelling. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *19*(4), pp.387-407.

- De Lara, J.D., Reese, E.R. and Struna, J. (2016) Organizing Temporary Subcontracted and Immigrant Workers: Lessons from Change to Win Warehouse Workers United Campaign. *Labor Studies Journal,* 41 (4), pp.309-332.

- Deakin, S. (2013). *Addressing labour market segmentation: The role of labour law*. Working Paper 446. Cambridge: Centre for Business Research, University of Cambridge. Available: https://www.cbr.cam.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/wp446.pdf [Accessed 15 December 2022]

- Deakin, S., & Reed, H. (2000). River Crossing or cold Bath? Deregulation and Employment in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s. In: G. Esping-Andersen and M. Regini eds. *Why Deregulate Labour Market?*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 115-147.

- Dennison, J. and Geddes, A. (2018) Brexit and the perils of 'Europeanised' migration. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25(8), pp.1137-1153.

- Dennison, J. and Geddes, A. (2019) A rising tide? The salience of immigration and the rise of anti-immigration political parties in Western Europe. *The political quarterly*, *90*(1), pp.107-116. Available: https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12620 [Accessed: 23 August 2021]

- Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. eds. (2011) *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.

- Derrida, J. (2016) *Of grammatology*. Baltimore: JHU Press.

- Deutsch, W., Lhotka, L. and Ruiz-Cordova, S. (2009) Group dynamics and resource availability of a long-term volunteer water-monitoring program. *Society and Natural Resources*, *22*(7), pp.637-649.

- Digiusto, G.M. and Jolly, S.K. (2009) Xenophobia and Immigrant Contact: British Public Attitudes Toward Immigrants. (unpublished) In: *European Union Studies Association Biennial International Conference*, Los Angeles, 23rd to 25th 2009.

- DiTomaso, N. (1989). Sexuality in the workplace: Discrimination and harassment. In: J. Hearn, D. L. Sheppard, P. Tancred-Sheriff, & G. Burell, eds, *The sexuality of organizations*. Newbury Park: Sage pp.71-90

- Dixon, G.N., Deline, M.B., McComas, K., Chambliss, L. and Hoffmann, M. (2015) Saving energy at the workplace: The salience of behavioral antecedents and sense of community. *Energy Research and Social Science*, *6*, pp.121-127.

- Doeringer, P. and Piore, M. (1971). *Internal labour Markets and Manpower Analysis*. 1st ed. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company.

- Donaldson, L. (1976) Woodward, technology, organizational structure and performance—A critique of the universal generalization. *Journal of Management Studies*, 13(3), pp.255-273.

- Dörnyei, Z. (2007) *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Drucker, P. (2013) *People and performance*. Routledge.

- Dubois, A. and Gibbert, M. (2010) From complexity to transparency: managing the interplay between theory, method and empirical phenomena in IMM case studies. *Industrial Marketing Management,* 39(1), pp.29-136.

- Duncan, T., Scott, D.G. and Baum, T. (2013) The mobilities of hospitality work: An exploration of issues and debates. *Annals of tourism research*, *41*, pp.1-19.

- Dunn, K. (2005) Interviewing. In: I. Hay ed. *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography (2)*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

- Dustmann, C, and Glitz, A. (2011) Migration and Education. In: E. A. Hanushek, S. Machin, and L. Woessmann, eds. *Handbook of the Economics of Education.* 4. Waltham: Elsevier, pp. 327-439.

- Dustmann, C. and Fabbri, F. (2003) Language proficiency and labour market performance of immigrants in the UK. *The Economic Journal*, 113(489), pp. 695-717

- Dustmann, C. and Fabbri, F. (2005) Immigrants in the British labour market. Fiscal Studies, 26(4), pp.423-470

- Dustmann, C. and Frattini, T. (2014) The fiscal effects of immigration to the UK. *The economic journal*, 124(580), pp.593-643.

- Dustmann, C. and Preston, I.P. (2007) Racial and economic factors in attitudes to immigration. *The BE Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, 7(1).

- Dustmann, C. and Weiss, Y. (2007) Return migration: theory and empirical evidence from the UK. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 45(2), pp.236-256.

- Dustmann, C., Fabbri, F. and Preston, I. (2005) The impact of immigration on the British labour market. *The Economic Journal*, 115(507), pp.324-341

- Dustmann, C., Frattini, T. and Preston, I.P. (2013) The effect of immigration along the distribution of wages. Review of Economic Studies, 80(1), pp. 145-173.

- Dustmann, C., Schönberg, U. and Stuhler, J. (2016) The impact of immigration: Why do studies reach such different results? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 30(4), pp.31-56

- Dustmann, C., Schönberg, U. and Stuhler, J. (2017) Labor supply shocks, native wages, and the adjustment of local employment. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*,132(1), pp. 435-483.

- Dutton, E., Warhurst, C., Lloyd, C., James, S., Commander, J. and Nickson, D. (2008) "Just like the elves in Harry Potter": Room attendants in United Kingdom Hotels. In: C. Lloyd, G. Mason, and K. Mayhew, eds. *Low-Wage Work in the United Kingdom*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp.96-130.

- Dyer Jr, W.G. and Wilkins, A.L. (1991) Better stories, not better constructs, to generate better theory: A rejoinder to Eisenhardt. *Academy of management review*, *16*(3), pp.613-619.

- Eade, J., Drinkwater, S. and Garapich, M. (2006) Class and ethnicity: Polish migrants in London. *CRONEM. Guildford: University of Surrey.*

- Easterby-Smith, M., and Thorpe, R. (1991) *Management research: An Introduction.* Sage Publications, London.

- Easterlin, R.A. (1974) Does economic growth improve the human lot? Some empirical evidence. In: P.A. David, and M.W. Reder, eds. *Nations and households in economic growth*, Academic Press, pp. 89-125.

- Easton, G. (2010). Critical realism in case study research. *Industrial marketing management,* 39(1), pp.18-128.

- Easton, M. (2019), Crossing Divides - Immigration: Is Britain becoming less anxious? *BBC News,* 10 June. Available: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-48545143 [Accessed: 11 July 2019]

- Edwards, P., Ram, M., Jones, T. and Doldor, S. (2016) New migrant businesses and their workers: developing, but not transforming, the ethnic economy. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(9), pp.1587-1617.

- Edwards, R. (1979*) Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century.* New York: Basic Books.

- Eidelson, B. (2015) *Discrimination and disrespect*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Eisenhardt, K.M. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *Academy of management review,* 14(4), pp.532-550.

- Elder-Vass, D. (2010) *The Causal Power of Social Structures: Emergence, Structure and Agency,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Elias, P. (2004). Restructuring, Reskilling and Redundancy: A Study of Dynamics of the UK Labour Market, 1991-1995. *DADOS – Revista de Ciências Sociais*, *47* (3), p.419-471.

- Ellemers, N. (2022) *Social identity theory*. Encyclopedia Britannica. Available: https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-identity-theory [Accessed: 19 February 2023]

- Emery, F. E., and Trist, E. L. (1960) Socio-technical Systems. In: M. Verhulst, and C.W. Churchman, eds. *Management Sciences: Models and Techniques. Proceedings of the 6th International Meeting of The Institute of Management Sciences, 2.* Paris, 7th to 11th September. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

- Emmett, E. R. (1964) *Learning to philosophize*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Enfield, N.J. and Levinson, S.C. (2006) Roots of human sociality. *New York*: Berg.

- Esses, V.M., Medianu, S. and Lawson, A.S. (2013) Uncertainty, threat, and the role of the media in promoting the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees. *Journal of social issues,* 69 (3), pp.518-536.

- Evan, W.M. (1976) Organization theory and organizational effectiveness: An exploratory analysis. *Organization and Administrative Sciences*, 7(1), pp.15-28.

- Evans, Y, Wills, J, and Datta, K. (2007) 'Subcontracting by stealth' in London's hotels: Impacts and implications for labour organising. *Just Labour: a Canadian Journal of Work and Society,* 10, pp.85–97.

- Fahey, L. and Randall, R.M. eds. (1998) *Learning from the future: competitive foresight scenarios*. John Wiley & Sons.

- Faist, T. (2000) *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces*.

- Fasani, F., Llull, J. and Tealdi, C. (2020) The economics of migration: Labour market impacts and migration policies. *Labour Economics*, *67*, p.101929.

- Fassio, C., Kalantaryan, S. and Venturini, A. (2015) *Human resources and innovation: Total factor productivity and foreign human capital. Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research- Migration Policy Centre.* EUI Working Paper RSCAS 2015/43. Fiesole, Italy: European University Institute. Available: https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2631086 [Accessed: 15 March 2021].

- Favell, A. and Nebe, T. (2009) Internal and external movers: East-West migration and the impact of EU enlargement. In: A. Favell, and E. Reechi, eds. Pioneers of European Identity: Citizenship and Mobility in the EU. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, pp.2015-223.

- Fayol, H. (1949) *General and Industrial Management.* London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons (translated by Constance Storrs).

- Felbermayr, G.J., Hiller, S. and Sala, D. (2010) Does immigration boost per capita income? *Economics Letters*, 107(2), pp.177-179.

- Felbo-Kolding, J., Leschke, J. and F. Spreckelsen, T. (2019) A division of labour? Labour market segmentation by region of origin: the case of intra-EU migrants in the

UK, Germany and Denmark. *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, *45*(15), pp.2820-2843.

- Ferguson, N. and McKeown, S. (2016) Social Identity Theory and Intergroup Conflict in Northern Ireland. In: S. McKeown, R. Haji and N. Ferguson eds. *Understanding peace and conflict through social identity theory: Contemporary global perspectives*. Peace Psychology Book Series. Cham: Springer Nature, pp.215-227.

- Fernandez-Reino, M. and Rienzo, C. (2022) *Migrants in the UK labour market: An overview*. Briefing. Oxford: The Migration Observatory. Available: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/MigObs-Briefing-Migrants-in-the-UK-labour-market-an-overview.pdf [Accessed: 7 December 2022]

- Fernández-Reino, M., Sumption, M. and Vargas-Silva, C. (2020) From low-skilled to key workers: the implications of emergencies for immigration policy. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy,* 36 (1), pp. S382-S396. Available: https://doi.org/10.1093/oxrep/graa016 [Accessed: 21 May 2021].

- Fetzer, J.S. (2000) *Public attitudes toward immigration in the United States, France, and Germany*. Cambridge University Press.

- Feyerabend, P. (1975) How to defend society against science. In: E.D. Klemke, R. Hollinger, and D.W. Rudge, eds. *Introductory readings in the philosophy of science*, 3rd ed. New York: Amherst, pp.54-65.

- Foran, M. P. (2022) GROUNDING UNLAWFUL DISCRIMINATION. Legal Theory, 28(1), pp. 3–34.

- Ford, C.M. (1996) A theory of individual creative action in multiple social domains. *Academy of Management review*, *21*(4), pp.1112-1142.

- Ford, R. (2011) Acceptable and unacceptable immigrants: How opposition to immigration in Britain is affected by migrants' region of origin. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies*, *37*(7), pp.1017-1037.

- Fossati, F. (2011) The effect of integration and social democratic welfare states on immigrants' educational attainment: a multilevel estimate. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 21(5), pp.391-412.

- Fotheringham, A.S. (2006) Quantification, evidence and positivism. In: S. Aitken, and G. Valentine, eds. *Approaches to human geography*. London: Sage, pp. 237-250.

- Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison, trans. *Alan Sheridan*. New York: Vintage.

- Foucault, M. (1991) *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality*. University of Chicago Press.

- Fox, J.E., Moroşanu, L. and Szilassy, E. (2012) The racialization of the new European migration to the UK. *Sociology*, *46*(4), pp.680-695.

- Francis-Devine, B. and Stephen, O. (2023) *Income Inequality in the UK*. Commons Library Research Briefing. Available: House of Commons Library [Accessed: 14 February 2023]

- Freund, A. (2005). Commitment and job satisfaction as predictors of turnover intentions among welfare workers. *Administration in Social Work,* 29 (2), pp.5-21. Available: https://doi.org/10.1300/J147v29n02_02 [Accessed: 22 February 2020]

- Friedberg, R. M. and Hunt, J. (1995) The Impact of Immigrants on Host Country Wages, Employment and Growth. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 9* (2), pp. 23-44.

- Gable, G.G. (1994) Integrating case study and survey research methods: an example in information systems. *European journal of information systems*, 3(2), pp.112-126.

- Gabrielli, G., Longobardi, S. and Strozza, S. (2021) The academic resilience of native and immigrant-origin students in selected European countries. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* Special Issue Available: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1935657 [Accessed: 04 October 2021].

- Gall, G. (2010) Statutory union recognition provisions as stimulants to employer anti-unionism in three Anglo-Saxon countries. *Economic and industrial democracy*, 31(1), pp.7-33.

- Garrett, D.F. and Pavan, A. (2012) Managerial turnover in a changing world. *Journal of Political Economy*, *120*(5), pp.879-925.

- Geertz, C. (1973) Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture. In: C. Geertz, eds. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books (pp.3-30)

- Gibbs, A. (1997) Focus groups. *Social Research Update*, 19(8). Surrey: University of Surrey, pp.1-8.

- Gibbs, J.P. (1981) *Norms, deviance, and social control: Conceptual matters*. Elsevier Science Ltd.

- Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*, London: Red Globe Press London. Available: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-16161-4 [Accessed: 31 January 2023]

- Gidley, B. and Jayaweera, H. (2010) *An evidence base on migration and integration in London*: *ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford*. Oxford: COMPAS. Available: https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/PR-2010-Evidence_Migration_London.pdf [Accessed: 14 November 2022]

- Gilbert, N. and Stoneman, P. eds (2016) *Researching Social Life*, London: Sage.

- Giuntella, O. and Mazzonna, F. (2015) Do immigrants improve the health of natives? *Journal of health economics*, 43, pp.140-153.

- Gonçalves, L., Parker, M., Luguetti, C. and Carbinatto, M. (2021) 'We united to defend ourselves and face our struggles': nurturing a physical education teachers' community of practice in a precarious context. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, pp.1-14.

- Goodwin, M. and Milazzo, C. (2017) Taking back control? Investigating the role of immigration in the 2016 vote for Brexit. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 19(3), pp. 450–464. Available: https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148117710799 [Accessed: 23 August 2021]

- Goss, J.D. and Leinbach, T.R. (1996) Focus groups as alternative research practice: experience with transmigrants in Indonesia. *Area*, pp.115-123.

- Gozdz, K. (1995) *Community building: Renewing spirit and learning in Business*. San Francisco, Calif.: Sterling & Stone, Inc.

- Grande, E., Schwarzbözl, T., and Fatke, M. (2019) Politicizing immigration in Western Europe, *Journal of European Public Policy,* 26(10), pp. 1444-1463. Available: https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2018.1531909 [Accessed: 15 November 2021].

- Green, F. (2008) Temporary work and insecurity in Britain: a problem solved?. *Social Indicators Research*, *88*(1), pp.147-160.

- Greenwood, M.J. and Hunt, G.L. (1995) Economic effects of immigrants on native and foreign-born workers: Complementarity, substitutability, and other channels of influence. *Southern Economic Journal*, pp.1076-1097

- Grillo, R. (2015) Reflections on Super-Diversity by an Urban Anthropologist. *Super-diversity Academy*, Berlin, 8th-10th April (unpublished conference paper]. Available: https://www.academia.edu/12392425/_Reflections_on_Super-Diversity_by_an_Urban_Anthropologist_or_Super-diversity_So_What [Accessed: 02 February 2021]

- Grünbaum, A. (1976) Is Falsifiability the Touchstone of Scientific Rationality? Karl Popper Versus Inductivism. In: R.S. Cohen, P.K. Feyerabend, and M.W. Wartofsky, eds. *Essays in Memory of Imre Lakatos. Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science*, 39. Boston: Springer, Dordrecht, pp. 213-252.

- Grünbaum, A. (1979) Is Freudian psychoanalytic theory pseudo-scientific by Karl Popper's criterion of demarcation?. *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 16(2), pp.131-141.

- Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2016) Social Anchoring: Immigrant Identity, Security and Integration Reconnected?, *Sociology*, 50(6), pp. 1123–1139. Available: https://www.doi.org/10.1177/0038038515594091 [Accessed: 05 February 2021].

- Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. (2017) From Connecting to Social Anchoring: Adaptation and 'Settlement' of Polish Migrants in the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 44(2), pp.252–269. Available: https://www.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341713 [Accessed: 02 February 2021]

- Grzymala-Kazlowska, A. and Phillimore, J. (2018) Introduction: rethinking integration. New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(2), pp.179-196.

- Guest, A.M. and Stamm, K.R. (1993) Paths of community integration. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *34*(4), pp.581-595.

- Guion, L.A., Diehl, D.C. and McDonald, D. (2011) *Conducting an in-depth interview*. Florida: EDIS.

- Gunasekara, C. (2007) Pivoting the centre: reflections on undertaking qualitative interviewing in academia, *Qualitative Research*, 7(4), pp. 461-475.

- Hack-Polay, D. (2007) *Compassionate Leadership in Voluntary Sector Organisations and the Integration of Forced Migrants*. Available: http://eprints.lincoln.ac.uk/id/eprint/31440/1/Compassionate%20leadership%20in%20the%20voluntary%20sector%20and%20the%20integration%20of%20forced%20migrants.pdf [Accessed: 06 May 2018]

- Hack-Polay, D. (2008a) Migrant integration: case for a necessary shift of paradigm. *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, *2*(1), pp.37-56.

- Hack-Polay, D. (2008b) *Missed opportunity: The underutilisation of forced migrants in the British economy*. Centre for International Business Studies.

- Hack-Polay, D. (2016) *Reframing migrant integration*. Book Guild Publishing.

- Hack-Polay, D. (2019) Migrant enclaves: disempowering economic ghettos or sanctuaries of opportunities for migrants? *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*.

- Hack-Polay, D. and Mendy, J. (2017) The use of interactive dialogue to study failed and recovering business enterprises among self-employed African migrants in the UK, *European Conference on Research Methodology for Business and Management Studies*. Dublin Institute of Technology, 22nd- 23rd June. Available: http://eprints.lincoln.ac.uk/id/eprint/27455/ [Accessed: 02 May 2018].

- Hack-Polay, D., Igwe, P.A. and Madichie, N.O. (2020) The role of institutional and family embeddedness in the failure of Sub-Saharan African migrant family businesses. *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation*, *21*(4), pp.237-249.

- Hack-Polay, D.D. (2006) *Metaphors and Narratives in Exile: Understanding the Experiences of Forced Migrants in Britain*. PhD, University of Surrey.

- Hailey, J. and James, R. (2002) Learning leaders: the key to learning organisations. *Development in Practice*, *12*(3-4), pp.398-408.

- Hancock, D.R. and Algozzine, B. (2017) *Doing case study research: A practical guide for beginning researchers*. Teachers College Press.

- Hansen, R. (2012) *The Centrality of Employment in Immigrant Integration in Europe*. Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute.

- Hanson, G.H. (2009) The economic consequences of the international migration of labor. *Annual Review of Economics*, *1*(1), pp.179-208.

- Haque, R., Dustmann, C., Fabri, F., Preston, I. and Wadsworth, J. (2002) *Migrants in the UK: their characteristics and labour market outcomes and impacts*. Home Office, Research, Development and Statistics Directorate. No. 82. London: Home Office, Research, Development and Statistics Directorate. Available: http://hdl.handle.net/10068/426963 [Accessed: 19 May 2018]

- Harré, R. and Secord, P.F. (1972) *The explanation of social behaviour*. Rowman & Littlefield

- Harwood, E. (1983) Alienation: American attitudes toward immigration. *Public Opinion*, *6*(3), pp.49-51.

- Harwood, E. (1986) American public opinion and US immigration policy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *487*(1), pp.201-212.

- Hasan, R. (2011) *Hard and Soft Systems Thinking*. MBA, University of Lincoln.

- Haubert, J. and Fussell, E. (2006) Explaining pro-immigrant sentiment in the US: Social class, cosmopolitanism, and perceptions of immigrants. *International Migration Review*, *40*(3), pp.489-507.

- Hay, C. (2002) *Political analysis: a critical introduction*. 1st ed. London: Macmillan International Higher Education.

- Hay, C. (2006) Political ontology. In: R. Goodin, and C. Tilly, eds. *The Oxford handbook of contextual political analysis,* 5th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 78-96.

- Haynes, R.B. (2012) *Clinical epidemiology: how to do clinical practice research.* New York: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

- Hays, S. (1994) Structure and agency and the sticky problem of culture. *Sociological theory*, *12*(1), pp.57-72.

- Hedges, T. (2022) The Abnormality of Discrimination: A Phenomenological Perspective. *Genealogy+Critique*, 8 (1), pp.1-22.

- Helbling, M. and Kriesi, H. (2014) Why citizens prefer high-over low-skilled immigrants. Labor market competition, welfare state, and deservingness. *European Sociological Review*, *30*(5), pp.595-614

- Hellman, D. (2011) When is Discrimination Wrong? Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

- Helm, T (2020) UK will need to extend Brexit transition, Merkel ally warns Britain. *The Guardian*, 26 April. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/apr/26/brexit-want-to-leave-the-eu-youll-need-two-more-years-merkel-ally-warns-britain [Accessed: 28 April 2020].

- Hemed, M. (2018) *Cross-sectional Studies*. Training course in research methodology and research protocol development: Geneva Foundation for Medical Education and research. Geneva, 6th August. Available: https://gfmer.org/srh-course-2018/research-methodology/research-methodology-course-files/cross-sectional-studies-hemed-2018/ [Accessed: 12 January 2023].

- Heracleous, L. and Lan, L.L. (2012) Agency theory, institutional sensitivity, and inductive reasoning: Towards a legal perspective. *Journal of Management Studies*, *49*(1), pp.223-239.

- Hewstone, M. and Brown, R. (1986). Contact is not enough: An intergroup perspective on the 'contact hypothesis.'. In: M. Hewstone and R. Brown eds. *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 1–44.

- Hickman, M., Crowley, H. and Mai, N. (2008). *Immigration and social cohesion in the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

- Himes, J.S. (2008). *Conflict and conflict management*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press.

- Hinterseer, T. (2013) Part-time work: atypical? Precarious? Normal?. *European Journal of Futures Research*, *1*(1), pp.1-8.

- HMRC (2022) *National Minimum Wage and National Living Wage rates-GOV.UK*, GOV.UK. Available: https://www.gov.uk/national-minimum-wage-rates [Accessed: 10 January 2022]

- Hobbs, D. and May, T. (1993) *Interpreting the Field: Accounts of Ethnography*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Hoeyer, K. (2006) The power of ethics: a case study from Sweden on the social life of moral concerns in policy processes. *Sociology of health & illness,* 28(6), pp.785-801.

- Hofstede, G. (1980) Motivation, leadership, and organization: do American theories apply abroad? *Organizational dynamics*, *9*(1), pp.42-63.

- Hogg, M.A. and Turner, J.C. (1985) When liking begets solidarity: An experiment on the role of interpersonal attraction in psychological group formation. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 24*(4), pp.267-281.

- Holgate, J. (2005) Organizing migrant workers: a case study of working conditions and unionization in a London sandwich factory. *Work, employment and society*, 19(3), pp.463-480.

- Holgate, J. (2018) Trade unions in the community: Building broad spaces of solidarity. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, Available: https://doi.org/10.1177/0143831X18763871 [Accessed: 20 May 2018]

- Holgate, J. and Wills, J. (2007) Lessons from the Campaign for a Living Wage. *Labor in the new urban battlegrounds: Local solidarity in a global economy*, *12*, p.211.

- Hollis, M. (1994) *The philosophy of social science: An introduction*. Cambridge University Press.

- Holroyd, J. (2017) The Social Psychology of Discrimination. In: K. Lippert-Rasmussen ed. *The Routledge Handbook of the Ethics of Discrimination.* 1st ed. London: Routledge, pp.381-393.

- Holton, M.J. (2016) *Longing for home: Forced displacement and postures of hospitality*. Yale University Press.

- Home Office (2022) *Immigration Rules- Guidance- GOV.UK*, GOV.UK. Available: https://www.gov.uk/guidance/immigration-rules/immigration-rules-appendix-j-codes-of-practice-for-skilled-work [Accessed 05 January 2022]

- Hong, Y., Fang, Y., Yang, Y., & Phua, D. Y. (2013). Cultural Attachment: A New Theory and Method to Understand Cross-Cultural Competence. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 44(6), pp.1024–1044.

- Hopkins, B. (2009) Inequality street? Working life in a British chocolate factory. *Work matters: Critical reflections on contemporary work*, p.129.

- Hopkins, D.J. (2015) The upside of accents: Language, inter-group difference, and attitudes toward immigration. *British Journal of Political Science*, pp.531-557.

- Hoppe, M. H. (1990) *A comparative study of country elites: International differences in work-related values and learning and their implications for management training and development*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

- Horolets, A. (2018) On holiday? Polish migrants visit their families in Poland. In: M. Ślusarczyk, P. Pustułka and J. Struzik, eds. *Contemporary Migrant Families: Actors and Issues*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishers, pp. 117-136.

- Hospitality and Catering News (2018) *The impact of Brexit on the British hospitality industry,* Hospitality & Catering News. Available: www.hospitalityandcateringnews.com/2018/05/impact-brexit-british-hospitality-industry/ [Accessed: 16 January 2021]

- Hudson, M., Netto, G., Noon, M., Sosenko, F., de Lima, P. and Kamenou-Aigbekaen, N., 2017. Ethnicity and low wage traps: favouritism, homosocial reproduction and economic marginalization. *Work, Employment and Society*, *31*(6), pp.992-1009.

- Hughes, J. A., and Sharrock, W. W. (2016). *The Philosophy of Social Research*. London: Routledge

- Hughes, J.A. and Sharrock, W. (2001) Ethnography in the workplace: Remarks on its theoretical bases. *Team Ethno,* 1(1). Available: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.463.6724&rep=rep1&type=pdf [Accessed 16 June 2019]

- Hunt, J. (2011) Which immigrants are most innovative and entrepreneurial? Distinctions by entry visa. *Journal of Labor Economics*, *29*(3), pp.417-457.

- Hurwitz, J. and Peffley, M. (1997) Public perceptions of race and crime: The role of racial stereotypes. *American journal of political science*, pp.375-401.

- Iara, A. (2006) Skill diffusion in temporary migration? Returns to Western European working experience in the EU accession countries. *Returns to Western European Working Experience in the EU Accession Countries.* Working Paper No.210. Centro Studi Luca d'Agliano Development Studies. Available: https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.918037 [Accessed: 28 May 2020]

- Ibarra, H. (1993) Personal networks of women and minorities in management: A conceptual framework. *Academy of management Review*, *18*(1), pp.56-87.

- Ibarra, H., (1995) Race, opportunity, and diversity of social circles in managerial networks. *Academy of management journal*, *38*(3), pp.673-703.

- Inman, P. (2020) Worst UK economic slump for 300 years not a good platform for Brexit talk. *The Guardian,* 10 December. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/dec/10/worst-economic-slump-for-300-years-not-a-good-platform-for-brexit-talks [Accessed 15 December 2020].

- Ivison, D. (2001). Multiculturalism. In: N. J. Smelser and P. B. Baltes eds. *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioural Sciences*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. pp. 10169-75.

- Jackson, M.C. (1982) The nature of soft systems thinking: The work of Churchman, Ackoff and Checkland. *Journal of applied systems analysis*, 9(1), pp.17-29.

- James, W., Burkhardt, F. and Thayer, H.S. (1975) *Pragmatism,* 1st ed. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

- Janis, I.L. (1982) *Groupthink: Psychological studies of policy decisions and fiascos,* 2nd ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

- Jankowicz, A.D. (2005) *Business research projects*. London: Cengage Learning EMEA.

- Janta, H. (2011) Polish migrant workers in the UK hospitality industry. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 23(6). Available: https://doi.org/10.1108/09596111111153484 [Accessed: 14 February 2020]

- Janta, H., Ladkin, A., Brown, L. and Lugosi, P. (2011) Employment experiences of Polish migrant workers in the UK hospitality sector. *Tourism Management*, 32(5), pp.1006-1019.

- Jarosz, E. and Gugushvili, A. (2020) The 'good life' of Polish migrants in Britain: Daily behaviours and subjective well-being of migrants, stayers and the British. *Population, Space and Place,* 26(7), e2343. Available: https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2343 [Accessed:03 June, 2020]

- Jaumotte, M.F., Koloskova, K. and Saxena, M.S.C. (2016) *Impact of migration on income levels in advanced economies*. International Monetary Fund.

- Jetten, J., Spears, R. and Postmes, T. (2004) Intergroup distinctiveness and differentiation: A meta-analytic integration. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 86(6), p.862.

- Joas, H. (1993) *Pragmatism and social theory.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Johnson, P. and Clark, M. (2006) Mapping the terrain: an overview of business and management research methodologies. *Business and management research methodologies.* London: Sage.

- Johnston, R., Khattab, N. and Manley, D. (2015) East versus West? Over-qualification and earnings among the UK's European migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *41*(2), pp.196-218.

- Jonas, M. (2007) The downside of diversity. *The Boston Globe*, *5*, pp.266-293.

- Jones, A. and Kelly, D. (2014) Whistle-blowing and workplace culture in older peoples' care: qualitative insights from the healthcare and social care workforce. *Sociology of health & illness*, *36*(7), pp.986-1002.

- Jones, K. and Redman, R. (2000) Organizational culture and work design: experiences in three organizations. JONA: The Journal of Nursing Administration, 30(12), pp.604-610

- Jones, K.P., Arena, D.F., Nittrouer, C.L., Alonso, N.M. and Lindsey, A.P., (2017) Subtle discrimination in the workplace: A vicious cycle. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *10*(1), pp.51-76.

- Jones, M. (2002) *Social psychology of prejudice*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

- Joppke, C. (2007) Beyond national models: Civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 30(1), pp.1-22.

- Kabeer, N. and Joekes, S. (1991) Researching the household: methodological and empirical issues. I*nstitute of Development Studies bulletin*, 22(1), pp.1-64. Available: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1759-5436.1991.mp22001001.x [Accessed: 12 August 2020]

- Kehrberg, J.E. (2007) Public opinion on immigration in Western Europe: Economics, tolerance, and exposure. *Comparative European Politics*, *5*(3), pp.264-281.

- Kelemen, M.L. and Rumens, N. (2008) *An introduction to critical management research.* London: Sage.

- Keller, B. and Seifert, H., (2011) Atypische Beschäftigungsverhältnisse.Stand und Lücken der aktuellen Diskussion. *WSI Mitteilungen*, *64* (3), pp.138-145.

- Kerr, S.P. and Kerr, W.R. (2011) *Economic impacts of immigration: A survey*. Working Paper 16736. Cambridge, Mass.: NBER. Available: https://www.nber.org/papers/w16736 [Accessed: 20 December 2022]

- Kesmodel, U.S. (2018) Cross-sectional studies – what are they good for?. *Acta Obstetricia et Gynecologica Scandinavica, 97*(4), pp.388–393. Available: https://obgyn.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/aogs.13331 [Accessed: 26 January 2023]

- Khoudja, Y. and Platt, I. (2018) Labour market entries and exits of women from different origin countries in the UK. *Social Science Research*, 69, pp. 1-18.

- Kilby, P. (2002) *Social Capital and Civil Society*, Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies at ANU, pp.1–15.

- Kilduff, M. and Mehra, A. (1997) Postmodernism and organizational research. *Academy of Management Review*, *22*(2), pp.453-481.

- Kindler, M., Ratcheva, V. and Piechowska, M. (2015) Social networks, social capital and migrant integration at local level. European literature review. *Institute for Research Into Superdiversity*, *6*.

- King, B. (2021) Unemployment rate: How many people are out of work? *BBC News,* 26 January. Available: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-52660591 [Accessed: 28 January 2021]

- King, E. B. and Cortina, J. M. (2010) The Social and Economic Imperative of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Supportive Organizational Policies. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology, 3*(1), pp. 69–78.

- King, R. (2020) Everyday Europe: Immigration, Transnational Mobility and the" Wicked Problem" of Brexit. *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 13(1), pp.842-863.

- Kingston, G., McGinnity, F. and O'Connell, P.J. (2015) Discrimination in the labour market: nationality, ethnicity and the recession. Work, employment and society, 29(2), pp.213-232.

- Kinzler, K.D., Shutts, K. and Correll, J. (2010) Priorities in social categories. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40(4), pp.581-592.

- Kirk, D. (1995) Hard and soft systems: a common paradigm for operations management. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 7(5), pp. 13-16.

- Kirton, G. and Greene, A.M. (2015) *The dynamics of managing diversity: A critical approach*. 4th ed. Oxon: Routledge.

- Klarenbeek, L.M. (2019) Relational integration: a response to Willem Schinkel. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7(1), 20, Available: https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0126-6 [Accessed: 12 September 2020]

- Klein, O., Spears, R. and Reicher, S. (2007) Social Identity Performance: Extending the Strategic Side of SIDE. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 11*(1), pp.28-45.

- Knocke, W. (2000) Integration or segregation? Immigrant populations facing the labour market in Sweden. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 21(3), pp.361-380.

- Kone, Z., Ruiz, I. and Vargas-Silva, C. (2019) *Refugees and the UK labour market*. Compas Report. Oxford: Compas. Available: https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/ECONREF-Refugees-and-the-UK-Labour-Market-report.pdf [Accessed: 16 November 2022]

- Kossek, E.E. and Zonia, S.C. (1993) Assessing diversity climate: A field study of reactions to employer efforts to promote diversity. *Journal of organizational behavior*, *14*(1), pp.61-81.

- Kothari, C.R. (2004) *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International.

- KPMG (2017) *Labour migration in the hospitality sector*. KPGM. Available: https://view.publitas.com/ukh/bha-kpmg-labour-migration-in-the-hospitality-sector-report/page/2 [Accessed: 16 September 2018]

- Kraiger, K., Kevin, J.and Sales, E. (1993) Application of cognitive, skill-based, and affective theories of learning outcomes to new methods of training evaluation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78 (2), pp.311-328.

- Kratzer, N. (2001). *Thesen zur Flexibilisierung des Arbeitseinsatzes*. München: Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung e.V. ISF München. Available: https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-235833 [Accessed: 23 November 2022]

- Krueger, R.A. (1998) Moderating focus groups. In: D.L. Morgan, R.A. Krueger, and J.A. King, eds. *Focus group kit*, 1st ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Kuhn, T. (1962) *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Lacey, A. and Luff, D. (2001) *Qualitative data analysis*. Sheffield: Trent Focus.

- Laganà, F., Elcheroth, G., Penic, S., Kleiner, B. and Fasel, N. (2013) National minorities and their representation in social surveys: which practices make a difference? *Quality & Quantity*, *47*(3), pp.1287-1314. Available: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-011-9591-1 [Accessed: 21 August 2020]

- Landemore, H. (2013) Deliberation, cognitive diversity, and democratic inclusiveness: an epistemic argument for the random selection of representatives. *Synthese*, *190*(7), pp.1209-1231. Available: https://doi.org/10.1007/s11229-012-0062-6 [Accessed: 15 June 2018]

- Lapwoch, G. and Amone-P'Olak, K. (2016) Social Identity and Conflict in Northern Uganda. In: S. McKeown, R. Haji and N. Ferguson eds. *Understanding peace and*

conflict through social identity theory: Contemporary global perspectives. Peace Psychology Book Series. Cham: Springer Nature, pp. 185-198.

- Lash, S. (2014) *Sociology of postmodernism.* New York: Routledge.

- Laurier, E. (2010) Participant observation. In: N. Clifford, S. French, and G. Valentine, eds. *Key methods in geography*, 2nd ed. London: SAGE, pp. 116-130.

- Lauring, J. and Selmer, J. (2010) Multicultural organizations: Common language and group cohesiveness. *International journal of cross cultural management*, *10*(3), pp.267-284.

- Lazear, E.P. (1999) Globalisation and the market for team-mates. *The Economic Journal,* 109(454), pp.15-40.

- Leaper, C. (2011) More similarities than differences in contemporary theories of social development?: A plea for theory bridging. *Advances in child development and behavior*, *40*, pp.337-378.

- Leavey, G., Sembhi, S. and Livingston, G. (2004) Older Irish migrants living in London: identity, loss and return. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *30*(4), pp.763-779.

- Lee, B., Collier, P.M. and Cullen, J. (2007) Reflections on the Use of Case Studies in the Accounting, Management and Organizational Disciplines. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 2(3), pp.169-178.

- Lee, R.A. and Lawrence, P. (1991) *Politics at work*. Philadelphia: Trans-Atlantic Publications.

- Leigh, J.M., Shapiro, E.R. and Penney, S.H. (2010) Developing diverse, collaborative leaders: An empirical program evaluation. *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, 17(4), pp. 370-379.

- Lelieveld, H.L. and Holah, J. eds. (2016) *Handbook of hygiene control in the food industry*. 2nd ed. Duxford: Woodhead Publishing.

- Levels, M., Dronkers, J. and Kraaykamp, G. (2008) Immigrant children's educational achievement in western countries: origin, destination, and community effects on mathematical performance. *American Sociological Review*, *73*(5), pp.835-853.

- Lewis, E. (2011) Immigration, skill mix, and capital skill complementarity. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *126*(2), pp.1029-1069.

- Li, W., Liu, X. and Wan, W. (2008) Demographic effects of work values and their management implications. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *81*(4), pp.875-885.

- Lindbeck, A. and Snower, D. (1988) Cooperation, Harassment and Involuntary Unemployment: An Insider-Outsider Approach. *The American Economic Review, 78*(1), pp.167-188.

- Lippert-Rasmussen, K. (2006) The badness of discrimination. *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice*, *9*, pp.167-185.

- Lippert-Rasmussen, K. (2014) Indirect discrimination is not necessarily unjust. *Journal of Practical Ethics*, *2*(2), pp.33-57.

- Living Wage Foundation (2021) *Real Living Wage increases to £9.90 in UK and £11.05 in London as cost of living rises. | Living Wage Foundation,* Living Wage Foundation. Available: https://www.livingwage.org.uk/calculation [Accessed on 02 January 2022]

- Locke, E.A. (2007) The case for inductive theory building. *Journal of Management*, *33*(6), pp.867-890.

- Lofland, J. and Lofland, L.H. (1971) *Analyzing social settings*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company

- Lomax, N., Wohland, P., Rees, P. and Norman, P. (2020) The impacts of international migration on the UK's ethnic populations. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46(1), pp. 177-199. Available: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1577726 [Accessed: 20 December 2021].

- Long, B.C. (1998) Coping with workplace stress: A multiple-group comparison of female managers and clerical workers. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *45*(1), p.65.

- Longhurst, R. (2010) Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. In: N. Clifford, S French, and G. Valentine, eds. *Key methods in geography*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 103-115.

- Louhiala-Salminen, L., Charles, M. and Kankaanranta, A. (2005) English as a lingua franca in Nordic corporate mergers: Two case companies. *English for Specific purposes*, *24*(4), pp.401-421.

- Loveridge, R. (2013) The Aston Studies: A Journey Towards a Science of Administration? In: M. Witzel, and M. Warner, *The Oxford Handbook of Management Theorists.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Lucas, R. and Mansfield, S. (2010) The use of migrant labour in the hospitality sector: current and future implications. *Who needs migrant workers*, pp.159-186.

- Lucassen, L. (2005) *The immigrant threat: The integration of old and new migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, 27(1). Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

- Luhmann, N. (1995) *Social systems*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

- Lulle, A., Moroşanu, L. and King, R. (2018) And then came Brexit: Experiences and future plans of young EU migrants in the London region. *Population, Space and Place*, *24*(1), p.e2122. Available: https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2122 [Accessed: 07 September 2020]

- Luthra, R., Nandi, A. and Benzeval, M. (2020) 'Unravelling the 'Immigrant Health Paradox': Ethnic Maintenance, Discrimination, and Health Behaviours of the Foreign Born and Their Children in England. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 46 (5), pp. 980–1001. Available: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1539287 [Accessed: 07 September 2021].

- Machin, S. (2011) Changes in UK Wage Inequality Over the Last Forty Years. In: P. Gregg, & J. Wadsworth eds. *The Labour Market in Winter: The state of Working Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.155-169.

- Mack, R.W. and Snyder, R.C. (1957). The analysis of social conflict—toward an overview and synthesis. *Conflict resolution*, *1*(2), pp.212-248.

- MacKenzie, R. and Forde, C. (2009) The rhetoric of thegood worker'versus the realities of employers' use and the experiences of migrant workers. *Work, employment and society*, *23*(1), pp.142-159.

- Madriz, E. (2000) Focus groups in feminist research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2, pp.835-850.

- Manacorda, M., Manning, A. and Wadsworth, J. (2012) The impact of immigration on the structure of wages: theory and evidence from Britain. *Journal of the European economic association*, *10*(1), pp.120-151.

- Mangan, J., Lalwani, C. and Gardner, B. (2004) Combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies in logistics research. *International journal of physical distribution & logistics management,* 34(7), pp. 565-578.

- Manley, K., Sanders, K., Cardiff, S. and Webster, J. (2011) Effective workplace culture: the attributes, enabling factors and consequences of a new concept. *International Practice Development Journal*, 1(2), pp.1-29.

- Manning, G., Curtis, K, and McMillen, S. (1996) *Building community: the human side of work*. Duluth, Minn.: Whole Person Associates.

- Marshall, I.H. ed., (1997) *Minorities, migrants, and crime: Diversity and similarity across Europe and the United States*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

- Martiny, S.E. and Rubin, M. (2016) Towards a clearer understanding of social identity theory's self-esteem hypothesis. In: S. McKeown, R. Haji and N. Ferguson eds. *Understanding peace and conflict through social identity theory: Contemporary global perspectives*. Peace Psychology Book Series. Cham: Springer Nature, pp.19-32.

- Mateos, P., Webber, R. and Longley, P.A. (2007) *The cultural, ethnic and linguistic classification of populations and neighbourhoods using personal names*. CASA Working Paper 116. Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis. London: University College London. Available: https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/3472/ [Accessed: 17 July 2020]

- Matić, J.L. (2008) Cultural differences in employee work values and their implications for management. *Management: journal of contemporary management issues*, 13(2), pp.93-104.

- Matras, Y. and Leggio, D.V. eds. (2017). *Open Borders, Unlocked Cultures: Romanian Roma Migrants in Western Europe*. New York: Routledge.

- Matthews, G. and Ruhs, M. (2007) *Are You Being Served? Employer Demand for Migrant Labour in the UK's Hospitality Sector*. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society. Working Paper No. 51. Oxford: University of Oxford. Available: https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.107.8035&rep=rep1&type=pdf [Accessed: 07 January 2021]

- Maxwell, J.A. (2012) *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage publications.

- May, T. (1999) From banana time to just-in-time: Power and resistance at work. *Sociology*, *33*(4), pp.767-783.

- May, T. and Williams, M. (2002) *An introduction to the philosophy of social research.* New York: Routledge.

- Mayo, E. (1933) The Hawthorne experiment. Western electric company. In: J.M. Shafritz, J.S. Ott, and Y.S. Jang, eds. *Classics of organization theory*, 8th ed. London: Cengage Learning, pp.134-141.

- McCollum, D. and Findlay, A. (2015) 'Flexible' workers for 'flexible' jobs? The labour market function of A8 migrant labour in the UK. *Work, employment and society*, 29(3), pp.427-443.

- McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2008) Internationalization and the spaces of temporary labour: the global assembly of a local workforce. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, *46*(4), pp.750-770.

- McGarty, C.E., Yzerbyt, V.Y. and Spears, R.E. (2002) *Stereotypes as explanations: The formation of meaningful beliefs about social groups*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Mckenzie, L. (2017) The class politics of prejudice: Brexit and the land of no-hope and glory. *The British journal of sociology*, *68*, pp.265-280.

- McLaren, L. and Johnson, M. (2007) Resources, group conflict and symbols: explaining anti-immigration hostility in Britain. *Political Studies*, *55*(4), pp.709-732.

- McLaren, L.M. (2001) Immigration and the new politics of inclusion and exclusion in the European Union: The effect of elites and the EU on individual-level opinions regarding European and non-European immigrants. *European Journal of Political Research*, *39*(1), pp.81-108.

- McMillan, D.W. and Chavis, D.M. (1986) Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology, 14(*1), pp.6-23.

- Meardi, G., Martin, A. and Riera, M.L. (2012) Constructing uncertainty: Unions and migrant labour in construction in Spain and the UK. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, *54*(1), pp.5-21.

- Meissner, F. and Vertovec, S. (2015) Comparing super-diversity. *Ethnic and racial studies*, *38*(4), pp.541-555.

- Mele, C., Pels, J. and Polese, F. (2010) A brief review of systems theories and their managerial applications. Service science, 2(1-2), pp.126-135.

- Mennino, S.F., Rubin, B.A. and Brayfield, A. (2005) Home-to-job and job-to-home spillover: The impact of company policies and workplace culture. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 46(1), pp.107-135.

- Merriam, S.B. (1998) *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education. Revised and Expanded from "Case Study Research in Education*". San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

- Merton, R.K. and Kendall, P.L. (1946) The focused interview. *American journal of Sociology*, *51*(6), pp.541-557.

- Meuleman, B. (2009) *The influence of macro-sociological factors on attitudes toward immigration in Europe. A cross-cultural and contextual approach*. Belgium: Faculty of Social Sciences - Research Unit- Center for Sociological Research (CeSO).

- Migration Advisory Committee (2014) *Migrants in low-skilled work: The growth of EU and non-EU labour in low-skilled jobs and its impact on the UK*. Migration Advisory Committee Report. London: Migration Advisory Committee. Available: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/migrants-in-low-skilled-work [Accessed: 08 June 2018].

- Migration and Home Affairs, n.d. *economic migrant*. European Commission. Available: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/pages/glossary/economic-migrant_en [Accessed: 17 October 2021]

- Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M. (1994) *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

- Miller, C. (1990) *Cognitive diversity within management teams: Implications for strategic decision processes and organizational performance*. PhD, University of Texas.

- Miller, J. G. (1978) *Living Systems.* New York: McGraw Hill.

- Miller, J.L. and Miller, J.G. (1992) Greater than the sum of its parts. I. subsystems which process both matter-energy and information. *Behavioral science*, 37(1), pp.1-9.

- Milliken, F.J. and Martins, L.L. (1996) Searching for common threads: Understanding the multiple effects of diversity in organizational groups. *Academy of management review*, *21*(2), pp.402-433.

- Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., and Wiebe, E. (2010) *Encyclopedia of case study research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

- Mirdal, G.M. and Ryynänen-Karjalainen, L. (2004) *Migration and transcultural identities*. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation.

- Mitaritonna, C., Orefice, G. and Peri, G. (2017) Immigrants and firms' outcomes: Evidence from France. *European Economic Review*, *96*, pp.62-82.

- Mitchell, T. R. and James, L. R. (2001) Building better theory: Time and the specification of when things happen. *Academy of Management Review, 26*(4), pp.530–547.

- Moisuc, A., Brauer, M., Fonseca, A., Chaurand, N. and Greitemeyer, T. (2018) Individual differences in social control: Who 'speaks up'when witnessing uncivil, discriminatory, and immoral behaviours?. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *57*(3), pp.524-546.

- Mor Barak, M.E. (2000) The inclusive workplace: An ecosystems approach to diversity management. *Social work*, *45*(4), pp.339-353.

- Mor Barak, M.E., Cherin, D.A. and Berkman, S. (1998) Organizational and personal dimensions in diversity climate: Ethnic and gender differences in employee perceptions. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *34*(1), pp.82-104.

- Morales, A. (2021) U.K. Explores Reform of Workers' Rights That Would Break From EU. *International Trade News*. 15 January. Available:

https://news.bloomberglaw.com/international-trade/u-k-ponders-reforming-workers-rights-after-break-from-eu-1?context=search&index=4 [Accessed 16 January 2021]

- Mor-Barak, M.E. and Cherin, D.A. (1998) A tool to expand organizational understanding of workforce diversity: Exploring a measure of inclusion-exclusion. *Administration in Social Work*, *22*(1), pp.47-64.

- Morgan, D. (2014) *Integrating qualitative and quantitative methods: a pragmatic approach,* London: SAGE Publications.

- Morgan, D.L. and Krueger, R.A. (1998) *The focus group guidebook*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

- Morgan, G. (1986). *Images of organization*, 1st ed. Thousand Oaks: SAGE

- Morrow, V. (2001) Using qualitative methods to elicit young people's perspectives on their environments: some ideas for community health initiatives. *Health education research*, *16*(3), pp.255-268.

- Moss, A., Bucklaschuk, J. and Annis, R.C. (2010) Small places, big changes: temporary migration, immigration and family reunification. *Canadian Issues*, *2010*, pp.33-36.

- Mueller, C.W. and Wallace, J.E. (1996) Justice and the paradox of the contented female worker. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, pp.338-349.

- Murphy, J. (2010) The settlement and integration needs of immigrants: A literature review. The Ottawa Local Immigration Partnership. Available: http://olip-plio.ca/knowledge-base/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Olip-Review-of-Literature-Final-EN.pdf [Accessed: 16 August 2017]

- Murrugarra, E., Larrison, J. and Sasin, M. eds. (2010) *Migration and poverty: Towards better opportunities for the poor*. Washington: World Bank Publications.

- Myers, M.D., 2019. *Qualitative research in business and management*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications Limited.

- Nathan, M. (2014) The wider economic impacts of high-skilled migrants: a survey of the literature for receiving countries. *IZA Journal of Migration*, *3*(1), pp.1-20.

- Ndhlovu, F. (2016) A Decolonial Critique of Diaspora Identity Theories and the Notion of superdiversity. *Diaspora Studies,* 9(1), pp.28–40.

- Newland, K. and Patrick, E. (2004) Beyond remittances: the role of Diaspora in poverty reduction in their countries of origin. *The Migration Policy Institute for the Department of International Development.* Washington: Migration Policy Institute.

- Ng, I.C.L., Maull, R. and Yip N. (2009) Outcome-based Contracts as a driver for Systems thinking and Service-Dominant Logic in Service Science: Evidence from the Defence industry, *European Management Journal*, 27, pp.377-387

- Niglas, K. (2010) The multidimensional model of research methodology: An integrated set of continua. *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research, 2*, pp.215-236.

- Nirenberg, J. (1995) From team building to community building. *National Productivity Review, 14(*1), pp.51-62.

- Nolan, J.M. (2013) Creating a culture of conservation: Willingness to confront environmental transgressors. *Ecopsychology*, *5*(1), pp.3-8.

- Norris, P. and Inglehart, R. (2019) *Cultural backlash: Trump, Brexit, and authoritarian populism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Nowicka, M. (2014) Migrating skills, skilled migrants and migration skills: The influence of contexts on the validation of migrants' skills. *Migration Letters*, *11*(2), pp.171-186.

- Nowicka, M. (2018) Cultural precarity: Migrants' positionalities in the light of current anti-immigrant populism in Europe. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *39*(5), pp.527-542.

- Nowotny, K. (2016) Are overqualified migrants self-selected? Evidence from central and Eastern European countries. *Journal of Human Capital*, *10*(3), pp.303-346.

- O'Connor, M. and Portes, J. (2021), *Estimating the UK population during the pandemic- ESCoE,* [Blog], 14 January. Available: https://www.escoe.ac.uk/estimating-the-uk-population-during-the-pandemic/ [Accessed: 17 January 2021]

- O'Reilly, C., Williams, K. and Barsade, S. (1997) Demography and group performance. *Research in Organisational Behavior*. 20, pp. 77-140.

- OECD (2022), *Migration - Foreign-born population - OECD Data*. OECD. Available: https://data.oecd.org/migration/foreign-born-population.htm [Accessed: 27 January 2022]

- Oi, W.Y. (1962) Labor as a quasi-fixed factor. *Journal of political economy*, *70*(6), pp.538-555.

- Omidvar, R. and Richmond, T. (2005) *Immigrant settlement and social inclusion in Canada*. Toronto: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement.

- ONS (2015) *A guide to sources of data on earnings and income,* Office for National Statistics. Available: https://www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/methodologies/labourmarketarticlesandreports/aguidetosourcesofdataonearningsandincome1stedv3tcm77393906.pdf [Accessed 25 November 2022]

- ONS (2017a) *International Immigration and the labour market,* Office for National Statistics. Available: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/articles/migrationandthelabourmarketuk/2016 [Accessed 25 August 2018]

- ONS (2017b) *Migrant Statistics Quarterly Report,* Office for National Statistics. Available: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/november2017 [Accessed 2 January 2021]

- ONS (2020a) *Migrant Statistics Quarterly Report*, Office for National Statistics. Available: www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/august2020 [Accessed 1 January 2021]

- ONS (2020b), *Migration Statistics Quarterly Report,* Office for National Statistics. Available:

https://www.beta.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/may2020 [Accessed: 28 May 2020]

- ONS (2020c) *International migration and mobility: what's changed since the coronavirus pandemic,* Office for National Statistic. Available: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/articles/internationalmigrationandmobilitywhatschangedsincethecoronaviruspandemic/2020-11-26 [Accessed 28 November 2020]

- ONS (2020d) *UK and non-UK people in the labour market,* Office for Nation Statistics. Available: www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/articles/ukandnonukpeopleinthelabourmarket/february2020 [Accessed 2 January 2021]

- ONS (2021) *Population of the UK by country of birth and nationality.* Office for National Statistics. Available: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/ukpopulationbycountryofbirthandnationality/yearendingjune2021 [Accessed: 05 January 2022]

- Orb, A., Eisenhauer, L. and Wynaden, D. (2001) Ethics in qualitative research. *Journal of nursing scholarship*, *33*(1), pp.93-96.

- O'Reilly, K. and Benson, M. (2009) Lifestyle migration: escaping to the good life? In: M. Benson, and K. O'Reilly, eds. *Lifestyle Migrations: Expectations, Aspirations and Experiences*. Surrey: Ashgate, pp.1-13.

- Orlikowski, W.J. and Baroudi, J.J. (1991) Studying information technology in organizations: Research approaches and assumptions. *Information systems research*, *2*(1), pp.1-28.

- Ormond, A., Cram, F. and Carter, L. (2006) Researching our relations: Reflections on ethics and marginalisation. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *2*(1), pp.174-193.

- O'Rourke, K.H. and Sinnott, R. (2006) The determinants of individual attitudes towards immigration. European journal of political economy, 22(4), pp.838-861.

- Ottaviano, G.I., Peri, G. and Wright, G.C. (2018) Immigration, trade and productivity in services: evidence from UK firms. *Journal of International Economics*, *112*, pp.88-108.

- Ottaviano, G.I.P. and Peri, G. (2012) Rethinking the effect of immigration on wages. *Journal of the European economic association*, *10*(1), pp.152-197.

- Outten, H.R., Schmitt, M.T., Miller, D.A. and Garcia, A.L. (2012) Feeling threatened about the future: Whites' emotional reactions to anticipated ethnic demographic changes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *38*(1), pp.14-25.

- Oxford University Press (2018) *immigrant noun - Definition, pictures, pronunciation and usage notes,* Available: https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/immigrant [Accessed 30 August 2018]

- Pager, D. and Shepherd, H. (2008) The sociology of discrimination: Racial discrimination in employment, housing, credit, and consumer markets. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 34, pp.181-209.

- Park, R.E. and Burgess, E.W. (1921). *Introduction to the science of sociology*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago.

- Parsons, H.M. (1974) What Happened at Hawthorne?: New evidence suggests the Hawthorne effect resulted from operant reinforcement contingencies. *Science*, *183*(4128), pp.922-932.

- Partington, R. (2021) UK unemployment reaches four-year high in Covid-19 lockdown. *The Guardian*, 26 January. Available: www.theguardian.com/business/2021/jan/26/uk-unemployment-high-covid-19-lockdown-jobless [Accessed 28 January 2021]

- Patterson, S. (1969) Immigration and race relations in Britain, 1960-1967. *Institute of Race Relations.* London: Oxford University Press.

- Patton, M.Q. (2015). Qualitative research and evaluation methods: Integrating Theory and Practice. 4th ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE.

- Pavlopoulos, D., Muffels, R., and Vermunt, J. K. (2012) How real is mobility between low pay, high pay and non-employment?. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A (Statistics in Society), 175*(3), pp.749-773.

- Payne, G. and Payne, J. (2004) The Hawthorne Effect. In: G. Payne, and J. Payne, eds. *Key Concepts in Social Research,* SAGE Key Concepts. London: SAGE, pp.108-111.

- Peirce, C.S. (1905) What pragmatism is. *The monist*, 15(2), pp.161-181.

- Penninx, R. (2005) Integration of migrants: Economic, social, cultural and political dimensions. In: M. Macura, A. L. MacDonald, and W. Haug, eds. *The new demographic regime: Population challenges and policy responses*. Geneva, 12th to 14th January 2004. Geneva, Switzerland: United Nations, pp.137-152.

- Penninx, R. and Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2016) The concept of integration as an analytical tool and as a policy concept. In: B. Garcés-Mascareñas and R. Penninx eds. *Integration processes and policies in Europe: Contexts, levels and actors*. IMISCOE Research Series. Cham: Springer, pp.11-29.

- Peri, G. (2016) Immigrants, productivity, and labor markets. *Journal of economic perspectives*, *30*(4), pp.3-30.

- Peri, G. and Sparber, C. (2009) Task specialization, immigration, and wages. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, *1*(3), pp.135-169.

- Perry, S.P., Murphy, M.C. and Dovidio, J.F. (2015) Modern prejudice: Subtle, but unconscious? The role of Bias Awareness in Whites' perceptions of personal and others' biases. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 61*, pp.64-78.

- Pettigrew, T.F. (1998) Reactions toward the new minorities of Western Europe. *Annual review of sociology*, *24*(1), pp.77-103.

- Phillimore, J. (2011) Refugees, acculturation strategies, stress and integration. *Journal of Social Policy,* 40(3), pp.575-593.

- Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L. (2008) *New Migrants in the UK: Education, Training and Employment*. London: Trentham Books Ltd.

- Phillimore, J., Humphris, R. and Khan, K. (2017) Reciprocity for new migrant integration: Resource conservation, investment and exchange. *Journal of Ethnic and*

Migration Studies, 44(2), pp. 215–232. Available: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341709 [Accessed on 27 August 2021].

- Pickup, F. and White, A. (2003) Livelihoods in postcommunist Russia: Urban/rural comparisons. *Work, Employment and Society*, 17(3), pp.419-434

- Piekkari, R., Welch, C. and Paavilainen, E. (2009) The case study as disciplinary convention: Evidence from international business journals. *Organizational research methods*, 12(3), pp.567-589.

- Piton, C. and Ruyssen, I. (2022) Integration policies and their effects on labour market outcomes and immigrant inflows. Working Paper Research Series. No. 411. Brussels: National Bank of Belgium. Available: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ilse-Ruyssen/publication/363296643_Integration_policies_and_their_effects_on_labour_market_outcomes_and_immigrant_inflows/links/63171dfc5eed5e4bd14d8b84/Integration-policies-and-their-effects-on-labour-market-outcomes-and-immigrant-inflows.pdf [Accessed: 23 December 2022]

- Platt, L. and Nandi, A. (2020) Ethnic diversity in the UK: new opportunities and changing constraints. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 46(5), pp.839-856.

- Plummer, P. and Sheppard, E. (2001) Must emancipatory economic geography be qualitative? *Antipode*, 33(2), pp.194-199.

- Pobjoy, J. and Spencer, S. (2012) Equality for all? The relationship between immigration status and allocation of rights in the United Kingdom. *European Human Rights Law Review*, (2), pp.160-175.

- Polezzi, L. (2012). Translation and migration. *Translation Studies*, *5*(3), pp.345-356.

- Poplin, D.E. (1979) Communities: A survey of theories and methods of research. Michigan: Macmillan Publishing Company.

- Porter, J.H. (2011) Attract and retain top talent. *Strategic Finance*, 92(12), June, p.56-61. Available: https://sfmagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/sfarchive/2011/06/Attract-and-Retain-Top-Talent.pdf [Accessed: 29 July 2020]

- Portes, J. (2018) *The economic impacts of immigration to the UK.* VOXEU/CEPR. Available: https://voxeu.org/article/economic-impacts-immigration-uk [Accessed: 12 November 2021]

- Pörtner, H.O., Bennett, A.F., Bozinovic, F., Clarke, A., Lardies, M.A., Lucassen, M., Pelster, B., Schiemer, F. and Stillman, J.H. (2006) Trade-offs in thermal adaptation: the need for a molecular to ecological integration. *Physiological and Biochemical Zoology*, *79*(2), pp.295-313.

- Pratschke, J. (2003) Realistic models? Critical realism and statistical models in the social sciences, Philosophica. 71(1), pp.13-38. Available: https://www.philosophica.ugent.be/wp-content/uploads/fulltexts/71-2.pdf [Accessed: 07 July 2019]

- Probst, T.M. and Jiang, L. (2017) European flexicurity policies: Multilevel effects on employee psychosocial reactions to job insecurity. *Safety science*, *100(A)*, pp.83-90.

- Punch, K.F. (2013) *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Los Angeles: Sage.

- Raess, D. and Burgoon, B. (2015) Flexible Work and Immigration in Europe. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 53(1), pp.94-111.

- Rafaeli, A. and Sutton, R.I. (1989) The expression of emotion in organizational life. *Research in organizational behavior*, *11*(1), pp.1-42.

- Raworth, K., Sweetman, C., Narayan, S., Rowlands, J. and Hopkins, A. (2012). *Conducting semi-structured Interviews*. Guidelines and Toolkit. Oxford: Oxfam. Available: https://policy-practice.oxfam.org/resources/conducting-semi-structured-interviews-252993/ [Accessed: 21 December 2022].

- Reed, M. (2005) Reflections on the 'realist turn' in organization and management studies. *Journal of Management studies*, *42*(8), pp.1621-1644.

- Reed, M.I. (1992) *The sociology of organizations: themes, perspectives and prospects.* New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

- Reich, S.M. (2010) Adolescents' sense of community on myspace and facebook: a mixed-methods approach. *Journal of community psychology, 38*(6), pp.688-705.

- Reicher, S.D., Spears, R. and Postmes, T. (1995) A social identity model of deindividuation phenomena. *European review of social psychology, 6*(1), pp.161-198.

- Remenyi, D., Williams, B., Money, A. and Swartz, E. (1998) *Doing research in business and management: an introduction to process and method*. London: Sage.

- Rice, D.B., Taylor, R. and Forrester, J.K. (2020) The unwelcoming experience of abusive supervision and the impact of leader characteristics: turning employees into poor organizational citizens and future quitters. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology,* 29(4), pp.601-618.

- Richardson, S. (2009) Undergraduates' perceptions of tourism and hospitality as a career choice. International Journal of Hospitality Management, 28(3), pp.382-388.

- Robinson, C. (2002) "I Think Home is More than a Building": Young Home (less) People on the Cusp of Home, Self and Something Else. *Urban Policy and Research*, *20*(1), pp.27-38.

- Robone, S., Jones, A.M. and Rice, N. (2011) Contractual conditions, working conditions and their impact on health and well-being. *The European Journal of Health Economics*, 12 (5), pp.429-444.

- Robson, C. (2011) *Real world research: a resource for users of social research methods in applied settings*. Chichester: Wiley

- Rodrik, D., Subramanian, A. and Trebbi, F. (2004) Institutions rule: the primacy of institutions over geography and integration in economic development. Journal of economic growth, 9(2), pp.131-165.

- Rogaly, B. (2020). 'If not you, they can get ten different workers in your place'. In: B. Rogaly, eds. *Stones from a Migrant City*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp.72-113. Available: https://doi.org/10.7765/9781526131720.00006 [Accessed: 02 September 2020]

- Rorty, R. (1982) *Consequences of pragmatism: Essays, 1972-1980*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

- Roy, D.F. (1973) Banana time: job satisfaction and informal interaction. *People and Organisations.* London: Longman, pp.205-222.

- Rubery, J. and Wilkinson, F. (1981) Outwork and segmented labour markets. In: F. Wilkinson ed. *The dynamics of labour market segmentation*. London: Academic Press, pp. 115-132.

- Rubin, B.A. and Brody, C.J. (2002) "Insecurity, time and technology: coercing commitment in the new economy." *97th Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, August*, pp. 16-19.

- Rubin, B.A. and Smith, B.T. (2001) Reemployment in the restructured economy. In: D.B. Cornfield, K.E. Campbell, and H.J. McCammon, eds. *Working in restructured workplaces: Challenges and new directions for the sociology of work*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, pp.323-342

- Rudiger, A. (2006) Integration of new migrants: Community relations. *New Migrants and Refugees: Review of the Evidence on Good Practice.* London: Home Office/Compas.

- Rudiger, A. and Spencer, S. (2003) Meeting the challenge: equality, diversity and cohesion in the European Union'. *Joint European Commission/OECD conference on the economic effects and social aspects of migration.* Brussels. Available: www.ippr.org.uk/research/files/team19/project22/integration.doc [Accessed: 17 June 2018]

- Ruhs, M. and Anderson, B. eds. (2010) *Who needs migrant workers? labour shortages, immigration, and public policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Rutter, J., Cooley, L., Jones, N. and Pillai, R. (2008) *Moving Up Together: Promoting equality and integration among the UK's diverse communities*. London: Institute of Public Policy Research.

- Ryan, C. (2021a) Labour shortages lead to decrease in poultry production. *Poultry News,* 21 June. Available: https://www.poultrynews.co.uk/business-politics/people/labour-shortages-lead-to-decrease-in-poultry-production.html [Accessed: 22 June 2021]

- Ryan, C. (2021b) Chicken exports to the EU fall 60% in a year. *Poultry News,* 18 June. Available: https://www.poultrynews.co.uk/business-politics/chicken-exports-to-the-eu-fall-60-in-a-year.html [Accessed: 22 June 2021]

- Ryan, G.W. and Bernard, H.R. (2003) Techniques to identify themes. *Field methods*, *15*(1), pp.85-109.

- Rzepnikowska, A. (2019) Racism and xenophobia experienced by Polish migrants in the UK before and after Brexit vote. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *45*(1), pp.61-77.

- Saint-Germain, M.A. (2012) Pre-Experimental Designs For Research: PPA 696: Research Methods Core Concepts. California State University Long Beach. Available: https://home.csulb.edu/~msaintg/ppa696/696preex.htm#Cross-Sectional%20Design [Accessed: 2 February 2023]

- Saleem, M., Prot, S., Anderson, C.A. and Lemieux, A.F. (2017) Exposure to Muslims in media and support for public policies harming Muslims. *Communication research*, *44*(6), pp.841-869.

- Sambajee, P. (2015) Rethinking non-traditional resistance at work: The case of the Indian Diaspora in Mauritius. *Culture and Organization*, 21(5), pp.386-408.

- Samuel, M.O. and Chipunza, C. (2009) Employee retention and turnover: Using motivational variables as a panacea. *African journal of business management*, *3*(9), 66279C117823, pp.410-415. Available: https://doi.org/10.5897/AJBM09.125 [Accessed: 10 July 2020]

- Sandelowski, M. (2001) Real qualitative researchers do not count: The use of numbers in qualitative research. *Research in nursing & health*, *24*(3), pp.230-240.

- Sanderson, S.K. (1999) *Social transformations: A general theory of historical development*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Sanjari, M., Bahramnezhad, F., Fomani, F.K., Shoghi, M. and Cheraghi, M.A. (2014) Ethical challenges of researchers in qualitative studies: the necessity to develop a specific guideline. *Journal of medical ethics and history of medicine,* 7(14). Available: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/Pmc4263394/ [Accessed: 20 July 2019]

- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. and Thornhill, A. (2019) *Research methods for business Students.* 8th ed. Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited.

- Sayer, A. (1992) *Method in social science: A realist approach*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge

- Sayer, A. (2000) *Realism and social science*. London: Sage. Schwartz, S. J., Luycks, K. and Vignoles, V. L. (2011) *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*. New York: Springer

- SCG (2022) *Food, Drink & Tobacco Process Operatives*. Available: https://www.scg.ac.uk/career/listing/8111?return=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuc2NnLmFjLn VrL2NvdXJzZXMvaG9zcGl0YWxpdHktY2F0ZXJpbmcvODEyLWFydGlzYW4tY Y mFraW5n [Accessed: 19 January 2022]

- Scheepers, D., Spears, R., Doosje, B. and Manstead, A.S. (2006) Diversity in in-group bias: Structural factors, situational features, and social functions. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *90*(6), p.944.

- Scheurich, J.J. (1997) *Research method in the postmodern*. London and Washington: Falmer Press.

- Schiller, N. G. (2009) *A Global Perspective on Transnational Migration*: *Theorizing Migration without Methodological Nationalism.* Working Paper No. 67, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society. Oxford: University of Oxford. Available: https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/WP-2009-067-Schiller_Methodological_Nationalism_Migration.pdf [Accessed: 02 February 2021]

- Schiller, N.G. and Fouron, G.E. (1999) Terrains of blood and nation: Haitian transnational social fields. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 22(2), pp.340-366.

- Scholten, P.W.A. and Van Breugel, I. (2017) *Beyond migrant integration. Mainstreaming as a governance challenge*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Schutz A. (1996) The Problem of Social Reality. In: H.L. Van Brenda, eds. Collected Papers. *Phaenomenologica,* 136. Dordrecht: Springer. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-1077-0_6 [Accessed: 21 July 2019]

- Schwandt, T.A. (2001) *Dictionary of qualitative inquiry*. 2nd ed. California: Sage Publications.

- Scott, S. (2012) Migrant-local hiring queues in the UK food industry. *Population, Space and Place, 19(*5), pp. 459-471.

- Seidman, I. (2012) *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social science*s. New York: Teachers College Press.

229

- Seifert, A.M. and Messing, K. (2006) Cleaning up after globalization: An ergonomic analysis of work activity of hotel cleaners. *Antipode*, 38(3) pp.557-578.

- Selmer, J. and de Leon, C. (1993) Organizational acculturation in foreign subsidiaries. *The International Executive, 35*(4), pp.321-338.

- Senge, P.M. (1990) *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization*. New York: Doubleyday Currency.

- Sengenberger, W. (1981) Labour market segmentation and the business cycle. In: F. Wilkinson ed. *The dynamics of labour market segmentation*. London: Academic Press, pp.243-260.

- Shamsuzzoha, A.H.M. and Shumon, M.R.H. (2007). Employee Turnover- a Study of its Causes and Effects to Different Industries in Bangladesh. *Manufacturing Engineering/ Vyrobne Inzinierstvo*, *6*(3), pp.64-68.

- Shankley W. and Byrne, B. (2020) Citizen rights and immigration. In: B. Byrne, C. Alexander, O. Khan, J. Nazroo, and W. Shankley eds. *Ethnicity, Race and Inequality in the UK: State of the Nation.* Bristol, UK: Policy Press, pp. 35-50.

- Shepherd, L., Fasoli, F., Pereira, A. and Branscombe, N.R. (2018). The role of threat, emotions, and prejudice in promoting collective action against immigrant groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *48*(4), pp.447-459.

- Shin, H.Y. and Park, H.J. (2013) *What are the key factors in managing diversity and inclusion successfully in large international organizations?*. Cornell University ILR School.

- Silverman, D. (1970) *The theory of organizations: A sociological framework*. London: Heinemann Educational.

- Silverman, D. (2000) Analyzing talk and text. *Handbook of qualitative research, 2*(0). London: Sage, pp.821-834.

- Silverman, D. (2015). *Interpreting qualitative data*. 5th ed. Los Angeles: Sage.

- Simms, M. (2017) Unions and job quality in the UK: Extending interest representation within regulation institutions. *Work and Occupations*, *44*(1), pp.47-67.

- Simon, R.J. (1987). Immigration and American attitudes. *Public Opinion*, 10(2), pp.47-50.

- Sky News (2020) Coronavirus: Only a third of migrant labour needed for harvest is currently in UK, says environment secretary*, Sky News,* 26 April. Available*:* https://news.sky.com/video/coronavirus-only-about-a-third-of-migrant-labour-is-here-for-harvest-says-environment-secretary-11979148 [Accessed on 28 April 2020]

- Sobczak, M. (2010) American attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policy. Texas: LFB Scholarly Pub. LLC.

- Solomos, J. (1998) Beyond racism and multiculturalism. *Patterns of prejudice*, *32*(4), pp.45-62.

- Solow, R.M. (1990) *The labor market as a social institution*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell.

- Soysal, Y.N. and Soyland, A.J. (1994) *Limits of citizenship: Migrants and postnational membership in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Spector, P.E. (2019) Do Not Cross Me: Optimizing the Use of Cross-Sectional Designs. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 34,* pp.125-137.

- Spencer, S. and Cooper, B. (2006) Social integration of migrants in Europe: a review of the European literature 2000–2006. In: J. Dayton-Johnson, L.T. Katseli, G. Maniatis, R. Münz, and D. Papademetriou, eds. *Gaining from Migration*. Paris: OCDE publication.

- Spencer, S. and Charsley, K. (2016) Conceptualising integration: A framework for empirical research, taking marriage migration as a case study. *Comparative Migration Studies*, *4*(1), pp.1-19.

- Spolaore, E. and Alesina, A. (2003) *The size of nations*. Cambridge: Mit Press.

- Stake, R.E. (1995) *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

- Stansfield, R. and Stone, B. (2018) Threat perceptions of migrants in Britain and support for policy. *Sociological Perspectives*, *61*(4), pp.592-609.

- Stephan, W.G., Renfro, C.L., Esses, V.M., Stephan, C.W. and Martin, T. (2005) The effects of feeling threatened on attitudes toward immigrants. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *29*(1), pp.1-19.

- Stewart, J. and Ayres, R. (2001) Systems theory and policy practice: an exploration. *Policy Sciences*, 34(1), pp.79-94.

- Stiglitz, J.E. (1987) The causes and consequences of the dependence of quality on price. *Journal of economic literature*, *25*(1), pp.1-48.

- Stones, M. (2016) Food firms to pay '£2,675 for every foreign worker, William Reed Business Media Ltd, 05 July. Available: https://www.foodmanufacture.co.uk/Article/2016/07/06/Food-firms-to-pay-2-675-for-every-foreign-worker [Accessed 26 August 2018]

- Strang, A. B., Baillot, H. and Mignard, E. (2017) 'I Want to Participate'. Transition Experiences of New Refugees in Glasgow. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 44(2), pp.197–214. Available: https://www.doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341717. [Accessed: 05 February 2021]

- Strauss, A. L. (1993) *Continual permutations of actions*. New York: Aldine.

- Suedekum, J., Wolf, K. and Blien, U. (2014) Cultural diversity and local labour markets. *Regional Studies*, 48(1), pp.173-191.

- Sukamolson, S. (2007) Fundamentals of quantitative research. *Language Institute Chulalongkorn University*, 1, pp.2-22.

- Sumner, W.G. (1906) *Folkways: A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores, and morals*. Boston, Mass.: Ginn and Company.

- Tacoli, C. (1996) Migrating 'for the sake of the family'? Gender, life course and infra-household relations among Filipino migrants in Rome. *Philippine Sociological Review*, 44 (1/4), pp.12-32.

- Tajfel, H. (1969) Cognitive aspects of prejudice. *Journal of Biosocial Issues*, 1(S1), pp.173-191.

- Tajfel, H. (1978) The achievement of inter-group differentiation. In: H. Tajfel ed. *Differentiation between social group*s. London: Academic Press, pp. 77–100.

- Tajfel, H. (1981) *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tajfel, H. (1982) *Social identity and intergroup relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J.C. (1979) An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *Organizational identity: A reader*, *56*(65), pp.56-61.

- Tajfel, H., and Turner, J. C. (1986) The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In: S. Worchel and W.G. Austin eds. *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, 2nd ed. Chicago, Ill.: Nelson-Hall Publishers, pp. 7-24.

- Tata, J. and Bowes-Sperry, L. (1996) Emphasis on distributive, procedural, and interactional justice: Differential perceptions of men and women. *Psychological Reports*, *79*(3_suppl), pp.1327-1330.

- Tatarko, A. (2019) Integration Policy of Society and Attitudes of the Host Population towards Migrants: A Study in 17 European Countries. *Psychology. Journal of Higher School of Economics*, *16*(2), pp.216-231.

- Tate, S.A. and Page, D. (2018) Whiteliness and institutional racism: hiding behind (un)conscious bias. *Ethics and Education*, 13 (1), pp.141-155.

- Taylor, F.W. (1911) The Principles of Scientific. *Management*, p.33.

- Teale, M., Dispenza, V., Flynn, J., and Currie, D. (2003) *Management decision-making: towards an integrated approach*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

- Tellis, W. (1997) Application of a case study methodology. *The qualitative report*, *3*(3), pp.1-19.

- The Migration Observatory (2017) *Determinants of Migration to the UK*. The Migration Observatory. Available: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/determinants-of-migration-to-the-uk/ [Accessed 13 January 2021]

- The Migration Observatory (2019) *Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and their Consequences*. The Migration Observatory. Available: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/who-counts-as-a-migrant-definitions-and-their-consequences/#kp1 [Accessed 13 January 2021]

- The Migration Observatory (2020a) Migrants in the UK: An Overview. The Migration Observatory. Available: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/ [Available: 05 January 2022]

- The Migration Observatory (2020b) *UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern.* The Migration Observatory. Available: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-immigration-overall-attitudes-and-level-of-concern/ [Accessed: 25 February 2020]

- The Migration Observatory (2021) *Work visas and migrant workers in the UK*. The Migration Observatory. Available: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/work-visas-and-migrant-workers-in-the-uk/ [Accessed: 06 January 2021]

- The Migration Observatory (2022) *Migrants in the UK Labour Market: An Overview.* The Migration Observatory Available: https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-labour-market-an-overview/ [Accessed: 08 January 2022]

- Thomas, D.R. (2006) A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American journal of evaluation*, 27(2), pp.237-246.

- Thomas, R., R. Jr. (2006) *Building on the promise of diversity*. New York: American Management Association.

- Thompson, P. (1995) *Work organisations: a critical introduction*, 2nd ed. Hampshire: Macmillan International Higher Education.

- Thompson, P. and McHugh, D. (2002) *Work Organisations: A Critical Introduction*, 3rd ed. New York: Palgrave.

- Thompson, P. and McHugh, D. (2009) *Work organizations: A critical approach*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Tierney, W.G. (1996) Leadership and postmodernism: On voice and the qualitative method. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 7(3), pp.371-383.

- Timotijevic, L. and Breakwell, G.M. (2000) Migration and threat to identity. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, *10*(5), pp.355-372.

- Trenz, H.J. and Triandafyllidou, A. (2017) Complex and dynamic integration processes in Europe: intra EU mobility and international migration in times of recession. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *43*(4), pp.546-559.

- Trevino, L.K. and Nelson, K.A. (2016) *Managing business ethics: Straight talk about how to do it right.* Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.

- Tsui, A. S., Egan, T. D., and Xin, K. R. (1995) Diversity in organizations: Lessons from demography research. In: M. M. Chemers, S. Oskamp and M. A. Costanzo eds. *Diversity in organizations: New perspectives for a changing workplace.* Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, pp. 191–219. Available: https://doi.org/10.4135/9781452243405.n8 [Accessed: 23 November 2022].

- Turner, J. C. (1978) Social comparison, similarity and intergroup favouritism. In: H. Tajfel ed. *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press, pp. 235-250.

- Turner, J. C. (1984) Social identification and psychological group formation. In: H. Tajfel, eds. *The social dimension: European developments in social psychology, 2.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 518-538

- Turner, J. C. (1985) Social categorization and the self-concept: A social cognitive theory of group behavior. In: E. J. Lawler eds. *Advances in group processes: a research annual, 2.* Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, pp. 77-122.

- Turner, J.C., Hogg, M.A., Oakes, P.J., Reicher, S.D. and Wetherell, M.S. (1987) *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Tyler, P. and Cushway, D. (1998) Stress and wellbeing in healthcare staff: The role of negative affectivity, and perceptions of job demand and discretion. *Stress Medicine*, *14*(2), pp.99-107.

- Ubalde, J. and Alarcón, A. (2020) Immigrant disadvantage in the labour market: the role of attitudinal context. *European Societies*, 22 (5), pp. 636-658.

- Upegui-Hernandez, D. (2014) Transnational migration theory. *Encyclopedia of Critical Psychology*, pp.2004-2015.

- Urano, E.I. and Yamamoto, L.E. (2008) Social and economic support among migrants and families left behind in transnational contexts. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, *10*(2), pp.223-239.

- Valverde, G.O. and Latorre, M.C. (2019) The economic impact of potential migration policies in the UK after Brexit. *Contemporary Social Science*, *14*(2), pp.208-225.

- Vandenhole, W. (2005) *Non-discrimination and equality in the view of the UN human rights treaty bodies*. Oxford: Intersentia.

- Vanselow, A., Warhurst, C., Bernhardt, A. and Dresser, L. (2010) Working at the wage floor: hotel room attendants and labor market institutions in Europe and the United States. *Low-wage work in the wealthy world*, pp.269-318.

- Varner, I. and Beamer, L. (1995) *Intercultural Communication in the Global Workplace*. Chicago: Irwin.

- Vasilopoulou, S. and Talving, L. (2019) Opportunity or threat? Public attitudes towards EU freedom of movement. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *26*(6), pp.805-823.

- Vathi, Z. and King, R. (2013) 'Have you got the British?': narratives of migration and settlement among Albanian-origin immigrants in London. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *36*(11), pp.1829-1848.

- Verkuyten, M. (2018) *The social psychology of ethnic identity*. New York: Routledge.

- Vertovec, S. (2006) The emergence of super-diversity in Britain. *Centre of Migration, Policy and Society*, Oxford: University of Oxford.

- Vertovec, S. (2007) Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and racial studies*, *30*(6), pp.1024-1054.

- Vertovec, S. (2010) Towards post-multiculturalism? Changing communities, conditions and contexts of diversity. *International social science journal*, 61(199), pp.88-95.

- Vertovec, S. (2012) "Diversity" and the social imaginary. *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, 53(3), pp.287-312.

- Vertovec, S. (2015a) Introduction: Migration, Cities, Diversities 'Old' and 'New'. In: S. Vertovec, eds. *Diversities Old and New*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-20.

- Vertovec, S. (2015b) Introduction: Formulating Diversity Studies. In: S. Vertovec, eds. Routledge International Handbook of Diversity Studies. London: Routledge, pp.1–20.

- Vertovec, S. (2019) Talking around super-diversity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42 (1), pp.125-139. Available: https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1406128 [Accessed: 03 November 2021].

- Von Bertalanffy, L. (1956) General system theory. In: L. Von Bertalanffy, and A. Rapaport, eds. *General systems*: *Yearbook of the Society for the Advancement of General System Theory*, *1*(1), Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, pp.11-17.

- Von Mises, R. (1951) *Positivism*. New York: Dover Publications.

- Wadsworth, J. (2013) Mustn't grumble: immigration, health and health service use in the UK and Germany. *Fiscal Studies*, 34(1), pp.55-82.

- Wadsworth, J., Dhingra, S., Ottaviano, G. and Van Reenen, J. (2016) Brexit and the Impact of Immigration on the UK. *CEP Brexit Analysis*, 5, pp.34-53.

- Walby, S. (1986) *Patriarchy at Work: Patriarchal and Capitalist Relations in Employment*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Waldinger, R. and Lichter, M.I. (2003) *How the other half works: Immigration and the social organization of labor*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Wallace, D.M., Torres, E.M. and Zaccaro, S.J. (2021) Just what do we think we are doing? Learning outcomes of leader and leadership development. The Leadership Quarterly, 32 (5), pp.101494.

- Wang, X. and Cheng, Z. (2020) Cross-Sectional Studies: Strengths, Weaknesses, and Recommendations. *Supplement: An Overview of Study Design and Statistical Considerations*, 158(1), pp. S65-S71.

- Watson, T. (2017) *Sociology, work and organisation*. 7th ed. London: Taylor & Francis.

- Webber, R. and Mateos, P. (2007) Using names to classify people and neighbourhoods by their cultural, ethnic and linguistic origins. *Journal of Direct, Data and Digital Marketing Practice*, *8*(3), pp.226-42.

- Weber, M. (1947) The theory of economic and social organization. *Trans. AM Henderson and Talcott Parsons*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Weber, M. (2017) *Methodology of social sciences*. London: Routledge.

- Weisboard, M. (1985) The cat in the hat breaks through: Reflections on OD's past, present, and future. In: D. Warrick eds. *Contemporary organization development: Current thinking and applications.* Glenview, Ill.: Scott Foresman and Company, pp. 2-11.

- Wesolowski, M.A. and Mossholder, K.W. (1998) Relational demography in supervisor–subordinate dyads: Impact on subordinate job satisfaction, burnout, and perceived procedural justice. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *18*(4), pp.351-362.

- Wessendorf, S. (2014) *Commonplace Diversity: Social Relations in a Super-diverse Context*. 1st ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Wessendorf, S. and Phillimore, J. (2019) New Migrants' Social Integration, Embedding and Emplacement in Superdiverse Contexts. *Sociology*, 53(1), pp. 123–138. Available: https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0038038518771843 [Accessed: 08 July 2021].

- Wile, S. (2001) *Building community in the workplace*. EdD. Seattle University.

- Williams, L.J. and Anderson, S.E. (1991) Job satisfaction and organizational commitment as predictors of organizational citizenship and in-role behaviors. *Journal of management*, *17*(3), pp.601-617.

- Williamson, O.E., Wachter, M.L. and Harris, J.E. (1975) Understanding the employment relation: The analysis of idiosyncratic exchange. *The Bell Journal of Economics, 6*(1), pp.250-278.

- Wills, J., May, J., Datta, K., Evans, Y., Herbert, J. and McIlwaine, C. (2009) London's migrant division of labour. *European urban and regional studies*, *16*(3), pp.257-271.

- Wilson, M. (2019) Words and Portrait. Interview with Mike Wilson. Interviewed by Nick Smith. *Engineering & Technology, 14*(5), pp.74-77, June 2011. Available: https://ieeexplore.ieee.org/stamp/stamp.jsp?arnumber=8863766 [Accessed: 19 October 2020]

- Wohl, M.J. and Branscombe, N.R. (2009) Group threat, collective angst, and ingroup forgiveness for the war in Iraq. *Political Psychology*, *30*(2), pp.193-217.

- Wrench, J. and Modood, T. (2001) *The effectiveness of employment equality policies in relation to immigrants and ethnic minorities in the UK*. Geneva: International Labour Office.

- Yam, L., Raybould, M., and Gordan, R. (2018) Employment stability and retention in the hospitality industry: Exploring the role of job embeddedness. *Journal of Human Resources in Hospitality & Tourism*, 17 (4), pp.445-464.

- Yellen, J. (1984) Efficiency Wage Models of Unemployment. *The American Economic Review*, 74(2), pp.200-205.

- Yen, D.A.W., Cappellini, B., Yang, H.P. and Gupta, S. (2021) Coping with Coping: International Migrants' Experiences of the Covid-19 Lockdown in the UK. *British Journal of Management*, 32 (4), pp.1219-1241.

- Yin, R.K. (1999) Enhancing the quality of case studies in health services research. *Health services research*, 34(5 Pt 2), pp.1209-1224.

- Yin, R.K. (2003) Designing case studies. In: L. Maruster and M.J. Gijsenberg eds. *Qualitative research methods*, 5(14). London: Sage, pp.359-386.

- Yin, R.K. (2015) *Qualitative research from start to finish.* 2nd ed. New York: Guilford publications.

- Yoon, Y. and Chung, H. (2016) New forms of dualization? Labour market segmentation patterns in the UK from the late 90s until the post-crisis in the late 2000s. *Social Indicators Research*, *128*, pp.609-631.

- Zetter, R., Griffiths, D. and Sigona, N. (2006) Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: What are the links? In: Reconsidering the Role of Conflict in the Lives of Refugees: The Case of Somalis in Europe. MICROCON Research Working Paper. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Available: http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/summary?doi=10.1.1.483.2833 [Accessed: 02 July 2018]

- Zibarras, L. and Lewis, R. eds. (2013) *Work and occupational psychology: integrating theory and practice*. Los Angeles: Sage.

- Zincone, G. (2001) Italy–Main features of Italian immigration flows. *Policy recommendations for EU migration policies*, Brussels: King Baudouin Foundation and Berlin: German Marshall Fund of the United States.

- Zolberg, A.R. (1991) Bounded states in a global market: The uses of international labor migrations. Boulder: Oxford University Press.

- Zotti A. (2021) The Immigration Policy of the United Kingdom: British Exceptionalism and the Renewed Quest for Control. In: M. Ceccorulli, E. Fassi and S. Lucarelli, eds. *The EU Migration System of Governance.* The European Union in International Affairs: Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp.57-88.

- Zou, X. and Petkanopoulou, K. (2022) Nostalgia and Acculturation. *Current Opinion in Psychology, 49*, p.101553.

- Zschirnt, E. and Ruedin, D. (2016) Ethnic discrimination in hiring decisions: a meta-analysis of correspondence tests 1990–2015. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *42*(7), pp.1115-1134.

9 APPENDICES

9.1 APPENDIX A- INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Note: *Participation is voluntary and if you do not want to answer a particular question you are free to say you prefer not to reply – this includes personal information on age etc.*

Please answer the following:

Age   **:**   **Sex**   **:**

Job title   **:**   **Country of birth**   **:**

Years of stay in the UK: **Years of employment in UK:**

Level of education   **:**   **Are you a UK national?**   **:**

1. Do you feel the talents, skills, experiences and knowledge of employees are acknowledged by the company?

2. Do you feel all employees' talents, skills, experiences and knowledge are acknowledged equally?

3. Do you think it is important to build relationships with people at work?

4. Is there a particular group at work you identify with?

5. Do you enjoy coming to work? If so, why? If not, why not?

6. Do you enjoy a good working relationship with colleagues? If so, can you describe how   you interact with colleagues? If not, can you describe what that means?

7. Is your relationship with colleagues formal or informal, i.e., do you enjoy a laugh and joke and, perhaps, meet outside of work?

8. What role do you think the organisation takes in supporting relationships at work?

9. Do you ever feel excluded at work?

10. Do you ever feel you have to disguise your personal beliefs while at work?

11. How would you describe your experience in the UK? Has it altered over a period of time?

12. Have you ever suffered periods of unemployment? If so, do you think this has changed your attitude to work?

13. Do you feel language has been a barrier for you in settling into a workplace or progressing at work?

14. Do you believe Government policy has helped you find and keep work?

9.2 APPENDIX B- LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Table 9.1: List of Participants with required information

Participant No.	Country of Origin/Birth	Sex	Occupational Levels	Job Title	UK National	Migrant Status	Level of education	Years of Service
P 1	United Kingdom	M	Administrative and Assistants	HR Trainee	Yes	Native	Graduate	2 Months
P 2	United Kingdom	M	Operative/Entry-level	Electrician Operative	Yes	Native	Graduate	25 Years
P 3	Portugal	F	Lower Management	Quality Auditor	No	Long-Term Immigrant	Graduate	6 Years
P 4	United Kingdom	F	Administrative and Assistants	HR Administrator	Yes	Native	Graduate	2 Years
P 5	Poland	F	Lower Management	Trainer	No	Long-Term Immigrant	Graduate	6 Years
P 6	United Kingdom	M	Middle Management	Site Services Manager	Yes	Native	Graduate	35 Years
P 7	Latvia	M	Operative/Entry-level	Process Controller	No	Long-Term Immigrant	A Level Equivilant	5 Years
P 8	Poland	M	Middle Management	Production Manager	Yes	Long-Term Immigrant	Graduate	9 Years
P 9	United Kingdom	M	Lower Management	Agency Supervisor	Yes	Native	GCSE Equivilant	1 Year 6 Months
P 10	Rominia	F	Administrative and Assistants	Production Coordinator	No	New Migrant	Primary School	2 Years
P 11	Pakistan	M	Lower Management	Operations Team Leader	No	Long-Term Immigrant	A Level Equivilant	7 Years
P 12	Portugal	M	Lower Management	Operations Team Leader	No	Long-Term Immigrant	A Level Equivilant	5 Years
P 13	Rominia	M	Operative/Entry-level	Production Operative	No	New Migrant	Primary School	1 Year 7 Months
P 14	United Kingdom	M	Middle Management	Purchase Manager	Yes	Native	A Level Equivilant	14 Years and 6 Months
P 15	Poland	F	Middle Management	Food Safety and Quality Manager	No	Long-Term Immigrant	Graduate	7 Years 3 Months
P 16	Pakistan	M	Lower Management	Senior Technician	Yes	Long-Term Immigrant	A Level Equivilant	9 Years
P 17	United Kingdom	M	Lower Management	IT Support Analyst	Yes	Native	Graduate	8 Years
P 18	Rominia	M	Operative/Entry-level	Process Controller	No	Long-Term Immigrant	A Level Equivilant	5 Years
P 19	United Kingdom	F	Top Management	HR Business Partner	Yes	Native	Graduate	3 Years
P 20	Iraq	M	Operative/Entry-level	Line Controller	Yes	Long-Term Immigrant	Primary School	14 Years
P 21	Rominia	M	Operative/Entry-level	Hygiene Operative	No	New Migrant	GCSE Equivilant	7 Months
P 22	Slovakia	M	Operative/Entry-level	Production Operative	No	New Migrant	GCSE Equivilant	2 Years
P 23	United Kingdom (Ancestry India)	M	Lower Management	Planner	Yes	Native	Graduate	15 Years
P 24	United Kingdom	M	Top Management	Complex Manager	Yes	Native	Doctorate	12 Years
P 25	Poland	M	Lower Management	Quality Auditor	No	Long-Term Immigrant	Graduate	7 Years
P 26	Latvia	M	Lower Management	Trainer	Yes	Long-Term Immigrant	Graduate	14 Years
P 27	Poland	F	Administrative and Assistants	Engineering Administrator	Yes	Long-Term Immigrant	GCSE Equivilant	5 Years
P 28	France	F	Middle Management	Operations Manager	Yes	Long-Term Immigrant	A Level Equivilant	19 Years and 2 Months
P 29	Poland	M	Operative/Entry-level	Production Operative	No	New Migrant	Primary School	4 Years
P 30	Slovakia	F	Lower Management	Assistant Planner	No	New Migrant	GCSE Equivilant	6 Months
P 31	United Kingdom	M	Middle Management	Supply Chain Manager	Yes	Native	Graduate	8 Years
P 32	Rominia	M	Operative/Entry-level	Production Operative	No	New Migrant	Primary School	2 Years
P 33	Africa	M	Operative/Entry-level	Despatch Operative	No	New Migrant	Graduate	6 Months
P 34	Poland	M	Administrative and Assistants	Accounts Administrator	No	New Migrant	Graduate	1 Year 6 Months
P 35	Slovakia	F	Operative/Entry-level	Hygiene Operative	No	New Migrant	GCSE Equivilant	4 Months
P 36	Rominia	F	Operative/Entry-level	Process Controller	Yes	Long-Term Immigrant	Graduate	7 Years
P 37	Latvia	F	Operative/Entry-level	Production Operative	No	New Migrant	Primary School	1 Year 1 Month
P 38	Poland	M	Operative/Entry-level	Line Controller	No	New Migrant	GCSE Equivilant	2 Years
P 39	Italy	M	Lower Management	Higher Technician	No	New Migrant	GCSE Equivilant	1 Year 7 Months
P 40	India	M	Operative/Entry-level	Stores Operative	No	Long-Term Immigrant	GCSE Equivilant	5 Years
P 41	Poland	M	Operative/Entry-level	Machine Minder	No	Long-Term Immigrant	Primary School	6 Years
P 42	United Kingdom	M	Lower Management	Planner	Yes	Native	Post-graduate	4 Years
P 43	Pakistan	M	Lower Management	Operations Team Leader	No	New Migrant	A Level Equivilant	1 Year 7 Months
P 44	United Kingdom	F	Middle Management	HR Officer	Yes	Native	A Level Equivilant	8 Years
P 45	Rominia	M	Operative/Entry-level	Production Operative	No	New Migrant	Graduate	1 Year 6 Months
P 46	Pakistan	M	Operative/Entry-level	Despatch Operative	No	New Migrant	A Level Equivilant	2 Years
P 47	Pakistan	M	Administrative and Assistants	Training Assistant	No	Long-Term Immigrant	Graduate	8 Years
P 48	Africa	M	Operative/Entry-level	Despatch Operative	No	New Migrant	Graduate	1 Year 2 Months
P 49	Pakistan	M	Operative/Entry-level	Site Maintenance Operative	No	New Migrant	GCSE Equivilant	6 Months
P 50	Slovakia	M	Operative/Entry-level	Despatch Operative	No	Long-Term Immigrant	GCSE Equivilant	6 Years

9.3 APPENDIX C- CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY *of* **STIRLING**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

GUEP/NICR Approval Number [Insert]   Participant number [Insert]

Research Project Title: Challenges faced by new migrants entering workplace communities in the UK

	Please initial box
I confirm that I have read and understood the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw within two weeks from the start of the study and can withdraw my data without giving a reason, and without any penalty.	
I understand that my responses will be kept anonymous, and I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.	
I give consent to being audio recorded.	
I understand how the anonymised data will be used in research outputs. I am aware that I will not be identified as the data will be anonymised and participants' real names would not be recorded anywhere.	
I give permission to be quoted directly in the research publication but understand that I cannot be recognised as my name will not be used. However, I also understand that it may be possible for people to know who I am by the responses I have made to the questions. I agree that the researcher should contact me for permission to use direct quotes of such responses in publicly available material	
I agree for research data collected in the study to be given to researchers, including those working outside the UK to be used in other research studies. I understand that any data that leaves the research group will be fully anonymised so that I cannot be identified.	
I understand that I can refuse to answer any questions asked of me or that I may end the interview at any time of my choosing	
I am aged over 18 years, and I give my complete consent to take part in this study.	

Name of Participant   **Signature:**

Date: Click here to enter a date

9.4 APPENDIX D- MANUALLY TRANSCRIBED AND ANNOTATED FEW INTERVIEWS

Participant 2 –Electrician operative

Interviewer	Hello, thank you for coming for the interview.
Interviewee	Hi,
Interviewer	Please could you sign this form and if you have any questions please ask me it's an individual research. It's nothing to do with the company. It's my own research.
Interviewee	its ok
Interviewer	Thank you, were you born in UK?
Interviewee	Yeah.
Interviewer	Okay great.. And um how long have you worked here?
Interviewee	25 years, I work as an Electrician.
Interviewer	that's good, shall we start!
Interviewee	yeah yeah!
Interviewer	So have you ever felt that there is some kind of inequality in the organization when people are from different backgrounds and there are new people entering the organisation, do you think that there's some kind of change in attitudes of people when new comers enter the company?

[handwritten annotation: unequal treatment, differences in treatment]

Interviewee-	Yeah I do because I don't think a lot of people are given equal treatment because some are from agency now... a lot of are in anyways but they are not staying for long in the factory. New people are not in the factory for more months, I see different people every day, there are new people every week and the turnover is high. People don't care who comes or who goes, they are here for money and this company is same as any other competitors, they hire and fire people, this place is no different than anybody else-,

[handwritten left margin: industry standard / people move expecting something better but its the same everywhere / Myth of Better Future]

Interviewer	Right. *[handwritten: Employement Compromise — shopfloor conditions are not good — can make employees feel less valued]*
Interviewee	because they don't get paid enough and I don't think the working conditions are that good, I don't work in the factory you see I work as electrician I work on from the offices; I wire all these up.
Interviewer	Ok *[handwritten: Issue of High Turnover]*
Interviewee	Among the agency staff there is a massive high turnover because people are not sure whether they will be permanent in the factory, they leave. *[handwritten: uncertainity]*
Interviewer	Ok

[handwritten: Page 1]

245

Interviewee	But... like I say, as staff I don't think you're paid enough money for what they do.
Interviewer	Ok
Interviewee	Yeah.
Interviewer	And they are the ones who come new... and so why do some people work for so many years?
Interviewee	Like me?, Cos I like the job.
Interviewer	Do you enjoy coming for work?
Interviewee	Yes I like it but probably some don't like the management or something they leave; or probably they don't get better jobs then they keep staying for long time. All better jobs are around in Derby and that pay more money, that's why they do it. I see people coming up for short stay and leave and go somewhere else. Short time labour.
Interviewer	Yeah. And they just make money and they go back?
Interviewee	I think so. I am not used to see this sort of thing. Years ago you had staff here 13, 14, 15 years long they used to stay you don't see that now. There isn't that many people like me that have been here that long.
Interviewer	I get you. Do you feel all employees talents, skills, experiences and knowledge are acknowledged equally?
Interviewee	No they are not. They just come here for money, they're a big turnover in staff now, and very different conditions for them, they don't get paid enough money.
Interviewer	yeah.
Interviewee	And they can get work elsewhere for more money in Derby, Nottingham, anywhere around there. There's a lot of people from abroad. When I started here 25 years ago there was one Indian lad and he was my boss. He was the only foreign national, But now, I believe 93% are from a different countries.
Interviewer	That's right.
Interviewee	I've always got on with anybody. All the same to me. But it's a big problem here because people come here and don't understand English so it's a big problem. That's the agency problem, they send them on straight away without going through the training.
Interviewer	I understand... Do you feel English has been a barrier for them in setting into a workplace work?

Handwritten annotations:
- No other option so employees have to stay – Employment Compromises
- temporary source of income for some new migrants
- Not many people stay for long periods now – Shortage – High Turnover
- Skills are not always acknowledged
- Increase in dependency on migrants in the organisation
- language acts as a problem/barrier – English Language Proficiency

Page 2

People do not stay in the job for long

| Interviewee | Yeah, yeah. I see different people every day. They find it difficult to talk in English. Regarding this, also like you know erm there are groups of same people, like, you know they kind of go around together. They stick together. They go in a different organization because they're getting more money. You know the Romanian people, there's Kurdish people, who work in our department and I think they ought to be on more money but that's just up to me. I don't pay the money. And they need to get know English. |

groups are formed, with loyalties

| Interviewer | Right |

Pay is considered low by natives, whereas migrants may have a different perspective due to added reality of exchange rates

| Interviewee | I don't think they get enough money for a start. The benefits they get I don't think its right. There are technician down there they don't get sick pay, which I think they should get, but they don't, they are working to earn little money. |

want money, so migrants compromise on basic necessities — Employment Compromise

| Interviewer | Ok |

belief that migrants view this as a temporary source of income

| Interviewee | The difference is too big. Erm and then all of them together I think so you know they decide they'll go to a different place. Because what... you know most of them were saying that because it's economical for them to go in the same car and then you have fuel share and all that. So there's lot of economical factors. But the biggest problem that I get to see a lot of fine for these people that speed along the A52. There's just been a major crash down there were five people critically injured. |

Behaviour influenced by economic factors

Economic Self-Interest

Interviewer	Oh that's astonishing.	*— View migrants as reckless*
Interviewee	Because they drive like complete idiots.
Interviewer	Ooh.
Interviewee	That's... that's me saying, telling you because they'll overtake on bends, perhaps act.... you'll see it in this country, what you shouldn't do to this country and they do. And that's where people get hurt you see.

difference in values & norms of country of origin & host country — Hard for new migrants to adapt to societal norms

Interviewer	Right.
Interviewee	They'll drive like idiots, complete idiots. Not everybody.
Interviewer	Yeah.
Interviewee	When I come down here it's like a one way and you'll keep seeing them coming the other way with no lights on. No matter how much you tell them, doesn't make any difference, they just carry on doing this.
Interviewer	Ooh.
Interviewee	It's the main problem I see.
Interviewer	And what else you feel is the problem?

Page 3

247

Interviewee	Nah, just just convictions like what they get paid. And so they can get <mark>more money</mark> elsewhere. Competitors and things like that.
Interviewer	Yeah. And that's something which is which is on nowadays you know there's your competitor. But then that's something which is not permanent.
Interviewee	Yes it isn't.
Interviewer	Huh?
Interviewee	No it isn't.
Interviewer	Okay.
Interviewee	I've been here 25 years, I know this company is the same as our competitor.
Interviewer	Right.
Interviewee	Yeah I know 5 people. It's exactly the same there. It's exactly the same everywhere. Gonna continue to be. They don't stay here 2 minutes. This place is no different than anybody else.
Interviewer	Right.
Interviewee	I've been in the different companies, I know the different companies. Another competitor, I've been there. I've worked with management there. It's just the same. Oh it's <mark>more prevalent even to see people leaving</mark> because it's close to Derby you see.
Interviewer	Yeah.
Interviewee	This is no difference than any other food factory. It's a bigger organization and they try and keep people happy. , which is correct. HR are very good. But their job is..., this influx of staff is unbelievable. The turnover of management here.
Interviewer	Hmhm.
Interviewee	Over the last two years you've had about 35 managers leave the company.
Interviewer	Yeah. Is it 35 managers in two years?
Interviewee	33 I think.
Interviewer	Yeah. Hmhm.
Interviewee	That's because they're not liking the <mark>environment</mark>, or don't know, I don't... like I say I don't know I don't speak to them... I don't go on a factory shop floor. But well that's quite obviously isn't it. The minds of people are towards <mark>leaving</mark>.

Handwritten annotations:
- industry standards at FoodPro.Co — Myth of Better Future
- influx can be unreliable
- managers are also leaving
- turnover issues are embedded much more in organisational structure
- High Turnover
- shopfloor working conditions are not liked affect intentions to stay

Page 4

Money factor
economic factors highly influence migration/intentions to stay or leave — Economic Self-Interest

Interviewer	Yeah. Correct

Interviewee Money's a big talker and people leave for money closer to home. And moreover, you know, there's this problem of Brexit coming up so they would definitely like to, you know, leave, I think so yeah a lot of people are think... Yeah, because, err, you know, it's easy for them, if you asked me, the trade you know, the Euro rate is not much of a difference now, It's almost the same. Almost the same. So they would like to stay somewhere which is near to their own house. You can't keep doing that though. I don't do it. My friends don't do it. They don't leave.

assumes new migrants would leave due to uncertainty caused by Brexit

decrease in exchange rate

Economic factor influencing migrant motivations

Interviewer Yeah.

Interviewee Why should people do that? Get all their benefits in this country and then go back home again. I'm not criticizing-

Interviewer I understand.

anger towards migrants who claim benefits, not towards those who work

Interviewee I don't think it's fair.

Interviewer I understand completely.

Interviewee I don't think it's fair. People come here to get the benefits and everything like that. I don't think it's fair. If you are an English national person, technically born in this country. And... people come to this country, get all the benefits they can, and then go back to their families. Nothing wrong with that, but I don't think it's fair. Well, sadly world changes. Now you get to see all migrants come from country to country. They come to this country for a reason. Cos benefits. Benefit, you don't get it in Germany, you don't get it in Holland. You might get it in France. This country just gives to them. I went to the hospital today... oh yesterday. I had surgery. And 20 people waiting in the waiting room and I'm the only English person there. People come here to get the benefits, I am an English national, why should they take all my benefit

believes some migrants are treated better than natives & they take advantage of the policies

underlying stereotypes held

Interviewer Hmhm.

Interviewee And you can hear them talking, they go for their operation and they go back home. I'm not racist, don't get me wrong.

Interviewer No no no, I understand what you mean.

Aggression against migrants

Interviewee It's ruining the economy. Because the people who actually, erm you know, need the benefits they're not able to get it, they're not able to get houses. So they come here.Why should we supply erm... and that four billion pound benefits and err our people, old people, we take television licences to watch TV. Is that right?

Interviewer Have you ever felt that, because of them, you've been excluded from work? Ah, like because of people who are from a different country?

Page 5

Interviewee	Yes, felt that because of them I don't get more work. — *feel insecure about own job & stability in society — influences attitudes*
Interviewer	Yeah.
Interviewee	But I just join in with them, I laugh with them, you got to, but they cannot take [my] rights of my country. — *acts ammicable, but not / still holds stereotypes / does not fully accept them*
Interviewer	Hmhm.
Interviewee	Previously I never thought about that. But then you feel that the, the benefits should be there in the country, you know, with the people who are born here. I don't have a problem with migrant workers.... I only have a problem with people migrating for financial benefits and don't want to work. Obviously, it, it's not right across their country. But that's my country and my own opinion. Yeah. No that, that is, that is true. That is, even I feel that personally, if you ask me, you know, I feel that that kind of err benefits. Some of them don't get houses, the ones who are born here, just because of the others who are not born, will get more benefits from the council. Some of the agency people get sheltered housing from the council. Yeah. And they're just staying there free some of them do not have even jobs. And I work and I had to pay my way. Yeah. My grandson graduated from University last year and he's started his living, he, he's a teacher. Yeah. And he started today and, as grant, he got two thousand pound lasting 12 months.

feels angry

Interviewer	Ooh.
Interviewee	His parents don't have a better job and forty thousand pound to pay him to mortgage a house.
Interviewer	Ooh
Interviewee	So I'm having to pay for him. This is, this is something which one of my sister, you know, she's she just voted that, you know, no deal third time, because she feels she doesn't get houses. She's not able to get houses for her and her mom because it's been like so many times they've been applying to the council and they're not getting it. The ones who are, you know, they're from a not here are up in the queue, just, just been there and they just get it because they don't have jobs they give some other reasons and they have been just taking all that benefit. So she always felt and I felt very strongly for her because, you know, the kind of pain we go through in a country like this, you know, in this country is something which they should have done if you ~~this country is something which they should have done if you~~ ask me. if people want to come they should come on a visa and then they should do like any other international, you know? I would say is, I've had quite a bit of surgery at the moment. All my surgeons are Indian, Pakistani-

against open migration

political factor influencing attitudes?

Interviewer	Yeah.

Interviewee	Kurdish. And they are brilliant surgeons. I haven't got a problem with people from different countries. I just don't like the benefits people get when, my family can't get them., I do apologise.
Interviewer	No, that's okay. That's okay.
Interviewee	Okay then, thank you very much. I need to go.
Interviewer	Thank you.
Interviewee	Cheers.

— attitude influenced by personal characteristics/ personal economic factors

Page 7

Participant 23- Planner

Interviewer	Hello, how are you? Thank you for participating through this interview.
Interviewee	Hi, how are you?
Interviewer	I am fine thank you. How long you have been employed in this company?
Interviewee	I'm 37 now. So you probably after A Levels and degree at the university, I would say I had full time employment here say for the past 15 years.

⌐ Education

Interviewer	That's great. Have you experienced any difference in attitudes due to internal differences in working relationships or seen any conflicts among new and older migrants?

differences make it difficult to connect / be understanding

Interviewee	As a longstanding employee to someone who frankly yes... they do have... well I would probably put it on both cases workers, they have different in their attitudes, they are not same with some and some they are good, they normally tend to be part of the older generation as well.

differences in treatement / unequal treatement favouritism

generalisation

Interviewer	You mean the long term employees are of older generation?
Interviewee	Yes, because they're set in their ways and they've already got a position in the company they've only got the team and they rely on them but they are they're always they will be a bit more fearful probably of the new person... it's about their job, they kind of break into that barrier improve their worth. So they are always having that mentality, they need to be. That's something at times I feel I mean that it's both ways you know, it could be the ones who are coming new. They're having hopes and they definitely want to show they are worth in here and sometimes you know they're not getting those right moves you know to kind of get in to that kind of a new setting. And it's normally not really easy every single day. So it might not be, it might not be like just because of the newcomer it just maybe because of the work culture you know. So in this kind of business I know. it is very much you need to know the industry so it's going to be hard to pull people from all backgrounds to come in and work with everyone and crack on with the job.

fear of unemployment

economic expectation fear & uncertainty exist both ways - Eco. 5.5. both sides need to adapt for integration

settling in / integration can take time, new comers experience different pressures as they settle in the new environment

Interviewer	I understand.

└─ diversity ≠ unity, — segregation groups are bound to form with different values

Interviewee	Then when you have someone from a different country or a different background trying to come in they're always going to have trouble reaching to the ones who are there for longer time, and they will be using their own networking around these new people to rely on groups and racial thinking

initial conflict in long-term immigration & new migrants

evidence of stereotypical thinking — Stereotypes in Societal Structures

comfort from groups groupism

Interviewer	Have you witnessed this?
Interviewee	Yes. And I feel that that is also you know it is very normal here. You know it is not only it is also in this country it could be any country you know, you go to you go to Japan, you go to Russia, you go anywhere because you're coming from different place and you're going to a place which maybe has different language and different settings and everything. So it's not the same as your own country, yes I have seen it. Some have problem with your skin colour or something else, I don't know why but I have seen it.

new values, customs, cultures, environment to get used to integration

biases influence relations & attitudes — Stereotypes in Societal Structures

252

Interviewer So do you think that there would be conflicts among new and long term workers? Have you, yourself experienced any kind of conflict or discrimination in the work environment?

Experienced Discrimination

Interviewee Yes, I have seen here I have seen the discrimination on me here and I faced it sometimes and I have been treated bad. And yes I do see it on a day to day basis where some of these are well-established people who treat others with no respect. You see I am working in this large organisation... my boss because I am from Asia, have spoiled my dignity... harassed me... I mean a lot of things which definitely you know on the way you look, I felt degraded and humiliating and never like the environment around me, about my boss made fun what I bring for lunch, what I eat, how I laugh loudly... my culture... of my good work. I saw my counterparts getting more favourable treatment and promotion because he or she is not the way I look... I stayed calm and every morning I woke up and came to work, thinking I have my house mortgage to pay and have a family... I have to go to work. My dad came in this country in 1969, I am second generation... I am born in UK and my kids are studying in primary school here, my dad says when they came it was more difficult than today.

Equipped with country specific skills, but was still discriminated

Interviewer Really, I am sorry to hear that. Why did not you complain?

necessity to overall need

feel isolated, no equality

Interviewee Well, I had no choice, you see I felt there is less chance of them hearing me.

Lost Opportunities

Interviewer I understand. What you think about workers English speaking ability and is it a necessary skill to acquire while working here?

was able to pick up English from surroundings when growing up. Advantage of being surrounded by host-country culture + people

Interviewee Well, we were moved into a very English area at a younger age because my dad had a shop there from the English area where he had a lot of English friends. I then went to college which was very more Asians populate it but I was always speaking in English... it kind of was about me. Now when I see that people speak a certain other languages in my office because we do have...a few Eastern European people, they speak their own language some of the English people they tend to get a little bit upset but which I can't quite understand what they want to talk. We also can't be bothered. I'm here to work get paid, So I do see that today it was mentioned as well that someone made a comment about why they are speaking in their language to why they can't speak English. Sometimes I think it's you know releases stress when you are actually in pressure and then you're speaking in your own language with someone, possibly what the thing is or maybe they're many minorities there is no one who speaks their language. Yeah. Been there for four years there's been no one directly in my team that speak my language so I have not had the need to yeah or other people with different departments who want to speak Punjabi to me and still I will yet stick to English so I give that information correctly because I give out their own then I'm going to be the one in trouble so let's not get in trouble. I don't like them speaking in their country's language in the office. But I don't say them anything. They go for English speaking classes, but they yet speak in their own language when they are with their country workers, I think the company need to follow the rules and stop them. I feel English should be must for all since it's UK and we are working in UK. They all are good with their work but I think yes English is what they should learn while working. Either they they can be more strict saying that you don't have to speak other language but in English and within an organisation there has many different languages and people learning for them is tough, they also not pleased that in order work in the factory they are made to learn new language. Yeah well you just can't really... So yeah sometimes, they get very sensitive about.

Page 2

Handwritten marginal annotations (left margin):
- juded, humiliated, degraded
- Misrepresenting the Community
- unequal treatment based on existing biases
- Home languages gives comfort
- comfort against organisational pressures
- easier and less stressful to communicate
- English Language Proficiency
- language proficiency is an issue
- different languages not appreciated by management but tolerated
- want everyone to communicate in one language, annoyance

Handwritten marginal annotations (right margin):
- Prevalence of discrimination at FoodPro.Co.
- Determined due to economic needs + family commitments
- Misrepresenting the Community
- helping identify need of English
- Focused
- organisation support to learn English

Interviewer   I understand. Do you feel language has been a barrier for you in setting into a workplace work?

Acceptance of barriers existing   *difficulty breaking in*

Interviewee   Yes, of course it is.   *difficulty in connecting & communication*   *English Language Proficiency*

Interviewer   Do you ever feel excluded at work and do you ever feel you have to disguise your personal beliefs at work?   *Lack of Recognition*   *feel isolated*

Interviewee   You know yeah I always felt no one understands me in this company. I could never tell my boss yeah what I feel but always kept doing the job. It is that I think when I am there with my boss, I felt when I used to be with him initially that I don't quite fit into the picture. He never wanted me in his team but because of my work and I did what he told, I managed to hold my job, I felt my team always felt they cannot joke with me, in fact they used to joke about me, which I never liked but I am not bothered now. There are so many commitments. It's very you know that kind of a feeling which was there it was so much to do with the, you know kind of insecurities. I was just there and then he(my boss) used to even come and like make scene in front of others in the office, like you know someone coming and then shouting, why you didn't do this and me being there listening to him.

Determination   *Bearing the peer pressure*   *job insecurities*

targeted & picked on   *, Misrepresenting the Community*

Interviewer   You should have reported to your HR?   *Problem is more deep-rooted*

Interviewee   I did tell to the GM but when I started taking that then that gap got him (my boss) more insecure about that you know what is happening and then my boss started pretending to be good in front of the other team members but used to humiliate me in his cabin, where me and him were alone discussing some matter… He used to never care about my promotion or my concerns. Later he left the company and I felt relieved.

Insecurity can fuel harsher attitudes

Double standards of management

Interviewer   So how did the new boss of yours treated you?

Interviewee   He was ok but I have to work very hard about my image, the previous boss had spoiled and gave no good word about me to the new boss. That is not a issue, I… made him understand and yet kept working hard.

persistance, determination

Better Future, Employment Compromise

Interviewer   That's good. What you think about new government policy regarding Brexit?

Affected by external political factors   *What the Future Holds*   *organisation dependant on migrants*

Interviewee   I know when Brexit happened that we are going to struggle immensely with labour because depending on what it is decided we can probably have mass exodus. With regard to our staff on the shop floor yeah because…. what we pay them and what we get from them in work is at very low price. But I don't see the same skilled quality people going out of our factory because of Brexit. And it will cost the organization across all four primary sites and head office across state lines. They are not releasing that these racial comments or biased to ethnic minorities or anything like that, is not good for the output,… there is quite a lot of European people within the factory working at a frontline level and it will be problem. European descent there's quite a few people my manager, he's Polish. He's worked himself up from the factory floor to various different levels from managing a team from managing his own department on managing… his own area and obviously into what I used to do not what I'm doing now. And he's done a lot of jobs over the past. But he started right from the bottom and he obviously going to be on the top. But he is not going to stay in this factory,

benefits of migrants

worried about high cost of turnover

predicting higher turnover because of Brexit.

What Future Holds

Ignorance in Attitudes towards minorities

Page 3

he thinks he can go back to Poland, he feels this country is no good now., yeah there was a lot of them tend to be very hard working but do not want to work here.

Economic Self-Interest

Interviewer   Why do you think this is happening that people want to leave from this factory?

Interviewee   Like nowadays people like who are Romanians are coming right and they're different people from different other countries other than Poland. And then people from Poland are actually not much here now because they want to near their home, their own country, make some money and then go back home. Like mom still talks about going back to India but I think when if you go back to India you're not going to have what you have here. I mean all the comforts you have here I mean you have proper roads. There is no running water, constantly clean water and so.... Obviously my mom my dad, my dad really wants to go but he knows he can't get back because he's got houses here he's got business. He's got... grandkids here. But these European workers, most of them... don't have their families here and they want to make money, where they get more money they want to go there.

nostalgia towards country of origin, miss home
but have to stay since host country provides better opportunities
Comforts
Economic SI
Family Commitments

Interviewer   I understand. Do you think that's the reason some are not willing to integrate in the company?

Difficult process
willing to work longer for money
money factor
Economic Self Interest

Interviewee   Integration is not easy for them. They want to be there for short period these frontline teams and if they like the money what they earn, they work for long time ,... otherwise they look for new work somewhere else. They want to pay their bills. They feel if in the surroundings they don't get on with it so go to the job centre and get other work. They don't have so much of time to sit and think about all this.

short-term income source for some — so some new migrants choose not to integrate if they see the job as temporary employment — High Turnover

Interviewer   Are they any dominant group in the company?

Interviewee   You mean groups of like Polish people, and Romanians and like that?

Interviewer   Yes that's right.

groups are embedded in the work culture

Interviewee   Maybe a lot, they all are with their own country people and that is very normal here. The big group always try to put weight on small groups, they like to not give them way to feel free and do what they like. It is very wrong but it happens, I have seen here. I go far from all this. But it is not a decent thing.

connects to social identity theory
feel intimidated & insecure thus want to hold their dominance by targeting

Interviewer   That's right. Do you think it's because of their lack of communication in one language or something else?

language barrier
English Language
influence - group ism

Interviewee   I think.... it's both not able to talk in English and also you know it's about big groups, people from same country, they like to show their presence and... get their way, yeah, they are always supporting their own country people, this way they can have their say in the company.

Ethnic Affiliation

large groups portray dominance or favouritism - groupism

Interviewer   I get you. Thank you so much for your time and best of luck for your future.

Interviewee   Thank you.

Page 4

255

Participant 11-Operations Team Leader

Interviewer	Hello, how are you? Thanks for coming for the interview
Interviewee	Hi
Interviewer	Thank you. How long you have been staying here in UK?
Interviewee	about 7 years
Interviewer	Did you start working in this organisation since you came here?

Long-term immigrant — been 7 years in UK

Interviewee	Yes, I came from Pakistan in 2012 and since then I am working here. Earlier, I was working as production operative and now I am operation team leader.

people were accepting of them initially but now act weary around them

Interviewer	That's nice. What's your experience in terms of the changes you experienced in UK as country, coming from Pakistan, I mean a different part of world right?

Attitudes seen have changed over time

Interviewee	Yes, hm... When I came here first I found people very open minded, and accept all the cultures. My wife and myself liked that. I come from a country where we accept people, have very friendly people, but here they now say we take away their jobs, trust me it's everywhere.

faced negative behaviour based on stereotypes prevalent in overall society — Stereotypes in Societal Structures

Interviewer	Oh.
Interviewee	Then I started working in this factory. I made many friends
Interviewer	Oh that's nice, were they all from this organisation?
Interviewee	Yes
Interviewer	So do you enjoy a good working relationship with colleagues?

groupism... support given from long-term immigrants of same ethnicity, forming a support network

Interviewee	Yes but... now some of them are not interested and then I also don't want to, when I came here new, I had lot of people from my country who helped me to find a house, buy my grocery. They all became my friends, but now there are new people who are not from my country and they don't want to be with me and they don't want my help, I come here to work and go home

new migrants don't always look for support from long-term immigrants when they are not of same ethnicity

groupism

Interviewer	Ok so do you interact with your colleagues?
Interviewee	No not really
Interviewer	Ok
Interviewee	Now it's different

is supportive and understanding towards new comers/migrants

Interviewer	Why do you say that?
Interviewee	See, I like to help anybody who come new to this company, but nowadays people who are coming are only Romanians , Polish or from Europe , and they don't want my help, you see they go to people from their own country.

excluded/ shunned even though a long-term immigrant

but new migrants appear to be inclined towards long-term immigrants of same ethnicity.

Interviewer	Right!
Interviewee	I also keep doing my work

groupism

Interviewer	I understand.

↳ due to same language, culture, values, etc?

Lost Opportunities

Interviewee	Previously when I came here it was very difficult for me, I used to do double shifts and I was young to do but now I only do one shift
Interviewer	Ok

feels unable to fulfill their potential due to lack of opportunity to put their knowledge & skills completely to use & progress

Interviewee	I feel I am happy to be a team leader but I can do more, I have lot of more knowledge and experience, I cannot use it.

can come from biases — Hiring Preference

Interviewer	Why do you feel your experiences and knowledge are not used?

inequality in opportunities provided

Misrepresenting the Communities

Interviewee	See, here we are not equal, people who are from Europe get more work and they are supported more than me, I only became team leader last year but people who came from Poland became in two years, how is that... eh now they earning more money and I am yet here.

unjust, feels annoyed, equality policy is not completely practiced in organisation

∴ could there be genuine reasons for no promotion? by management

Interviewer	Hmm
Interviewee	When I came here, my boss told me that they give everybody equal chance and if I do good work , they have lot of other jobs in the company ... but it's just the talk, you see they have their favourite workers, and I tried to work very hard but it has taken me long time to become a team leader. But I have good life in UK, I am not rich but I have good life, I like the work I am doing

Hiring Preferences

grateful for new job, pay, life compared to previously — despite slow progress & less support

↳ Country of Origin Economic Conditions

Interviewer	I understand
Interviewee	And also there are groups of Polish, Romanians people, which I see lots of them every time in the breaks and we are very less Pakistani here
Interviewer	Is there a particular group at work you identify with?
Interviewee	I am with my Pakistani friends all the time in the break because others keep talking in their own language... I know some words of Polish language and I like them but they are not with us.

Difficulty communicating with other groups due to language barriers

stuck with their own group

Interviewer	Ok, do you think the company is supporting you at work ?

groupism + difficulty breaking in

Interviewee — Hmm I think... what support can I expect from them, I have faced difficulty. There is nothing new to the Asian community, what support and help can I expect from them. They just want no complains and come to work every day. Now I have started thinking that here I earn 1300 pounds and suppose in my country I earn 800 pounds, yet its good because of low rent, petrol is cheap, so it does not work for me here.

Believes organisation would not help or be able to change anything if complaint is about discrimination [left margin]

Changes in inflation influencing attitudes towards emigration back to country of origin since it is cheaper. — Country of Origin / Economic Conditions [right margin]

Interviewer — Have you observed discrimination at work? If you don't mind me asking that.

Interviewee — I have seen people from Europe getting more opportunity here and not me but there are lot of differences I feel that there is such a thing as the white skin people, and they have much closer connection to company bosses which currently are dominant here. There are many abuses that go on around here and its beginning is the belief that one skin colour and a kind of cultural background is greater. I feel it's so ridiculous to face differences in the way people talk to you because I have brown skin. It is not evident to everyone they don't make is visible but they make me feel inferior. I sort of knew it was something like that. Of course, there are good and bad people... usual nonsense about letting me down as well. They treated me not same as any European.

derogatory language against specific ethnicities & colours [left margin]
affects work & culture - performance - commitment [left margin]
Lost opportunities [left margin]
feels marginalised - segregation [annotation]

Interviewer — Did you mention this to someone senior in the company or to someone in HR?

Interviewee — I think all face that but no one says it, otherwise I will be out of the job.

fear to voice concerns, fear of unemployment accepted norm in workplace communities [right margin]
Stereotypes in societal Structures [right margin]

Interviewer — Why do you think that?

lack of organisational support [left margin]

Interviewee — I had seen many people who spoke about it, to their boss, nothing happened and they get different look from people they at times looks at you as if you have done some crime, the differences increase, more tension and so it's best not to say anything and keep your head down and keep working.

feels uncertain [left margin]

Interviewer — It is very difficult.

Interviewee — Yeah, it is. This is awful. I wonder why I came here... If only I knew. It is unbelievably cruel, yet the more this is pointed out to them the crueller they become.

feel abandoned, discriminated, helpless - segregation [annotation]

Interviewer — Then do you prefer to work in such conditions?

acceptance as societal norm   Employment compromise [annotation]

Interviewee — I think it's there everywhere. I don't have a choice.

Interviewer — Do you ever think that it is because of people's personal views at work?

follow the norms to feel accepted & not excluded like others — Buyer + Support [right margin]

Interviewee — Hmm yes I have seen both sides, I have seen some people follow how others behave in the company and there are the few who have personal views that we are inferior. It's their own personal personality. I have tried to stay with them and talk to them but there is lots of politics, some or I can say they have not seen people from my country so they don't want to be with me. I have tried to be with them. But their views are different. Some feel because I am Muslim so they get away from me, it's their personal view, but I feel we all are human and

personal biases affects attitudes affects conflict [right margin]

feels discriminated against on basis of personal characteristics, misunderstood, misrepresented — Misrepresenting the Communities [annotation]

we all come to work for one company, I think the company want people from different countries but we are not treated equally.

Interviewer So you have faced so many challenges, how do you describe your experience towards different attitudes at work towards you and your fellow workers and towards who are longer than you in the organisation?

Interviewee I feel... there is lot of difference in the way people behave with the new person who has just joined and who are old in the company. My experience is that if they are from the same group of nationality who are in large majority then they get help from the group but if they are one of the few with new nationality, then their behaviour is not helpful, I think it's in their mind.

long-term immigrants support only new migrants of same group to help them integrate — groupism

Interviewer Do you feel language has been a barrier for you in setting into a workplace work?

— communication barriers

Interviewee I have always known English, I studied English in my school, but here people don't talk in English, they talk in their own language... their country language, I know few of their words but I find it very upsetting. I don't like because I think I am sitting near different people who are different but not as one in one company... you get me. I feel irritated, I want all to speak in one language, I don't know how to tell them this, it is not easy. If we speak in one language then we will be like one huge group and not small small different groups, but they don't understand.

English Language Proficiency

unable to integrate or form one/united workplace community — segregation

Interviewer Since you are not a UK national, do you think the attitude of others towards you, mainly UK nationals is different because of it?

— Eager to have UK citizenship

Interviewee I have stayed in this place for many years. I will apply for British passport... I think it's good, people from my country are now having British passport, it's seen but I feel they all faced same problems but they forget now and they are not bothered about new comers, I think they should help and support them, but they don't feel the need. I think it's about their change in attitude because now they have started becoming more secure, and now... they are without fear.

long-term immigrants forget their initial problems and adopt the attitudes they experienced initially as they transition into citizenship — new migrants left with no support — groupism

feel more confident, secure & fearless, believe don't really need support anymore as they become more secure.

Interviewer I understand. Many thanks for your time. And best of luck for your future.

Interviewee Thank you

groupism

Participant 33- Dispatch Operative

Interviewer	Hello ,thanks for participating. How are you? Many thanks for coming for the interview.
Interviewee	Hi I am fine, how are you?
Interviewer	I am fine, thank you. Please could you sign the consent form and if you have any questions please ask me right now?
Interviewee	Here you go!
Interviewer	Thanks for filling the form.
Interviewee	That's all right!
Interviewer	How long you've been working in this organization?
Interviewee	6 Months
Interviewer	Ok.
Interviewee	I joined as dispatch operative
Interviewer	That's nice. And are you enjoying the job?
Interviewee	Its good
Interviewer	Is it your first job in UK?
Interviewee	yes I was from the agency earlier em now I am permanent.
Interviewer	that's nice. Tell me more about your experience in this company.
Interviewee	I came for the induction on the first day em.. I was the only African.
Interviewer	Ok
Interviewee	They were most of them from Romania and Poland. I sat alone but it was okay.
Interviewer	Did you go through all the training which was required for you to join this job?
Interviewee	Yes, it was difficult because it's the first time I am working in the factory.
Interviewer	Have you got adapted now?
Interviewee	Yes em I have but it's not like working for the office, em it is hard very hard and em ,other people of different country like Romania, does not like me to work, on the

(handwritten annotations: "— experienced isolation", "groupism", "— first job in a factory", "— felt excluded, groups formed by ethnicity", "groupism")

same line because I am black and I feel they do not like my job but they are happy with other Romanians

Interviewer	Why do you feel that ?

— shunned from groups, experience isolation + discrimination

Interviewee	See, em I don't say em but when I go to talk to them in breaks, they go away from me, I don't have anyone to talk to, you know I sit alone yes and eat my food,

difficulty breaking into groups

Interviewer	Oh that's not good, do you try to talk to them in English?
Interviewee	Hmm... it is there too... they talk in their own language but what do I do... I feel very much em I say separate em... I don't know ...how to put it,

Eng. lang. proficiency
— language barrier
— difficulty interacting with other groups

Interviewer	I am just guessing probably they are more comfortable in speaking in their native language. I understand , did you speak to your manager about this?
Interviewee	Yes yeah I told him to change my shift, but it's not easy... you know.

uncomfortable work culture
— Employment Compromise

Interviewer	Yes I do understand
Interviewee	My boss told me that there is no more place in other shifts but he will try to do something... but they make fun of me,

— feels conscious for asking for help

Interviewer	Oh that's sad. How do you say that they make fun of me? I mean can you give some example to me please? If you don't mind

— bullied — discrimination

Interviewee	I go for work, how I walk in the factory, em they imitate and walk behind me em and talk in their language and em I see every one laugh together em, I feel very angry but can't say anyone.

— feel frustrated, but also isolated

Interviewer	Why? You can go to HR if your manager is taking time to change your shift and you are not feeling comfortable. Have you tried that?

— management does not appear to take claims seriously

Interviewee	Em I went to HR on the first floor last week but no one heard me properly, they wanted me to come with my team leader and when I asked my team leader , em he told me that em he cannot go with me because em he has to ask our boss
Interviewer	Oh then you wait till your team leader speaks to your boss. Don't worry they will take some solution out for you. I am feeling that you need some support of the company.

— unhappy — due to lack of support, friends, comfort, etc?

Interviewee	Yes you see I am new here, they have made me permanent em but I am not happy, I need some other job.
Interviewer	I understand , are you applying for other jobs?

long travel/commute /& inconvinient

Interviewee	Em I don't get time because, I go home late in the night, it em takes me 1 and half hours in the bus to go home, I have told some of my friends... em I will get some in a month.

—looking for employment through networking

Interviewer	Good ,I hope you get this solved soon. Do you think it is important to make relationships with people at work?

links to 3 routes into employment for new migrants

Interviewee	Yes very right that's why I want to work in different shift ...I can talk to people

Interviewer	True. Is it language a hurdle for them to talk to you in this team or do you think it's the country you come from they feel different about ? If you don't mind me asking please?

Concerned about language barrier

Interviewee	Because I am black and I come from Africa and why no one stops them to talk in their own language,

— accepted norm of different languages being spoken

Interviewer	I understand. Do you ever feel it's because of their personal beliefs at work?

— believes experiences discrimination due to lack of understanding or knowledge about their culture among others

Interviewee	Yes, I feel they don't like Africans because they don't know us and they will not have black friends, em and will not date black people, do not want to interact with us I want to enjoy and laugh with them, joke with them and perhaps em meet them outside but I am not getting any help from anyone here yeah may I go to other company, if it will be there you see. It's not easy em I cannot leave this job because I was not with no job for past ,...em I think 8 months, I went to lot of interviews but never selected

necessity to stay in employment, fear of unemployment, money factor

Employment Compromises

Interviewer	Ok why do think it happened?

Interviewee	I feel em because I am new in this country em you see hm you see, people don't know I can work as good as they can,

— feels skills and work are not always recognised or utilised

Interviewer	But in the interviews you must have shown them your certificates, and you would have got the chance to speak?

Interviewee	Oh yes but I am not used to of English people, em I mean I need a chance to tell them and show them that I am good worker, you see I can only do that if I get the job.

Interviewer	I get you.

Interviewee	It's my first job in England. — *fulfilling dreams*

Interviewer	That's nice. How would you describe your experience in the UK? Has it altered over a period of time?

Interviewee	It's a good place , em I like the place.

Interviewer	Good, what all you liked about this place?

3 | P a g e

Interviewee	When I came here, I used to go the pubs with my friends haaha I like that life
Interviewer	haha, its fun isn't ?
Interviewee	yes but em I feel em I like to work also, I came here to make money and give it to my family em .
Interviewer	I understand.
Interviewee	When I came here I thought em there will be lot of jobs for me, but em it is not easy.
Interviewer	Has your opinion about UK is altered over a period of time?
Interviewee	I like the place but it is not easy, I thought I will get the job because I did degree from Africa and em I know English but, I am yet not in a good job.
Interviewer	Yes, I saw your qualification in the form.
Interviewee	I tried in many offices em but no one hired me.. but I will not stop trying., you see
Interviewer	Good, I like your determination.
Interviewee	Thanks
Interviewer	You are welcome.
Interviewee	But it is annoying, very annoying em here no one tells them to stop talking in their language em hm , I do not like , if everyone talk in one language it will be good.
Interviewer	But most of the workers here do not know English
Interviewee	I think em they have some classes em to teach them.
Interviewer	yes there are English speaking classes
Interviewee	But they don't want to learn em I have seen when even my team leader tells them if lot of Rominains are standing in the locker room em they don't talk in English, it's not good.
Interviewer	Do you feel uncomfortable about it ?
Interviewee	I feel very lonely and out of the team to really honest, at first when I came where me a black person I felt that these Romanians were really rude to me, I could not catch their language and they don't listen to anyone em don't talk in English em also they make fun of me, I have to work so I em not telling anything but em I want my boss to do something to help me. And first thing I believe everyone should speak in English.
Interviewer	That's right.

Handwritten margin annotations:
- financial needs
- participant approved to indicate foreign certifications were not easily recognised
- overqualified and unsatisfied but has to take what they get — Employment Compromises
- determined
- language contributes to groups — groupism
- Language Proficiency
- unwillingness in groups to change + learn English
- feelings of exclusion, loneliness, lack of support, isolated
- segregation

want it to be one cohesive working community

Interviewee   If we all need to work together we need to ..em it will not be different for anyone

Interviewer   Do you think it's not pushed by the company or the employees are not willing ?

Interviewee   I feel both of them are not do it ── *mutual responsibility towards segregation*

Interviewer   ok

Interviewee   I feel the company is pampering them em you see, they are not telling em they are not strict, and workers do not care ── *support needed in moderation, wants company to take stricter stance*

Interviewer   ok

long-term immigrants shunned them ── conflict?

Interviewee   I am only 6 months in this company but people are here for em you know so many years but who helped me tell me, they just bullied me ── *yes to bullying, discrimination*

Interviewer   I understand

determined ──

feels isolated, experiences organisational difficulty breaking in

Interviewee   I am having ambition to work hard and make money, I em come for job on time even work in the long hours sometimes 18 hours, double shift em but no one like me , I came here to em be the part of this company but..you know em I am not welcomed in this company, But I am not going to give up this job ..I have to show to my family yes that I can do it, I love them ── *staying due to family commitments & self-image*

Family Commitment

Interviewer   Who all are there in your family ?

Interviewee   I have younger sister and my mother.

Interviewer   That's lovely

── economic needs

Interviewee   I have to earn for them, yes

Interviewer   I like your sense of responsibility, and your determination, hope things get solved for you sooner and you grow well in your career. Thank you so much for your time.

Interviewee   You are welcome and thank you

Participant 32- production operative

Interviewer	Hello, how are you? Thank you for participating and coming for the interview
Interviewee	Hello, I am ok
Interviewer	Great! Well I have certain set of questions, if you don't mind me asking them.
Interviewee	Yeah, go ahead!
Interviewer	First thing I want to ask you is that do you feel your skills, and knowledge are acknowledged by the company?
Interviewee	Yes I came here and every one gives me work, and here they don't look for culture, or skin colour, or which country you are from, they look for skills,

— skills are acknowledged and honed on

disagrees there are any preferences

Hiring Preferences

Interviewer	That's nice.
Interviewee	For me it's really good. I came here 2 years back. I came here from the agency. I used to work for the agency and now I am permanent in the company.
Interviewer	That's good. Do you enjoy what you do in the company?
Interviewee	Yes, I like it. And it's about two years. I am working here.
Interviewer	Are you going for English classes?
Interviewee	I know little bit, yeah I am learning to speak. I like to speak in English. My boss told me to, learn yeah and I go to learn.

— organisational initiatives are utilised by some employees

organisational support to help progress

Interviewer	That's good. Do you have friends in the company?
Interviewee	I like to make friends and because I do not know English so I am with other Romanians, workers and because they are here in the company for more years than me. They helped me to get this work.

lack of language proficiency also contributes to groups forming

long-term immigrants form a support network for new vulnerable migrants of same ethnicity

Interviewer	Ok
Interviewee	Yes, because some do not know my language so I cannot talk to them, you know freely, I am ok to be with my own country people. I can be happy and joke with them and also meet outside of work.

Groupism

language barrier — English Language Proficiency

Interviewer	Ok, I saw that there are different language papers in the canteen and everywhere is it helpful for you?
Interviewee	yes, yes my language papers sometimes it's about new job in the factory and also about some meeting, training, my boss gets for me to read. I did 5 years of my school in my country, I can read. If it is English I cannot read. Now in the factory they are in my language, it is a good for the workers.

documents in different languages allow the information to be conveyed to everyone

Interviewer	Are you happy to work here?

265

Interviewee   It is a big factory, in my country people know about this factory. Every week I get my money and I can send money to my family. And I have come from Romania In my country, I did not have any money to give to my family. My country people helped me to get this work in the factory. I am happy. I work and get money.

[annotation top: working in the UK, especially at Food Pro. Co holds a higher socio-economic status in the migrant's country of origin; FoodPro.Co. is well-known — Overall Betterment]

[annotation: feel satisfied being able to provide for family]

[annotation: feels strongly to get money for family.]

Interviewer   Are you earning more than what you were earning in Romania?

[annotation: Family Commitment + Economic S.I]

[annotation: Country of origin economic conditions & family difficulties motivated decision to migrate]

Interviewee   I did not have work in Romania for 2 years. I earned in 2014 only 150 pounds in every week. I had no money for the family, I came here to work to earn money.

Interviewer   That's nice. Do you like to live in UK?

[annotation: Country of Origin Economic Conditions]

[annotation: UK has better economic prospects than their country of origin. They were very determined to earn money]

Interviewee   I like... there are so many people from my country here. I can make money here. I can work and get money, In my country there is nothing, I do not have job, no money and I cannot learn anything, here I can work, learn English, and get money every week.

[annotation: Repetition of quote suggests importance of "money factor". — Economic Self-Interest]

Interviewer   There are going to be different government rule for workers who are not from UK? Do you know about that?

Interviewee   There is going to be new rule, my boss told me yes, I know. But I not afraid, I am not going to go from this factory. I have come here from Romania to make money. I have to support my family and make my kids study here, Yeah I know I may have to go back but then I have my family, whatever happens I will earn the money and will stay here. I don't want to sound like a fanatic but I would never have found such a job in my country so It has given a different meaning to my staying here. I can work and get money. In my country there is nothing, I do not have job, no money and here I get money every week.

[annotation: Wants kids to do well and family to have a comfortable & good future - family orientated — acts as an important factor to stay in UK - Family Commitment]

[annotation: Very grateful for the job & opportunities provided in the UK.— Better products and economic benefits experienced in the UK than the country of origin]

Interviewer   Have you ever experienced any kind of different behaviour which you don't observe with others?

Interviewee   Eh people come here from different countries but I am not talking to anyone because they don't want to talk to me, I get my money so I don't care if they don't talk to me.

[annotation: feels excluded from existing groups, possibly due to different ethnicity]

[annotation: main focus to earn money, so not bothered by lack of support networks]

[annotation: Country of Origin Economic Conditions]

Interviewer   Who does not talk to you?

[annotation: Groupism]

Interviewee   No, other team people, who are Polish and some are Latvians. They only talk to their own country people, Sometimes I feel they don't look when I say hello to them and also I give them a smile. I don't care but I see them be friendly with others.

[annotation: Ignorance towards rest of the communities]

[annotation: isolating behaviour experienced, marginalised / derogated / made to feel unimportant / non-existant / inferior]

Interviewer   By others you mean their own country staff?

[annotation: difficulty breaking in]

[annotation: new migrants are shunned by groups]

Interviewee   yeah yeah

Interviewer   ok

Interviewee   when I came in new, one of the Polish team leader who is there in the factory for 8 years never like me , he wants all the new polish people in his team, he tells his boss not to give him Romanians, it is not good, But all people working in the factory.

Interviewer   yes you are right!

[annotation: groups formed with and support given to those of same ethnicity by certain peers]

[annotation: leads to discrimination / conflict among long-term immigrants & new migrants]

[annotation: groupism + difficulty breaking in]

difficulty breaking ——— *obvious discrimination/biases & aggressions present,* ——— *Employment*
stereotypes ⌐ *but continue to work due to necessity* —— *Money Factor* *Compromise*
difficulty breaking in

Interviewee Romanians don't like to work with him. But I want to work and need job, need the money. I was put under him, I did not like it. And in the factory I see everyone work for the money, these days and the ones who are not working they will not work Yeah that's right yeah. And *Not easy to* *work in the* it is hard work. Some people come they just leave right the after 2 -3 hours. I don't know *factory* why do they do, maybe they find this job hard because it is not easy to work in this factory. And you have to work hard. I have lifted heavy sacks of chicken so many times, 30 kgs and put the bin of waste, but I do it all. —— *Tough, manual labour to carry out,* *very physically demanding + exhausting*

Interviewer I admire your hard work but don't you feel that you can grow in the company and become a team leader and so much more? *Hardworking. Determined to progress* — *Myth of Better Future*

Interviewee yeah yeah, I will become team leader, I will become, I work 14 hours every day and my boss does not like my work. I am working for 2 years now, but when my boss give me a chance to become a team leader, I will apply if the job come and go to give interview. I am learning to speak English. —— *Eager to improve, determined*

Interviewer That's great! Hope you get all that you need. Many thanks for your time.

Interviewee Thank you.

difficulty breaking — stereotypes

difficulty breaking in

obvious discrimination/biases & aggressions present, but continue to work due to necessity — Money Factor

— Employment Compromise

Interviewee Romanians don't like to work with him. But I want to work and need job, need the money. I was put under him, I did not like it. And in the factory I see everyone work for the money, these days and the ones who are not working they will not work Yeah that's right yeah. And it is hard work. Some people come they just leave right the after 2 -3 hours. I don't know why do they do, maybe they find this job hard because it is not easy to work in this factory. And you have to work hard. I have lifted heavy sacks of chicken so many times, 30 kgs and put the bin of waste, but I do it all.

Not easy to work in the factory

Tough, manual labour to carry out, very physically demanding + exhausting

Interviewer I admire your hard work but don't you feel that you can grow in the company and become a team leader and so much more?

Hardworking. Determined to progress — Myth of Better Future

Interviewee yeah yeah, I will become team leader, I will become, I work 14 hours every day and my boss does not like my work. I am working for 2 years now, but when my boss give me a chance to become a team leader, I will apply if the job come and go to give interview. I am learning to speak English.

Eager to improves, determined

Interviewer That's great! Hope you get all that you need. Many thanks for your time.

Interviewee Thank you.

to them to keep the job really. So if I come to work every day and I do my job and you do what's expected of me then I would expect to keep my job, so I think that would be the same for everybody says well always somebody comes to work if they're able to. Yeah. If someone is capable of doing the job, come do the job. But maybe that's just their perspective on things. And then some new comers come to this company where you know they find people who are much more stable and they're much more steady in the organisation they are for a longer time and then sometimes someone who is there for a longer time kind of, a longer term person can also feel that they're this new person who is very lucky you know to get this job and I am yet not grown in the company. But they all are human and doing the same job. Yeah. See them. So yeah. Yeah. Happens in all walks of life. Yeah. When you start a new job you know there's going to be a different personality. Personally I see it like this. Maybe it's down to an individual. Maybe I guess language is an issue that made them feel so unconfident because they can't communicate as well as they would want to have a reason to be with their own communities. So I guess that might have an impact but I think it's just down to the individual if you start if you've been given the opportunity then. Someone thinks you're worth taking a chance on in that job. So show your capability and it down to the individual how they actually you know take that out and how would they keep that up with their own expectations. Here we've had some older people taken on or that I've worked here for a very long time. Yes, so maybe came from that country quite late in life, I think it's probably harder for them. I think you will get people maybe have more opportunity to integrate. But I think they need to be coming forward to mix up if you come and live in the community wherever you need to speak same language. Maybe learning new language is hard or if you're considerably older you sort of face this problem. No I'm just saying about integration. I mean there is an age to learn language you know and then there's age to learn new things. Sometimes people find themselves tough to learn but they're too adaptive to us in what they are doing. Happy with the way they can get by.

Interviewer   Yeah. I understand that. Yeah.

Interviewee   And they're so used on their own community they don't like to mingle with others. Yeah. And then they don't like to even change themselves. They're sort of comfortable then. Yeah. That that is something when you come to a new place it's up to you how you actually setup yourself I mean it's up to us as well as an employer.

Interviewer   So you think integration is a two way process?

Interviewee   Yeah it is, to adapt to a new environment. Settling in could be difficult and it could be easy but then it depends on how you are able to. And then I've seen I don't know whether it is there or not, I've seen people you know getting into different discriminate tunes you know and because of their... that they are coming from a different community not because all not community maybe they're not even working well and they're getting discriminated because they're not involved in the work. I would like to think that it doesn't matter where you come from you should be not disconnected from anything. I would like to think that work for this company gives fair opportunity. Um but I don't think we can fully control everything that comes down to of lower level decisions that are made. So if someone is discriminating on the level that they're capable of, going to be difficult to control how they're making that decision other than making that decision on their biases, 'Who they like better', 'What kind

[left margin handwritten notes]

feel threatened & insecure by new migrants

feel they deserve better cos of longer service

No progression

organisation appreciates any effort to integrate

understands age can hinder adaptability

Not 100% sure or tightlipped about reality

admits management can sometimes make discriminatory decisions

Page 2

[right margin handwritten notes]

easier to speak own language

Lack of language proficiency makes them stick to the groups

insecure to mingle with others

groupism

stick to their own people, own groups — groupism

discrimination occurs for different reasons

unequal opportunities

of nationality they are from'…. I think that's down to line controls and you're on the factory floor to control that sort of and sometimes they feel insecure about being in somebody else's country and some of them do get discriminatory comments and behaviours towards them but keep mum. — *do not easily fit in — lack of support, discrimination, feel inferior /insecure — difficulty breaking in*

Interviewer Do you think these kind of incidences happen on regards to workplace discrimination?

when reported — workplace discrimination is dealt with

Interviewee I mean if it's reported to me in the end of day then I consider it as a problem that we need to deal with. So I would say if and if it does happen only then it gets to me to hear about it. It's been reported and we're going to deal with it. Yeah issues where people are based on their nationality treat others differently. Yeah yeah. Say I think there is a lot of which I don't know even yeah um, maybe arguments happen, yeah, differences about backgrounds and things so yeah believe is an element of differences. Nothing, I'd like to think nothing too major. Things where maybe there was a misunderstanding between people because of I think communication is a massive issue if you maybe in community. There's been examples maybe where one person's meant in one way and the other person's taken it in another way and it's maybe it's just the way it was meant that way but has been misconstrued maybe through lack of understanding or lack of communication and just kind of that's perfect. And this is I think it's because they stick to their own community. Yeah. A massive issue just because it can be misconstrued if people aren't speaking the same language and their English isn't particularly strong. From both sides though somebody might be saying something not quite how they mean it and then somebody is understanding in it not quite how it was meant to. Yeah that can be issues around the whole thing. I think there's an element of diversity which is their own, Yeah that's why you know these workers have a little bit of dissimilarity and definitely they are different that they're different you know because lot many nationalities working in here, because they have a different perspective on something , also it's to do with some of the people who like certain kind of people. They have their set of views about some communities and then they don't want to kind of think beyond that. I just think that. Yeah. That's something which is very much prominent, you know. Romanians wants to be with their own groups and so does Slovaks and Polish.

cultural & background differences present

can cause conflict

stick to own groups & don't regularly mingle with others

can lead to misunderstandings among migrants

don't speak same language

difficulty breaking in

diversity has its own issues

stereotype beliefs about different communities

groups are prominent

Interviewer I understand. Yes. What the company does to mitigate the risk low English language proficiency in the company?

Interviewee We are doing many steps to increase English speaking among workers. We have classes to learn English and do different trainers and translators are available you know on the job floor to make them feel comfortable. *organisational initiative to help with English language proficiency — organisational initiative & policies to help new migrants with integration*

Interviewer Do you think they are keen to learn English?

Interviewee It's up to them, different opinions are there, isn't? It is slow process.

Interviewer Why do you think that?

temporary source of income

Interviewee Some workers come to work for only two or three months, they don't care to spend their time in the English classes. They feel is that there is this job and they get money so that they can send some money home and they don't want to stay in this company. Some want to stay, go for the classes, But later we cannot say, I think because they want to get more

want to earn better for their families + support them so work relentlessly

new migrants with longer stay intentions, may participate in initiatives that would help them integrate & progress

Page 3

paid in the future, may be they will go to the other company once we can speak in English. It's very tricky. But we need to move on with it.

Interviewer   I get you. Do you think the changes in the government policy in case of Brexit will affect the working of this company, also in terms of workers retentions / what is your opinion?

Interviewee   The whole thing about Brexit is it to leave saying yeah we don't want foreigners workers here and they probably have no idea which foreign workers are actually they talking about or what jobs are they talking about that. They're just thinking all of that about the masses. And yes it's not good. But people are just a bit misled. Yeah. Different opinions isn't it here. I think that just because you think it just backlash, something to do with that. And that came up very strong and then people started thinking about it 'Oh yes that might be right what's been said'. And after the vote it became more prominent you know and which is I feel is sometimes, it's very normal and very natural because you only know it when you're in a country where you definitely you would like your own people, their growth. But sorry, I don't think the world works like that anymore. Yeah I think that's right. People can move freely and we should be able to move freely. I just think it's a shame. People are made to feel like that. So things yeah it's short sighted. I think it is, yeah, if anyone voted Leave, it is short sighted, when they're not thinking about their own economy to a certain degree as well as it makes no sense. This... yeah people might not be thinking like that, but then you know I've even seen some people here. Definitely, they definitely would have wanted migrant workers to leave and then not because that they don't like migrants just because the benefits what they get is not the benefits everyone in their own house get you know. You know and then they feel that they'll lose benefits, they are kind of stolen by them and not stolen maybe kind of snatched and then that they feel it's not right. Otherwise they are all ok with making migrants stay and work. Yeah if they gonna come and take benefits without doing any work, no job, then I agree. Yeah that's right. That that even I would feel that because when you're actually not working and you're getting benefit you actually becoming you are misusing your own right, then you get so used to getting those benefits you don't want to think any more to do a job. Yeah. Then they don't want to work. It is not right. But due to new thing around Brexit, there are many who are not stay to work in this factory. It is not good for us. We will get more people but does not know about the new policy how will it work, we need these workers, the political leaders need to get that. Our economy is going to go down. We as an employer of majority of migrant workers, realize their need in our workforce and if we have their shortages then who will do their jobs. I get the impression if the work is available in other countries they would not prefer to come back to GB. We cannot stop them, we can show them different ways to grow but it's up to them, the level they are at, they would, you decide. But it is also because of our government, I don't blame them. We need them in the factory. We can only stop them till a limit then it's up to them. We have their pay which is equal to the industry standards and we have even lowered our bar to understand English while they get recruited because we are not getting highly competent people, it's not easy in any way.

challenges in getting competent people – difficulty in hiring

Interviewer   Yes I get that. Do you think the migrant workers need to identify themselves with the one kind of ethnic group?

Interviewee   That is something which see of having formal or informal relations because of this company, people having to do with going in their own communities or they'd like to mix

---

Handwritten margin notes (left):

Public/society does not always understand the necessity of migrant workers

majority can also influence attitudes

Stereotypes in Societal Structures

common stereotype in public that migrant steal their opportunities & resources

anger against migrants outside the system who do not work

└ but this can be reflected in attitudes displayed within the system towards other migrants and can affect biases

their choice

possible lack of language proficiency

Hiring Challenges

Handwritten margin notes (right):

Attitudes are influenced by political affiliation

suggests discrimination & biases get more prominent after Brexit referendum

High Turnover + People Retention

worry about loss of workers

external factors like low affect migration influx

economic interests

Motivations/ Determinates

industry standard pay/salaries

Page 4

with their own nationalities because they don't know the English language they just want to stick around with one group of people who speaks their own country language, if people I don't know if that's necessarily yeah. Presumably there's some sort of language that they can all communicate, Yes you would take that it's people that can speak the same language or they can all not speak English well you know. Yeah. I think definitely but I think it's just a comfort thing that they used to while working. That's my interpretation. I think they make friends here and sometimes that they kind of go to club and go to the same bars and they take nearby houses to stay nearby of each other so that there is communication on the same transport like buses or they pool in car rides, share fuel money and all of that , are the reasons they like to be in one group of their own nationality.

common language would allow unity lead to better communication in workplace community

speak in own language for comfort in the demanding environment

Interviewer	What if they leave the company, all of them would leave together? *High Turnover* *mass turnover/migrant influx*

Interviewee   Yeah yeah, most of the time. It's not only one worker who leaves from that group, there are always lot many people of the same ethnic group which leave the factory. I think it's because you know they are sharing, most of them are sharing their travel of traveling in the cars, fuel and some of them are staying together in one house, so sharing rent and all of that, and if one goes for more money, everyone comes to know and they all join, they follow this practice here. Otherwise it is costly for them to travel individually because then everything is going to change. That is the thing which I feel is also one of the things.

form strong support systems within same ethnicity, share & help each other, lack of families sometimes results in mutual understandings

Interviewer-   Do you think some work roles leads to involuntary dismissals due to which high turnover occurs?

2 different opinions between immigrants & management on work done & skills demonstrated — feelings of unfairness developed

Interviewee   Yeah , that's right. If we think they're incapable of performing the tasks required of them, while they feel they are performing adequately. In this capability scenario , in some case we consider as a conduct issue where carelessness, negligence, or lack of effort affects performance and some times workers are affected due to a lack of knowledge, skill, or ability. We tried to handle the issue informally first, then we write the letter to them. In this, state how they've failed to meet their performance..., also want to add that we wish to conduct a meeting with them to outline steps to improve moving forward, and we can help. If the problem is due to insufficient training, we follow our company procedure to try and assist the workers em.. provide them with the time to improve and give sufficient training ... this is because the relevant support will then allow you to re-assess their situation. If this does not work, then we have the right to dismiss them on capability grounds

misunderstanding *lost opportunities*

not all long-term immigrants and new migrants are apt in country-specific skills/ performance capability management leading to dismissals

Interviewer   Do you think that they need to learn language or do you think they can get away without learning?

Interviewee   If it was me I would want to learn the language. I just think you open opportunities. I think the people that have learned English to high level have gone high in the company because yeah then they can express better and we can understand. And so I think it is only advantageous for them to speak English. If I just think I am going to foreign country then I would want to learn their language. So I guess I think that people need to. But I know that's maybe not always the case, I think they should try and integrate here. I'm definitely looking into it. You need to navigate on different languages if you are in a foreign country where you know your language is not spoken definitely you need to learn and understand and talk

Page 5

272

less eagerness to mingle with other or speak in new language

sometimes despite FoodPro. Co providing them with resources there is a lack of effort among new migrants to integrate

some believe a common language is unnecessary to complete job - E.L.P temporary employment ∴ less willing to integrate

Economic Self Interest

Acknowledging the difficulty in learning English - English Language Proficiency

willingness to integrate dependent on each individual, their unique conditions/circumstances & motivation

growing diversity embraced in FoodPro.Co

really busy work culture, not everyone can be given time/importance — some may feel unacknowledged / their ethnicity is left out / diversity is not fully celebrated

to others with the language which we all understand and what would be a lot easier. Sometimes I feel they understand and have picked up few sentences but they don't, they're not keen on speaking and or maybe they pretend that they don't know. And sometimes I feel hundred percent they understand, yeah but then maybe use it to their advantage. Yeah like I had known some you know employees they understand English, but they behave that they didn't understand you know and then you have to repeat for them the same thing in a simpler way but they're just kind of making you get used to that that they don't know the language. Yeah you know. Yeah. And I feel when you live in a country where you see the language spoken everywhere. You're hearing some word or more everywhere and you're definitely kind of absorbing those words in you and subconsciously or consciously you would use those words. Yeah you know and that what we are we are trying to do, we are just trying to support that, and you know that you can speak that language and be more proficient in that and then you are more comfortable fluent to speak and raise your living. Yeah.. But uh yeah. But then I feel there's a skill level which that there's a difference there there's a kind of you have this. There's a real issue, in the sense that they kind of have a conflict among themselves in their own well-being that they feel that they do not want to learn the English, because it's not needed, they have to work in the factory and they have skill they need so they don't need to learn they just have to work, or some of them feel that the language is not needed for me because I might have to go back. I think so... I guess it's again down to an individual. How they think about life and whether they think it's worth trying or not. Maybe it is how intelligent an individual is as to whether they think they're capable of learning. I speak English well so yeah we get lazy I think if I would have to speak another language, well we never get to practice. I don't know how hard it is to learn languages particular I mean I learned French at school and you get a general idea of you know if I go back to France. But I think it's just if they've not had the opportunity to learn. It's very tough. You've got to be proactive to go out to take English lessons. For example here if it's not going to cost you money that you just don't have that you might not matter. Or it that you might want to but you haven't got the opportunity to do it because of your shifts and all of that. I mean I'm sure there's ways that you could buy the cheapest books that could help you but it's something that motivation to do that too counts. Yeah maybe some would rather just sit and watch TV or on a video game or something when come home from work and yeah. So I think it's again down to individuals. What the intention is about, it really how much they if they want to work here and they want to stay here and they want to learn and they want to get involved and they want to better themselves buy house they whatever they want to do. Yeah I think if they want to grow in their living and in their social circle they really need to learn the language. Just say someone's thinking do I have to save enough money to go back home then maybe they even have get the same zeal to do so.. Yeah I guess the individuals individual circumstances. It's fairly accepted that everyone's think it's quite interesting. If anything we would learn a lot more here because they'd be different individuals. And I think I know kids in schools and Derby especially here talking to people you know talk about all the different celebrations and everything and so it's not just Christmas to do anymore yes or whatever they'll do Ramadan or yeah. I just think that's brilliant. I like to think that everyone embraces everyone's culture. Maybe have time off at Christmas, people who celebrate Christmas. I think it's quite understanding that as many people never given the time of the obviously we've got a factory to run and then the same at different other cultures celebrations and things happen. So it gets beyond the rules. Yeah I know may a little bit idealistic. That's the way I would like to think. We're one

Page 6

world we're all in it together. But I don't think there's any massive massive culture issues
that we have here because like I think that you know the organisation has its own culture.
You know as such you know they kind of you know blending with all other cultures and
they're kind of adaptive to us that you know the finest example is when you have different
languages leaflets which I saw you know and this is something supporting people who don't
want to understand English. I mean they can read that. Yeah. You know which is great,
which is something which I have not seen in any of other factories, I think that you know I
mean they do they do kind of speak in their own language. They do have translators but
they do not kind of support to this extent, and, definitely, you know they bring different organisation
skills along with them, which are very valuable for us. I feel that the push has to come doing their
within them because the I mean we as an organisation are doing what we can, I mean best to
health and safety. Yeah.. There needs to be a practical level that people can understand support
their real safety which is the company's highest priority. Yeah. Also to understand job wise migrants
what they need to. Yeah. So there has to be an understanding to a certain degree of what to integrate
they need to achieve. We are at work, So that has to be some sort of level of English and
that was of course maybe that's why we used to do the English test, able to take them on
to get an idea that they understand. used to guage apptitudes
└ why stopped?
└ desperate for workforce? – High Turnover

unique support
provided by
FoodPro. Co

different skillsets
valued – Lost Opportunities

Lack of desire to
learn & grow

Interviewer	Yeah that's it. Thank you.
Interviewee	Thanks so much. Sure. Yeah yeah.
Interviewer	Yeah yeah. Okay bye.
Interviewee	Bye bye.

Page 7

274

Participant 36- process controller

Interviewer	Hello, how are you? Thank you for joining me for the interview
Interviewee	Hi, that's ok
Interviewer	Would you mind if I start ?
Interviewee	ok.
Interviewer	Do you feel that your talent, skills, and knowledge are acknowledged by this company?
Interviewee	I have the knowledge to do my work and I am a process controller, my boss like my work but they don't want to give me higher position, because they don't have someone like me to put in my place.
Interviewer	Have you ever felt you are excluded from the work?
Interviewee	My boss find my work good, but if I want to get more trained he will not send me. Because he does not have anybody to work in my place. My boss thinks I don't have ability to other jobs. I am trying and want to get one chance and if I don't do well I will come back and do what I am doing.
Interviewer	How long are you working in this organisation?
Interviewee	7 years
Interviewer	You started on which position?
Interviewee	I started working here as production operative. Then I became process controller.
Interviewer	Good, so you grew in this organization?
Interviewee	yeah but I saw others getting to become team leader, trainer but I was never given the chance.
Interviewer	Have you applied for these roles?
Interviewee	I have applied five times for other jobs but they don't give me. I went for English classes and learn to speak. Now I can get to know what people talk in English.
Interviewer	Are the English classes helping everyone ? Are everyone learning English?
Interviewee	They are helping, when we have English classes here, there is some people who come from Romania they don't want to. You know some are very upset that if there's Brexit what would they do. They will not stay then why should they learn

Handwritten annotations:
feel hindered in progression
skill shortage to fill position — Hiring Challenge
Lost Opportunities – hampered growth in organisation
Lost Opportunities
upset & frustrated that their growth has been very slow compared to others
keen to integrate & progress
organisational support to increase language fluency
some choose not to improve their language proficiency
uncertainty of future = uncertain length of stay in job
↳ results in reason that investing time in learning the language when they could be earning money is not worthwhile unless they stay for long / want to progress in the company
English Language Proficiency

1 | P a g e

275

English. Because I have my family and I have my kid. And I will definitely work here. But they don't want to work here.

feels responsible towards family
- Family's Commitment

Interviewer	Do you enjoy coming for work?

tired, frustrated, wants change, willing to leave factory for better opportunities, feels hindered —

Interviewee	I have trained seven people to do my job if I am on holiday or if I get new position but my boss does not want them. I am happy to work as process controller but it's the same work for years. I want to do something more, I can do , otherwise I will not be in this factory !

Lost Opportunities

Interviewer	How would you describe your experience in the UK?

need to erase stereotypes embedded in the society & mindset.

↓

Stereotypes in Societal Structures

feel more accepted in multicultural UK

better opportunities in UK

Interviewee	We are gypsy and in my country does not matter how much money I make but I will yet be a gypsy but here in this country it does not matter who are you, it is good in this country. In this country I have started getting more money and I can buy for myself and my family, shop new clothes, buy wine and eat in the hotel. No one say me anything. This factory not only here, they know about this factory even in my country, it has big name

Interviewer	That's good to hear. You must have seen many different people in this company, from different countries, do you identify with some particular group at work?

- diverse organisation

Interviewee	I am from Romania. I see Polish, Latvian, Pakistani and other country people. They all come to work here. I work and don't have any group. People from my country talk to me because they talk in my language. Now I can talk in English I talk to other country people and have known their language, you know they all come to work here. We all are from one company.

- common language — enables communication with other groups

Interviewer	Have you ever suffered periods of unemployment?

Interviewee	When I was in Romania, I had no work and I had no money for many months. I had to suffer. But I was sure when I came here that I will get everything and my life is changed. I never want to be with no job.

Interviewer	I understand. What do you think about changes in government policy on Brexit for foreign workers?

- determined to continue to stay to earn, despite uncertainty of future

What Future Holds

Interviewee	Yes, I have heard about it. I am not going to go back. I have to work. But if there is no other way then I will go to Germany. I will not go back to Romania. The money I make here is no good now. Its more taxes we pay here and why is this country asking us to go. We work for them but I see many people going from this factory. I will not go if I have no other place to go. I have told my friends to find me another job and where I get better pay. If I get, even if it's outside this country I will go but I will not go if I don't get anything. Because I need money to live. My family needs to live with me.

Interviewer   Thanks for your views and best of luck for your future.

Interviewee   You are welcome.

9.5 APPENDIX E- THEME DEVELOPMENT

AGGREGATE DIMENSIONS	SECOND-ORDER THEMES	FIRST-ORDER CODES	DEFINITIONS	FEW QUOTES OF THE PARTICIPANTS
Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co.	Human Resource issues	High Turnover and People Retention	This first order code represents the increasing number of employees leaving the organisation regardless of efforts of integration put by the company. It also suggests some migrants may not be interested in integrating with the organisation as they are aware it is a short-term income source and thus do not see the point of investing effort to learn country-specific skills since they do not plan to stay for long in the company and they aim to gain the finances needed before either returning home or moving to another company.	**P2, native, British, Electrician Operative:** "I see different people every day." … "Over [the] last two years, they have had 35 managers leave the company." "people leave for money, coz they come to make money." **P7, Long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller**: "…but if we don't have some group activities, like to go to different places as outings, then people will leave, because we work so hard, you know. For eight to nine hours every day, it's very hard, you know [the participant gestured as though they felt sick], we need to have some team outing to relax." **P8, long-term immigrant, Polish, Production Manager**: "There are many people leaving, but new people are coming." **P9, native, British, Agency Supervisor**: "Some people leave because it's too cold for them in the factory, they don't like the rules of working in the factory"; "some people start at 6 in the morning and by half past nine they leave because they don't like the job, then new people come." **P19, native, British, HR Business Partner**: "…[the] challenge we are facing is, we need to make sure that people stay long enough, because the turnover rate is so high we have to recruit people every three months." "They want to get more [than] three weeks' holiday in summer [additional to the three weeks which are permissible to them]

				because they want to spend time with their families. Contracts and the way we manage the factory don't typically allow us that… so either people leave… or they take three weeks… holiday [as is approved by the company] so they just go and they don't come back to work [as they are expected after the leave finishes] or they say they're off sick [and] they put in sick notes… But actually if we were more open minded to think how can we better plan the factory to allow more people to take [a] longer time off over the summer [i.e. six to eight weeks], that way we would be retaining people." **P24, native, British, Complex Manager**: "In terms of high turnover rate, it is because of when they come here as workers they get to learn from us the work, their English-speaking skills and so on, and once they are improved they become more marketable so they leave for better jobs; it's a concern for us." **P37, new migrant, Latvian, Production Operative**: "I don't want to stay here for life, I want to make money and go back to my country, because I don't like the work I do... … I am not given a house [from the council agency] ... and rent is very costly in here"
		English Language Proficiency	This code represents the understood need of a common language, English, as the means to communicate among employees, especially for health and safety reasons, making it a recurrent statement of importance. It also recognised that the lack of proficiency in English acted as a barrier in communication whilst integration among	**P1, native, British, HR Trainee**: "it kind make them separate and does not communicate to everyone else…the languaIis a baIer..." **P4, native, British, HR Administrator**: "There are obviously issues with language, that they feel left out and not included especially the minorities…Definitely for health and safety. Yeah. Just imagine. I can't imagine being in a country where I couldn't understand any of the language… I wouldn't feel safe here if I couldn't understand about [the] fire alarm…" **P5, long-term immigrant, Polish, Trainer**: "…one of my friends does not want to learn; he works daily double shifts and only one day off, he gets tired." **P6, native, British, Site Services Manager**: "If they can

			different ethnicities and migrant communities, further fuelling differences, creating inefficiency around growth / becomes matter of choice to learn English for some employees due to lack of interest, heavy work load or short term stay in the UK. It is also one of the main challenges faced by FoodPro.co whilst the organisation provides free English classes, translators, etc., to support employees to upskill their English language proficiency	understand English and talk good English, you can say 'This is not safe, that's not safe', 'Do it this way, do it that way'. They understand, don't they? But if they don't understand…" "When you're working, you're under pressure and then you know you're talking to people in their own language and tend to get comfortable and ease out the pressure during the break time." **P7, Long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller**: "I learn English but sometimes I don't understand what to speak." "Some of [the] people who have recently arrived, they don't want to learn English, they just want to get money." **P12, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Operations Team Leader**: "You have the opportunity [regarding English language classes] if you don't grab it, so you don't want it… I listen about other companies; they don't do so much." **P14, native, British, Purchase Manager**: "I know people want to do better for themselves… the company is supporting… and the business is trying to adapt to what people want because… [we] set on English lessons… which I think is good for the business… supports their career moves." **P28, long-term immigrant, French, Operations Manager**: "When I came to England I wasn't speaking a word of English. My boyfriend at that time said you need to learn English. That was must to find a good job." **P29, new migrant, Polish, Production Operative**: "There is someone always to translate for us… No, I work in the factory. I know my work, why should I learn English, there are many translators and I know little English. No problem." **P32, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative**: "I do not know English, so I am with other Romanians…. They helped me… it is not easy to work in this factory."

				P33, new migrant, African, Despatch Operative: "They talk in their own language but what do I do? [I feel helpless and can't join in the conversation.] I feel very much… I stay separate. I don't know how to put it [I don't know if others experience the same [as me].]" **P35, new migrant, Slovak, Hygiene operative**: "I like English language, I have improved in it, and I like talking to English people and going to English shops." **P41, long-term immigrant, Polish, Machine Minder**: "I will no more feel lonely… I do not need translators!" **P42, native, British, Planner**: "You need to be careful with supplying everything because they need things to learn to integrate." **P44, native, British, HR officer**: "I think communication is a massive issue."
		Hiring Challenges and Preferences	This code describes hiring challenges influenced by the high turnover present alongside recruitment preferences and lack of country-specific skills, and also affected by factors external to the system such as politics and economics.	**P4, native, British, HR Administrator**: "The demands for this workers are not only in UK they are also in France and Germany, so everybody want to be fishing in the same pond." "In case of Brexit, the implications would be that we are not going to get [the migrant workers] back… the demands for these workers are not only in the UK, they are also in France and Germany, so everybody wants to be fishing in the same pond.… We tried people from here, we advertised [for] people to work in a factory, in [the] local newspaper, on our website, and, indeed, only four people, White British, came for interview, and they didn't last more than three shifts." **P8, long-term immigrant, Polish, Production Manager**: "There are many people leaving but new people are coming… we are always hopeful for new groups of migrants to join us… to allow efficiency." **P14, native, British, Purchase Manager**: "One time, we'll have

				an influx of Croatians. And then we'll have an influx of Portuguese, then we'll have an influx of Romanians and so on. Yeah… and then you'll see people from the Czech [Republic] and [then they] will disappear again with all the Croatians… I'm not sure why… it seems to be a constant thing I've just noticed over the years… then there'll be anot'er influx…'It's weird how it works." **P19, native, British, HR business partner:** "We as an employer do not have any preference on the community at all, we have preference on the individuals and their skills, it depends on the recruitment strategy of the agency as per their availability since Polish people are not easy to get they find Romanians." **P24, native, British, Complex Manager**: "In the traditional country Poland, Slovakia, the local economy has gone better, the pound exchange rate has decreased by 12 to 15% so therefore they are not getting much when they send their money home and then the uncertainty as a result of Brexit, so they decide to go home, and look at the other country they at different economic cycle and those people from agency are now going out to Romania, going out to the villages of Romania do we have a choice." **P31, native, British, Supply chain manager**: "Polish were better people for those jobs which are now taken by Romanians." "… I [do not like] to work with Romanians"; "The Polish are leaving and Romanians are coming because Polish are getting jobs with higher wages elsewhere and Romanians need jobs with any kind of money." **P38, new migrant, Polish, Line Controller**: "How can you give [the job] to someone who came from the agency, within one month becomes permanent and in a month he gets a QA job. Sometimes they don't go by the rules, and people do nothing"

| Workplace Relationships and Attitudes | Discriminatory Dynamics | Loss of Opportunities | Differences in working relationships may also be manifested due to differences in credibility and education. This code represented that migrants and immigrants were often overqualified but continued to work in the job or started to work in the job due to their necessity or lack of country-specific skills and UK work experience. Thus, felt intimidated with the situations for choosing to stay in a job that didn't reflect their credibility, alongside being labelled inadequately at times while losing the available higher job opportunities. | **P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor**: "Obviously I thought I was overqualified for the job. Y'ah but that w'sn't really when I started was my main concern. But… I started working on the line and after seven months I went to the agency coordinator and told him thatIwant better job..."
 P7, Long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller: "I am never made a team leader… I want to write emails like my boss. I feel they don't have anyone like me to work as process controller, that's why they want to use me. I have tried many times for [the] team leader job but they never give [it to] me… other people who have [only been here] for three years, they are team leaders now, I am not [having been here 5 years]… …but I want to grow."
 P19, native, British, HR Business Partner: "There are a'number of people who've got degrees… But coming here they are stuck into a job which is much more [a] manual labour job. I think [this is] because their capabilities are not that recognised when they reach here, and they did not have any experience in [the] UK [due to which they do not get the opportunity to take a higher jobs] and when they reach [here] they just have to take any job."
 P24, native, British, Complex Manager: "…here are number of people who have come to work in the factory, have got degrees, have done their own businesses, teachers, accountant in their countries and here they are doing manual labour, we as a company want to utilise their skills for mutual betterment."
 P36, long-term immigrant, Romanian, Process Controller: "I have trained seven people to do my job if I am on holiday or if I get new position, but my boss does not want them… It's the same work for years; I want to do something more …otherwise [I will leave] this factory!"
 P38, new migrant, Polish, Line Controller: "At least give me the chance to show I can do that, give me the chance [for] at least for |

				three months in [a] new job. If I don't change anything, then put me [back] in the same position."
				P44, native, British, HR Of'icer: "We think they're incapable of performing the tasks required of them, while they feel they are performing adequately."
				P45, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative: "I lived in Romania, I studied [for a] degree and have done course on [being a] machine minder but my boss thinks I am not as good as I think I am. Yep, it happens. I am doing… [iI] not an easy job ... Maybe because I am not, [unlike] my boss, English … [as a] machine minder. I can repaIand maintain machines... [but right now] no one knows about my course."
				P48, new migrant, African, Despatch Operative: "I am killing myself for a job thatIuld replace me in a week... I feel my boss does not care about my certificate. I have experience to handle computers and handheld devices. I can become a shift supervisor or move into quality control."
				P50, long-term immigrant, Slovak, Despatch Operative: "When I first came here… I had skills certificates but did not know these systems and had difficulty in get[ting] into them. I was not told how to use my skills for my new job, I felt they did not care for my skills."
		Misrepresenting Communities	This code reflected the differences created in working relationships, due to the derogatory language or discriminatory behaviour used towards new migrants as literally stated by the participants. It further also decreased morale and	**P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor:** "Obviously, [I] experience bullying but that is not really… my main concern… I do not [tell] anyone [because] I need to work."
				P25, long-term immigrant, Polish, Quality Auditor: "We work in a job where everyone uses foul language, including racial slurs, with each other. There is no point [in] complaining, everyone starts using [foul language eventually]. Obviously, they don't want to be part of this hostile environment [where nobody will talk to them, so some do it to fit in]."

			confidence among the targeted workers such targeting extends behaviour as expressed through seclusion and can take form of unfair treatment or inequality in the organisation.	**P30, new migrant, Slovakian, Assistant Planner**: "One of my co-workers occasionally 'ells a racially based joke. I've asked him to stop, but he just teI me to 'loosen up a little'... Polish people dislike Slovaks." **P45, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative**: "I have got a Romanians car – Dacia. One of the Lithuanians made [a] joke and said, 'Gypsy car'. I felt bad. I do not work hard for this, to hear this!" **P50, long-term immigrant, Slovak, Despatch operative** "My manager never liked me, … shouting at me in front of other workers, threatening to take my job … discouraging me in front of other workers…"
		Stereotypes in Societal Structures	The code represents the agitation, differences of opinions portrayed by other employees towards new migrants due to their set notions, i.e., stereotypes associated with those nationalities, which are acting as barriers to integration. It is also possible the societal structures end up influencing the attitudes among long-term immigrants towards new migrants, as they influence what is considered the norm. In such this **code** is reflected in the behaviour experienced and opinions expressed.	**P1, native, British, HR Trainee**: "In factory the Polish stay together, Romanians stay together." **P2, native, British, Electrician Operative**: "But I just join in with them, I laugh with them, you got to, but they cannot take [my] rights of my country." **P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor**: "the communities do not bring us up, they bring us down." **P11, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Operations Team Leader** "I come from a country where we accept people, have very friendly people, but here [it's not the same] they say we take away their jobs, trust me it's everywhere." **P13, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative**, "Some people don't like us because we are Gypsies… they do not talk to us." **P15**, **long-term immigrant, Polish, Food, Safety and Quality Manager**: "The problem we have is that people who have a low IQ will always think migrants are going to take their jobs… they will not grow in the company… whereas the truth is new migrants are taking jobs that natives do not want."

				P19, native, British, HR business partner- "We need make a choice on the message we give… need to be relevant for our business … It's abo't inclusivity not diversity" "It's the'Romanian community, whether they're part of the Romanian Gypsy or not, ther' is still a perception that they're not… as hard working or [a] highly valued member of the team." **P27, long-term immigrant, Polish, Engineering Administrator:** "There are nationality clashes among new comers and workers who [have been] in the company for [a] longer time." **P43, new migrant, Pakistani, Operation Team Leader**: "For housing [I have met] many racist [people]… [they] turned me away as their tenant, [and I was] not granted equal access to maintenance and repairs [just because I am Muslim"
	Segregation	Groupism/ Difficulty Breaking In	Though ethnic affiliation seems to suggest support is available from long-term immigrants of the same community, such groupism as seen in this code, also contributes to segregation of other new ethnicities, resulting in a lack of support and diverging workplace communities due to many long-term immigrants already having their own "cliques" or "groups". It creates a sense of isolation. Therefore, this code also reflects the difficulty in breaking into workplace	**P1, native, British, HR Trainee**: "By being together with their own people… they do [that] because they can speak their language, they know their culture better, it kind of makes them separate and [they do] not communicate [with] everyone else." **P4, native, British, HR AdminisItor:** "They feel kind of lonely... they expect someone from their country to support them." **P6, native, British, Site Services Manager**: "Romanians, being in their own group, and the Albanians, being in differe't [their own separate] groups… they're more comfortabl' [in their own groups] because they're coming new [to the organisation]." **P11, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Operations Team Leader**: "I am with my Pakistani friends all the time… because others keep talking in their own language… I know some words of [the] Polish language and I like them [the Polish workers] but they are not with us." **P14**, **native, British, Purchase Manager**: "They do tend to … yes… they shout at somebody who is only two tables away just to make him frightened. The long-term workers in large groups do not

				communities due to many long-term immigrants already having their own "cliques" or "groups".	care for the new ones from other nationalities… their intention is to pressurise them to leave work."
					P16, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Senior Technician: "So when new people come in, they feel like they aren't being liked by the other groups… such as if people from their own country come, they will feel happy, but if people from a different country come, they won't pay much heed… it's all the part of the game plan to help their own country's people."
				It creates a sense of isolation. Therefore, this code also reflects the difficulty in breaking into workplace communities experienced by new migrants due to, particularly, segregation which results in a lack of support network for the migrants to rely on when trying to understand the workplace culture, feel integrated and having the confidence to address their concerns in the correct manner.	**P19, native, British, HR Business Partner**: "What we have noticed recently is that we are getting low-level noise on things like theft from lockers and arguments in the factory, people shout at each other, [at people from] different groups, [and we have] issues, arguments and discomfort among people working together from different ethnicities and new migrant workers…. It's different nationalities but that change in attitudes among the groups of nationalities that are arriving is present... The bigger groups have dominance over the small groups… it's to do with high volumes and… the long-term migrant workers, who are from existing large groups."
					P29, new migrant, Polish, Production Operative: "When you come in new, you can see people have their own groups and friends. I felt out of place."
					P33, new migrant, African, Despatch Operative: "I don't [complain to anyone] … but when I go to talk to [my team, who are all Romanians and not my ethnicity] during breaks, they go away from me. I don't have anyone to talk to, you know. I sit alone and eat my food. [I feel alone and excluded]."
					P41, long-term immigrant, Polish, Machine Minder: "I feel it's good to have groups because, if you need friends in the company, you have [a] lot of support from our own country's people, otherwise it's not simple to make friends with other countries'

Motivations, Opportunities and Cost	Economic Self-Interest			people because they don't speak my language." **P49, new migrant, Pakistani, Site maintenance operative:** "...if in one shift there are Romanians, Lithuanian Portuguese, they stick to their own small groups." **P50, long-term immigrant, Slovak, Despatch Operative:** "I think my manager never liked me, he shouts at me in front of other workers, threatening to take my job, he is disparaging me in front of other workers. I feel like leaving this factory but then I need to earn money for my family. I know that I am fed up. Here, people are with their own country groups, and they don't want to help. My manager is Polish; he wants to give more work to his own country's people."
		Economic Conditions of Country of Origin	Participants also suggested through this code, that poorer economic conditions in their country of origin motivated them to migrate and later remain in the host country for better socioeconomic status. Many participants expressed they migrated due to their financial needs and difficulties as seen in some of the quotes from the interview findings. However, some are starting to consider going back to their home country or moving to another country again due to the potential of economic factors being affected.	**P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor:** "I couldn't find job in my country." **P5, long-term immigrant, Polish, Trainer:** "Every week have payment in my account never a problem; I have money to pay my bills; I cannot complain." **P9, native, British, Agency Supervisor:** "The ones who want to stay are usually the ones who need money, and they don't get [it] in their own countries… their primary settlement need is money." **P10, new migrant, Romanian, Production Coordinator:** "Here I can have more money than what I get in Romania… I like to stay here also because it is better than Romania." **P11, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Operational Team Leader:** "I have [a] good life in [the] UK, I am not rich, but I have good life, I like the work [that] I am doing." **P13, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative:** "In my country I work for 150 pounds a month here I get almost 600 pounds in two weeks, I work hard in cold factory I save little bit of money, I pay my rent, my bills, I have everything, I want to save money to have my house."

				"Everything is comfortable here. … If I want to get a phone here, I can go to buy it. I take my money every two weeks, the phone cost, like, 500, yeah. I go out to get it, yeah. In my country, if I like something [and] I don't have money, what am I to do? ...in my country …I have, like, a 150 per month and I must save money for food, for transport, or for [a] phone.… I don't know what to do. No. Here it's better [here]." **P21, new migrant, Romanian, Hygiene Operative**: "Pound and euro exchange rate is almost [the] same now, so it's no good to work in this country. I can go to Germany." **P32, new migrant, Romanian**, **Production Operative**: "I don't want to sound like a fanatic, but I would never have found such a job in my country, so... It has given a different meaning to my staying here. I can work and get money. In my country there is nothing, I do not have [a] job, no money and… here I get money every week." **P 43 Production Operative:** "I will like to work in Germany then because there is not much difference in pound and euro exchange rates, you see."
		Employme nt Compromis es	This code included working long hours; filling job disparities regardless of being qualified for better jobs due to more flexibility in working longer hours to work; or lack of proficiency in language or lack of credibility of education and experiences from country of origin hindering them getting better employment; and continuing to work in	**P2, native, British, Electrician Operative**: "There are technicians down there [in the factory], they don't get sick pay, which I think they should get, they are working to earn little money." **P 4, HR Administrator**: "Some of them are ostracized and listen to abusive language from their teammates." **P25,** long-term immigrant, Polish, **Quality Auditor**: "The way I see it, if I want the rainbow, I got to put up with the rain." **P32, new migrant, Romanian**, **Production Operative:** "You have to work hard. I have lifted heavy sacks of chicken so many times, 30 kg, and put [them in] the bin of waste, but I do it all."

			precarious conditions, to earn and meet financial needs. These could be inferred as the **first-order code** of employment compromises.	
		What Future Holds	Various participants have a plan already set in mind in terms of how they would tackle Brexit, whether that is their shopping habits or their residency. In such, a determination to stay can be inferred. In the wake of the current political climate during these interviews, this **code** represents the decreasing influx of migrants, as the toughening conditions deter them, creating a challenge for organisations as they are faced with the scarcity of workforce.	**P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor:** "That's the only thing which will make me leave this country, if I can't provide for my kids, and not Brexit… I have lived [through] the recession. I am not scared". **P4, native, British, HR Administrator**: "I don't think so, automated, yeah… that machine may end up doing [people's] jobs because we're not going to get people to work.…. [But] at what cost? [We could replace human capital with it, but the cost of doing that would be too high.] It is very expensive and also it cannot do what an individual worker does. It is just a machine, [so it] does not have human instincts." **P5**, **long-term immigrant, Polish, Trainer:** "I don't care about Brexit. I am paying my taxes, [so] why should I leave?" "I buy my groceries from a Polish shop. It is [already] expensive; later, it will be more expensive after Brexit, about 30%, so I will go to Lidl". **P10, new migrant, Romanian, Production Coordinator:** "I cannot imagine [being] without [a] job because of Brexit." **P12, long-term immigrant, Portuguese**, **Operations Team Leader**: "I think this is really negative for the country. I will not live in the UK anymore. I have found a new job in Berlin. I think I will never move back to [the] UK. I do not want to live in a country that has those kinds of feelings for us. I am really shocked." **P13, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative**: "If they kick me out of this country, it is not bad, because I can go to Spain, somewhere warmer and sunnier."

				P26, long-term immigrant, Romanian, Trainer: "We did not invade [the] UK. We had to obey certain rules when we arrived to make sure we did not become a burden on them. Now, why are we made [to feel] useless [when we contribute so much to the economy], this is a lie [that we do not help the economy]!" **P36, long-term immigrant, Romanian, Process Controller:** "Yes, I have heard about [Brexit, but] I am not going to go back. I have to work. [If I can't stay here] then I will go to Germany. [But] I will not go back to Romania. [However,] the money I make here is [not] good now. [We pay] more taxes here [so I don't understand] why this country [is] asking us to go [when we contribute so much to their economy… So, if I find an alternative with good money outside this country, I will take it]. Because I need money to live." **P40, long-term immigrant, Indian, Stores Operative**: "The longer[-term] UK-based migrants are not [very] keen on the new arrivals." **P50, long-term immigrant, Slovak, Despatch Operative**: "We have looked after them and their economy, so they need to look after us. I will not leave if Brexit happens. I have worked here for so many years... I want to make more money I [want my son to study] in [an] English school."
	Overall Betterment	Family Commitments	Many migrants are community and family driven as suggested by this **code**, fuelling their determinations to migrate, stay in a specific employment or change occupations, in order to support their own families or stay in circles of moral support. Many migrants stayed in hopes for a better house in the future,	**P3, long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Quality Auditor**: "…single mother 3 kids, you have to think very well how to use my money." "I came here because I couldn't find job in my country, and I couldn't provide for my kids." "My father died this year, a couple of months ago, and I told my mother, 'If you want to come, I have a room for you. I'm not going there'. Well, it's up to her… I [said] to myself that I'm going to make enough money… I mean, yeah, I want to do as people in England do, do much better than ever."

				better opportunities, better pay, etc., or by being provided by that already relative to their country of origin and therefore motivated the **code** of overall betterment provided in the host country by staying.	**P7, Long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller:** "When I came here, we left our families thinking we will get work and make a house, buy things and have money…"
					P8, long-term immigrant, Polish, Production Manager: "I worked very hard in tough situations. I used to leave my son with my mother and not see them for months, and I used to go to night college here to finish my degree."
					"I see many from Poland and we all come here to become somebody and support our families... Earlier, I had no choice but that feeling of facing difficulties made me work hard and that pushed me to do better for myself and my family. I had taken [a] lot of risks, I didn't care about my health working in the factory… it was very tough, but I did not stop [working] here."
					P10, new migrant, Romanian, Production Coordinator: "I want to stay here for my children. I want to make them study in college." "I like to stay here also because it is better than Romania."
					P14, native, British, Purchase Manager: "I think they work hard, leave their families... And things like they send money home… And I wouldn't say they are paid brilliantly, no matter [that] everybody is probably underpaid whatever they do. But this is the industry standard."
					P16, long-term immigrant, Pakistani, Senior Technician: "You know these Europeans can go for two weeks' holiday; we [non-EU migrants] can't do that within two weeks. We need at least four weeks' holiday; then our tickets are like £700-800 for one person. If someone has a family, and is working here, how will he go? Very difficult."
					P17, native, British, IT analyst: "Through personal experience, a majority of migrant workers risk everything just to provide for their families, they are very hard working and have aspirations to grow."
					P23, native, Asian- British, Planner: "Like, mom still talks about

292

				going back to India but I think when, if you go back to India, you're not going to have what you have here. I mean, all the comforts you have here.... Obviously, my mom, my dad, my dad really wants to go but he knows he can't get back because he's got houses here, he's got business." **P29, new migrant, Polish, Production Operative:** "I have to pay taxes and there is nothing, not much money to live with my family." **P32, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative:** "I have to support my kids to study here." **P44, native, British, HR officer: "**Right now they feel is that there is this job and they get money so that they can send some money home." "They get money so that they can send some money home."
		Myth of better future	People left the organisation for similar jobs in different organisations. However, it was established as seen in this first order code, that the working conditions remained similar all across organisations, and that this was a myth. Some migrants choose to stay in precarious working conditions and away from their families in hopes of better future. But this was established as a myth as in this code as only a few managed to achieve these better conditions, and there were a number of long-term immigrants who were also still hindered and had	**P2, native, British, Electrician Operative**: "This company is [the] same as any other competitors, they hire and fire people; this place is no different than anybody else". **P7, Long-term immigrant, Latvian, Process Controller**: "As migrants we leave home in search of a future, but we lose our families at home. I cannot go for any of my cousins' marriages, any christening, funerals. I cried for my life that's been lost… Huge parts of my childhood and youth that I could no longer explain to anyone." **P12**, **long-term immigrant, Portuguese, Operations Team Leader**: "But I can't stay here for life. I need to go back because my son is in Portugal. If it was not [for] my son, I would stay. I would stay because I [have] already [been here for] five years… Unfortunately, today we need money for our lives, so to give a better… I need to stay here for now…" **P32, new migrant, Romanian, Production Operative:** "I will become team leader, I will become, I work 14 hours every day and my boss does not like my work… but I *when* my boss give me a

			not achieved their "better future". The aspect of not knowing the future was also linked to this code.	chance to become a team leader."

9.6 APPENDIX F- SECONDARY DATA- SCREENSHOTS: ARCHIVED DOCUMENTS FROM FOODPRO.CO

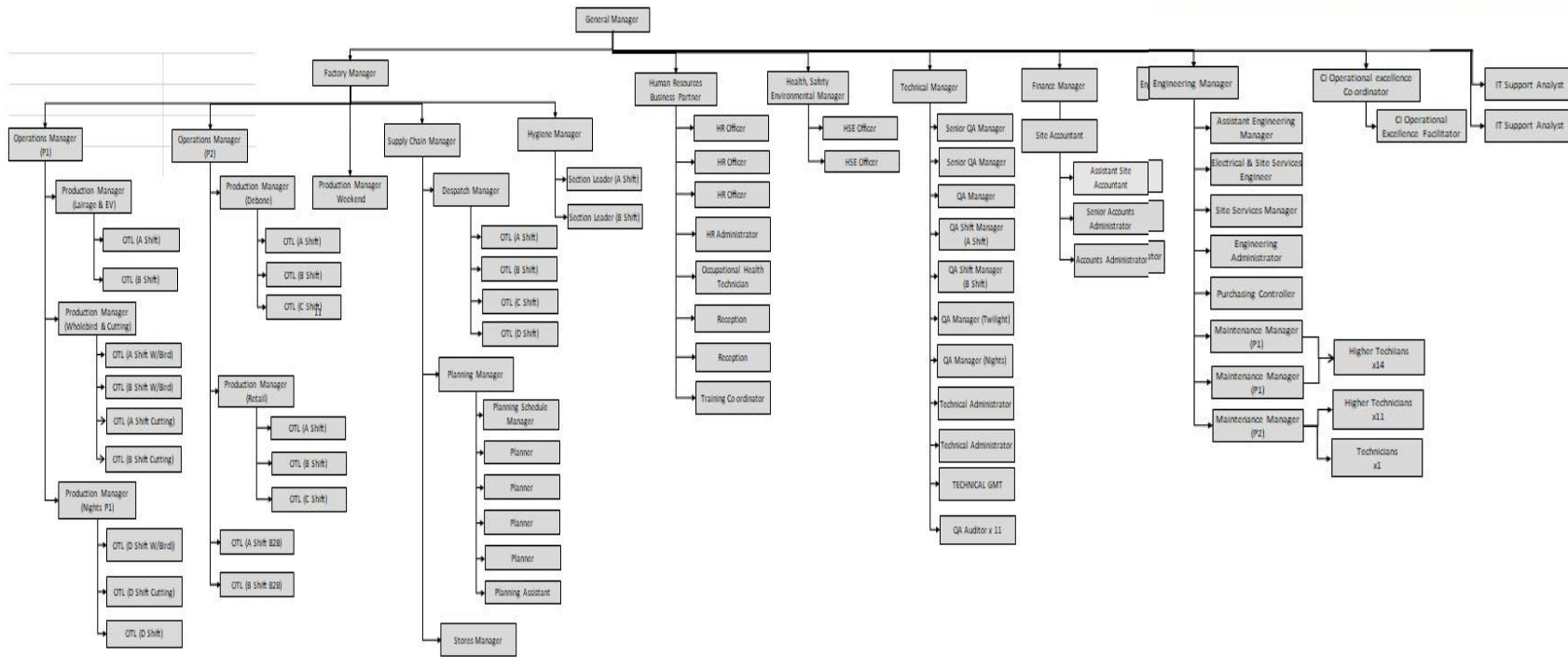### 9.6.1 Organisational Chart (Employee names not included to maintain confidentiality)
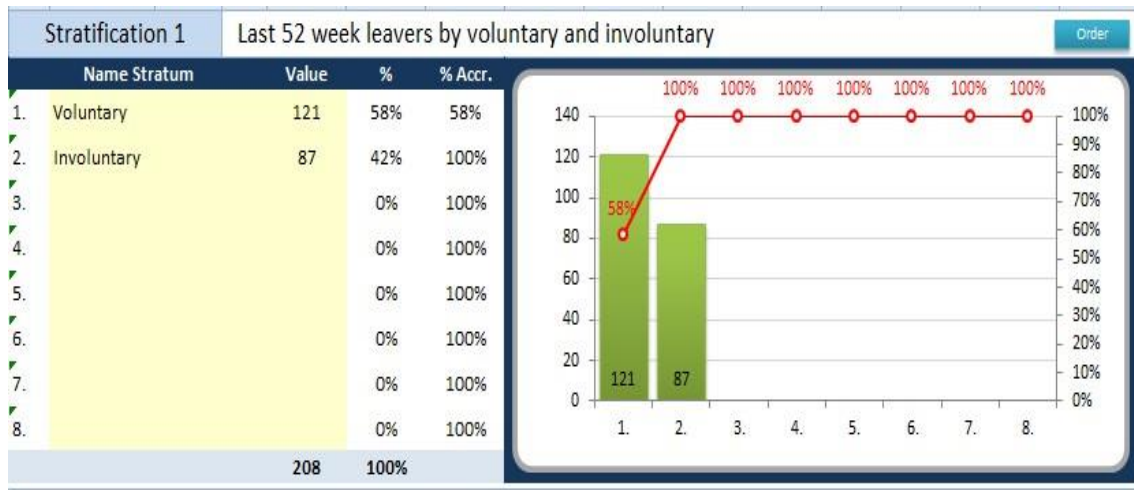

Figure 1: Organisational Chart at FoodPro.Co

Stratification 1	Last 52 week leavers by voluntary and involuntary					
	Name Stratum	Value	%	% Accr.		
1.	Voluntary	121	58%	58%		
2.	Involuntary	87	42%	100%		
3.			0%	100%		
4.			0%	100%		
5.			0%	100%		
6.			0%	100%		
7.			0%	100%		
8.			0%	100%		
		208	100%			

Figure 2: Voluntary and Involuntary Turnover in 2019 at FoodPro.Co

Stratification 2	Voluntary leavers by band					
	Name Stratum	Value	%	% Accr.		
1.	Band 4	87	72%	72%		
2.	Band 3	22	18%	90%		
3.	Band 3a	10	8%	98%		
4.	Band 2	1	1%	99%		
5.	Band 1	1	1%	100%		
6.			0%	100%		
7.			0%	100%		
8.			0%	100%		
		121	100%			
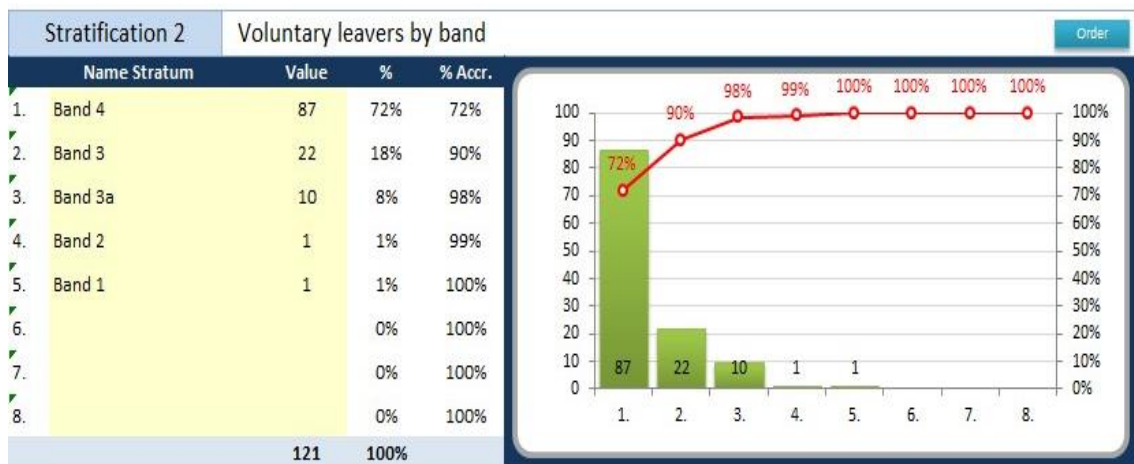
Figure 3: Voluntary leavers by band in 2019 at FoodPro.Co

296

| Stratification 3 | | Band 4 leavers by length of service | | | Order |

Name Stratum	Value	%	% Accr.
1 0 year	35	40%	40%
2 1 year	23	26%	67%
3 2 years	15	17%	84%
4 3-5 years	8	9%	93%
5 6-10 years	6	7%	100%
6 11+years	0	0%	100%
7		0%	100%
8		0%	100%
9		0%	100%
10		0%	100%
11		0%	100%
13		0%	100%
	87	100%	
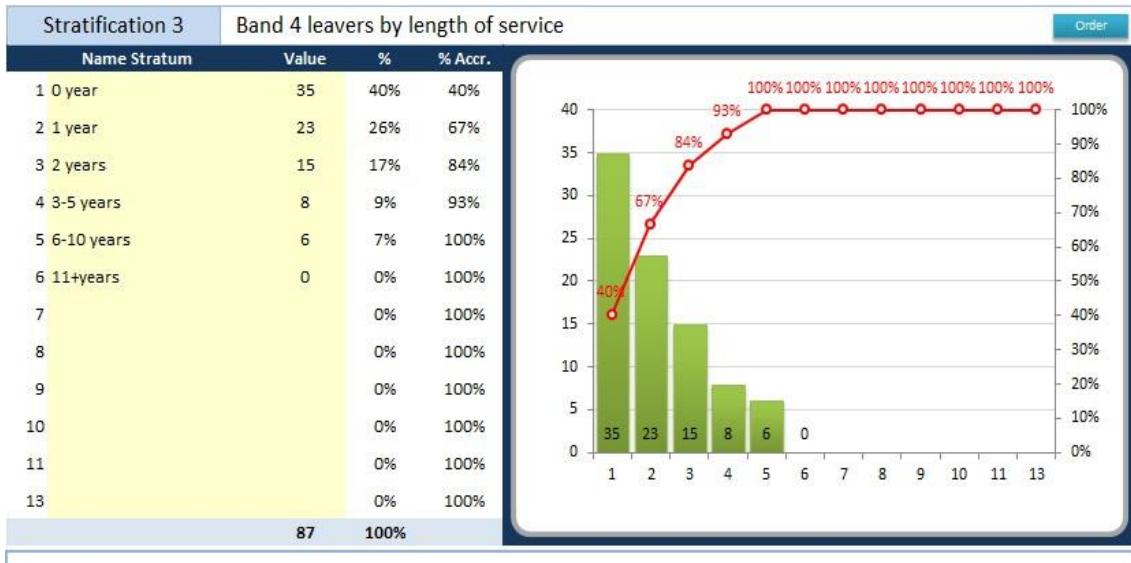
Figure 4: Band 4 Leavers by Length of Service in 2019 at FoodPro.Co

Figure 5: Potential Reasons for High Turnover

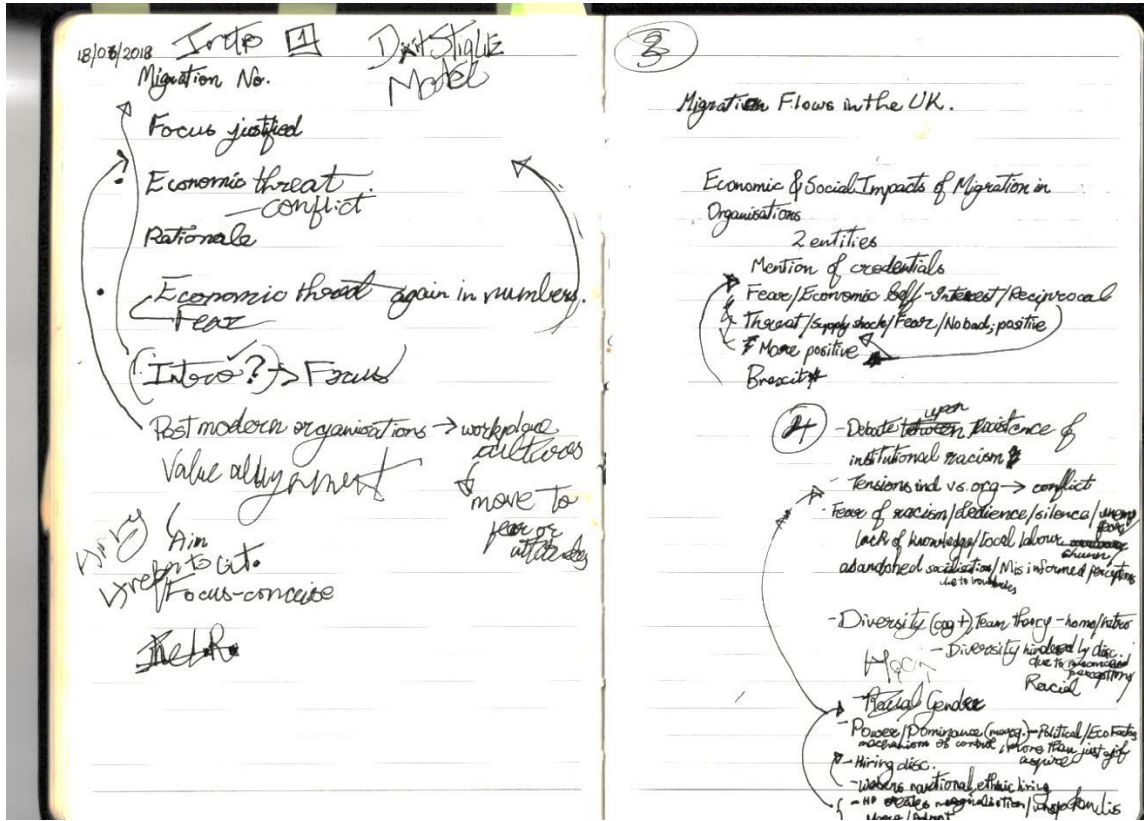### 9.7.1   Rough Notes on Literature Review

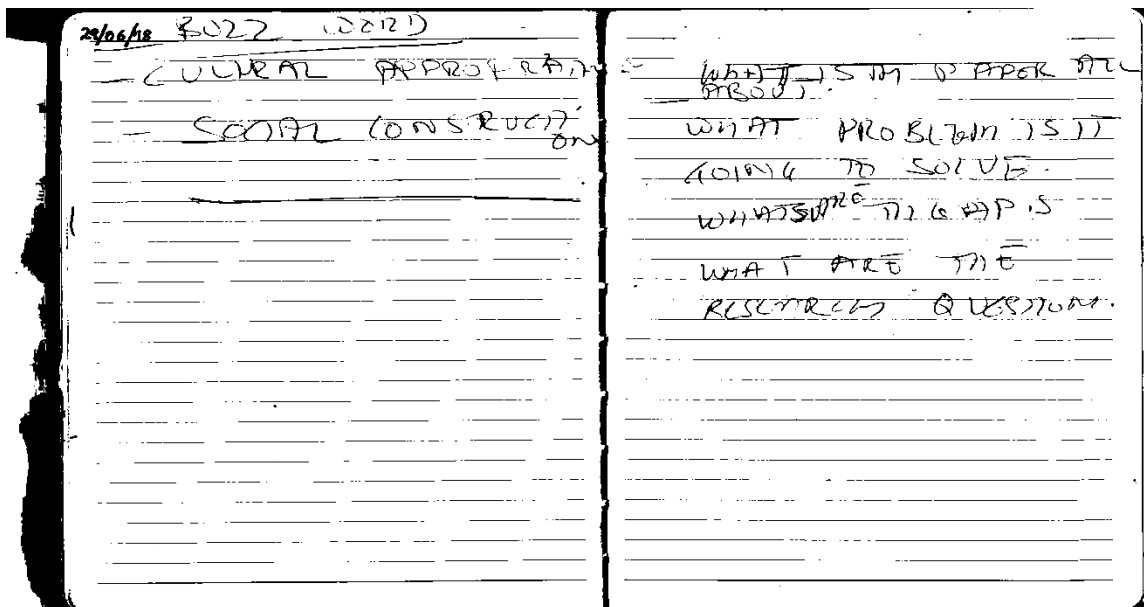**Figure 6: Planning of sections to be included in Literature Review**
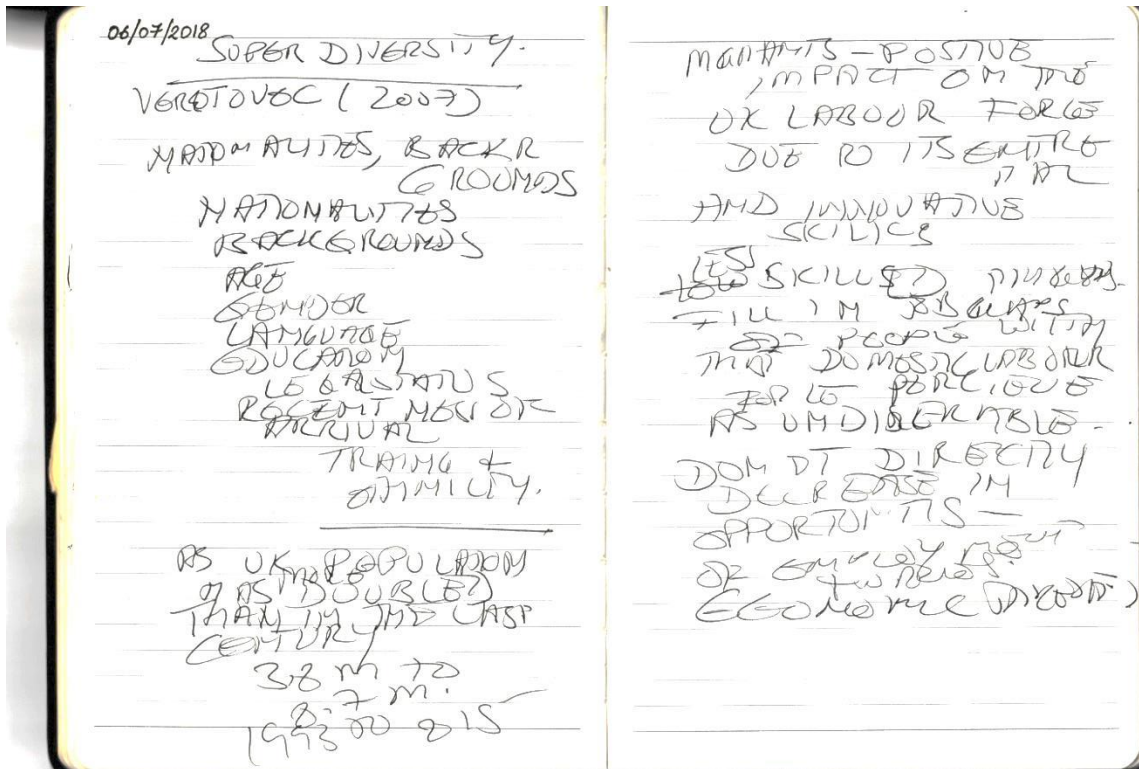
Figure 7: Noting generic questions to be answered.
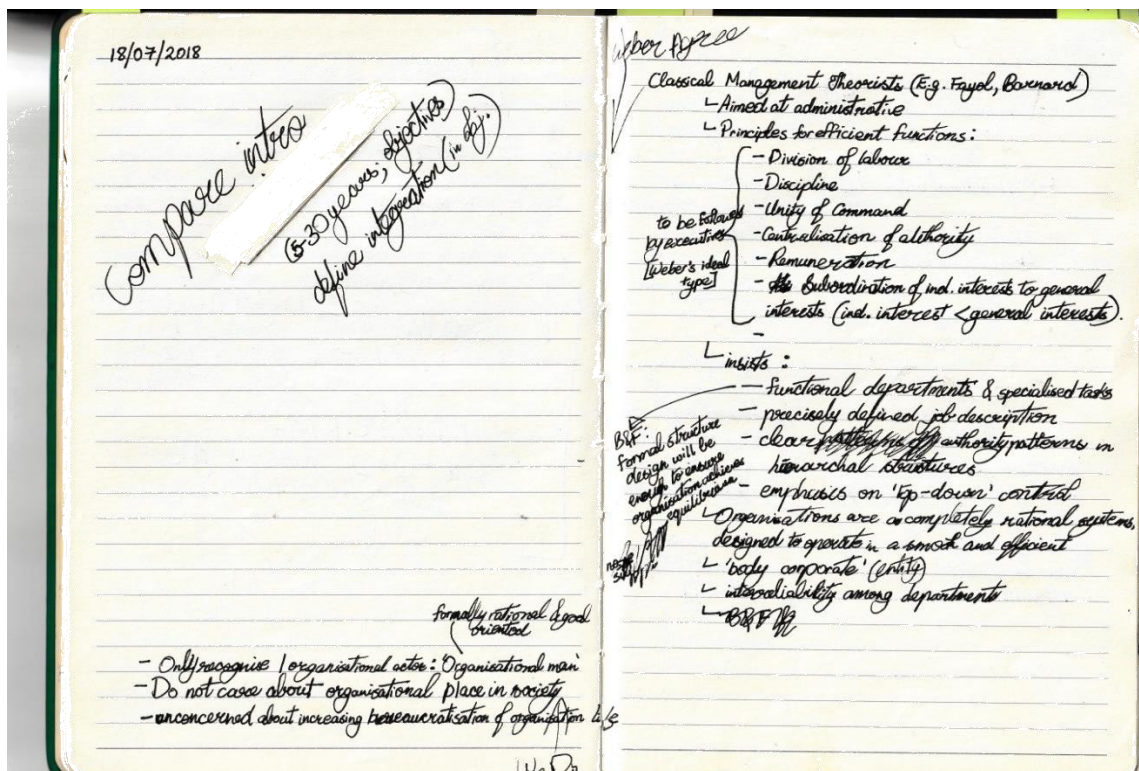

Figure 8: Notes from Literature readings
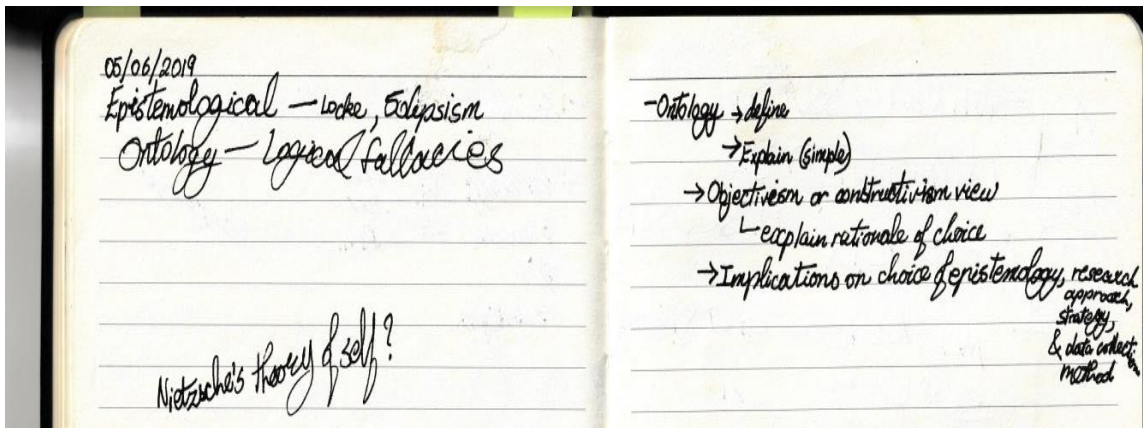

Figure 9: Considering existing theories.
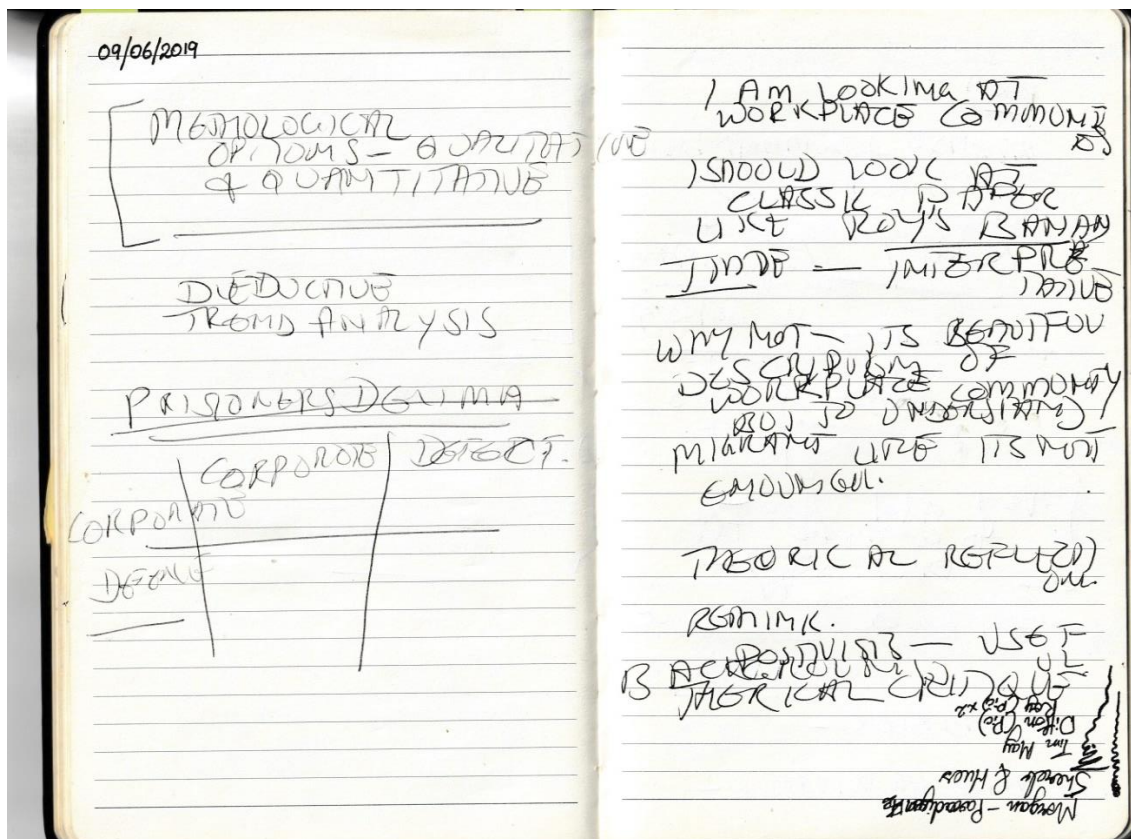
Figure 11: Research Philosophy Notes
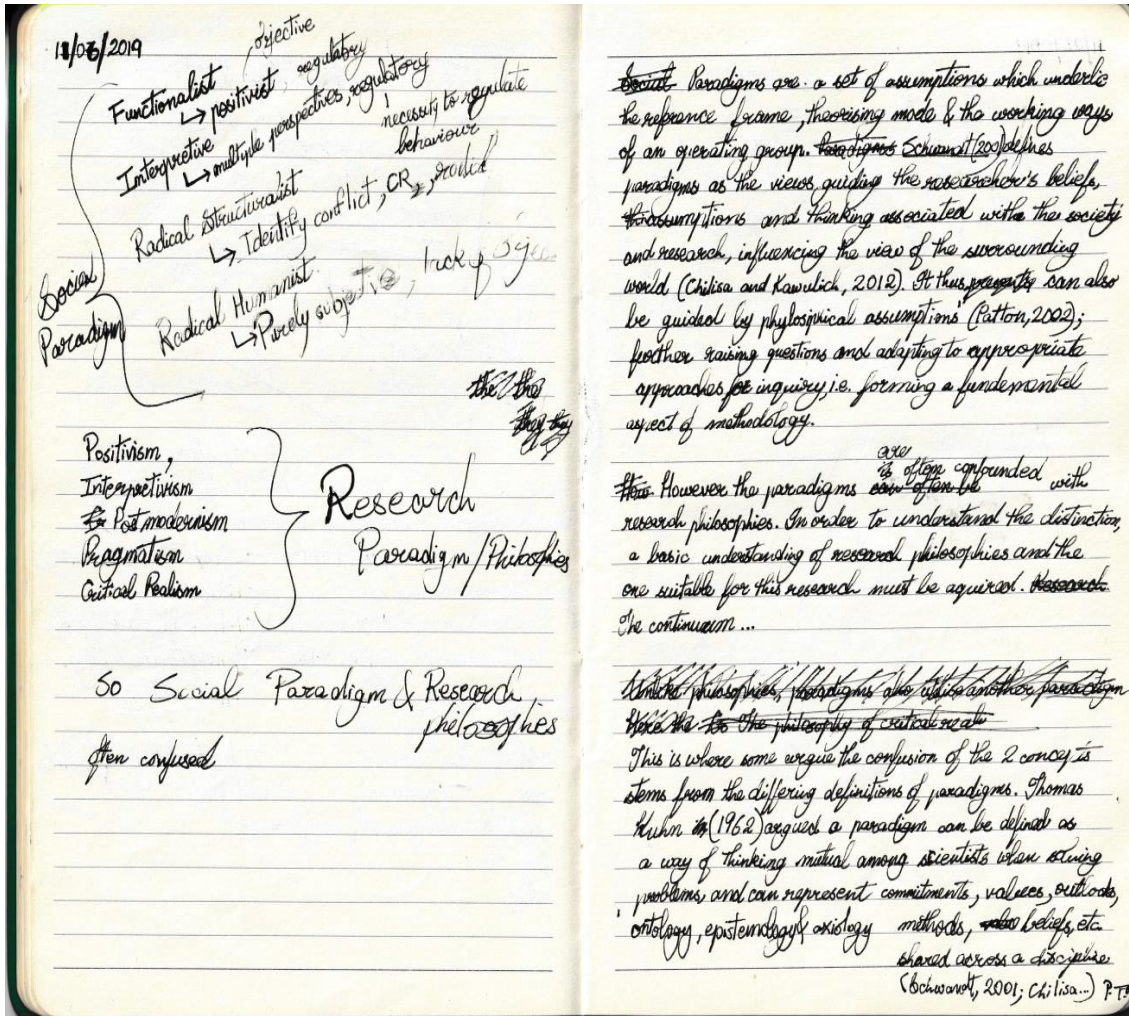

Figure 12: Jotting ideas on philosophical theories

301

11/06/2019

Functionalist → objective
→ positivist, regulatory
Interpretive → multiple perspectives, regulatory
necessity to regulate behaviour
Radical Structuralist → Identify conflict, CR, radical
Radical Humanist → Purely subjective, ideology
Social Paradigm

Positivism,
Interpretivism
Post modernism
Pragmatism
Critical Realism
} Research Paradigm/Philosophies

So Social Paradigm & Research philosophies
often confused

Social Paradigms are a set of assumptions which underlie the reference frame, theorising mode & the working ways of an operating group. Schwandt(200) defines paradigms as the views guiding the researcher's beliefs, assumptions and thinking associated with the society and research, influencing the view of the surrounding world (Chilisa and Kawulich, 2012). It thus can also be guided by philosophical assumptions (Patton, 2002); further raising questions and adapting to appropriate approaches for inquiry, i.e. forming a fundamental aspect of methodology.

However the paradigms are often confounded with research philosophies. In order to understand the distinction, a basic understanding of research philosophies and the one suitable for this research must be acquired. The continuum...

This is where some argue the confusion of the 2 concepts stems from the differing definitions of paradigms. Thomas Kuhn in(1962)argued a paradigm can be defined as a way of thinking mutual among scientists when solving problems and can represent commitments, values, outlook, ontology, epistemology & axiology methods, beliefs, etc. shared across a discipline (Schwandt, 2001; Chilisa...) PT

Figure 13: Discussing Paradigms (1)

11/06/2019

Therefore, the definition focused on establishment of and change in scientific theories: structure and revolution, often emphasising the dominant assumptions and practises within a particular scientific discipline at a particular period of time ( ). Hence Kuhn (1969) proposes, the scientists work within the boundaries of normal science, normal science being the period of dominance and consensus, until the weight of accumulated anomalies becomes such that the paradigm it is feasible enough for the paradigm to be revolutionised.
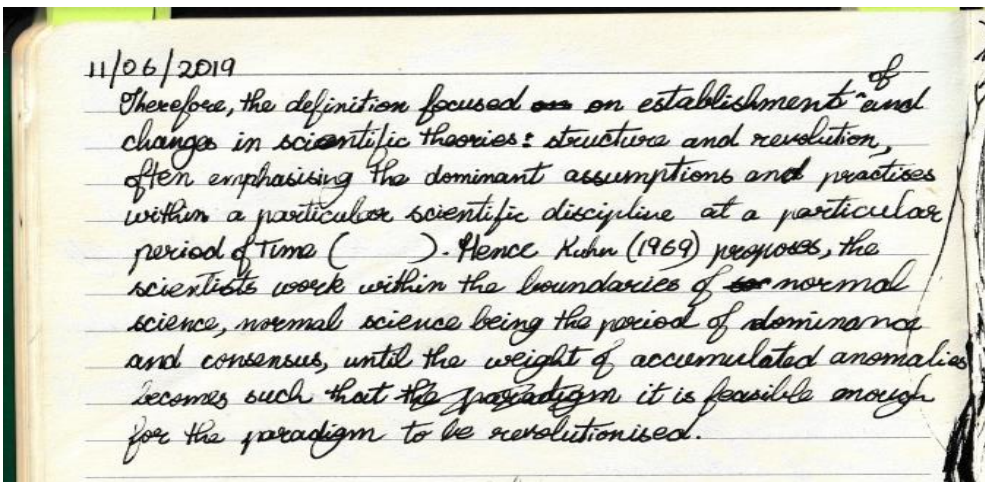
Figure 14: Discussing Paradigms (2)

15/06/2019

Narrative

Strengths   Weakness   such as?

- Cannot completely meet occupational
science objectives
  └ Life history & narrative research
    do not satisfy important
    science requirements
  ∴ continued use in oc. science
    hinders in occ. the
    progress in knowledge
    generation.
  └ validity not universally
    accepted → can lead to
    lack of funding.

essential since
the entire population cannot
↑ be investigated due to resource constraints

Ethnography

- Cultural awareness   - Difficult to choose a representative
- aids in a wider target   sample
  market as needs are   - Longer to generate & analyse data
  objectively identified.   - Hawthrone effect
- Subjective nature   - Effort can be impacted by
  helpful in uncovering   researcher's relationship with the
  and analysing user attitudes participants.
  and emotions   - Too little data can lead to false
                                assumptions about
but really   behaviour patterns, whereas large
* weakness   quantities of data may not be processed
for all   effectively

                                                    → not possible

- Aids in observing the   through often   Testing hypothesis on
  phenomena → intends to   ▽   available data
  seek an understanding

Grounded Theory

- Social phenomena   - Exploratory
  not preformed-pretheoretical - Large data difficult
- well suited to inves.   to manage.
  social processes with little
- Can identify nature of   - Skill
  knowledge & practice   - No standard rules for
    (contingent nature of   identification of categories
- thick description identifying Too many types
  areas of conflict + contradiction - Too much emphasis
- Adapts readily   on identifying codes
- Can respond + change as   rather than how they
  conditions change   are related (coding
                                 reductive
                              - Materials & data already theory
                                ladened

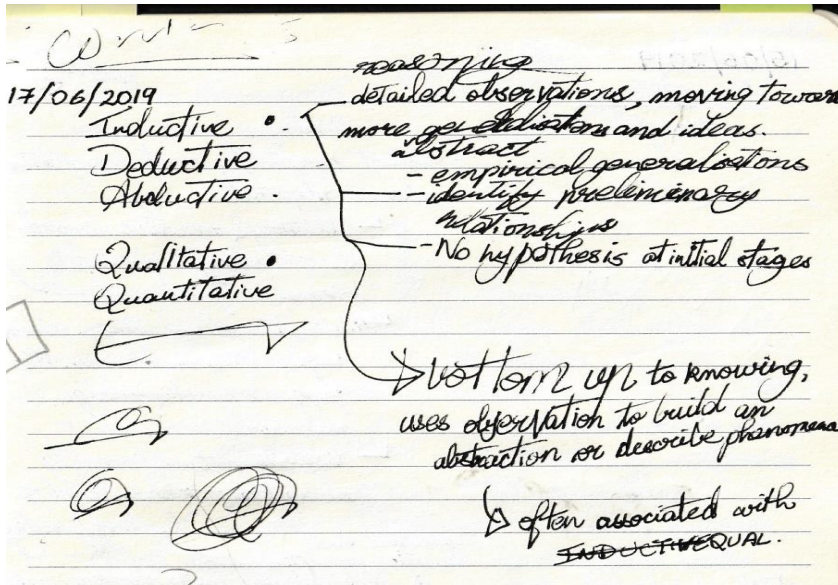**Figure 15: Comparing Types of Qualitative Approaches**

303

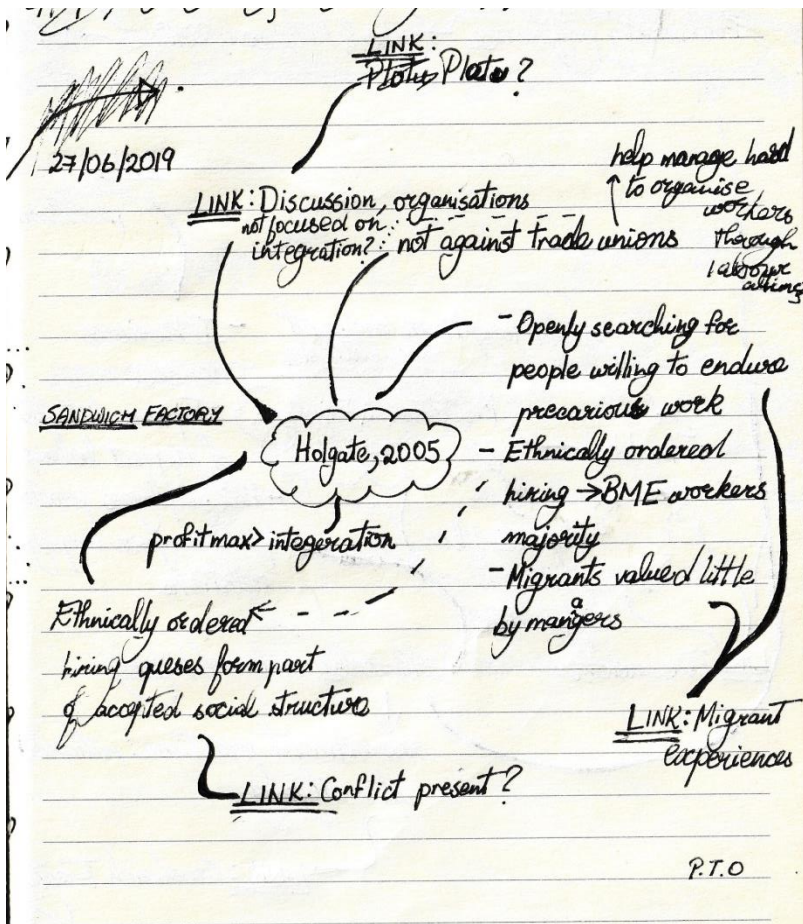**Figure 16: Notes on Different Methods of Reasoning**

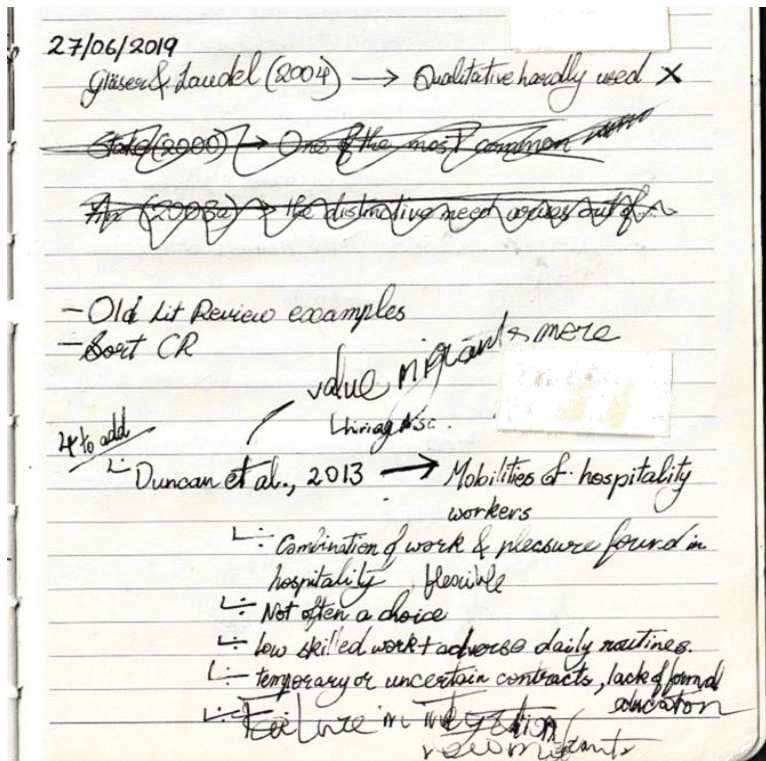**Figure 17: Brainstorming different Migrant Case Studies (1)**

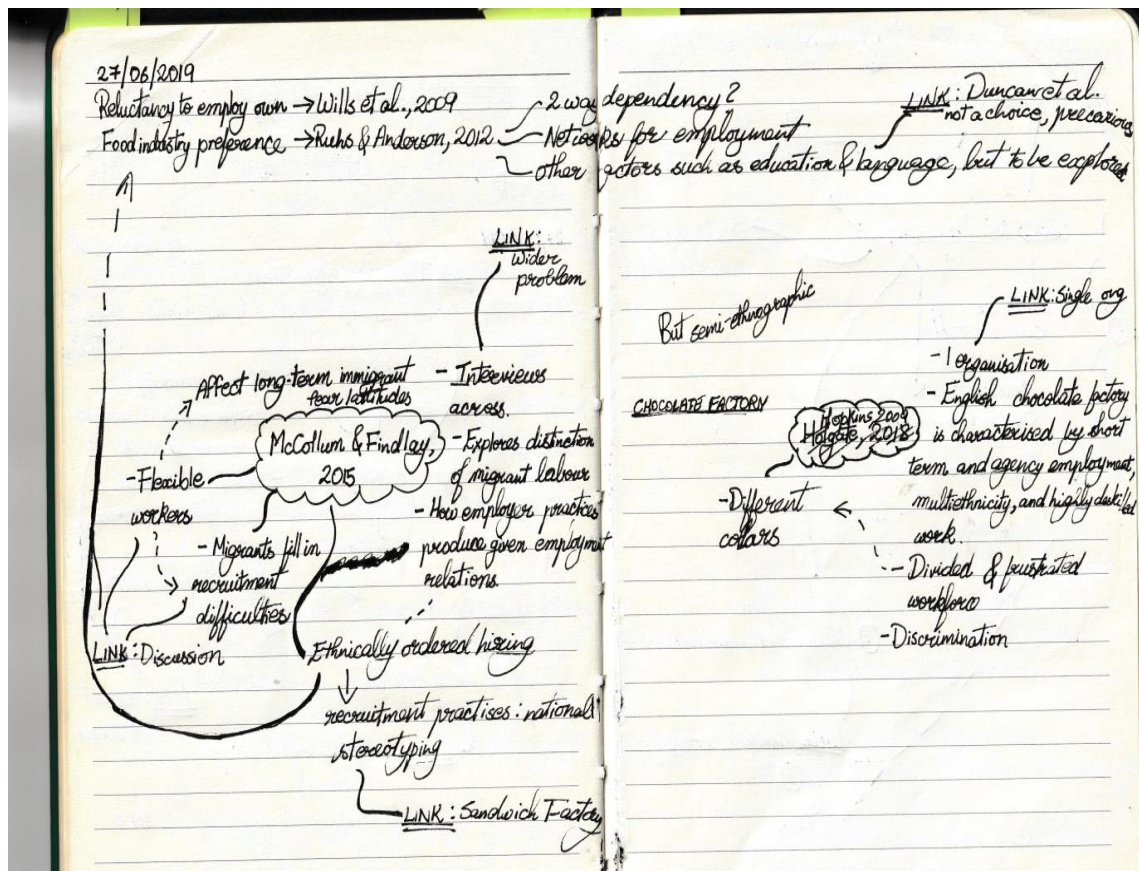**Figure 18: Brainstorming different Migrant Case Studies (2)**

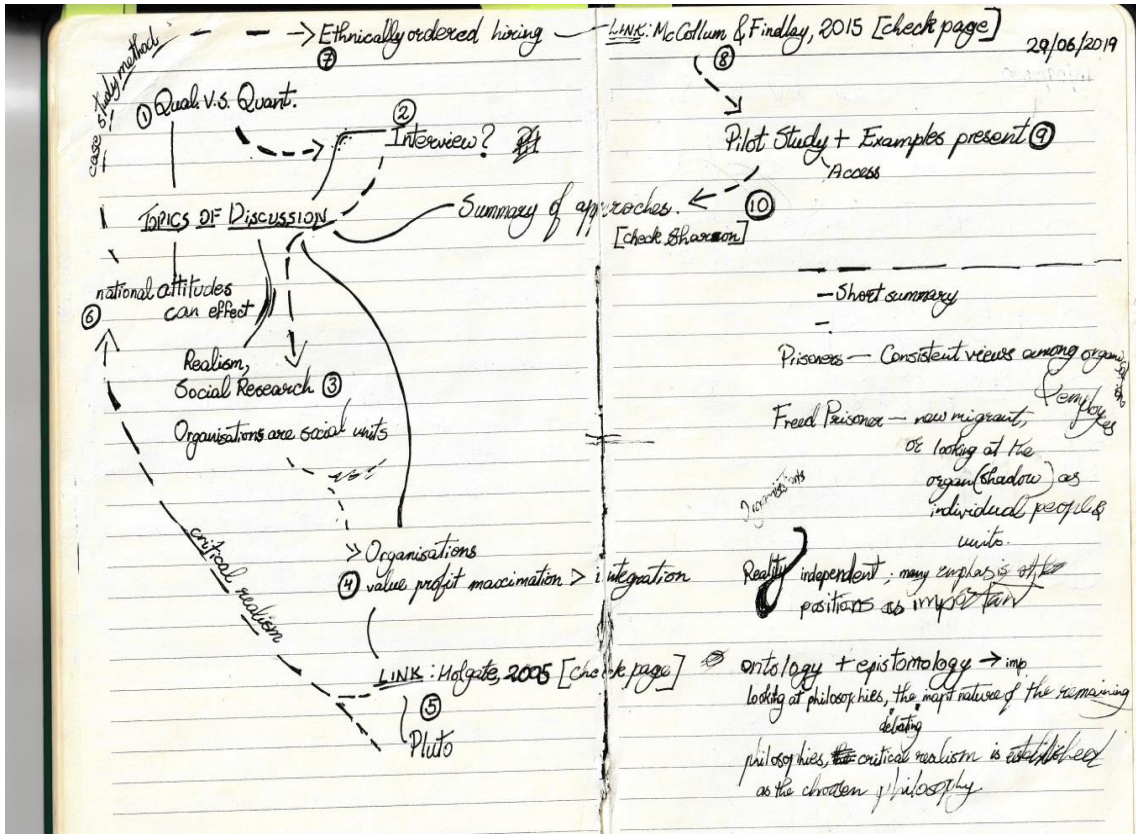**Figure 19: Brainstorming different Migrant Case Studies (3)**

Figure 20: Mind mapping Structure of Methodology

Figure 21: Notes on Ethnical Issues to be discussed.

Figure 22: Decided pseudonym for case study organisation.

13/07/2019

Examples — Holgate

Interviews → gives you a chance to observe people reactions, ways
their interactions, behaviours, on a
human level

Not Ob
→ Got access for 1st round — 50 with range
go and do more
DBA — time

Food Bro. Co. — company requested anianomasly/
anymously,
to be known as this throughout
the research

Philosophy ~~Positivisms~~ Words

scientist are
not
a survey → Of Choice (CR) understanding human life & drawing
up the human life structures
Compare for
— history I need To capture to fulfil RQ, added to RQ
capturing Associate with dif. approaches, epistemological
with tech
Theory done,
bringing out technique fieldwork and techniques
↓
measurements, human construct
Positivism — Quant brought down the
talk Quant number
Qual — Inter CR, humanity
understanding of may follow structure
human activity but don't bring down
humanity

particularly of use as I am looking
at 1 organisation & I'm looking at work
communities within that organisation &
how they're impacted, not only by
government policies ~~decisions~~, etc. but how
organisational policy & how organisation
treats the manual workers and then
~~too~~ CSM is very very useful

Discussion → Summary — philosophical underp.
because now I have printed weave that into what the
access to organisation techniques would be & CR gives structure &
efficiency agency, structure &
the people & methods this is associated in
that most are qual. organisational analysis
big pic. qual. suitable with systems Theories
and this shows that one of the best celebrated
this method does have eg. is the Aston studies
its uses; however for you Aston Studies
it clearly does not capture └ Systems Theories
human experiences
so we need something else └ Organi. size, perfo.
└ No insight of
Setting up the straw man people within
their
structures
Quant.
Large para — what it is, does, techniques
This isn't right, useful for somethings Qual* big pic.
scale study method study
method particularly of use org. lived people
looking at 1 Given you want to study work communities in org. lived Experiences
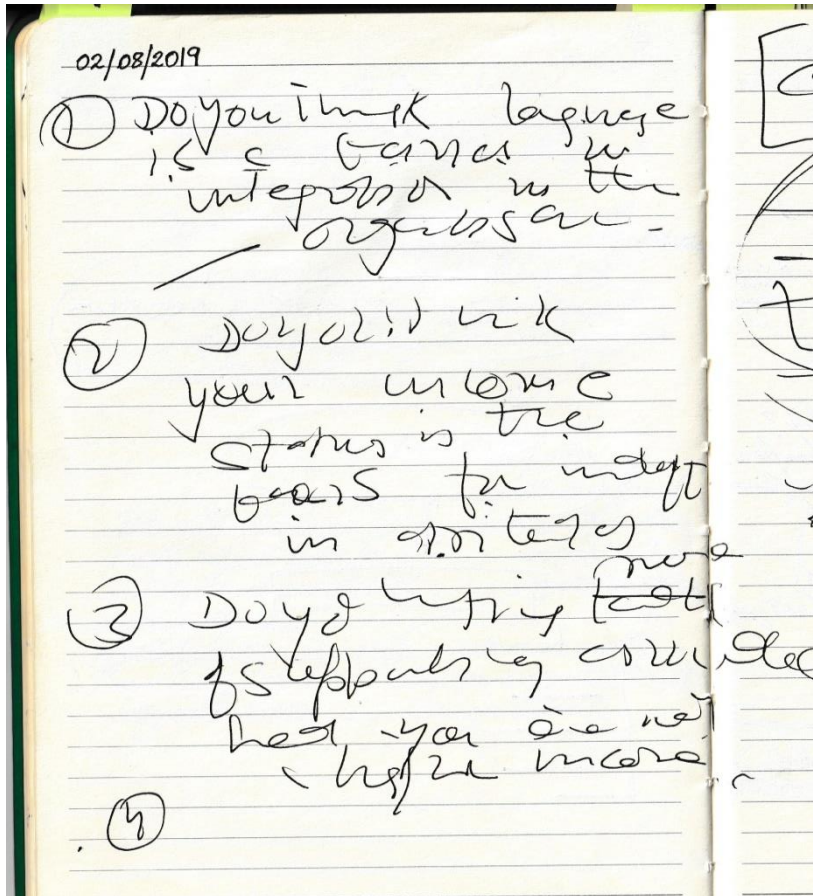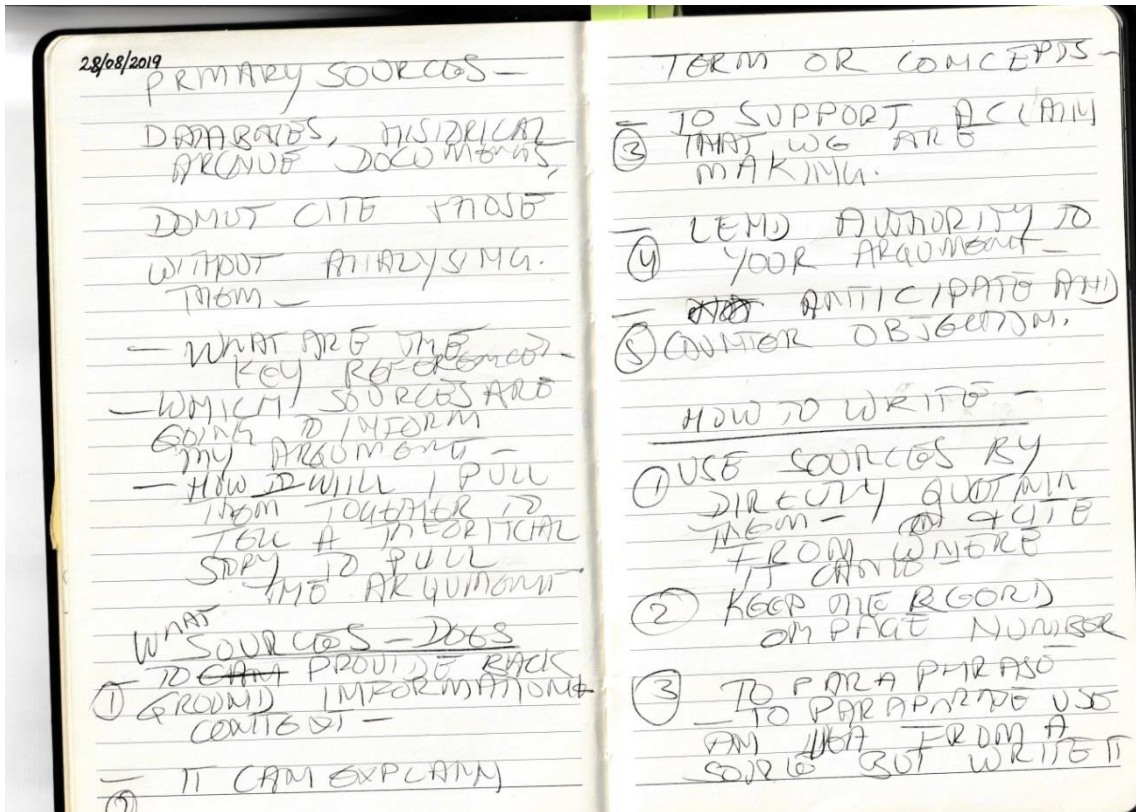in particular organis... suited for Ob.

Figure 24: Drafting Interview questions

Figure 25: Notes on considering different data sources.
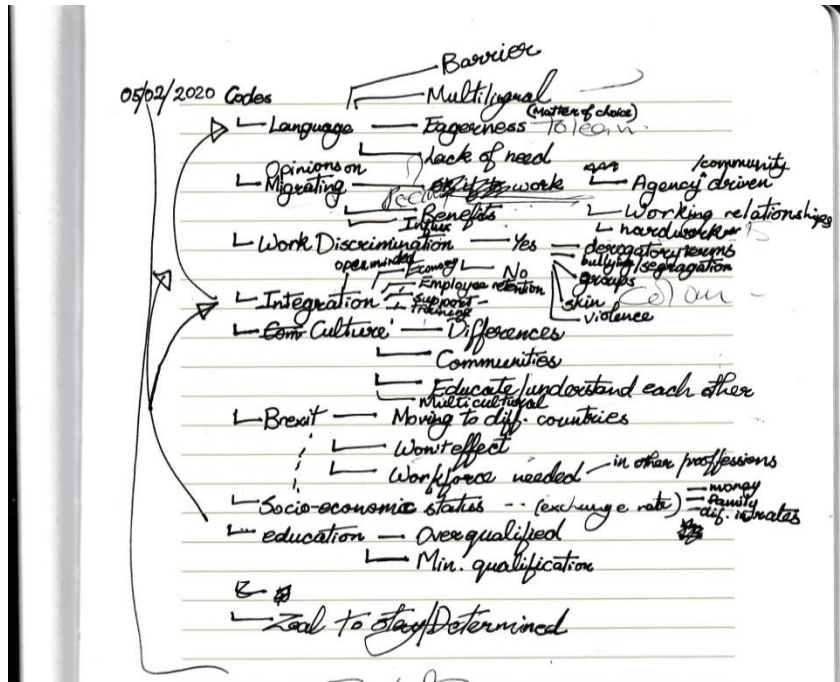

Figure 26: Notes on Factory Tour Observations

Figure 27: Initial mind map comparing what was seen in the field with existing literature

Figure 28: Initial code development (1)

Figure 29: Initial code development (2)

Figure 30: Initial code development (3)

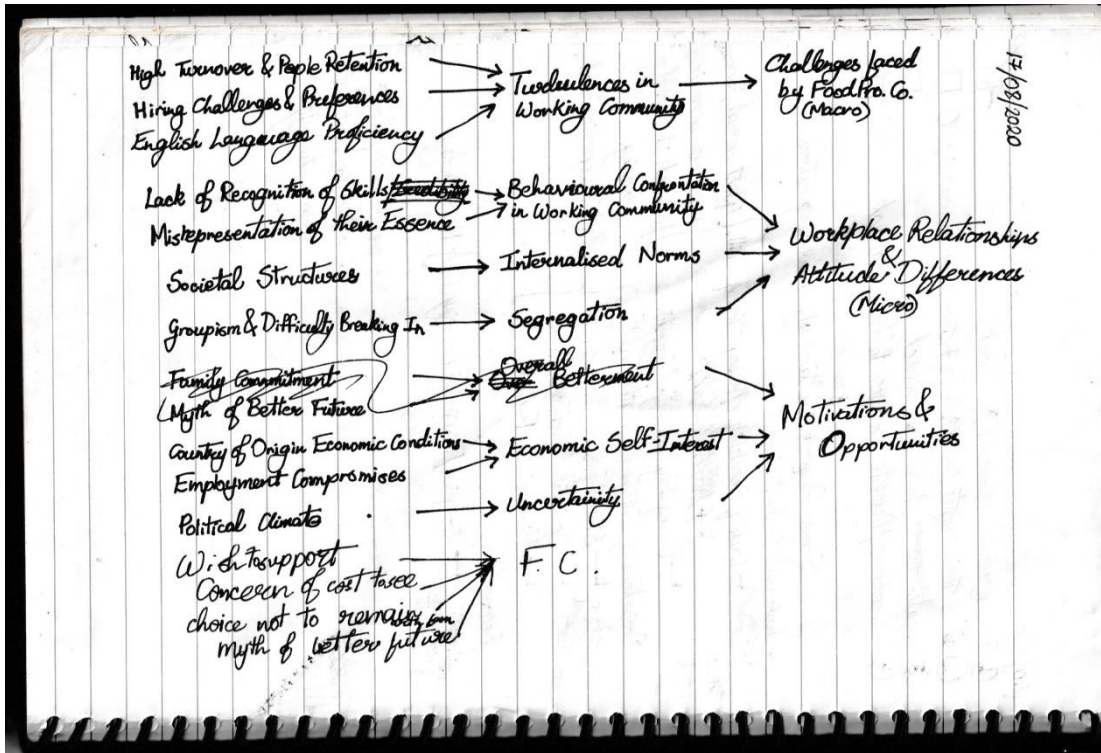**Figure 31: Initial codes development (4) matching to possible content from the findings.**
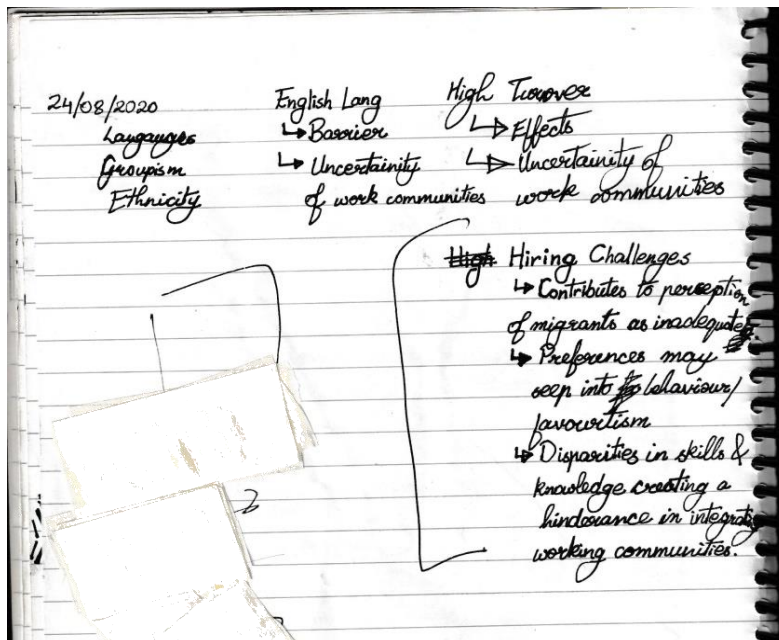
Figure 32: Initial thoughts on theme development

Figure 33: Discussing Importance of each subcode (1)

① if conflict ——→ to what extent a barrier ——→ all other barriers
② Management policies/practices
       impacting integration

Challenges ——→ integration?
The Macrocosm — Challenges Faced by FoodPro.Co.
                           ↳ Outer picture/bigger picture
       infer   to difficulties faced on the
                              surface, carrying the
         barrier in   underlaying understanding that
         forming a   integration is hard to
         big circle of   achieve in an externally
         inclusion   challenged broken working
                              community.
no fixed solution
  ↳ organisation will grow
    ↳ patience to give learning curve
      ↳ taking chances

But why so migrant dependant ? – because f/l job disparity
bet to fill, need supply, why come? (Motivations & Opportunities)
Microcosm — Workplace Differences   ↳ Pressures
                        ↳ Behavioural confrontation
            Derogatory   projection of
safety shield   Internal Agitation
                          Segregation ———— △ comfort

WHY? Motivation & Opportunity — status/family Commitmt
                    Economic Economic
         Uncertainty uncertain uncertainty
            Determinination shines through.

Figure 34: Thoughts on Final Theme Development

316

1/10/2020
① Finish small comments (feedback) ☑
② Recode transcripts ~~(trans)~~ ~~(thesis)~~ + transcribe remaining 20 ☐
③ Create themes table & crosscheck ☐
④ Restructure/Rewrite as per table + feedback ☐

Theme 2 ⇌ → simultaneously answers questions

Behavioural Confrontation
(Attitude experienced) ── Lack of Credibility/Recognition of Skills ⎱ Affect moral, increase
Upon looking deeper ── ~~X + attitude toward~~ ⎰ pressure experience,
                    ── Derogatory Language/Targeting ⎰ fastback intentions of
Projections of Internal Agitation ⎫ leaving
(Attitude + experienced displayed) ── Stereotypes ⎬ conflict is experienced
                    ── Societal Structures/Norms ⎭
                    ── Financially Fuelled

Segregation
Main reality of workplace communities ── Groupism/Difficulty Breaking In ⎰ New Finding
                    (Power)
                                    ↓
                    :) precarious conditions =
                    :) conflict does exist but 1group
                       driven ethnicity

19/10/2020

little small things like that make the reader realise.

Motiv. ⟶ draw out money side, prepared ready to accept
poor working conditions.
⤷ smell, cold
reinforces the importance
of economics

HR & managerial are trying to make things
better in the factory but those on the shopfloor
say yes its cold but they are not bothered.

don't want things but just a pay rise   pampering by comfort zone by intentional
group, giving little encouragement
but dependency on migrants so can't be harsh straight
diverse   as soon as
company with equal policy   they reach cos they
Emphasis :- ⟶ deliberate   come from diverse
segregated into   backgrounds, countries
groups by company

little groups = little tribes, make life easier
⤷ shouting ⟶ cause of
communication

family/unit represents commitment
status
⟶ upgrade   draw out
better status in UK eg. gypsy
just as good as them
better opportunities

Figure 38: Discussing Importance of each subcode (3)

318

Figure 39: Segregating Occupational Levels of FoodPro.Co

14/11/2020

Data drives conclusion & discussion
   langt culture —ethnicity→ main creator of segration
      ↳ major barrier to joining glue

   ~~~~~~ organisation create own identy   explains challenges
           around work, each other, race   around race &
           ethnicity; difficult to join groups   ethnicity
Something New : ethicity & lang. override work
           culture & longetivity of group.
           And seems to be the most important
           driver of how they form relationships at
           work.

   No one said difficult to join group ?
   unfair other way round, long employees threathened by new

   As more & more nationalities come & some fade in the
   background. Mattered more dude was Romania &
   gypsy ethnicity than he was there for longer

   Fear of pressure, need support of own ethnicity
   While we expected long-term migrants may be redemptful,
   what we find is that " " " are including new
   migrants in the group & they feel safe in their little
   group that they not even attempting to learn English

   Bigger group = more safety ring around them.
      → in feedback, looks to her almost as if developing
      tribe within the workplace, really interesting, new
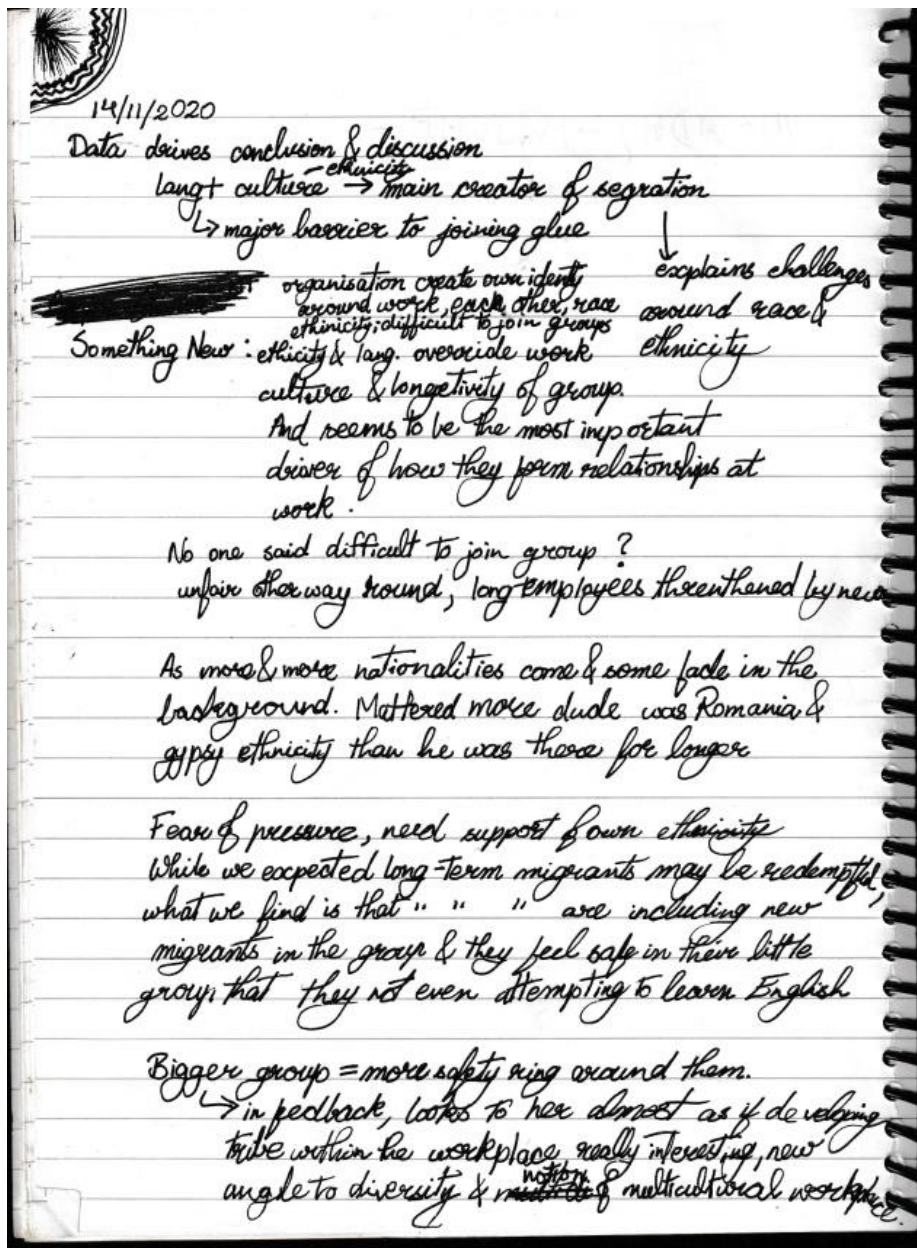   angle to diversity & notion multicultural workplace.

Figure 40: Notes for Conclusion (1)

320

because everybody imagines that in a multicultural society, everybody integrates or a diverse workplace where everybody is equally valued no matter how different they are, you're integrated, because you are integrated on the basis of diversity & valued. Whereas here, the company aren't discriminating against them, they're discriminating against themselves by driving these tight/tagged(?) little groups.

Ok to overlap but not repetition

Maybe ~~cont~~ shopfloor condition as contradiction to motivations as they come hoping for a better life, they talk about, they can earning more money ∴ its more expensive to live, so it doesn't look like ~~many~~ some of them have much more money because rent & everything is more expensive. Against that, their motivation, what they hoped for; ~~again~~ this Romanian chap said is very poor conditions

money on
industrial standard! — more than home, hired as per ad. g&s.
  └ they don't feel they don't have money"; if they
     there is min. wage in UK even if they live in poor conditions
     work in low-skilled work; yet economically
     very satisfied. Small achievements → motivations.
  what seems like a small achievements, is obviously
  a very large achievement for them because it
  is noticed a few of them mentioning, to be able to go
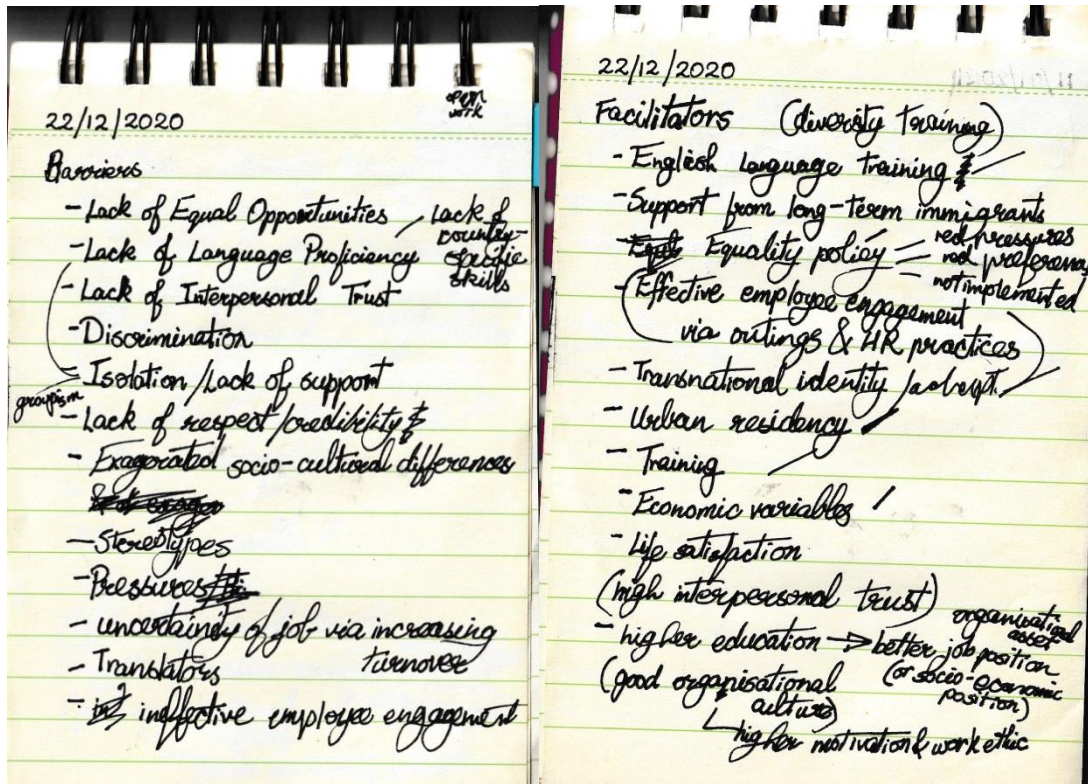 & buy a phone is something like wow I can buy it.

Figure 41: Notes for Conclusion (2)

Figure 42: Noting Facilitators and Barriers