THE EASTERN EUROPEAN MIGRANT OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE UK: FALL, RECOVERY AND SUCCESS TRAJECTORIES

A life-course qualitative study on the career of Romanians at origin and in the UK

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I confirm that the submitted thesis is my own work.

I further confirm that appropriate credit is given within the thesis by Harvard referencing the other sources.

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THE EASTERN EUROPEAN MIGRANT OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE UK: FALL, RECOVERY AND SUCCESS TRAJECTORIES
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The primary aim is to explore the relation between international migration and career, and how these affect each other over time – the case of the Romanian migrants in the UK. The thesis presents two main research questions: Do the Romanian migrants in the UK achieve occupational success or are they more likely to remain stuck in the 3D (dirty, dangerous and demeaning) jobs? And, what are the plans of the Romanian migrants regarding the strategic use of their geographic mobility power for the future?

The research assumes an interdisciplinary qualitative approach that allows the utilization of multiple theoretical paradigms and research methods with the purpose of understanding the migrant career dynamics. The research employs a life course methodological framework, in order to obtain rich data that permits the analysis of contextualism - linked lives, as all life spheres (e.g. education, family, and others) are interconnected. Methodologically, this thesis uses the grounded theory to answer the research questions in an exploratory manner. The research is a multi-sited investigation (London, Leicester and Cheltenham Spa), utilising multiple sampling methods – snowball, maximum variation and generic purposive techniques, and multiple analysis methods – thematic analysis and quasi-statistics. The data was collected via in-depth interviews alongside the life-grid instrument.

When it comes to understanding and explaining the migrant career of Romanians in the UK, the discussion focuses on the trajectories during the lifetime of each participant in view of traditional versus new career types. Understanding the occupational trajectory as interlinked transitions of occupation, education, family and attachment to

the UK, the migrant career has many advantages. In particular, it allows the integration of pre-migration occupational experiences, and concomitantly, the exploration of effects of the other life spheres including the international migration experiences in relation to career success (objective and subjective), as experienced and understood by the individuals themselves. In other words, this study exemplifies the Romanian during lifetime (overall) career patterns and conceptualises the migrant career occupational U-shape (mobility) in the UK as trajectories of fall, recovery and success.

Hence, the main findings of the thesis are that (i) the Romanian migrants tend to resiliently pursue occupational success in the UK. Based on the retrospective longitudinal character of the data, the thesis demonstrates that the Romanian migrant occupational trajectories in the UK comply with the U-shaped pattern (fall and recovery), and that many succeed to achieve occupational success. Unlike previous studies, this thesis does not compare the Romanian migrants with the British natives, but measures recovery and success by taking, as benchmark, the best labour market position obtained as a native in Romania. Moreover, the thesis identifies the temporal character of the occupational U-shape trajectory of Romanian migrants in the UK. Following, (ii) most Romanian migrants willing to remain permanently in their 'country of choice' – the UK as occupational success and/or expansion in other life spheres are achieved. Expanding from occupation to the other life spheres, the thesis shows that aside from occupational success, many Romanian migrants in the UK are successful in other life spheres, especially by forming a family. Consequently, instead of intending to use their geographical 'migration power', they choose to remain permanently in the UK, particularly after/if they have a child.

Keywords: international migration, career, U-shape occupational trajectory, mobility and career success.

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Dedication

To us all,

21st century global citizens

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1 Introduction

In recent years, significant academic attention has been given to understanding the trends and effects of international migration. Globally, the general trend is the directionality of the geographical movement, namely from developing to developed countries – focusing on population flows either from South to North in the Americas, or from East to West in Europe. In reference to the latter, European Union (EU) Accession migration studies are popular among researchers in the United Kingdom (UK), given the evolution of Eastern Europeans migrant inflows into the country. According to Burrell (2010), the majority of these studies look at migration motivations and intentions, labour market outcomes, social networks and local settlements. Considering that for most Eastern European's the main intention of migration is economic (Markova and Black, 2007), the topic of migrant work / employment / occupation is central to studies in the UK.

When it comes to migrant occupational outcomes and mobility on the UK labour market, studies often account for aspects like English language proficiency and education level (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003; Shields and Prince, 2002; Akresh and Frank, 2011). Various Eastern European international migrant typologies put forward categories centred around key characteristics such as: aim of migration, duration of migration, period of arrival, intention of stay, access to labour market and occupational outcome characteristics (Düvell and Vogel, 2009; Eade et al. 2006; Düvell and Garapich, 2009; Trevena, 2013). Despite extensive literature on the nature of Eastern European migrant labour, scarcely any attention is afforded to the way in which they navigate the international labour market. More elusive still is the theoretical understanding of the migrant's occupational trajectory in terms of dynamics or mobility. Essentially, the majority of Eastern European migrant studies tend to focus on the *post-migration* occupational outcomes while working in the UK.

Yet, certainly there are individuals who previous to migration have already acquired significant occupational experience. This is a critical omission given that the migrant occupational mobility on the western labour market is way more than just the result of the migrant status. In other words, the migrant's occupational outcome may reflect, in part, their *pre-migration occupational experience*. By looking just at the post-migration occupational outcomes, which are often jobs in the low wage sectors of the UK's labour market, means displaying the migrant low-points rather than the journey – of both high and lows, as dynamic between struggle and success. By not showing the entire migrant occupational journey implies denying and/or depriving the migrant of the means to overcome hardships and paths to success. Consequently, this study employs the career – as a means to encapsulate and value the pre-migration experiences as the international migrant's occupational journey across multiple labour markets.

During the last decade, the career literature debates focused on the shift from notions of traditional, linear, permanent and secure 'careers', to the new, flexible, temporary and insecure career types (Inkson, 2006; Zaleska and de Menezes, 2007). In the past, the career concept represented a gendered ethnocentric term, usually conferred to highly-skilled professionals or managers earning a substantial income, and typically Western white and male. Similarly, when referring to international migrants, the career literature mainly referred to 'expatriates'. Usually, non-Westerns are mostly termed migrants, while their counterparts are often called expats (even if they immigrate to work in low-wage service jobs). Nevertheless, given the theoretical shift from traditional to modern careers, it became necessary to research other population groups such as women, ethnic or other social minorities, and migrants. Also, it became necessary to broaden career research by synthesizing specific cultural and contextual approaches (Leung and Yuen, 2012; Young and Colling, 2004). Going beyond the 'traditional expatriate' discourse, various academics (Moen and Han, 2001; Cohen et al., 2011; Brown, 2002) have called for the identification of migrant career features and types in terms of (a) the impact of migration, (b) loss, recovery and reconstruction (success), and (c) salience of family, network and community.

THESIS AIM

The primary goal of this thesis is to explore the relation between international migration and career, and the manner in which they affect each other over time drawing on the experience of Romanian migrants in the UK. The choice for migrant group is informed by the post-2014 inflow of Romanians in the UK, as well as, the limited research on Romanian career – irrespective of migration status.

The thesis explains how an under-researched Eastern European migrant group in UK, make their career choices and enact their occupational trajectory narratives on multiple labour markets. Herod et al. (2007:5) state that "while labour scholars have started to acknowledge the impact of migration regulation on migrants' position in the labour market, the debate within labour process studies has remained focused on the impact of mobility power on work effort and in the workplace, overlooking the motivations of workers entering and leaving temporary jobs from the point of view of their migration trajectories". Accordingly, this thesis looks at the migrant's U-shape trajectory in order to assert the occupational patterns of decline-recovery-success in UK. The migrant occupational dynamics are discussed in terms of country of choice (implying structural effects, integration and adaptation to the host country), and mobility power (implying the individual capacity to strategies / plan occupational moves and social networks, with the aim of maximizing rewards) (Smith, 2006; Alberti, 2014).

Similarly, King (2012) and McGovern (2007) assert the need for looking at the migration process from the migrant's point of view. Holmes and Tholen (2013) explain that due to data limitations, most academic studies on employment mobility focus on natives, rather than on migrant employees or employers in developed countries. As such, the thesis focuses on the migrant occupational trajectory and dynamics by accounting for both pre- and post-migration roles and experiences, pertaining to six life spheres - occupation, education, family, (perceived) social class, migrant community and housing.

THESIS RELEVANCE

The migration patterns between the origin and destination countries, the dispersal of the migrant community at destination, the migrant group characteristics, the employers

who recruit them, the regional difference between local labour market economies at destination and the education capital transferability, all play an important role in structuring the migrant's career. These structural aspects are experienced at individual level and integrated within the migrant's occupational behaviour, choices and plans. In terms of interlinking migrant and career discourses, Engbersen et al. (2013) call for comprehensive inquiries into the career dynamics and integration patterns relevant in the European context, by detailed examinations of differences and similarities for various international migrant categories.

In terms of societal relevance, given the current EU and UK contexts, the understanding of migrant occupational trajectory and mobility is relevant for the labour and migration policies. Especially, in the case of Eastern European populations who are the most mobile populations of the continent. Correspondingly, since 2014 the Romanian migration inflow in the UK experienced significant increase. Although it has yet to reach the impact level of the Polish population in the UK, it is necessary to recognize the new Eastern European migrant waves into the country.

Similarly, career research relevant for Romanian individuals is underdeveloped. Few studies discuss the career of Romanian nationals, despite the necessity to understand and integrate career development practices that enable access / progression into various occupational structures – be them in Romania or abroad.

RESEARCH GAPS

This study employs an interdisciplinary, qualitative approach in order to address the following calls for research:

• The need for comprehensive inquiries into occupational dynamics particular to migrants (Holmes and Tholen, 2013; Engbersen et al., 2013).

• The need for better understanding of the 'migrancy state' from the migrant's own perspective (King, 2012; McGovern, 2007) and the need for synthesizing specific cultural and contextual approaches (Leung and Yuen, 2012; Young and Colling, 2004).

• The need for U-shape frameworks depicting the migrant occupational adjustment profiles by home country in light of host country policy, education, social capitals (weak

and strong social ties), language skills, and the like (Fellini and Guetto, 2018; Zorlu, 2016; and Fellini et al., 2018). The U-shape frameworks stand to explain not only the mobility patters of migrants, but also confer the country-specific human capital mechanisms which determine the occupational downgrade / recovery / upgrade.

• The need for new typologies accounting for contemporary career trajectories (Moen and Han, 2001; Cohen et al., 2011).

• The need for methodological appropriateness by creative life-course, narrative approaches (Settersten, 2003).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Following the grounded theory tradition, this study is built on two core research questions which originated at both the data collection and literature review stages. In this sense, the thesis pursues the following questions:

[RQ1]: *Do the Romanian migrants in the UK achieve occupational success or are they more likely to remain stuck in the 3D (dirty, dangerous and demeaning) jobs?*

In answering this question, the following heuristic was used: Which are the migration strategies used by the Romanian migrants, both before and after the first arrival in the UK? What are the career patterns of Romanian migrants during lifetime, both as natives in Romania and as migrants in the UK? How does the international migration from Romania to the UK influence the occupational trajectories of the migrants? How do the Romanian migrants make strategic use of their occupational mobility power on the UK's labour market? Do the occupational trajectories of the Romanian migrants in the UK comply with the U-shape pattern (is the initial occupational fall followed by recovery or upgrade)? Do the Romanian migrants in the UK succeed to reach the same or even a better occupational status than the one held at first arrival in the UK?

[RQ2]: *What are the plans of the Romanian migrants regarding the strategic use of their geographic mobility power for the future?*

In answering this question, the following heuristic was used: How does the career/occupational trajectories of the Romanian migrants relate to the interlinked transitions in other life spheres (education, family, and attachment to the origin and the host country), during their stay in the UK? How have changed in time the Romanian migrants' intentions to stay in the UK? How do

career and interlinked transitions in other life spheres influence the Romanian migrants' long-term plans regarding geographical mobility?

On the one hand, [**RQ1**] focuses on occupational sphere of the Romanian individual, exposing the journey from the first to the present jobs in light of the migration status – during lifetime, the native and the migrant roles. In this sense, this thesis does not underestimate the career dynamics as Eastern European migrants in the UK, who are more than often echoed as 'low-wage, low-skill' workers, while just some few 'deserving' highly-skilled professionals get to have a career. Correspondingly, a migrant typology in light of the aim of migration and the immediate post-migration behaviour is developed in order to identify the impact of international migration on the occupational trajectory (the U-shape) by chronologically tracing the (during lifetime) career transitions across multiple labour markets. Lastly, developing a migrant career typology, in light of (during migration) occupational patterns of dynamics – fall, recovery and success.

On the other hand, [**RQ2**] expands the migrant occupational career discussion by contextual depictions pertaining to other life spheres, as occupational transitions are linked to family, education and attachment life transitions. Moreover, given the migrant role, this question relates to future plans in terms of geographical mobility as the decision to remain or leave the UK ties to long-term occupational and family intentions.

METHODOLOGY FRAMEWORK

This research is a multi-sited investigation (London, Leicester and Cheltenham Spa), that utilised multiple sampling methods – snowball, maximum variation and generic purposive techniques, and multiple analysis methods. The data was collected via in-depth interviews alongside the life-grid instrument.

The study develops a grounded theory qualitative life course analysis based on the case study technique and hypothetical inference, as the interpretation of data draws on the 'axial coding' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) – implying that categories relate to their sub-categories, and the relationship is tested against the data. In order to analyse the data, the study employs the thematic narrative and the quasi-statistics methods.

Firstly, for the thematic narrative method the unit of analysis is the individual, each representing a case study. The narrative analysis comprises: (i) stories of the international migration processes; (ii) perceptions of career during lifetime and (iii) various life experiences which impact the occupational trajectory. Secondly, the research uses a life-grid data instrument (a tool which permits chronological data collection and revisions) to obtain rich factual data. Specifically, this includes periods, durations, sequences, and characteristics relating work, education and family status. The quasi-statistics method, understood as the application of descriptive statistics on qualitative data (Maxwell, 2008, 2010), takes the transition as analysis unit. Respectively, it interprets the trajectory as the chronological sequence of all transitions specific to a life sphere – this thesis measuring and analysing the life dimensions trajectories of: work, family, education, international migration / attachment to the UK, social capital / network and accommodation.

The migrant's lifetime is divided into (a) the pre-migration period: the period before arrival to the UK (+16 years of age) and (b) the migration period: the period after arrival in the UK until the present (time of the interview). Following a comparative angle, the emergent methodological framework offers the Romanian U-shape mobility patterns and characteristics, and insight into the migrant's career development / dynamics and success, as interlinking life transitions. As such, given the data availability limitations – as in lack of longitudinal data pertaining to migrants by home country and destination country in terms of occupation trajectory (Fellini and Guetto, 2018; Zorlu, 2016; Holmes and Tholen, 2013; Engbersen et al., 2013) – this thesis represents an exceptional demonstration of migrant career dynamics, given its capacity to measure success.

Basically, this research makes a distinction between during lifetime and during migration time careers in order to assert differences and similarities between the non-migrant and migrant status careers, as well as, explaining patterns of migrant-specific trajectories, dynamics and success. Equally, by bringing into the picture aspects such as family, education and attachment (understood as integration and presence of relatives or/and close friends in the UK), the thesis purports to explain how the migrant career is influenced by various salient factors.

THESIS OUTLINE

The following chapter considers the core literatures – international migration, career and life course – in relation to various theories which identify and interpret the migrant's occupational trajectory and U-shape. After a short debate on the migrant / migration terminology, the review makes a distinction between the economic and the social roles of a migrant. On one hand, the economic role refers to theoretical aspects regarding structural processes, such as: migration and labour regulations, labour market performance, and migrant typologies. On the other hand, the social role stands for theoretical aspects regarding individual (agency) actions within the structural context. As such, the career is understood as the agent's behaviour characterised by personal choices and experiences.

Chapter 3 outlines the research methodology. After discussing the research questions and design epistemology – qualitative grounded theory interpretative study, it briefly outlines the field research activity in terms of sites and timeline. Next, the chapter presents the data collection method and instruments – the interview style and life-grid interview sheet (questions), and then details the samplings techniques and reveals the socio-demographics of the research sample. Subsequently, the process of analysis explains the thematic and quasi-statistics methods, explaining the data codification – themes and transition processes, closing with ethical considerations.

From Chapter 4 to Chapter 9, the thesis unpacks the results of the analysis. Accordingly, Chapter 4 looks at the migrants' geographical mobility prior to the UK by internal (national) and international migration behaviour including the motivations for leaving Romania. Chapter 5 discusses the migrants' first arrival and settlement process in the UK by length of stay, internal migration, social networks, reasons and aims of choosing this particular destination. Chapter 6 develops the lifetime trajectories of Romanian migrants across multiple European countries, tracing the employment and education transitions in light of international migration by duration, sequence and career pattern.

Chapter 7 confers in detail the Romanian migrant U-shape trajectory in the UK by patterns of occupational fall, recovery and rise (and success). Building upon the

previous section, Chapter 8 presents the inter-linkages between occupation – education – family, between occupation – social mobility, and between occupation – migrant neighbourhood – accommodation in the UK. The last results chapter debates between mobility power and country of choice in light of the Romanian migrant attachment and intention to remain in the UK.

Lastly, the thesis confers a short thesis appraisal (aim, objective and methodology), the two main contributions to knowledge (1. the Romanian migrant U-shape in the UK including a demonstrated measurement of migrant success – and 2. the Romanian migrant's predisposition for country of choice, rather than mobility power narratives). Following, the chapter details 'the making of' the Romanian migrant journey in the UK, and then details the societal relevance of the results, presenting the significance of the theoretical findings. To finish, it discloses the research limitations and suggests future research directions.

2 Literature review

Given the interdisciplinary angle, this thesis looks at the connections between the international migration and career literatures. On one hand, it explores the pre- and post-migration occupational transitions, for both origin and destination countries, anticipating the individual's during lifetime trajectory and career type. On the other hand, the research seeks out the effects of international migration period upon the occupational trajectory by accounting for the chronological sequencing of occupational transitions alongside other salient life sphere influences (education, family and attachment). Correspondingly, this chapter offers insight into the relevant literature which explains and predicts the migrant occupational outcomes. And, it searches to identify the specifics of the migrant career, trajectory patterns and mobility.

The chapter starts with a discussion regarding the international migration and international migrant terminology. Following, it makes a distinction between the economic and the social roles of the migrant. The economic role of the migrant is informed by theories regarding international migration and human capital. The social role of the migrant is given by the life course paradigm – the interpretation of international migration and career as the experiences of the agent within the structure.

Accordingly, the last two sections elaborate on the structural and agentive aspects which bear impact upon the individual's career. The structural factors accounted for are: i) migration and labour regulations; ii) migrant-specific labour market characteristics; and iii) human capital as reasons for the migrant occupational outcomes. As such, section 2.2 concludes with a review on extant East to West migrant typologies relevant for Eastern Europeans. The agentive aspects are interpreted in light of the career theory, as exemplifications of patterns (traditional or 'new'), of transitions (objective and subjective) and of mobility (occupational role determinants and success). The chapter concludes with the thesis's theoretical interpretation of the migrant career.

2.1. Background

The migration / migrant terminologies are not harmonized across geographical regions and research fields. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (a, n.d.) states that definitions for 'migration' and 'migrant' are dependent on the geographical and human standpoints. The geographical standpoint – migration – explains the movement across various geographic units of a person or group of persons, from an origin country to a destination country. The human standpoint – migrant – calls for any person who decides to reside in a foreign country defined as 'emigrant' at the origin and as an 'immigrant' at the destination. Unlike the emigrant or immigrant terms, the 'migrant' term presents a general application as it is not indicative of the direction of movement.

Various migration and migrant typologies have been established in order to facilitate the comprehension and analysis of the phenomenon. Migration is a population phenomenon which refers to the move from one geographical location to another, assuring the change of residence and/or employment at the destination. The European Migration Network (EMN) (2014) further categorized given the following five factors:

- Location --> A distinction is made between internal (within national borders) and external (international) migration[1]. Respectively, the migrant can be either national (internal) or international (foreign).
- Direction --> A distinction is made between immigration and emigration. Immigration refers to the inflow of population to a certain location, while the latter refers to the outflow of population from a certain location.
- Intention --> A distinction is made between voluntary and involuntary migration. The first implies that the individual takes a conscious decision to move to a different location for various reasons. Involuntary

[1] International migration excludes tourism and transitory travels (as in the case of refugees, who often cross multiple borders in order to reach safe haven).

migration takes place either due to planned development-induced projects (the case of displaced / resettlement migrants) or unplanned conflict situations (the case of refugees).

- Duration --> A distinction is made given the time of absence from the place of origin, as migration can be either temporary or permanent.
- Legality --> A distinction is made between regular and irregular migration. Regular or orderly migration represents cross-border movement in accordance with the transit laws and regulations of both origin and destination countries. Irregular migration refers to the cross-border transit without legal documents or outside of the law (i.e. human trafficking instances).

Correspondingly, this study employs the human standpoint of migration referring to the international voluntary regular Eastern European migrants in the UK.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (online, 2016) define international migration as the "crossing of a boundary of a political and administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time". IOM (online, 2015) gives interpretations for both immigration (as a "process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement") and migration (as a "the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State"). Correspondingly, the United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) (online, 2016) asserts international migration as:

- Place of usual residence,
- Residence outside of home country for 12 months or more means international long-term immigrant / emigrant,
- Residence outside of home country for at least three months but less than 12 months means international short-term immigrant / emigrant,
- Foreign-born population of a country as population born outside of the current country of residence,

- Foreign population of a country as population with the nationality of the home country residing in the destination country, often relating to the citizenship acquisition methods.

Anderson and Blinder (2015:5), in their paper on migrant terminology in the UK, consider that "the definition of 'migrant' is not simply a technical problem, but has an important effect on migration data and analysis generated as such". The authors explain how this is the result of variations in terms of legislation, datasets and public debates. According to the legislation, migrants are differentiated into those with 'right to abode' (British citizens, a small minority of the Commonwealth and momentarily, the EU citizens), and those 'subjected to immigration control' (who require permission to enter and reside in the country). When it comes to datasets, migrants vary by:

Country of birth ('foreign-born')	--> Migrant by country of birth[2] excludes foreign-born people who already attained British citizenship as they are no longer legally considered to be migrants.
Nationality ('foreign-national')	--> Migrant by nationality[3] implies challenging conceptualisations, as nationality comprises of legal and/or social (cultural) affinity[4] modifications.
Length of stay ('long-term international migrant')	--> Migrant by length of stay[5] is commonly utilized in policy studies. It poses operationalisation difficulties given: (a) the undetermined length of stay for most individuals arriving in UK as data is based on the individual's intention, rather than what the migrant actually does;

[2] The migrant by country of birth is characteristic for datasets such as the Labour Force Survey (LFS) and the Annual Population Survey (APS).
[3] The migrant by nationality is characteristic for datasets obtained from National Insurance Number (NINo) applications.
[4] The authors refer to self-reported nationality instances.
[5] The migrant by length of stay is characteristic for data obtained from the International Passenger Survey (IPS), data often analysed by the Office for National Statistics (ONS).

(b) the lack of data regarding the departure from UK (the actual period of stay remains unknown; only when the legal right to stay expires it is known);

(c) And the fact that people who come to UK and stay for less than 12 months are not established as migrants.

Thus, measuring the migrant by country of birth, nationality and length of stay are not interchangeable, but rather mutually exclusive definitions. Also, Green et al. (2007) underline that there are multiple migrant definitions which are in common use, given the multitude of routes and times of migration. As for public debates, Anderson and Blinder (2015) mention the conflated rhetoric of various ethnic and religious minorities and migrants, and indicate that some migrant groups pose different levels of concern for the public[6].

IOM (a, n.d.:8) defines the migrant as "a person who, voluntarily and for personal reasons, moves from his or her place of origin to a particular destination with the intention to establish residence without being compelled to do so". This definition puts an emphasis on the 'voluntary' character of the individual action[7], and as such, on the intention of establishing a habitual residence[8] once at destination. Likewise, this study focuses on international regular immigrants in light of (i) duration or length of stay (accounting for temporary, long-term, and permanent migrants), (ii) nationality[9] and (iii) intention of migration (voluntary).

Various terms are utilized to refer to the international migrant, such as: diaspora member, economic migrant, asylum seeker, irregular migrant, migrant worker (or labour migrant), highly skilled professional, student, sojourner, (self-initiated or self-directed, traditional) expatriate and seasonal (guest) workers. Respectively, this study

[6] "[T]he Migration Observatory's public opinion survey research shows that members of the public who want to see immigration reduced are more likely to focus on certain types of migrants - especially 'illegal' immigrants but also asylum seekers, extended family members, and low-skilled workers among those with legal status. Other types of immigrants such as students and high-skilled workers are counted in immigration statistics, but have been of less concern in public opinion" (Anderson and Blinder, 2015:5).

[7] As opposed to involuntary/forced migration flows (the case of refugees or asylum seekers).

[8] As opposed to persons who travel temporary for religious, leisure, health or business purposes.

[9] The instances of former Romanian citizens, who have already obtained the British citizenship, yet self-report and identify themselves as Romanians.

targets the definitions of economic migrant, migrant worker and highly skilled professional migrant. The economic migrant is a person establishing a habitual residence in a foreign country with the aim of improving their quality of life (IOM a, n.d.). A migrant worker is a person engaging in remunerated activity in a country of which he or she is not a citizen. Although these two terms are often used interchangeably (IOM b, n.d.), they carry different implications as the latter restricts the use to individuals with employment as the sole purpose of movement, while the economic migrant term goes beyond the purpose of migration, integrating other economic and social aspects of life.

Considering the skill and education levels, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2010) makes a distinction between the highly skilled professionals and the low-skilled workers. Usually the highly skilled professional, given their sought-after characteristics, are subject to preferential treatment in terms of access to employment, entry to the country, length of stay and family reunifications (IOM b, n.d.). Additionally, dependent on the field of study[10], highly skilled professional migrants are also referred to as expatriates. Al Ariss (2010) explains the differences between the migrant and self-initiated[11] expatriate (SIE) terms by:

- The geographical origin and destination of the international movement --> The migrant moves from developing to developed countries, while the SIE moves from developed to developing countries.
- The forced/chosen nature of the international movement --> The migrant relocates out of necessity, while the SIE relocates willingly rather than out of necessity to the country of choice.
- The period of stay abroad --> The migrant is expected to travel for longer periods, while the SIE is seen to have a more temporariness in their choice.

[10] Whilst sociology literatures utilise preponderantly the highly skilled professional migrant term, fields such as career or international human resource management predominantly utilise the expatriate term.
[11] As opposed to the traditional expatriate who is assigned by the organisation on international assignments, the 'new' expatriate initiates the travel (Myers and Pringle, 2005).

- The symbolic status of 'migrant' and 'SIE' in a host country --> The migrant often brings along negative connotations ('the inferior other'), while the SIE often brings positive connotations implied by similarity with the host country nationals.

Considering all these aspects, this study does not utilise the expatriate term as it underrepresents the diversity of international migrants. Likewise, the expatriate term presents attributes which are already incorporated within the highly skilled migrant discourse. To sum it up, this research focuses on voluntary international migrants, who are currently living and working, employed in high-/low-skill jobs as either workers or professionals in the UK.

2.1.1. Migrant as economic role

Based on the origin of the international movement and perpetuation of international migration process, Massey et al. (1993) catalogue the theoretical approaches useful for comprehending the forces behind contemporary international migration.

The origin of international movement theories comprises of: neoclassical economics, the new economics of migration, the dual labour market and the world system. The neoclassical economics theory is the oldest and most established international migration theory. It explains migration through labour supply and demand curves (at macro level, as exchanges between capital-rich and capital-poor countries) and through the 'individual choice' model (at micro level, as the individual is considered a rational actor who decides to migrate on the basis of a cost-benefit estimation). In other words, the neoclassic economics theory deems that "international migration is conceptualized as a form of investment in human capital" (Massey et al., 1993:434).

The new economics of migration supposes that the decisions to migrate are not taken by isolated individual actors, but collectively as units of related people – the decision to migrate is taken at family or household level. Unlike the neoclassical, it attributes relevance to other types of market failures (not just the labour market) and reasons that

the household motivation for migration goes beyond the absolute income improvement (often searching to increase the relative income of the household and reduce the relative deprivation within their reference group).

The dual labour market considers that the motivation for migration is the pull factor of industrial (developed) countries, given the demand and necessity for low-wage workers (Piore, 1988). As such the labour market divides into – the primary sector which concentrates the high-wage jobs, largely occupied by the natives of the host country. And the secondary sector which concentrates the low-wage jobs which is predominated or disproportionately represented by migrants. Lastly, the world system theory relates to the globalisation phenomenon as "the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral non-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad" (Massey et al., 1993:444).

The perpetuation of international migration comprises of: network, institutional, cumulative causation and migration system theories. The network theory focuses on the social capital (the foreign or native interpersonal ties) which the migrant utilises in order to travel and access the labour market. The theory refers to the declining costs of travelling and the declining risks associated with migration given easy access to migrant networks and employment on the international labour market. The institutional theory relates to an imbalance between those willing to migrate and the barriers instituted to deter mobility. Therefore, it is about the emergence of lucrative entrepreneurial, licit or illicit, international migrant supportive institutions (e.g. transport companies, smugglers). The theory of cumulative causation considers migration to be a self-sustaining process, affecting both the origin and destination countries. In other words, it revolves around the domino effect of international migration: a) implying that if a member migrates, others are bound to follow and join at the same destination; and b) inferring the transnational impact (social modifications) for both origin and destination. Lastly, the migration systems theory integrates the previous three perspectives on migration, postulating the creation of 'stable migration systems' as ways to explain the degree of intensity exchanges in terms of goods, people and capitals between certain countries.

All these theories stand to explain the migration dynamics as a causal process which induces international movement. The neoclassical economics theory implies that the decision to migrate is taken at an individual level, given the wage differentials between countries. The new economics of migration infers that migration is a decision taken at household level, as a means of dealing with market imperfections and local economic constraints – members of the household opt for migration as a way of helping those back home through remittances. The dual labour market assumes that migration is an issue of both demand and supply, a formal recruitment process rather than individual choice, as migrants are channelled into specific occupations controlled and structured by the host country. The world system theory considers aspects such as colonial relationships, language similarities, and transportation / communication links between the countries influence international migration by guiding individuals towards global cities which are rich in foreign investments.

The network theory postulates that previous migration experiences or being related to someone who has previously travelled increases the propensity to migrate. As such, the network connections represent the buffers of the individual in dealing with (a) institutional barriers such as obtaining legal papers or avoiding deportation, as well as, (b) migration costs including learning and adaptation to the new culture, cost of travel, and access to employment. The institutional theory focuses on the exploitation of migrants in lucrative niches created by entrepreneurs or employers which facilitate international migration, and the ways in which the receiving institutions develop and determine the immigration process. The cumulative causation theory is indifferent to the level at which the decision is taken (be it at individual or household level) while focusing on the social impact of international migration at community level (especially in the case of origin rural localities). The migration systems theory builds upon the causal factors which determine the permanence of emigration international inflows.

Accordingly, these theories inform this research by illuminating the migrant economic role. Firstly, the theories acknowledge the economic diversity involved in attracting and managing foreign labour. Secondly, in order to explain the place (role) of the migrant on the host labour market's hierarchy, each postulate various assumptions regarding

the importance of the level at which the decision to migrate is taken (individual, household, community), and the relevance of the host country's institutions which might encourage or restrain mobility. Finally, they discuss international migration as a macro process dealing with human capital in- and outflows between countries.

The human capital theory refers to the individual's characteristics and capacities relevant for the attainment of occupational and economic mobility. From the labour economy perspective, Acemoglu and Autor (2011) consider human capital to be the set of skills and characteristics that increase the worker's productivity. As such, human capital is a valued resource from which the employer and organization benefit, and the key resource which empowers the individual's upward economic mobility on the labour market. Most human capital is a transferable resource across jobs, firms and industries (Kwon, 2009). The most common sources of human capital are innate ability (such as IQ and health condition), education (as in schooling and quality of schooling), training (post-schooling acquired skills), pre-labour influences (cultural / social identity and parental environment) and experience (professional competence and attitude towards working). When it comes to occupational upward mobility from low-wage or low-skill jobs, studies show that most frequently age, gender, marital status, ethnicity, skills and education affect the mobility and labour market outcomes (Gautié and Schmitt, 2010; Kalleberg, 2006).

This study operationalises human capital as the objective (systemic, institutional and labour market-determined) resource of the migrant individual. Dependent on the individual socio-demographics and social background, the migrant accesses, navigates and advances on the foreign labour market. In other words, if international migration theories outlay the structural background of various economic roles of the migrant, the human capital theory embodies the structural instrument necessary to obtain occupational mobility on the foreign labour market. The occupational dynamics can be explained through the unobserved heterogeneity mechanism, as individuals with similar human capitals end up on different labour market positions and with different positions on the wage distribution. For example, when it comes to labour market mechanisms of human capital allocation, Acemoglu and Autor (2011) present the following

explanations: (a) compensating differentials, as a job can be deemed satisfactory even if low paid given a trade-off between money and certain job characteristics (e.g. less money but a longer lunch break); (b) 'labour market imperfections', as each job requires a certain level of productivity[12] which corresponds to a certain wage (e.g. two individuals with similar human capital earn dissimilar wages); and (c) 'taste-based discrimination' as the employer choose to pay less based on prejudice such as gender or ethnicity. To sum it up, although this thesis focuses on the individual perspective of international migration, it accounts for the structural processes which 1) influence the decision to migrate and 2) indicate the main routes of occupational dynamics.

Recent studies (Zorlu, 2016; Fellini and Guetto, 2018; Fellini et al., 2018; Chiswick and Miller, 2005, 2008) discuss the international migrant occupational mobility as a U-shape pattern. Correspondingly, the occupational status of the migrant declines shortly after arrival at the destination, but after acquiring country-specific capitals (i.e. human, cultural and occupational) the migrant's status increases. These studies explain the migrant occupational U-shape as the mismatch between origin and host countries in terms of employment and migration policies, and labour market differentials, as well as, migrant employability capitals (language proficiency, education). In this sense, the initial occupational decline experienced by the migrant is the result of both imperfect international transfer of occupational skills and immigration barriers (i.e. lack of specific permits or licences, language deficiencies). In time, as the migrant gets familiar with the destination country environment / culture / labour market, he or she experiences recovery or upgrading, given the performance of occupational statuses similar to the natives. Not only do these studies suggest that there might be a clear temporal character to the migrant occupational U-shape which is unexplored due to data availability limitations, but they also indicate that most non-Western migrants in Western Europe are initially pushed in the second labour market jobs, irrespective of the transferability of human capital.

[12] However, as pointed out by Llyod and Payne (2016), labour market structures might mean that some highly educated individuals may be destined to jobs which do not utilise their skills because there are simply not enough jobs at that skill level to go around (as the case of graduate under-utilisation in the UK).

Correspondingly, what appears to be detrimental to the recovery and upgrading of the migrant's occupational status is the acquirement of educational degrees and employment experiences at destination. The faster the migrant makes investments in the county-specific capital, the faster the migrant experiences occupational upwards mobility. Aspects of Eastern European migrant in the UK upward mobility patterns induced by achieving higher education degrees at origin are further detailed in section 2.2.3. Alike, studies such as Aleksyska and Tritah (2013), and Wassermann et al. (2017) explore the migrant occupation-education mismatch arguing that over-qualification leads to lower levels of job satisfaction, especially in the case of those who already identify with host society. Therefore, the occupational outcomes of migrants are not only due to individual human capital characteristics, but also a matter of selection process based on eligibility practices and anti-discrimination policies.

2.1.2. Migrant as social role

Given the interdisciplinary angle, this thesis employs the life course scholarship in order to define the migrant social role. According to Clausen (1986:2) "life course is, by definition, a progression through time". The paradigm aims to explain the relationships and interactions between multiple dimensions (biological, psychological and social) and spheres (family, work, education, leisure and others) of the individual's life.

There are three main theoretical perspectives on life course: socialization, adaptation and developmental. Socialization stresses the importance of demands imposed by other members of the society upon the individual. Adaptation refers to how individuals cope with various circumstances and events which demand alternative responses from the habitual routines, leading to the modification of life strategies and behaviour. The developmental theme focuses on the events that unfold and determine the growth process of the individual from youth to adulthood. Consequently, the scope of life course theory is to account for the interaction of all three perspectives given various life stages and historical periods (Clausen, 1986).

Accordingly, the main research life course themes: a) goals and life purposes that focuses on the pursuit of self-fulfilment and self-realization; b) life stress and

adaptation that focuses on the social or institutional barriers which force the individual into unwanted or unconventional situations; and c) identity that focuses on the sense of who the individual is and what they stand for (ibid.). In the context of this thesis, these life course themes are interpreted as:

A. *Migration is embedded in the broader life plans and goals of individuals*. By looking into the manner in which migrants experience their occupational career and strive for (self-initiated) success, in the context of the East to West, developing to developed, Romania to the UK international migration.
B. *The new society and environment (the UK) require the migrant to cope with new social situations and occupational settings*. In this sense, in light of pre-migration occupational outcomes, adaptation refers to the forces which shape the migrant's career while abroad.
C. *The sense of occupational identity, given the performance of the 'migrant' role, gets to be redefined*. In other words, accounting for the possible discrepancies between what the person claims to be, what they prove to be and what they want to be occupationally.

As such, this thesis incorporates the life course paradigm as it "seeks to integrate action-oriented and structure-oriented perspectives, and to examine *the reciprocal interaction* between personal action and social structures" (Settersten, 2003:30; emphasis by the author). This research draws on models of agency within structures, aiming to explain how the changing contexts of the migrant lives shape their occupational development; where development is both multidirectional (concomitantly taking place at different levels and dimensions of life, incurring both gains and loses within the various areas of functioning) and lifelong (as every single life period is equally important to the other, each bringing unique life experiences).

Elder Jr and Johnson (2003:54) deem that life course is contextualism as "age-graded life patterns [that] are embedded in social structures and historical change". Extrapolating, when discussing life course certain factors need to be considered: life patterns, social structures and history. Starting with the latter, historical time and place are essential, as they signal the cultural and societal changes (events) which mould each

generation[13] through the sharing of common values[14] and issues[15]. Moreover, the historical time accounts for the social time "as the set of norms that specify when particular life transitions or accomplishments are expected to occur in a particular society or social milieu" (Clausen, 1986:2). To rephrase, life course means a historical perspective comprising the timing and scheduling[16] of life stages and events. Besides, the timing of events brings together the past and the present, as the individual selects the social environments and constructs their own life course[17].

Occupational trajectories, as well as, career transitions are part of the human life, hence should be understood within the broader social context and not isolated from the other life spheres. Studying lives in context implies: (a) subjective interpretations of life course (personal agency), (b) links between environment (societal) and individual changes, and (c) the assertion of the complexity of lives and contexts (Elder Jr and Johnson, 2003). The social context creates opportunities and constraints, which in turn shape the individual's response towards these. Subsequently, transitions represent viable sites of social research as they encompass the goals of the individual, the experiences across various times and spaces, and the social norms and cultural environments which bear impact upon decision-making processes and behaviour.

In terms of social structure, at the individual level, the discussion lies with the characteristics and modes of acquiring social roles. According to Clausen (1986:27) roles are "sets of norms or standards that apply to the expected behaviour of categories of persons in their relationship with others". Usually, different roles are concomitantly interlinked, as the individual at any given time holds family, career and community roles. Given the socialization process, the performance of each social role is dependent on knowledge (what is expected), ability (meeting the requirements) and motivation (the pursuit of the goal appropriate for the role).

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[13] Also defined as cohorts, "a group that moves along together through the life course and thus experiences historical events at about the same age" (Clausen, 1986:8). Usually, the cohort term is used in quantitative methods and large datasets studies.

[14] The period effect (e.g. the scheduling of marriages specific to the 20th century).

[15] The cohort effect (e.g. the differences in mortality rates between early and late 20th century cohorts).

[16] The life stage represents a single step or period in a progression / sequence (Clausen, 1986).

[17] As "where we have been in our lives tells a story of who we are" (Elder Jr and Johnson, 2003:75).

In reference to adult life, two key roles present an influential force in life course, namely: occupational career and marital-family roles. The latter speaks of the importance of family cycle which shapes the individual's life course, from childhood to adulthood, from early years to marriage, followed by upbringing children and the 'empty nest' phase. The family history often influences the individual's career choices and trajectories, as the "pattern of mutual influence when husbands and wives have had similar work careers-similarity in lifetime work" (Henretta, 2003:97). Moreover, events in the life of one family member, such as health problems or international migration, have significant impact on the other family members (ibid.).

The occupational career speaks of work roles and other roles given that "careers are sequences of related roles – social strands of a life course – in which persons invest themselves or are thrust" (Clausen, 1986:30). Careers can be coherent, continuous or can be packed with shifts (ups and downs). Whatever type of occupational transitions, even the most extreme changes (e.g. medic becoming a musician) are just sequences of related work roles belonging to the individual's career. Continuous types of careers are usually found with highly skilled individuals (given the internal progression structures of large corporations and governmental agencies), while the 'shifting' career is usually assigned to less skilled individuals. Ultimately, the occupational career carries explanations in terms of life-style, economic well-being and sense of identity. Evidently, during lifetime, the individual acquires and loses occupational roles. Depending on the character, roles can either be institutional (presenting formal expectations) or tenuous – presenting positions outside the formal structures, opened to negotiation, which can be either honorific (e.g. winning an Olympic medal) or devalued (e.g. the transition from employed to unemployed).

Accounting for these aspects, the life course is appropriate in the study of migrant occupational career as migration is a "dynamic process rather than a status quo at a given point in time" (Trevena, 2013:170). Additionally, migration is a total process, historically constructed and politically empowering – which reasons that the approach to migration changes throughout time (each era presenting its own understanding and management of the process). However, what makes for continuity and discontinuity,

what makes for orderly or disruptive transitions, how they come about and are dealt with, are topics seldom referred to in the life course literature (Clausen, 1986; Settersten, 2003). By opting for a life course approach to the migrant career, the importance of life history in terms of understanding the current behaviour and predicting future development is highlighted – even more so, if aiming to explain how changing structures affect individual development (Henretta, 2003).

Rather than assigning to the individual a multiplicity of social roles, Settersten (2003) reasons that each of the key life spheres (i.e. work, education, family) presents its own trajectory or pathway. As with social roles, these trajectories are interdependent, each presenting roles which either coordinate with one another or are asynchronous (as demands of one life sphere are incompatible with other). According to Elder (1998 apud Settersten, 2003:24, emphasis by the author) "the concept of a life *trajectory*, or pathway, is similar to that of a career". However, the career fails to account for the individual's historical context and lifespan period / stage (Elder Jr and Johnson, 2003).

Life trajectories are manifest through life events, transitions and turning points. An event is conceptualised as an abrupt, brief in scope, change of a state. A transition, although brief in scope, usually denotes a gradual change, involving the acquisition and relinquishing of roles. A turning point explains the shifts in trajectory or their discontinuous-ness[18] in form. Consequently, life trajectories are analysed in terms of:

- Timing --> The age at which the events take place.
- Sequencing --> The order in which events and experiences occur.
- Spacing --> The amount of time between two or more life events.
- Density --> The compression of events within a given period of time.
- Duration --> The length of time of a particular experience or role.

During lifetime, various trajectory changes occur through transitions. Some of these changes are inferred by macro structures, through societal transformation (i.e. the fall

[18] "This discontinuity may be 'objectively' defined as such by a researcher who has examined the shape of the trajectory, or it may be 'subjectively' defined as such by the person who has experienced it" (Settersten, 2003:25).

of regimes, economic booms / depressions, wars), while some are micro level changes, given various life transitions (i.e. changes in marital or employment status). In terms of directionality, some micro level changes are linked or even caused by the macro level, while others are not (e.g. death of the main income earner of a household). To sum it up, the life course proposes explanations regarding sequences of adaptations to events and circumstances, as patterns of continuity (stability) intertwined with discontinuity[19] (change). While some transitions are deemed orderly (continuous and extend across life), others are disruptive (unique for certain periods and/or irregular over time).

Moreover, the influences which affect the performance of coping[20] and success in a specific role are:

- Biological, the physiological endowment of the person;
- The sources of socialisation, in terms of support and life orientation;
- Environmental (social class, age, sex, ethnic group and social network) and historical (societal changes);
- Individual efforts (commitment) to achieve the set goal.

Although the social structure influences what the individual can do, and success is not always a guarantee, there is always an element of intentionality – especially, as the individual mobilises to pursue the goal (Clausen, 1986). Correspondingly, this study interprets the occupational career as being embedded in the individual's lifelong trajectory (as the sequences of transitions) and interlinked with other life spheres (e.g. education and family), in terms of life stage and the historical time.

[19] "'Discontinuity' may refer to a notable shift in levels of functioning or the emergence of qualitatively distinct forms of functioning" (Settersten, 2003:18).
[20] "Successful adaptation is frequently called coping" (Clausen, 1986:38).

2.2. Eastern European migrants in the UK

Over the last two decades, globalisation has brought massive economic and structural changes alongside increased population migration. According to the World Bank (WB) (2006) 3% of the world's population, roughly 175 million people are international migrants. By 2013, the number of international migrants reached 232 million people (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, UN DESA, 2013). Overall, Europe hosts over 72 million international migrants, attracting an estimate of 1 million per year, out of which 43% is born on the same continent (ILO, 2010). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2013) states that the main immigrant destinations countries[21] in Europe are: Germany (9.8 million), the UK (7.8 million), France (7.5 million) and Spain (6.5 million). For Europe, the international migration trend is characterised by waves from developing, southern, low income countries to developed, northern, high income countries (ILO, 2010). Correspondingly, this trend is often referred to as the East to West migration.

In the UK, significant amount of migration literature focuses on the Eastern European population and the East to West migration (Burrell, 2010). Usually, Eastern European countries are referred to as nations that share similar political histories which have transitioned from socialism to post-socialism. These comprise the EU8 post-2004 Accession countries (Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia), and EU2 post-2007 Accession countries (Bulgaria and Romania). Correspondingly, studies looked into explanations and consequences of the EU enlargement (Wallace, 2002; Favell, 2008), and at EU8 immigration flows characteristics and impact on the labour market (Spencer et al., 2007; Gillingham, 2010).

According to Vargas-Silva and Markaki (2015), in the UK the estimated population of EU-born immigrants is 3 million. By 2017, 3.7 million EU-born migrants were residing in

[21] Correspondently, these four European countries are amongst the ten countries in the world, as half of all international migrants relocate to these destinations (OECD-UN DESA, 2013).

the UK, out of which 2.4 million were active on the labour market, including both employees and self-employed workers (Vargas-Silva and Fernández-Reino, 2018). Vertovec (2006) explains that if in the post-war period, immigration in UK was mainly predominated by New Commonwealth migrants, while post-1990, in light of the new European migrant inflows, the UK is experiencing 'super-diversity' – acquiring a multiplicity of nationalities, religions, languages, cultures, social practices associated with the arrival of these 'new immigrants'. Emphasizing the 'super-diversity' of current cosmopolitan spaces, Vertovec (2006) expresses the need for research particular to the new immigrants when it comes to secondary migration patterns (individuals with multiple migration to various destinations) and to patterns of inequality, transnationalism and integration.

In respect to the conceptual meaning of 'Eastern European' in British research, the 'monolithic post-socialism' theoretical interpretation, often results in the exclusion of theoretical variance. Stenning and Hörschelmann (2008) consider such practices to represent geographies of knowledge production. Accordingly, the authors point out the following three main concerns: 1) the limited knowledge and understanding of experiences and lives of those originating from that region, 2) the tendency to marginalise the non-western experiences in the context of globalisation and 3) the overall theoretical limitation in the interpretation of the concepts. This is congruent with the exponential academic attention given to Polish migrants in light of their significant migration in-flow post-2004 (Burell, 2010; Knight, 2014; Düvell, 2004).

Yet, despite the academic interest on Eastern Europeans in UK, little is known when it comes to Romanian migrants. One of the explanations lies with the existence of access restrictions to the UK's labour market until fairly recently (1st of January 2014). Another reason is complexity and diversity of post-1989 Romanian migration patterns, ranging from different stages (from asylum-permanent to circular-temporary) and different key destinations – including Israel, Hungary, Turkey, Germany, Canada, Greece, Portugal, Cyprus. Currently, the Romanian population is considered to be:

- The largest national EU immigrant group with an estimate of 2 million migrants (Koikkalainen, 2011);

- The most mobile[22] EU nationality migrant force (Eurostat, 2011);
- The second most dominant Eastern European immigrant population in UK[23] (UN DESA, 2013);
- The fourth emigrant population in Europe – being preceded, in the following order, by the UK, Poland and Germany. Nonetheless, amongst them, Romania presents the highest emigration rate at 12.7[24] recording significant increases in percentage points, acquiring (+8.3) since 2000.

Romania presents the fourth highest emigration rate in Europe[25] (OECD-UN DESA, 2013). The main two destination countries for the Romanian migrants are Italy and Spain. The preference for these destinations is the result of, early 2000, access to the foreign labour markets as a result of multiple bilateral agreements (Lăzăroiu, 2003; Lăzăroiu and Alexandru, 2005; Boboc et al., 2012; ILO, 2015) and given the language similarity (Romanian is a Latin language). Both destinations have been well-documented in research examining migrant population characteristics (Sandu et al., 2004; 2006), migrant identity (Andronic, 2008), transnational practices and development at the origin (Alexandru, 2012; Avramescu, 2009; Vlase, 2011), and migrant impact on the destination's labour market and society (Anghel, 2008; 2012). However, returning to the relevance of studying Romanian migrants in the UK context, the Centre for Economic Performance (CEP) (2014) consider that after 2013, the top three immigrant countries to the UK were India, the United States and Romania.

Studies on Romanian migrants in the UK (Paraschivescu, 2011; Torre, 2013; Rolfe et al., 2013) have begun to emerge given their presence on the UK labour market. Nevertheless, Markova and Black (2007) reason that the Eastern European 'new migrants' requires further attention, especially the EU2 and non-EU population (such as Albania or Ukraine). Whereas, Alberti (2014) indicates that there is limited research

[22] Mobile refers to the geographical movement of Romanian nationals, both in terms of emigration and return migration. In other words, Romanian nationals present a high tendency for spatial mobility, as individuals move from one foreign country to another.
[23] The Polish are the dominant Eastern European immigrant population in UK.
[24] In terms of emigration rates, the UK records 6.5, Poland records 8.9, and Germany records 4.2.
[25] Preceded by Albania (28.7), Ireland (16.1) and Portugal (14.2).

explaining the EU8 and EU2 disproportionate migrant distribution in low-wage jobs, as well as limited research exploring the migrant experiences of occupational mobility.

2.2.1. The EU–UK migration regulations

The EU migration regulations determine the basis on which its citizens, who choose to migrate, get to access rights and entitlements. The UK migration regulations determine which EU migrants' access its labour market and schedules their access.

Extant literature describes how international migrants end up in low-wage, low-skilled or high-wage, highly-skilled jobs at the destination's labour market. The occupational outcomes are often interpreted as the result of 'the migrant' status. For example, the migration and employment policies define the status of the migrant – and as such, discuss migrant types such as illegal, undocumented (Vittin-Balima, 2002), temporary (Lenard and Straehle, 2010) or refugee migrants active on the destination's local labour markets. They confer the difficulties in accessing better jobs once at destination, based on age and race discrimination (Pemberton and Scullion, 2013). Additionally, when it comes the occupational downgrading of Eastern European migrants, Danzer and Dietz (2014) explain it as the result of the EU migration policy insufficiencies in assuring the transferability of skills once at destination. Simply, the issue of skill transferability relates to the lack of uniformity in trainings and courses offered for certain qualifications / degrees, implying difficulties in skill validation.

Mantu (2013) considers that EU migration law is reliant on clock time[26], presenting time limits which require compliance in order to acquire legal status and the accompanying rights. Subsequently, the author explains that in accordance with the EU migration policy, when it comes to access of rights and entitlements, it primarily relates to the work-time[27] of the migrant, and secondarily by residence-time[28] at the host country. Moreover, the EU citizenship and the national (state) citizenship, is first and foremost

[26] Clock time is the standard usage in studies of EU legislative decision-making and studies analysing the choice and impact of deadlines in the enlargement process" (Mantu, 2013:448).
[27] Period of work abroad.
[28] Period of residence abroad.

defined through work[29]. Congruently, Chauvin et al. (2013:82) concur that migration policies present a conflicting reality – as policymakers place work at the core of the migrant's legal merit, and at the same time, they are "striving to limit migrants' employment opportunities as a way to circumscribe their fuller access to civil rights".

Menz (2011) explains how UK's migration policies came to be liberalised as a result of (a) European competiveness practices (as in the case of 'talent', highly skilled migration schemes[30]) and (b) structural factors of the political economy. Namely, the UK liberal market economy presents pronounced wage disparities and relies on low-wage / low-skill labour – which reinforces the need for migrant labour. Accordingly, the actors who lobbied for the liberalisation of migration were the UK employer associations and the government. The employers were faced with labour shortages of both skill set (high- or low-skilled) and skill specificity (general or sector). By 2000, due to these shortages, the work permit scheme (the former Overseas Labour Service) broadened in skill coverage, while the requirements for those who held tertiary degrees and work experience were loosened. By 2001, the Home Office becomes responsible for work permits. This reform aimed to limit the low-skill migration schemes in the light of the 2004 EU enlargement, in light of the expected central and eastern European migration inflow. At the same time, the reform aimed to maximize the high-skill migration schemes (point-based system, reflecting qualifications and market shortages).

In other words, the post-2004 UK migration policies for Eastern European migrants were established on the premise of "the unimpeded labour market access for EU8 citizens would serve as a labour supply pool for low-skill jobs" (Menz, 2011:544). In 2005, the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), Trade Union Congress (TUC) and Home Office, in a joint press release (apud Menz, 2011) encourage the EU8 migration inflow to the UK. Both CBI and TUC are active decision-makers, as their representatives bring recommendations to Home Office's biannual panel sessions[31]. However, in 2008, due to the economic recession, the interest for 'new migrants' somewhat faded as all

[29] "Work is supposed to provide the key to citizenship since it allows individual citizens to participate in and make a productive contribution to society, in return for which they can claim access to social insurance rights" (Mantu, 2013:451).
[30] Such as: the 2001 'Highly Skilled Migrants Programme' or the 2000 'Innovator's Scheme'.
[31] Sessions organised by the Immigration and Nationality Directorate.

parties agreed on the labour market ban of Romanians and Bulgarians (EU2). Just in 2014 were the EU2 citizens granted no restrictions on the UK labour market, as they were no longer under obligation to register for the Worker Authorisation Scheme[32].

The EU migration policy via the European Commission regulates the transference of professional qualifications across national borders. The system is based on mutual recognition – in other words, facilitating within the EU context the recognition and transferability of qualifications across national borders. Before 2002, there were two recognition systems: the individual professional sectors and general systems directives. Both systems establish the minimum training / qualifications / education period requirements for each job specialisation. Once such requirements were listed, the EU member states were required to recognize the qualifications[33].

Van Riemsdijk (2013) considers[34] that the sectoral directives presented obstacles that hindered the free of movement in the EU, as:

(i) The recognition of qualification was cumbersome, a long process;
(ii) The evaluation of the directives was an expensive and lengthy process;
(iii) The EU member states were apprehensive of the fact that although the professional qualification requirements were formalized, the actual skill and knowledge of the migrant was not assessed[35];
(iv) The sectoral directive did not cover new specialisations, being aimed at the recognition of higher education diplomas.

All the professions which were not covered in the sectoral directives fell under the general system directive. This system presumed that if an individual is qualified (meets the minimum requirements) for a job in one of the member state, then the same individual is qualified for the same job in any other member state. However, after 2004,

[32] Accession migration regulation applied solely to EU2 nationals, which restricted the access to the UK labour market for a five-year transitional period, between 2007 to 2011 (Explanatory Memorandum to the Accession – Immigration and Worker Authorisation Regulations 2006).
[33] Concomitantly, the directives restricting the right of a member state to refuse any applicant who meets the requirements.
[34] Study focusing on the cross-border mobility of nurses in the EU.
[35] The sectoral directives "also failed to check if a person regularly updated his or her professional skills" (Van Riemsdijk, 2013:53).

given the different education systems of the EU8 and EU2 countries, the process of mutual recognition of qualifications became more complex (ibid.). In 2005, directive 2005/36/EC was implemented, with the aim to simplify the professional recognition system and to encourage the free movement of individuals across borders. This directive integrates the previous two systems – the sectoral and the general directives – into a singular system of professional qualifications recognition. Nevertheless, the underlining principles did not change, and the complexity of the process made it difficult to access and utilise it. The directive 2005/36/EC does not incorporate aspects of continued education, which are vital given the rapid technological and scientific advances. Or, by that matter, it does not deal with sensitive issues such as the trust of skills and training programs between EU member states. Moreover, it fails to synchronize training standards across EU (Van Riemsdijk, 2013).

2.2.2. Eastern Europeans migrants on the UK labour market

Essentially, the migrant experiences the labour market quite differently than both stayers (at the origin country) and natives (at the destination country). One of the most common explanations is that those who migrate are subject to strong push factors (such as poverty, unemployment, low wages or discrimination) in correspondence with strong pull factors (potential improvement of standard of living, prospect of higher wages and personal/professional development) (Mansoor and Quillin, 2007). For these individuals the labour market expands beyond the national boarders, spreading across countries and/or continents – an international labour supply, representing the global workforce that assembles on the western labour markets (McDowell et al., 2008). Yet, although great distances are travelled to achieve a better quality of life, a higher social status and happiness (Bartram 2012, 2013), majority of the migrants end up working at the bottom-end of the labour market (Green et al., 2007; UKCES, 2011).

The emergence of migrant labour market concentrations (Patacchini and Zenou, 2012; Kawata and Sato, 2011; Logan et al., 2002) illustrate that the propensity of migrants to low-wage markets is higher than that of natives (Rienzo, 2013; Bernat and Viruela, 2011;

Ellis et al., 2007; Pocock and Skinner, 2012). When it comes to occupational dynamics, requirements and opportunities, the native tends to possess the skills and is knowledgeable in navigating the labour market. The migrant usually enters the foreign labour market lacking the requisite knowledge regarding such occupational structures, as the country of origin is often characterized by different employment relations systems (Badea et al., 2011; Beciu, 2012). Consequently, these differences between native and migrant are reproduced in the economic landscapes of the destination country. The labour market concentrations (density of migrant workers and migrant employers in certain location) often imply labour market niches (Wright and Ellis, 2000).

The migrants represent the latest entries in the secondary sector, low-wage jobs, where women and other ethnic minorities already predominate (Portes and Manning, 2008). As such the newly arrived migrants, unlike the rest of workers in the secondary sector, given their lack of knowledge and experience, their legal vulnerability and innate economic motivation, are recruited at the bottom of the destination's labour market (ibid.; McDowell et al., 2008; Alberti, 2014). Moreover, their occupational role on the host labour market is defined by the human capital resources, as employers search for high productivity and low labour costs.

Looking into the migrant labour market concentrations in terms of recruitment and skill acquisition practices, Bailey and Waldinger (1991) explain that the migrant labour market is imbued with high levels of solidarity as tight social networks (e.g. family or close friends) fuel the labour supply and offer; while the native labour market tends to depend on the external sources of recruitment. Also, the migrant labour market does not present so clearly defined internal structures as the native markets (aside from low wages and restricted mobility, and 'off the books' benefits such as informal training). Despite all of these factors, the migrant labour market does not necessarily lack in upward economic mobility, but it can take different forms than progression on the native labour market, such as entrepreneurism and the setting up of small businesses. In regards to the transition from migrant employee / worker to entrepreneur or business owner, Bloch and McKay (2014) identifies two main routes into business, namely the pre-existence of a family business (family inheritance) and the local

opportunities, as most of migrant businesses cater for the local migrant community. Moreover, the authors point out that the primary motivation for choosing the business route is blocked labour market mobility. Usually, after having some experience as a migrant worker, the individual learns that migrant occupations present very few opportunities for progression and that the jobs are predominantly in low-wage, low-skill sectors. Hence, entrepreneurship becomes the route to career advancement.

Accordingly, the following factors determine the migrant's occupational outcome and dynamic on the host labour market:

- The social cohesion of the minority reflects in their economic mobility (the more cohesive, the more human resources, capital and knowledge, the likelier the economic success) (Portes and Manning, 2008). Alberti (2014) argues that it might for the sole reason of companionship that international migrants end up concentrating on the low-wage sectors of London's labour market.
- The lack of economic mobility of the newly arrived migrant lies with the language barrier, rather than discrimination on behalf of the native employers (Portes and Manning, 2008; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009). Evidence shows that language proficiency often translates in better employment and higher earnings for migrants (Dustmann and Fabbri, 2003). The migrant's self-assessment of language proficiency impacts the economic outcomes at destination (Akresh and Frank, 2011). When it comes to migrants in the UK, language proficiency is the second most relevant (first, being educational attainment) when it comes obtaining occupational success (Shields and Price, 2002).
- The non-recognition of foreign education and professional qualifications (IER, 2009) compels skilled migrants to enter the low-wage jobs (UKCES, 2011).
- Mixed findings regarding the migrant network effects. On one hand, positive effects (Ban, 2009; Seidlova and Urban, 2014) such as employment opportunities and support are conferred by the individual's social capital abroad. On the other hand, negative effects (Wang, 2004), such as limiting the range of opportunities, can be encountered at destination as a result of the migrant network.

- The attachment and high frequency connection with 'back home' tend to interfere with the migrant's adaptive process, affecting their economic experience and mobility (Badea et al., 2011).

These aspects influence the way in which the migrant navigates the labour market. On the UK labour market, Markova and Black (2007:33) conclude that Eastern European migrants usually either get trapped in low-wage jobs with little prospect of advancement or become isolated in the ethnic labour market, living in migrant neighbourhoods, with very few opportunities of assimilation in the broader society. In effect, these may explain the wage differentials between natives and migrants (Zhou and Logan, 1989), feelings of social segregation, and the overall dissatisfaction with life as well as the obstacles for upward social mobility (Bartram, 2013). However, Logan et al. (2002:321) note that "the process in which both the neighbourhood and the niche job are avoided or left behind by successful group members is not universal". In short, the migrant neighbourhood is usually the reception area for new arrivals and the main entry point to the labour market, but this can be either a mobility 'springboard' or a mobility 'end point' (Khattab et al., 2010).

Furthermore, the distinction between high-skilled and low-skilled migrant translates into specific types of jobs for each group. The high-skilled migrant tends to obtain occupations with high social status, financially rewarding, stable, secure, safe working conditions, and opportune in terms of advancement. By contrast, the low-skilled migrant tends to land in occupations presenting low social status, financial insecurity, instability (often temporary), hazardous or dangerous working conditions, and seldom any opportunities for advancement. Moreover, the highly-skilled migrant is often viewed through the lens of 'the global race for talent' – the competition amongst developed countries over professionals. For the highly-skilled migrant, the access to the destination country is often eased by exclusive migration and employment policies (De Somer, 2012). Unlike the low-skilled migrant, who often presents dissimilar occupational trajectories than the native (Preston et al., 1998), the highly-skilled migrant given inherent characteristics of the occupation (standardised career ladders and paths) presents a similar career trajectory to the native (Portes and Manning, 2008).

Sliwa and Taylor (2011), in their study on the impact of the period of migration (under socialism and post-1989) on career trajectories of Polish individuals explain how certain macro-structural factors transcend the historical period and become ingrained at the individual level – as structural changes affect the individual's lifestyle and behaviour determining the migration and the career choices.

In terms of the recruitment of migrants into certain jobs, the role of the employer in determining the occupational outcome and performance is essential. At micro level, the employer represents the most common and direct, either positive or negative, career mobility promoter (Holzer et al., 2004; MacKenzie and Forde, 2009; Healy, 2004). At the mezzo level, the employer reflects the embodiment of the local labour market which it represents (UKCES, 2011). The employers might deter career advancement through competitive practices (Appelbaum et al., 2003), or facilitate it through on-job training and by establishing advancement opportunities (Holzer et al., 2004).

Menz (2011) deems that British employers recruit migrants based on their economic utility at both ends of the skill distribution, the low- and the high-skilled, for both primary and secondary labour market sectors. Additionally, the employer's preference for certain migrants is conditioned by the political system in which it is enacted – seeking flexible workers complementary to their specific production strategies. Alike, Anderson and Ruhs (2010:26) consider that the employer's demand for migrant labour originates from the dynamics of the supply and demand of the high-income country in light of "workers' nationality as a proxy for determining the sustainability of different groups of workers to do particular types of jobs". 'Nationality as proxy' refers to discrimination (on characteristics such as age, gender, race) and stereotyping (the generalisation of work behaviour of a particular nationality) of migrants, especially in the case of recent arrivals working in the low-wage jobs. Correspondingly, the employer develops preference for migrant labour given assumptions made about:

- The work ethic and productivity of the migrant: the availability to work long, unsocial hours; the willingness to do the job without causing any trouble, as migrants are less likely to become trade union members.

- The characteristics and restrictions attached of the immigration status of the migrant: dependent of the legal/illegal status various forms of 'migrant worker' are developed. For example, for the employer it might be difficult to retain a migrant with a temporary visa bound to expire; while "[the] immigration requirements can make it difficult for the migrants to change jobs" (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010:31).
- The national skills and over-qualification: the employer's preferences for migrants with specific cultural/language/social capitals. Or, the preference for overqualified migrants as they are thought to be 'more attractive' than the native workers (especially, in the case of low-wage sectors and occupations).
- The recruitment channels: the most common ways the migrants are recruited are via migrant networks and via job recruitment agencies.

In terms of migrant recruitment practices, Moriarty et al. (2012) explain that during periods of economic growth (2000-2008) what counted for employers of Polish migrants in Ireland were the soft skills, the work ethic, the 'looking the part' (social, cultural and aesthetic capitals) rather than the migrant's hard skills or professional credentials. MacKenzie and Forde (2009) in their case study about the low-skill European migrant UK employers, discover that the informal recruitment channels (word-of-mouth) are essential in assuring a regular supply of workers given the high turnover employee rates. In the UK, after 2004, the recruitment of European migrants into low-wage / low-skill jobs were made possible due to the changing institutional context and the competitive need to minimize labour costs. The migrants often ended up in jobs that did not utilize their skills, without much possibility for advancement. Given the 'good migrant worker' stereotyping rhetoric, the native employers tend to be partial to the EU policy directives[36] by constraining the migrant to working long-hours jobs. Consequently, Scott (2013) states the native employers' economic rationale for recruiting EU10 migrants is two-folded: 1) positively framed as the willingness of the

[36] Such as, the 'Working Time' directive which states the maximum number of work hours per week (48h).

migrant to work at the bottom of the labour market; and 2) negatively framed as the strict control and workplace intensification (undermining workplace collectivism[37]).

2.2.3. Typologies of 'East to West' migrants

The following migrant typologies are representations of the European developing to developed country international movement pattern specific to Eastern European individuals. The typologies demonstrate the plurality of migration strategies (from temporary to permanent change of residence) and forms of mobility (in light of: identity, migration goals and plans, social class, ethnicity and occupation). Overall, in the UK context, the typologies are representations of theoretical super-diversity offering an array of migrant-specific roles appropriate for Eastern European migrant.

Additionally, the typologies clarify characteristics of EU10 migrants and advocate potential lines of inquiry and theoretical development. Specifically, although insightful in establishing the connection between migration and labour market (even if just in terms of employment outcome on the destination's labour market), the typologies just scratch the surface when it comes to explaining the migrant career dynamics.

Migrant typology by duration of stay and social ties

From a qualitative approach, Düvell and Vogel (2006) focus on the connections between state categorisations (migration regulations) and the national orientation / the main motive to remain of Polish migrants in the UK. Given the presence of social ties, the national orientation refers to the country of residence preference of the migrant, while the motive to remain refers to the intended duration of migration. Correspondingly, based on the migrant's national orientation, the study distinguishes between four categories: return-orientated, emigrant / immigrant, transnational and global nomad.

The *return-oriented migrant* category represents individuals who are primarily oriented towards the origin country, presenting temporary migration intentions. These migrants

[37] According to Davies et al. (2016) low levels of trade union membership are apparent for EU10 migrants in the UK, for whom membership represents a third of the UK average. The reduced trade union membership of EU10 migrants is understood as an effect of restrictive migration policies and of replication of home-country specific behaviours / attitudes towards unions.

have strong ties at origin and usually migrate for short periods of time (between six months to a year and half). Düvell and Vogel (2006) consider this category to be typical for most Eastern European migrants, as it is commonly experienced by the majority in the initial phases of international migration. Given that the duration of migration impacts the national orientation and the intention to remain, the category subdivides into learners, travellers and target earners. The learners are migrants who search to invest in themselves, by following higher education or professional trainings in order to improve their human capital. The travellers are migrants with an advanced sense of adventure, passionate about new experiences, new places and self-development. The target earners aim for a specific financial target in order to make investments at the origin (e.g. purchase property, build a house). However, they often tend to overestimate the financial gains to be made abroad, leading "to another pattern that has been described as return illusion: the plan to return is adhered to but always postponed, so that, in the end, it may never be realised" (Düvell and Vogel, 2006:275).

The *emigrants/immigrant* category represents individuals who are primarily oriented towards the host country, presenting permanent migration intention. These migrants have strong social ties at destination. Although not a precondition, the regulated legal status of the migrant might govern this category. As such, the category distinguishes between: the economic, lifestyle and marriage. The economic migrants grab the opportunity to improve the quality of life through employment abroad. The lifestyle migrants are attracted by the cultural and social diversity of European urban centres. These migrants are often a member of various subcultures[38], such as: religious, artistic (dancers, painters, musicians) or sports. Lastly, the marriage migrants are individuals who, regardless of the initial migration motivation, acquire residence via marriage. The marriage option is par excellence one of the most common, regulated and permanent prospects for obtaining legal status outside of the country of birth.

The *transnational migrant* category represents individuals who have a long-term bi-national orientation, towards both origin and host countries. As an extension to the

[38] "There are state categories corresponding to these needs, but they address mainly the minority of people with a prominent role in their specific lifestyle scenes, and not those for whom this lifestyle has a prominent role in their life" (Düvell and Vogel, 2006:279).

temporary/permanent state regulated categories, the transnational migrants maintain strong social ties, economic and political interests in both countries. Moreover, given that these migrants often travel for long periods moving between the origin and host countries, this category has no extant legal or institutional provision.

The *global nomad* category represents individuals who are willing to migrate to various countries, for a certain period of their life. Unlike the previous categories, these migrants are not orientated towards any country in particular. Correspondingly, the nomads prefer the cosmopolitan lifestyle, are career-oriented, and have extended social and professional networks. As such, in light of the extended intentional mobility, these migrants are most likely to achieve career success.

Migrant typology by ethnicity and social class

Eade et al. (2006) present a migrant classification based on two dimensions: life changes and migration strategies. Focusing on the Polish migrants in UK, this qualitative study assesses the relation between ethnicity (understood as a relationship – migrant's perception of society) and social class (understood as inequality – discourses of individualised hierarchies of difference). As opposed to Poland, the majority of Polish migrants perceive the UK as a country with better chances and opportunities of upward mobility (high income and social status jobs). Eade et al. (2006:10) state that "their relative recent arrival led them to understand class, in contrast to the British majority, in terms of opportunities that lay ahead rather than an occupational or economic position held at present". Accordingly, the migrant is future-oriented, as their social class and their occupational statuses are but transitory and temporal (flexible, changeable).

Given the connections between the individual's migration strategy (as determinant of settlement plans and transnational activities) and the individual's perceived social class, the authors propose the following migrant categories:

- *Storks*: the circular migrants employed in low-wage and seasonal occupations. Usually travelling abroad for 2 to 6 months, this type of migration often becomes a long-term positive survival strategy. It is a positive as it offers a higher economic

status unobtainable at the origin, and it is survival given the heavy reliance on the social network at destination (often permeated by competition and distrust).

- *Hamsters:* the migrants set on a one-off 'maximizing financial capital' migration strategy (aiming to return and make financial investments at the origin country). On one hand, similar with the storks, these migrants are reliant upon the social network and usually find employment in low-wage sectors at destination. On the other hand, these migrants prefer to have longer uninterrupted stays in order to accumulate the 'target' financial capital.
- *Searchers*: the migrants with undetermined life plans. Predominantly, these migrants are the young and the ambitious, employed in jobs ranging from low-wage to high-wage sectors. Their aim is to improve the social and economic capitals at both origin and destination. Eade et al. (2006:11) characterizes the searchers by "their refusal to confine themselves to a one nation-state setting underlines their adaptation to a flexible, deregulated and increasingly transnational, postmodern capitalism labour market".
- *Stayers*: the long-term migrants keen to remain indefinitely at the destination. Seemingly, these migrants have pronounced social mobility intentions, and aim for social mobility in the new society.

In terms of social mobility, most migrants perceive migration as 'the school of life'. In terms of occupational mobility, the occupations (jobs) are often perceived as temporary yet beneficial, as long as capitals are accumulated. Moreover, most migrants (including those in low-wage jobs) perceive upward social mobility (a higher social class position). Eade et al. (2006) consider 'having a low-wage job, yet experiencing a higher social' class as a paradoxical issue, which indicates that the international migration process at individual level cannot be bound within nation-states discourses or standard occupational structures.

However, regardless to the migration strategy (characteristic to storks and hamsters) or the potential social mobility (characteristic to searchers and stayers) of the migrant, noticeable discrepancies occur between the occupation (measured as the objective class position) and the perception of social class (measured as the subjective class

position). Supposedly, the migrant establishes the meaning of class by accounting for opportunities and possibilities on the labour market, rather than through the current occupation. As such, unlike the non-migrant than have a singular social class system of reference, the migrant establishes a transnational social class, making use of multiple stratification systems in order to assert their own position in the social hierarchy.

Eade et al. (2006:15) assume that "ethnicity is an ambiguous concept since it can be both resource for assessing capital, networks and information and a source of disappointment, vulnerability and social class transgression". There are two mechanisms which induce the contestation of the migrant's ethnic identity. Firstly, the ethnic generalizations or migrant myths as mechanisms through which the migrant switches from horizontal to vertical social ties within their reference group. Secondly, the ethnic migrant labour concentrations as competitive mechanism that accounts for social inequality and economic exploitation. Accordingly, the national identity of the individual meaning the main source of social solidarity at origin, once abroad becomes the main source for social division (as some choose to disguise their identity as a means of adaptation in the host country).

Migrant typology by migration strategy, motivation and identity

Düvell and Garapich (2009) set out the typology based on two dimensions: the duration of stay and migrant characteristics (motivation and identity). Employing a historical approach, the study focuses on the Polish migration to UK, given two stages of migration stages: the pre- and post- EU accession. Considering migration, a fluid dynamic temporally-bound process (Düvell and Garapich, 2009), various types of migration emerge in terms of category, scale and context. Consequently, the 19th to mid-20th century was period of mainly permanent, war and systemic-induced refugee migration. The pre-accession (1980-90s) period represented the switch from asylum to economic migration, the beginning of temporary Polish migration flows to UK. Post-accession, the Polish citizens gained freedom of movement, diversifying (both temporary and permanent) and increasing their continental mobility. Post-accession, the only restrictions which applied for the Polish migrants in UK were: the requirement for the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) and 1-year restriction to social benefits.

Hence, the Polish migration is presented as (a) cultural patterns (framed within specific institutional, political and social practices) and as (b) individualized patterns (presenting a mixture of migration motivations and heterogeneous mobility pathways).

Three main migration strategies are identified: the temporary (short-term aimed economical motivation), the permanent (long-term aimed diverse motivation) and the flexible (open-aimed diverse motivation). Based on the intended duration of stay, there are two main migrant categories: short-term (the storks and the hamsters[39]) and long-term (the stayers, the on-migrants, the nomads and the undecided). In order to illustrate the migration dynamics, Düvell and Garapich (2009:10) consider the social network to be the key to mobility as "different migration strategies represent a mutually functional and reinforcing system that facilitates further diversification of migration strategies". In other words, it is through the network that the migrant accesses various employment opportunities and accumulates capitals.

The storks and hamsters opt for migration as an economic mean to facilitate upward mobility at the origin. Aside from their aspirations, the main difference between these two categories is that the storks move in-between origin and destination until they reach their financial target, while the latter travel just once with the aim of making significant financial gains. Overall, they are short-term migrants staying in the UK for a few months up to two years, often working long hours (70-80 per week).

The stayers are the migrants who perceive their future to be in the UK, highly active in the diaspora community and often, as the study hints, have children in the English education system. The on-migrants are extremely mobile individuals, who are at their first migration experience, and do not exclude the possibility of travelling to other destinations. Likewise, are the nomads, with the difference that they already present a migration history. Both categories migrate for employment opportunities given international networks (often being professionals or highly-skilled migrants). The undecided (majority of migrants) seem to be unclear in terms of migration plans and

[39] These two migrant categories are established in Eade et al. (2006) typology.

strategies due to their perceptions of changes at the origin and to their 'wavering' commitment to a specific location, time or fixed plans.

Migrant typology by migration aim and labour market behaviour

Given the persistence of the dual labour market on the Western economies, Trevena (2013) establishes a typology in order to explain how and why Eastern Europeans migrate to the UK. The study focuses on university graduate migrants working in low-wage jobs in London. Accordingly, it differentiates between two different types of high-skilled migrants: (a) the elite global movers (professionals) and (b) the movers (who experience 'occupational skidding' and downward occupational mobility). In order to explain the migrant's occupational dynamic on the UK's low-wage labour market, the analysis focuses factors prevalent at different levels – macro (structural causes which influence the individual decision to migrate), mezzo (social networks, 'national traits' and employment agencies) and micro (the human capital and occupational behaviour).

At macro level, the study discusses the migration push - pull factors. The push factors accounted for are: the limited and unstable labour market (high rates of unemployment), higher education and English language booms, and international travel possibilities. At destination, the pull factors are: economic growth (high demand for cheap both legal and irregular labour) and the pre- / post- accession institutional settings. The pre-accession barriers included the procurement of visas or work permits, while migration regulations funnelled the migrants into low-wage sector jobs. The post-accession barriers referred to the supply-demand market mechanisms and to qualification recognition issues. The author mentions that "educated Poles with 'non-marketable' degrees found themselves in a 'double over-education loop', as their skills were in demand neither in their home country nor in the country of migration" (2013:176-177). Simply, the lack of previous work experience, the scepticism towards foreign (not obtained in the UK) diplomas and qualifications, and the competition with the natives, hindered the migrant's occupational advancement on the labour market.

At mezzo level, the social ties and social capital of the migrant are crucial in determining not only the migration intention, but also the type of work the newcomer

will accept. Trevena (2013) suggests that new migrants often undertake elementary, entry-jobs on the assumption that it is the only way to move forward. This creates a self-sustainable mechanism, as the 'old migrants' (previously arrived), pre-accession migrants enforce and expect the newcomers to do the same as they did – first, improve the English language proficiency and get familiar with the new labour market, then go for a 'good' job. Additionally, another reason for the post-accession migrant's 'occupational skidding' is the job-seeking strategy – specifically, opting for job centres and recruitment agencies that predominantly advertise unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. Therefore, the social ties and network of the migrant[40] coupled with the low self-esteem or confidence of the individual reinforce the channelling of highly-qualified migrants into low-wage occupations.

At micro level, the key factors are the individual capital and its enactment via motives / perceptions that affect the labour market performance. Aside from the difficult process of human capital transferability between origin and destination, another factor is the migrant's limited financial resources before migration. Due to financial pressures, the individual has limited time to search for a job – hence, the predisposition for taking any job available. If the first job of the migrant upon arrival in UK is on the secondary labour market, probability is that the individual will experience difficulties in switching to better jobs. This is specific for migrants with temporary migration plans, who often work irregular hours and experience positive socialisation at the workplace which demotivates the job change. Consequently, Trevena (2013) considers that the intended duration of migration plays a crucial role in determining the employment outcomes on the destination's labour market.

Based on the aims of migration (the motivation to migrate and the presence or absence of an economical / professional goal), the typology distinguishes three migrant categories: (1) drifters (individuals aiming for more than just financial gains and career advancement); (2) career seekers (individuals aiming to expand their career possibilities) and (3) target earners (individuals aiming for financial gains). This migrant typology is

[40] It is through the social networks and ties that the "common knowledge about the types of jobs most accessible to Poles in the United Kingdom" (Trevena, 2013:178).

dependent on the migration timeline, indicating the impact of scheduling and offering insight regarding the post-migration occupational career trajectory.

The drifter, often a keen traveller, is typical for the initial stages of migration. For this category it is not the career advancement which motivates, but the stable income necessary to live in UK. The intention to learn the language is what makes a drifter, as the shared characteristic of this migrant group is their lack of English language proficiency. Additionally, it subdivides into: (i) short-term drifter (the 'new capital seeker' – once language skill is acquired, they plan for career advancement) and (ii) long-term drifters (the individual with clear future plans or goals).

Once the drifting period is over, the migrant experiences the career seeking period. In other words, the migrant's decision to have a career in UK is a milestone decision, which impacts the professional and migration trajectories. The career seeker category presents two sub-categories: (i) the beginners (the minority – those that search to change or establish a career) and (ii) the advanced (the majority – those that wish career advancement). Although most career seekers start in the low-wage sector, they improve their position on the labour market by: gaining UK qualifications, expanding their social networks and contacts, and by improving their social / cultural capitals. The higher the occupational position, the more individualized the process of career advancement becomes – as aspects such as self-confidence, interpersonal skills and luck determine the migrant's outcome. Besides, the career seekers have an opportunistic approach when it comes to taking career decisions.

Lastly, the target earners plan to save money in order to invest it in their home country. For this migrant category "earning money is the most important goal and they usually live as modestly as possible, trying to accumulate as much financial capital as possible during their migration" (Trevena, 2013:184). They often gravitate towards the low-wage jobs given the aims and lack of language proficiency – the secondary labour market offering opportunities and easy access to jobs.

Migrant typology by attachment to origin and of destination countries

Based on the labour migration patterns of Polish, Bulgarians and Romanians in the Netherlands, given variation of the structural (institutional) context, Engbersen et al. (2013) explain the migrant's attachment towards origin and destinations countries. The degree of attachment to the country of origin is interpreted as economic investment plans, family ties and obligations, and presence of partner and/or children. The degree of attachment to the country of destination is defined is interpreted as the command of national language, contacts with native population, labour market position, and cohabitation with a partner and/or child. For both cases, attachment is measured as either weak or strong.

Correspondingly, this typology comprises of four migrant categories: circular, bi-nationals, footloose and settlement. In terms of attachment to the destination country, the circular and footloose migrants have weaker attachments, being less integrated in the host society – rarely interacting with natives, having weak language proficiency, and showing limited interest in the host society (media consumption). Moreover, the circular and footloose present weaker positions on the labour market (often in temporary, irregular jobs or unemployment) and administrative deficiencies (e.g. lack of bank account). These two categories have strong connections with the country of origin. In this sense, being origin-orientated the circular and bi-national migrants are predisposed to: send remittances, visit, make invests, stay in contact with family and friends, and to consume media from back home. Dissimilar, the bi-national and settlement migrants present strong attachment toward the country of destination, have permanent or long-term migration strategies, usually possess significant human capital and achieve higher occupational outcomes.

Given demographic factors, Engbersen et al. (2013) deem that the circular migrant is: relatively older; most likely has a partner in the country of origin; chooses the destination based on the distance between countries; intends to temporary migrate (even if the temporariness persists for some years); and most likely visits often, for longer periods the home country. The bi-national migrant presents: high economic and cultural capitals, is more likely to be of Polish nationality, has at least the high school

level completed, has significantly higher incomes than the other categories, and intends to migrate for at least one year. The probability of belonging to this category increases in accordance to the accumulation of years since first migration, and decrease with the presence of children (regardless whether at origin or destination country). The footloose migrant is relatively young, is less likely to have completed higher education, is less likely to have a partner at origin but more likely to have children at the destination country, recently arrived with the aim to stay for less than a year, and is rather undecided in terms of future plans. The probability of belonging to this category increases given the lack of access to the formal and legal job on the destination's labour market. The settlement migrant travels the longest distances, has significantly higher education levels and often works in highly-skilled professions than the other migrant categories, is most likely to be Bulgarian or Romanian, travels for long periods of time (over five years) with the intention to stay for long periods (even if the period itself remains undetermined). Additionally, this category is less likely to have a partner in the country of origin, but more likely to have children at destination, with either native or foreign partners.

Overall, the 'East to West' European migrant typologies exemplify the international migration effects and impact upon the individual's life trajectory. Düvell and Vogel (2006) typology links the migration regulations to individual characteristics (motivation for migration and national orientation), in order to showcase social capital differences between migrants. Eade et al. (2006) typology illustrates the connections between the four migrant categories in light of their role in the migration process. Düvell and Garapich (2009:16) typology emphasizes the migrant diversity by accounting for the impact of structural change in the formation of the 'migrant' role. Trevena's (2013) typology explains that due to structural factors and social capital, highly-educated migrants are most likely to start the migration occupational life in the low-wage sectors. Engbersen et al. (2013) offer a dynamic typology, tentatively clarifying the transition from temporary to permanent intentions of migration, including salient aspects such as media consumption and family formation patterns, relevant for Eastern European individuals.

To sum it up, the typologies presented in this section are insightful in establishing the connection between migration and labour market, although only as a measurement of the migrant occupational outcomes in the destination country. These typologies are popular categorizations of Eastern European migrant in the UK, predominantly the Polish population. Although the multiple migrant categories are established in light of international migration mechanisms (duration of stay, legislation, human capital transference) and individual features (nationality, identity, social class, attachment, age), the typologies scarcely explain the patterns of migrant mobility. In other words, there is limited discussion over the processes in which a migrant experiences or transits between the various categories / stages – given the changes in migration intention, as well as the acquirement of employment history as a migrant in the UK.

2.3. Migration and career

So far, the literature review suggests that most Eastern European migrants in the UK enter the destination's labour market via low-wage jobs. By not accounting for the pre-migration occupational experiences, the outcome-only approach suggests that the Eastern European 'migrant' role typically implies low-wage, low-skill jobs. The choice for such occupations is mediate by: easy access to jobs, lack of English proficiency, migrant network and ties, family formation and marital status, intended duration and aim / purpose of migration. As such, given the nature of the secondary labour market jobs, the migrant experiences a 'hopping' or 'jumping' adaptive style of career.

In order to assert the patterns of occupational mobility specific to migrants, this section details the main theories and characteristics of career. The key reason for incorporating the career within the theoretical discussion lies with its capacity to account for the sequencing of occupational roles, as a mixture of both structure (occupational type and pattern) and agentive action (individual orientation towards certain roles and life plans).

2.3.1. Career representations

The career is "a modern invention, emerging as a social fact only with the development of corporations, bureaucracies, and white-collar employment" (Moen and Han, 2001: 426). The career can be interpreted as the interaction of micro (individual and family) and macro (structures of organisations, institutions and global economy) evoking historical time and processes. Moreover, career refers to individual work histories as "the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time" (Arthur et al., 1991:8). The career aids through its rhetoric and ideology in the stability of society (Collin and Young, 2000). Dependent on the source, Sears (1982) considers that career can mean: the succession of jobs; the life pattern activities (occupational and other); the sequences of work-related events; or simply, the occupation. The career is both the qualifier (denoting any work-related process) and the occupational sequence (trajectory) of the individual's life (Sears, 1982; Collin, 1997).

According to Savickas (2002) the career can be either objective or subjective. The objective career originates from the life course paradigm, and refers to the sequence and duration of jobs / occupations in the life of an individual, giving way to occupational mobility measured by career trajectory. The subjective career refers to the individual's conceptualisations on various social roles, giving way to occupational mobility measured by occupational behaviour – meanings, actions and experiences. As such, the career is both a metaphor and an organising principle "providing conceptual and methodological guidance to the sociology of work and occupations, organisational behaviour, the study of social stratification, roles, mobility, the economy, and the labour force, as well as the social psychology of work, motivation and identity" (Moen and Han, 2001:426). Correspondingly, the literature focuses on two key career patterns:

- The traditional career implies upward progression (or advancement), increase in social status and long-term psychological contract with the employing organisation. Zaleska and de Menezes (2007:990-991) define the traditional career "as a progression in one organisation and is assessed in terms of personal income,

hierarchical level and promotions". In other words, this is a linear career pattern that depicts progressive steps within a singular occupational environment.

- The new career is the embodiment of the interlinkages of life-long and project-based / short-term employment patterns – namely, the protean (the self-directed career or the autonomous career) and boundaryless (boundary-crossing career) occupational patterns. As opposite to the traditional career pattern, the protean and the boundaryless are metaphors of ideological nature which reinforces the agentive power over the organizational structures (Inkson, 2006, 2008; Gunz et al., 2000). In other words, the new career patterns are non-linear and depict the progression as shifts or transitions between multiple occupational environments.

The protean metaphor originates from the legend of Proteus in Homer's Odyssey conferring flexibility and the ability to shape-shift. It accommodates the individual's capacity to adapt to varying work circumstances – the adaptability capacity implies making work role changes that are planned or random, that are out of compliance or emancipation. The adaptability capacity means 'versatility' or 'shape-shifting', and is the by-product of individual self-direction (autonomy), identity and values (Inkson, 2006).

Alternatively, the boundaryless metaphor originates from images of mythological heroes who overpass obstacles in order to reach their goal. The individual crosses various distances and barriers while experiencing the career journey (the pursuit of the occupational goals). Inkson (2006:53) deems when it comes to the boundaryless career there are "no limits to the territory into which it can extend, or at least no clear line or barrier making, where those limits are". However, although barriers are just surpassed, they are not altogether removed. The boundaries can be physical, organizational, occupational, industrial, and even between work and other life spheres. Simply, the boundaryless career is not about the boundaries themselves, but about the ways in which the barriers are surpassed. Both forms of new career refer to internal processes, as a combination of trait (protean) and behaviour (boundaryless), as individual choice and action in opposition to structure, in order to explain the contemporary career patterns. Usually, the boundaryless career is considered suitable in measuring career

success (especially for individuals with substantial occupational experiences), while protean career is invaluable in the study of contingent (atypical) workers (ibid.).

The interplay between structural and agentive actions is deliberated via comparisons between the traditional and the new career patterns. For example, based on the employee's perceptions of quality and satisfaction with career development practices in the UK, Zaleska and de Menezes (2007) conclude that the traditional career pattern is not declining, given that organisations do not offer cross-functional or inter-organisational career development opportunities (e.g. trainings and workshops focusing on the individual's portable skills, knowledge and abilities). Whereas, Valcour and Ladge (2008) interpret the protean career as identity[41] (the degree to which career is a central to the individual) and self-efficacy (the effort and perseverance of the individual to overcome obstacles). The study explains the career success of women in light of work and family predictors, concluding the women might not follow the traditional pattern (organisational, linear), as family commitments such as childbearing affect their early-career stages. While studies such as these present interpretations for traditional career and new forms of career, they reflect that "much work remains to be done to operationalise the constructive use of the metaphors[42]" (Inkson, 2006:59).

In terms of representations, Inkson (2004) considers that the career can be interpreted as: (a) individual understanding of personal experience (journey or construct), (b) external observers' analysis (seasons or resource), (c) conditions in which the career is enacted (ladder or tournament), (d) psychological conditions of the career protagonist (personality or anchors), and (e) forms of career. Correspondingly, nine types of career representations emerge: career as legacy or 'family' inheritance (Gottfredson, 1981; 2002); career as craft, understood as an individual construct (Savickas, 2002); career as season, implying the age-related life cycles (such as early-career, mid-career, or late-career); career as the match or fit between individual and environment characteristics (Young and Collin, 2004); career as path or journey; career as network, understood as a

[41] The "self-conceptions based upon the social roles a person occupies (e.g. wife, mother, professional, volunteer)" (Valcour and Ladge, 2008:302).

[42] By metaphor, the (Inkson, 2006) refers to career theory concepts, to the terms which carry 'imagery' and limitations of the perceived topic (e.g. protean career).

social process involving encounters and relationships; career as theatre implying occupational roles and performances (Gioia and Poole, 1984); career as economic resource or asset (organisational rhetoric); and career as narrative or discourse story (e.g. grand-narratives of popular career models portrayed by media).

By the same token, Collin and Young (2000) operationalise the career as concept (the movement through space and time, as the intersection between individual and social structures) and as construct of academic, professional and lay discourses (the understanding of individual and the organisational / institutional practices, the modes through which meaning is created by the lay person or professional). In brief, "career has been and is a construct about human action" (Collin and Young, 2000:13), giving meaning to the individual's life and representing a symbol of the meritocracy (the achievement of social mobility via education and effort).

Nevertheless, Young and Collin (2004:381) argue the need for cultural contextual career constructs as the "significant contribution to understanding the many issues of diversity that have hitherto been largely neglected in the literature of career". In other words, within the career literature there is a need for culturally informed approaches in order to enrich the traditional canon of career and address some of the construct challenges such as self, agency and choice. Leung and Yuen (2012:77) deem that career is originally a western product, and state that "overall, even though [career] theories acknowledge that cultural and contextual variables are important to career choice and development, there is no theoretical conceptualisation that accounts for their specific effects". The main career cross-cultural limitations are: i) the overemphasis of individual-level variables and weak cultural context inputs; ii) the focus on self-determinism and fulfilment, rather than collective influences; iii) the assumption that society presents and allows for a vast array of occupational options and free choices, whilst in reality it might be different. As means of expanding the understanding of career beyond western interpretations and practices, the study argues for synthesizing culture and contexts into career theory and practice, developing culture-appropriate career measurement tools and developing cultural-centric career guidance systems.

2.3.2. Career as linked transitions

Post et al. (2002:5) define the career as "the interaction of work roles and other life roles over a person's lifespan including both paid and unpaid work in an individual's life. People create career patterns as they make decisions about education, work, family and other life roles". Likewise, Moen and Han (2001:425) consider that understanding contemporary career patterns "necessitates synthesizing and integrating many lines of sociological inquiry, incorporating time in order to more fruitfully incorporate the dynamic interplay between biography, institutions, and social change". In other words, a life course approach to understanding contemporary careers accounts for: i) the institutional arrangements and chance events that affect the life path, ii) the historical forces, as micro and macro level processes and events, iii) the dynamics of institutional and individual roles, as social networks and relations, and iv) the reframing of career as the tandem of work and family trajectories. Subsequently, Moen and Han (2001) believe that in order to address the new occupational trajectories, career theory needs:

1. To develop new typologies that account for contemporary career trajectories and patterns of men and women within particular historical contexts.
2. To 'de-gender' the career, as the "men's life patterns can no longer be seen as the 'typical' career or life course path" (ibid:430).
3. To acknowledge the relevance of associated demands and resources as a couple or a household unit when discussing of career trajectories.
4. To recognise the impact of family responsibilities and support as institutionalised societal templates (e.g. the 'breadwinner' / 'homemaker').
5. To connect structure with meanings, by including the subjective career as self-definitions, expectations and evaluations, rather than exclusively focusing on the objective career (occupational outcome and earnings).
6. To advance formulations on chance and contingency, given that the occupational trajectory represents the convergence of events, social ties and biography, shaped by employers and chosen by the individual.

According to Heinz (2001:5) the individual's cultural beliefs, the sequences of occupational roles, the legal age restrictions, the choices and decisions determine the trajectories of education, occupation, family and retirement. As such the "human agency refers to the individuals' active shaping of their biographies, linked lives to interrelationships of partners', spouses', parents', and children's life courses" (ibid:5). Correspondingly, as important as the structural settings, the biographical narratives are event histories from the individual point of view, representing "how macro structural changes (the globalisation of markets) affect institutional arrangements (social policy, industrial relations, labour-market segmentation)" (ibid:19). In terms of occupational dynamics or mobility specific to liberal labour markets such as the UK, one of the explanations for the new career patterns (non-linear) is the re-employment opportunity (ibid.). Given the low job stability, the occupational trajectory becomes a series of short employment episodes intertwined with periods of job search and unemployment.

Furthermore, the individual's biographical accomplishments (choices and experiences) present varying degrees of restriction relating to work circumstances and other life spheres (such as family) (Procter, 2001). The timing of transitions is dependent on the social context and is different for each individual. Carr and Sheridan (2001) inform the following fundamental work-life transitions:

- Earning a college/university degree, as educational credentials represent the formal requirements based on which the employer screens and selects employees;
- Forming an own business or self-employment, as the rational choice which either ensures against risks such as unreliable employers (the case of married men) or offers flexible work options (the case of mothers with young children);
- And career change as a transition from the longest job into a different occupation, conferring a different occupational category and a new employer.[43]

The economic resources and time availability of the individual are affected by changes of the family status. Correspondingly, Carr and Sheridan (2001) present the following fundamental family life transitions:

[43] "This definition is used to detect substantial occupational changes, rather than promotions or minor changes in duties at one's current employer" (Carr and Sheridan, 2001:210).

- Spouse/child characteristics: the occupational transitions are contingent upon the support and resources of family members. For married persons, occupational transitions are dependent on the spouse's employment status (Henretta, 2003). Individuals with highly-educated spouses, who have high-wage occupations, are more likely to experience career transitions. The single-earner family, the unmarried or the individuals with children are less likely to make career transitions due to economic pressures.
- Caregiving: the gendered transition (usually characteristic for women) which influences the labour participation implying a tendency for reduced working hours, limited career transitions and / or leaving the workforce.
- Divorce/widowhood: the promotor of transitions given opportunities for self-fulfilment and personal accomplishment.
- Empty nest: as the departure of children from home affects the daily lives of the parents and implies the redefinition of family roles.

The family transitions equally affect both the woman and the man occupational trajectories and dynamics. Depending on the individual's early life aspirations and human capital, the career transitions are made in a purposeful, rather than haphazard, manner (Carr and Sheridan, 2001). Hence, individuals end up in different occupations because of variations in job opportunities, personal skills and agency (such as, the willingness to move to a different location or career change).

Stephens (1994) deems that there are two types of career transitions. Namely, the subjective career transition refers to changes in the occupational role given new or different individual interpretations and orientations (as outcome of adjustment), and life stages which confer the personal attributes evolution during lifetime. The objective career transition refers to changes in the occupational role given labour market participation processes such as: entry or re-entry, intra- or inter-organisational, profession and exit transitions. In reference to the latter, Nicholson and West (1991:182) consider that transitions represent the punctuation of individual's work-life, being "the pauses and turning points that shape their course". A work role transition is defined as any major modification in terms of role requirement or work context pertaining to the

inter- and intra-organisational role, the employer or the co-workers. Respectively, the process model of a transition includes: (i) preparation as the process of expectation and anticipation before change; (ii) encounter as the affect and sense-making during first days or weeks of job tenure; (iii) adjustment as the subsequent development which reduces the person-job misfit; (iv) stabilisation as the settled connection between person and job; and (v/i) the renewal of the cycle. Consequently, Nicholson and West (1991:195) deem that studying career as sequences of transition "can be seen as a way of exploring the evolution of social boundaries, the form taken by passages across them and the symbolic values and behaviours that attach to them".

Following, the career represents the sum of all occupational roles during lifetime, as the "progress or course of action of a person through life, or through some phase of life" (Clausen, 1986:109). The career covers both the orderly or discontinuous occupational histories. The orderly career implies an organisational, institutional, bureaucratic work environment in which a person might spend a significant period of their life. However, most individuals during their careers experience changes in employers, in the type of work[44], as a means of finding satisfaction in what they are doing and of gaining adequate financial returns. The subjective choice and financial expectation are constructions developed in the family of origin and during formal education. Correspondingly, Clausen (1986) presents the following salient features of career:

1. Prestige, as signal for greater talent and ability. Usually, prestige distinctions can be made between top (e.g. politicians, medics, professionals or executives), middle (e.g. skilled workers, foreman or lower administrative staff) and bottom (e.g. unqualified workers, service workers) occupations.
2. Career pattern, as representation of occupational stability and mobility. The career pattern can either be orderly or discontinuous. The orderly pattern presents security and opportunities for advancement. The discontinuous pattern happens either due to the economic context taking forms such as unemployment or lay-offs, or due to individual decisions like proximity to family or dissatisfaction with

[44] The occupation implies social role, a central part of the individual's life yielding social and financial gains, while work is the activity performed in the occupational role (Hall, 1975).

the current occupation. The transitions reflect the occupational mobility, where changes in employer or occupation without a change in level represent horizontal mobility, while changes in the level represent vertical mobility.

3. Career stage, as the career encompasses a sequence of work-life phases. Usually, it is about the preparation for the occupation (formal training or trial periods) and the degree of commitment. Some occupations require a high level of commitment given the length of the preparation period, such as medics, while for some commitment is the result of eliminating alternative possibilities. Furthermore, some careers present a series of clear-cut stages, while others develop haphazardly depending on the state of the labour market.
4. Job complexity, as an important feature describing the complexity of tasks in cognitive and intellectual terms. This is the case of simple versus demanding occupations, where usually simple jobs are correspondent to less pay, less prestige in comparison with demanding jobs.
5. Effects of social change, as the available occupations and careers are dependent on the social context and the technological development.

In terms of occupational choice, the early entrants to the labour market are not only the young individuals who abandon education, but also those who due to lack of resources have no access to education, those who need to support their family, those who want to experience the 'real world' and those who do not require any formal education in order to reach their goals. Economic mechanisms, such as the sorting of potential entrants, division of labour or the employment level, are dependent on the economic conditions given labour market shrinkages or expansions. As such, the occupational choice is the results of parent's occupations, personality and education influences.

The life course paradigm considers the following types of careers: blue-collar, white-collar, professional, management, and minority. The blue-collar career is representative for individuals working in manufacturing, construction and service industries, usually presenting a discontinuous pattern where "the average worker is likely to have had about 10 different jobs in the course of a work-life" (Clausen, 1986:118). The white-collar career is often more orderly, and it presents opportunities for advancement well

into the late stages of the individual's life. The professional career is often representative for individuals for whom the occupation is central. The management career refers to individuals with high monetary rewards who own businesses or are in executive positions within organisations. Lastly, the minority or woman's career refers to occupations disproportionately represented by women, given the labour market partition into the male-dominant competitive market and the restrictive market allocating jobs to minorities. As a final point, the life course theory indicates that during lifetime, the individual experiences a mixture of types of career rather than a singular type of occupational career.

2.3.3. Migration and career success

Cohen et al. (2011:321) define voluntary migrants as "people who, acting either as individuals or with organisational sponsorship, choose to develop their careers outside of their home country". Accordingly, the career is a feature and a representation of the developed labour markets and workforces, referring to free choice rather than constraint, and (in theory) is applicable to all individuals. Career development is an integral part of the individual's life, and as such needs to be discussed in parallel with the socio-political aspects that influence the migrant's employment trajectory. In this sense, it is necessary to have a broader view on migrant career and the factors which affect it, be them individual or institutional. Nevertheless, various studies (Richardson and Mallon, 2005; Stahl et al., 2002; Vance, 2005) employ this migrant career interpretation, yet focus only on highly-skilled migrants (namely, the traditional or self-initiated expatriates). Hence, Cohen et al. (2011) identify the following migrant career under-research issues:

- Migration impact --> The effects of migration triggers and motivations upon the career trajectory.
- Loss, recovery and reconstruction --> Explanations regarding migrant labour market concentrations and structural occupational mismatches (such as the case of highly skilled

migrants in low-pay, low-skill jobs at destination).

- Security versus insecurity --> The distribution and predisposition of migrants to work in informal or grey labour markets given the temporary and atypical nature of migrant work, legal status and emotional dimensions.
- Salience of family, network and community --> The role of the family and community (at both origin and destination) in determining the migrant's career trajectory.
- Methodological appropriateness --> The need for creative narrative research approaches relevant for understanding the migrant career trajectory and characteristics.

From a historical life course perspective on the migration experience of two Polish-Canadian families, Hoerder (2001) discusses the construction of life trajectory linearity in terms of identity creation and access to institutionalised transfer payments for material security at old age (the end of the income-generating work-life). Retrospectively, both men and women express a sense of coherence and continuity as a means for identity-preservation "in which coping strategies evolved in reaction to major breaks or proactively as a means to expand limited options" (ibid:527). Individual decisions, including migration, reflect the insertion of multiple identities into different cultural contexts. Following the migration experiences of two individuals, spanning across two continents, two world wars and a decade of depression, the study asserts that the individual decision-making process is determined by: i) the human capital factors established via identity formation and development, ii) the social capital available in the community and institutional support, including projects for the future, and iii) the macro-level political processes and economic cycles.

In terms of strategies of international career development, Vance (2005) proposes a three-phased classification of pre-migration career activities and competencies. Firstly, the foundation building phase implies exposure (such as touristic travel, foreign language skills, and international or foreign organisational work experiences) or

immersion (such as working abroad, international internships and studying abroad). Secondly, the specific preparation phase refers to networking and obtaining skills valuable for working abroad, such as identifying mentors or foreign language studies. Thirdly, the securing foreign employment phase considers the immediate migration track (such as actively seeking employment, even if just temporary or internship) and the multinational corporation track (such as international assignments, transfers to the headquarters). Consequently, this classification acknowledges the diversity of pre-migration phases which can impact the migrant's career outcome and success.

Narratives (autobiography) aid in uncovering the ways in which the individual gives meaning and constructs the career. In a study on the occupational patterns of Brazilian urban workers, Ribeiro (2015) establishes four main career narratives: nostalgia, enclosure, possibility and instrumentality. Nostalgia is the representation of the organisational career, implying security and stability, routine and standardisation, continuity and prestige. Enclosure is the representation of the professional career, implying specialised work activity, recognition of 'professionalism' and vocation. Possibility is the representation of protean and boundaryless careers, implying constant change, unpredictability, flexibility and social network. Instrumentality is the representation of the transitional career, implying lack of opportunities and random choices. The study concludes that urban workers are the embodiment of the hybrid / flexible nature of contemporary labour markets, as during lifetime, depending on the social context, occupational group and perception of opportunities, the individual switches and experiences multiple types of career narratives.

Career success is the sum of progressive tangible and observable work outcomes, and the result of individual career decisions, behaviours and experiences (Zacher, 2014; Dries et al., 2008; Verbruggen, 2012). Career success can be objective – measured by salary, job status or promotions, and can be subjective – measured by career satisfaction and self-rated performance. The prerequisites of subjective career success are concern (conferring the individual's future orientation, preparation for upcoming career tasks and challenges) and confidence (the individual's belief in achieving goals). Tharmaseelan et al. (2010) consider that the migrant career success is determined by

both pre-migration experiences (given home country qualifications, career success and motivation) and post-migration experiences (given the host country contextual constraints via legislative, societal and organisational policies). In order to assess the career success of Sri Lankans migrants in New Zealand, the authors present an integrated model accounting for all, before and after migration, employment experiences. Correspondingly, the pre-migration determinants of career success are exemplified by human capital (skills and education) and by motivation to migrate (reasons for searching employment opportunities abroad). The post-migration determinants of success are exemplified as social integration – meaning the cultural discrepancies between the initial human capital and the migrant human capital[45], and as career self-management – meaning the migrant's actions to achieve occupational goals in the new labour environment.

For migrants, the objective career success is usually the result of (a) human capital (language skills, education, years of experience, overseas experience, prior knowledge, skills and habits); (b) social integration (length of stay and adaptation to the host country) and (c) motivation (family formation as migration aim). In this sense, Tharmaseelan et al. (2010) point out that most migrants initially experience a decline in job status, followed by stagnation (same status for both pre- and post-migration); while very few experience career advancement (higher status jobs than before migration). Usually, the post-migration objective career success is achieved via education and professional training qualifications obtained at destination. In other words, the more skilled and willing to integrate in the host country the individual is, the higher the likelihood of objective career success. The migrant subjective career success is given by overseas experiences (previous international travels) and education in the host country (the common predictor for both types of success). Also, aspects such as social network and language proficiency appear to be the least likely aspects to moderate significance for either objective or subjective career success (ibid.).

[45] Tharmaseelan et al. (2010) state that social integration ties into migrant acculturation and integration theories.

The host country labour market structure fails to assimilate and capitalise the individual's potential in a beneficial manner for both – due to negative stereotypes about low-income countries and despite the fact that underutilised migrants[46] are financially better off than in their home country. In terms of human capital, the salient predictors of occupational mobility are different for objective career success (namely, useful knowledge and skills) and subjective career success (namely, prior overseas experience). Subsequently, if the individual experiences objective career success prior to migration, it is likely they will also be successful after migration. Likewise, extensive international migration experiences increase the likelihood of subjective career success.

Overall, Tharmaseelan et al. (2010) migrant career success typology is unique as it not only accounts for pre-migration employment experiences (even if just the last job at the origin), but also suggests that the international migration capital influences the perceived subjective career success of the individual. Additionally, this typology brings forth the stigmatising character of the 'migrant' role for those from low-wage countries, even if not European, living and working in Western (developed) countries. Hence, this thesis incorporates the theoretical operationalisation of migrant career success proposed by this typology, and applies it on a significant, yet recent, Eastern European migrant group in the UK.

[46] "In this respect, the finding that education level attained in the home country is negatively related to career success after migration is unsurprising, and is supported by anecdotal evidence of immigrants with high-level academic and professional qualifications who are forced to stack supermarket shelves or deliver junk mail because they can find nothing better." (Tharmaseelan et al., 2010:232)

2.4. The emergent migrant career: trajectory and success

Significant research and theories are concerned with the impact of international migration on occupation, in terms of migrant job outcomes and effects on the host labour market. However, equivocal evidences confer the migrant's occupational trajectory (career) and its dynamics in light of the individual's perspective on international migration process. To present, the UK literature mainly projects the Eastern European migrants as elementary and service workers. Moreover, the occupational outcomes appear to be disconnected from the migration stages (given the duration of stay abroad), and disconnected from the pre-migration occupational experiences. In this sense, this thesis accounts for the entirety of employment occupational experiences in light of migration stage and other life spheres which are considered to bear impact on the individual's career (i.e. family, education).

Career theory has developed explanations regarding Western expatriates, and only recently begun conceptualising the career specificities pertaining to other migrant groups, such as non-Westerners, involuntary or low-skilled individuals (Marfleet and Blustein, 2011; Mace et al., 2005; Bimrose and McNair, 2011). Correspondingly, given the focus on Eastern European migrants in the UK, the thesis interprets the career as a journey[47], measuring the geographical mobility, occupational roles and institutional / organisational environments. This representation is appropriate for the life course approach to the migrant career – given that during lifetime the agent navigates within various structures of institutional nature such as labour markets, cultures and societies, and structures of social character such as family status.

Accounting for both the pre- and post-migration objective career transitions the thesis exemplifies the during lifetime (objective) career trajectories specific to Romanian migrants in the UK, based on the previous occupational capitals and immediate

[47] Inkson (2004) considers that the journey is the most common career representation (as both micro-behaviour and macro-structure).

behaviour after arrival. By interposing the individual's occupational trajectory with the periods of migration and educational attainment, it tentatively illustrates the career types (traditional or protean/boundaryless) relevant for different migrant categories. Building upon the during lifetime (overall) career, the study looks at the during migration trajectory in light of the occupational dynamics of fall, recovery and success. Ultimately, the individuals who consider, plan and go for international migration are not making a speculative decision, but aim or expect significant job mobility (Huinink et al. 2014). Furthermore, the during migration occupational trajectory intertwines with other life sphere transitions, namely: family, education and attachment to the UK (understood as the impact of migration upon the individual's social life given the presence of family and close friends at destination, and the presence of social ties with the native).

Hence, by chronologically sequencing the occupational dynamics during migration alongside their correspondent contextual factors, the thesis offers insight into the particulars of the Eastern European, Romanian migrant U-shape in the UK. In light of lack of datasets which offer the entire employment history of migrants in Europe (Fellini and Guetto, 2018), the current thesis represents a unique demonstration not only for the migrant group (Romanian), but also for the destination country (the UK). It not only connects the duration and intention of migration to occupational outcomes, but also infers the UK labour market's mechanisms of job attainment and career development, and success pertinent for different Romanian migrant categories.

3 Methodological framework

This thesis is guided by two essential, historically relevant concepts: migration and career. Firstly, migration represents the modus through which humanity became what it is today. Secondly, career represents the sense-making process of what is normally understood as either a serendipitous or a planned chain of occupational events and roles. Migration has been an issue of human rights and economics, and as such, a tool for policy at state level (or super-state level, such as the European Union) and an indicator of individual freedom. Dissimilar, career is a relatively new concept being the result of Western labour market developments in light of occupational structure diversification. At its origin, career was denied to the less privileged, to the non-white and to the outsiders / foreigners, as the initial interpretation implied the social status of the individual in correspondence with the social class hierarchy of the 1940s Western society, rather than the outcome of individual behaviour in terms of work-life.

Despite the major readjustments of the concepts (migration and career) in terms of academic representations and use, they often remain disconnected from each another. Even more commonly, these concepts are continuously redefined in order to maintain barriers between the various disciplines which utilize them. Without overcomplicating the discussion, this thesis does not intent to criticize or evaluate these practices. This is consistent to Bryman (1993:68) who states that the "qualitative researchers frequently reject the formulation of theories and concepts in advance of beginning their fieldwork. In particular, they view the imposition of a pre-ordained theoretical framework as deleterious because it may excessively constrain the researcher and also may exhibit a poor fit with participant's perspectives". Furthermore, given the multiplicity of knowledge production geographies (Stenning and Hörschelmann, 2008), this study

aims to link theories of international migration with those of career in order to better identify and describe the career trajectories of Romanian migrants in the UK.

This research assumes an interdisciplinary qualitative approach, given that "the interdisciplinary landscape of qualitative research is rich because it does not privilege one philosophical grounding or methodological approach to the research process. It is the array of epistemological, theoretical, and methodological choices made by qualitative researchers that set qualitative research apart as a particular and fruitful way of understanding social phenomena" (Guba and Lincoln, 2004:1). In other words, the interdisciplinary lens allows the utilization of multiple theoretical paradigms and research methods with the purpose of exemplifying the Romanian migrant career dynamics. The research employs a qualitative life course methodological framework, in order to obtain rich data which permits the analysis of contextualism and linked lives, as all life spheres (e.g. education, family, and others) are interconnected.

Despite the significant attention given to the Eastern European migrants in the UK, the Romanian migrants are an under-researched group that since January 2014 exhibit a significant increase in their immigration to the UK. This study looks at the careers and occupational success or failure over time of the Romanian migrants on the UK's labour market. According to Fellini and Guetto (2018:2) only "few studies have dealt with immigrants' occupational careers over time in destination countries [...], and even fewer single-country studies have considered immigrants' occupational trajectories from the origin to the destination country." Moreover, even fewer studies have considered the occupational trajectories of the Romanian individuals, be them migrants or not. Consequently, by using a quasi-longitudinal research design, this thesis explores the occupational trajectories of the Romanian migrants in the UK both during lifetime and during the migration time.

Hence, this chapter starts with detailing the research questions and hypothesis, explaining the rationale of the study and the research design, followed by the processes of data gathering and analysis processes. At the end, the chapter deals with the methodological limitations and ethical difficulties encountered during the research process and the manner in which the researcher dealt with these issues.

3.1. Research questions and hypothesis

As discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2), the primary objective of this thesis is to explore the relation between international migration and career and how they affect each other over time in the case of the Romanian migrants in the UK. In this sense, the thesis pursues the following two main research questions and heuristic sub-questions:

[RQ1]: *Do the Romanian migrants in the UK achieve occupational success or are they more likely to remain stuck in the 3D (dirty, dangerous and demeaning) jobs?*

- Which are the migration strategies used by the Romanian migrants, both before and after the first arrival in the UK?
- What are the career patterns of Romanian migrants during lifetime, both as natives in Romania and as migrants in the UK?
- How does the international migration from Romania to the UK influence the occupational trajectories of the migrants?
- How do the Romanian migrants make strategic use of their occupational mobility power on the UK's labour market?
- Do the occupational trajectories of the Romanian migrants in the UK comply with the U-shape pattern?
- Do the Romanian migrants in the UK succeed to reach the same or even a better occupational status than the one held at first arrival in the UK?

[RQ2]: *What are the plans of the Romanian migrants regarding the strategic use of their geographic mobility power for the future?*

- How does the career/occupational trajectories of the Romanian migrants relate to the interlinked transitions in other life spheres (education, family, and attachment to the origin and the host country), during their stay in the UK?
- How have changed in time the Romanian migrants' intentions to stay in the UK?
- How do career and interlinked transitions in other life spheres influence the Romanian migrants' long-term plans regarding geographical mobility?

Methodologically, this is a qualitative study. As such, the research questions experienced modification during the research process, given the emergence of data less explored by the academic literature. Correspondingly, Bryman (1993:81) explains that for most qualitative studies the theory and empirical investigations are interwoven, as "the delineation of theoretical ideas is usually viewed as a phase that occurs during or at the end of fieldwork, rather than being a precursor to it".

Out of the various categories of qualitative inquiry approaches (Creswell and Poth, 2018), this thesis uses the grounded theory to answer the research questions in an exploratory manner. Instead of developing exact hypotheses previous to the data collection phase, the study proceeds with unstructured interviews and abductive inferences. Abductive reasoning in qualitative research implies that "if the researcher does not remain open to being 'surprised' by the data, reasoning deteriorates from disciplined abduction to methodologically void rhetoric, where the conclusion merely reflects the researcher's pre-understanding" (Mantere and Ketokivi, 2013:82). Furthermore, abductive reasoning or "hypothetical inference, [...] starts with an empirical phenomenon and proceeds to a general statement which explains the observed phenomenon, [...] serves as a means to discover new, hitherto unknown concepts or rules" (Kelle, 2005: para 30).

Correspondingly, this study does not employ the process of hypothesis testing, but it seeks to generate theoretical hypothesis aimed to explain the empirical findings. In other words, the study hopes to develop theoretical hypothesis to be tested on representative samples in future research.

3.2. Research design and rationale

Epistemologically, the research follows the interpretative approach involving the "dialogical process between theory and the empirical phenomenon" (Bryman and Bell, 2015:26). This study gathered data through the socio-cultural lens as "lives and stories are narrated as meaningful, coherent entities [...] interpretative frameworks that people use to make sense of everyday happenings/episodes, usually involving past-present-

future linking" (Grbich, 2007:130). A quasi-longitudinal qualitative interpretative design is used to build an empirically grounded theory regarding the occupational trajectories at both the origin and the destination country of Romanian migrants in the UK.

This research intercalates theory with data. As the data unravelled, the research direction was adjusted, and so was the approach – from a singular literature (international migration) to an interdisciplinary approach (life course interpretation of international migration and career literatures); and from thematic analysis to quasi-statistics. In this sense, the study offers a democratic alternative to the inward-looking, often cliquish nature of disciplines – searching for new configurations and alliances between disciplines as a means to surpass "old ways of thinking [that] have come to seem stale, irrelevant, inflexible or exclusory" (Moran, 2002:1).

On this premise, the study employs life course as it is a paradigm that aspires to be interdisciplinary given "micro-sociological approaches take subjective concerns to be of central interest: they focus on the meanings that 'actors' create, and the plans they make and experiences they have as they move through life" (Settersten Jr., 2003:31). Qualitative life course studies reveal the variability in development, as heterogeneous human experiences are documented and sought in terms of explanatory factors and processes. These explanations are obtained given "historical contexts, the timing of events, and linked lives [that] enable us to understand the contexts in which life choices are made" (Elder Jr. and Johnson, 2003:71).

Life course means contextualism, conferring multiple levels of analysis, linked lives and environments, which are proximal (such as family or friendship networks) or distal (such as state policy or culture). Settersten Jr. (2003:21) considers that "work is the central activity that organises the modern life course", and as such it defines the tripartition of the life course by: a) the education and preparation for work period; b) the continuous work activity period; and c) the absence of work, devoted to leisure period. Consequently, the study of structures and contents specific to any of the tripartition stages in light of historical influences represents one of the core concerns of the life course paradigm. Accordingly, this research focuses only on the first two of the tripartition stages following the preparatory period of labour market entrance specific

for young migrants from Romania to the UK and the continuous work activity period pertinent to Romanian migrants in the UK.

The occupational trajectories are studied based on the concept of "transition", which is defined as the change from one occupational or social role to another. The transition is the result of a cause-effect chain, as the individual action is undertaken on the basis of accumulated knowledge, experience, personal motivation in the hopes of improving wellbeing, wealth and / or social status. Furthermore, the transition accounts for structural effects and limitations – namely, what is allowed and enforced both legally and culturally in a society pertaining to the individual's action motivation and enactment (the way in which the transition is made). Within the social sciences, any state is usually explained by evolution / expansion / development stages, starting from an initial state leading to a new state. Within the migration literature, occupational transitions (from one country to another) are usually explained by arguments such as wage differentials or social inequality. Within the career literature, transitions represent a polymorph concept, ever present but rarely defined or explained in detail.

The study employs narrative inquiry, an inherently interdisciplinary analytic lens (Butler-Kisber, 2010), on the individual life trajectories in light of geographical, educational and family transitions. Consequently, this thesis accounts for both non-migrant (pre-migration) and migrant transitions, as the years of occupational history interlinked with education and family characteristics.

As a grounded theory study based on hypothetical inference, the interpretation of data draws on the "axial coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This is a theoretically guided qualitative data coding process through which the phenomena, contexts, causal and intervening conditions are identified, as well as, the consequences that are relevant for the domain under research. In other words, Chapter 2 is used to derive the empirical data categories and to relate them in meaningful ways for "analysing and modelling action and interaction strategies of the actors" (Kelle, 2005: para 16), in order to answer the research questions focusing on the migrant's intention / goal / behaviour.

Research questions	Coding categories/ thematic narratives & *Method*:
[RQ1]:	- Migration transitions during lifetime
	Typology of migration strategies before arriving in the UK
	- Educational transitions during lifetime
	- Employment transitions (jobs) during lifetime
	Typology of career types during lifetime
	- Employment transitions (jobs) during lifetime
	Typology of migrants according to career stages on arrival in the UK
	Comparison between the last job in Romania and the first job in the UK
	- Employment transitions (jobs) during lifetime
	Comparison between the jobs held as natives in Romania and the jobs held as migrants in the UK
	- Educational transitions in the UK
	- Employment transitions (jobs) in the UK
	Comparison between the first job and the last job held in the UK
	- Employment transitions (jobs) during lifetime
	Comparison between the last job held as migrant in the UK and the best job ever held as native in Romania
[RQ2]:	- Employment transitions (jobs) in the UK
	- Interlinked transitions in the UK in other life spheres, namely education, family, perceived social mobility, migrant community, housing, attachment towards Romania and attachment towards the UK
	Analysis of the relations between occupational success and expansion in other life spheres
	- Employment transitions (jobs) in the UK
	- Interlinked transitions in the UK in other life spheres, namely education, family, perceived social mobility, migrant community, housing, attachment towards Romania and attachment towards the UK
	- Plans regarding geographic international mobility: do they intend to remain or do they want to leave the UK
	Analysis of the relations between plans to remain or to leave the UK and occupational success and expansion in other life spheres

Miller and Crabtree (1999) propose four main qualitative analysis methods: quasi-statistics, template, editing[48] and immersion/crystallisation.[49] This research employs two of these methods – the template and quasi-statistics.

Firstly, the template analysis implies the use of a 'codebook', an established set of codes and themes which are relevant for the research aim. In this sense, this research utilised the template method of thematic narrative analysis. Bryman and Bell (2015:599) define thematic narrative analysis as the construction of "an index of central themes and subthemes, which are then represented in a matrix that closely resembles an SPSS spreadsheet with its display of cases and variables". Congruently, Braun and Clarke (2006:6) deem that "thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data". For this study, thematic narrative implies the analysis of personal accounts (stories) of occupational experiences / transitions in connection with other life spheres (such as education, family and migration).

Muller (1999) explains that 'narrative' stands for both method of inquiry (as research process) and text (as product of storytelling). Correspondingly, the life history transcripts are organised into thematic narrative categories, chronologically tracing the individual occupational trajectories (Spencer et al., 2003). The occupational patterns are the result of systematic comparisons between the life spheres (occupation, migration and education) – resulting in (i) the lifetime career and (ii) the migration career. Dissimilarly, the data obtained from the gatekeeper[50] (Cheltenham Spa) and the informant (London) is analysed on topics and issues commonly relevant for Romanian migrants in the UK.

The career trajectories of Romanian migrants in the UK are interpreted based on two types of time sequencing: *the historical time* and *the migration time*. On one hand, the historical time assesses the overall (during lifetime) career characteristics and mobility of the individual. The historical time includes occupational and educational trajectories

[48] Based on grounded theory, implying a methodological process in which the research engages data in comparison with theory, in order to achieve theoretical saturation.
[49] Based on reflexive theory, implying a methodological process in which primary data interpretations present no pre-established codes or themes with the aim of obtaining theoretical crystallisations.
[50] Person who offers or aids the researcher to access participants. (Bryman and Bell, 2015).

interlocked with the international migration periods (to any other country than Romania). As such, the historical time exposes the potential differences between the flow of transitions undertaken as a non-migrant and as an international migrant. On the other hand, the migration time comprises the inter-linkages between career and other life sphere transitions in order to assert the characteristics of the Romanian migrant career in the UK. The migrant career is based on temporal sequencing at the following stages: time of arrival, 6 months, 1 year, 2 years and so forth.

By applying the lifetime and the migration time transition sequencing, evidences build upon both distal (or structural) and proximal events in the individual's life which reason for the outcomes and performances on the UK labour market, as well as, for the migrant's career success or failure. By definition, in this thesis a participant is considered to pursue an *objective career* only if there exists a specific occupation that is central for her/his life (both in Romania and abroad), an occupation presented by that participant as being an integral part of their identity. All other cases are interpreted as *contingent workers* who do not pursue a career, but rather, in an instrumental manner are prone to take any occupation which would provide higher income, progression or better working conditions in order to fulfil their life plans and goals. The expansion of other life spheres confers positive changes in the individual's life which bears impact upon the intention to remain in the UK and upon the individual's plans for the future. For example, the expansion of the native British social ties or the enrolment to an education course or the formation of family in the UK, are transitions which determine individual behaviour and, as such, affect the migrant occupational trajectory.

In order to answer the research questions by transitions level analysis (during lifetime for several life spheres), unstructured in-depth interview accompanied by the life-grid instrument were chosen as the main data collection techniques. The life-grid interview instrument involves consistent chronologically-sequenced factual data in terms of periods, durations and characteristics of: migration, occupation, education and family events transitions, permitting data quantification. Understanding the life story narratives as chains of transitions meant that each of transition characteristics is converted into numerical data. In other words, the job features (such as commute, full

or part-time, temporary or permanent), the historical and societal aspects (especially, the push-pull migration forces), as well as the meanings, intentions and goals assigned by the participants is quantified in order to allow measurement and comparison.

Table 1: Total number of transitions by life spheres and the country in which took place, corresponding to the research sample of 21 participants

	Romania	UK	Elsewhere	Total
Migration (international and internal) transition	24	37	9	70
Educational transition	40	13	1	54
Unemployment transitions	15	7	0	22
Employment transitions	57	100	8	165
Family-related transitions	11	18	0	29

Coding the empirical data at the transitions level resulted in a significant amount of data for which a second analysis method was chosen, namely the quasi-statistics method. This analysis method implies the conversion of textual data into numerical data, which is then analysed via descriptive statistics (Maxwell, 2008, 2010; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009). The social methodology debates pertaining to the dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative methods often imply boundaries in terms of data measurement process, sampling, analysis instruments and limitations. However, this dichotomy is "only stylistic and [is] methodologically and substantively unimportant […] both quantitative and qualitative research can be systematic and scientific" (King et al., 1992:4-5). Alike, Tarrow (2010) points out that it is often the case of looking to explain either one or the other social methodology approach, rather than explaining the relation between the two methods. Correspondingly, it is suggested that one such relation might entail the framing of qualitative data within a systematic quantitative database which supports the qualitative analysis.

Brady et al. (2010) deem that utilizing quantitative elements (systematization) in a qualitative study offers the researcher access to superior (standard) tools for exploring the data. Concomitantly, the quasi-statistics procedure is expected to bridge the quantitative and the qualitative methods – advancing methodological discussions in terms of relevant alternatives for bypassing the rigidity / narrowness of the quantitative method and the often 'un-tenable' level of generality characteristics to the qualitative

method. To sum it up, in this study, the quasi-statistic method is to be understood as the methodological instrument by which the qualitative researcher is permitted to approximate models of descriptive and causal inference – as the method which allows for more precise statements such as 'some', 'usually' and 'most' (Maxwell, 2010).

Furthermore, the grounded theory approach follows an inductive orientation, and often is designed for the use of qualitative data in case-study research (Hammersley, 2012). Grounded theory implies deep familiarity with the subject, and systematic comparisons between the cases explaining in a typifying manner as representations of various aspects of the social world – meaning that grounded theory approach permits for causal inferences via the quasi-statistics method.

Creswell and Poth (2018) consider that the recommended (appropriate) sample size for a grounded theory study is between 20 to 60 interviews. This study uses a small-scale sample (21 participants). Given the methodological choice for quasi-longitudinal data at the transition level (during lifetime in several life spheres), which leads to a manageable yet significantly rich empirical data which required the quasi-statistical method (see Table 1).

According with the quasi-longitudinal research design, retrospective data at the transition level was collected and coded. In order to counter the effects of the researcher's retrospective bias, objectivity is sought by maintaining scepticism in the processing of life history reconstructions. Clausen (1986:13-14) points out that often "we create myths to provide continuity between past and present", and as such "even the most admirably moral, intellectually gifted, and well-meaning persons may be quite unable to reconstruct the past in an unbiased manner, or even to remember it accurately. Forewarned, we can be sceptical of personal recitals of the past influences and yet be sensitive to the present meanings of such accounts". The main type of retrospective bias encountered during the analysis process related to the narrative content, as during the thematic analysis there were instances where the participant would omit to discuss or to explain a certain situation / experience / event. In these instances, the researcher would take note of the issue without bringing any modifications to the analysis dataset, as only the 'what is said' narratives are

systematically examined. In other words, maintaining an objective stance as a researcher by working with the stated facts, rather than with assumptions or inferences regarding the participant's personal biographical timelines and events.

Given the research aim and methodology, the results are presented in a typological format. Wengraf (2001:305) deems that "typologies – implicit or explicit – lie between the general and the particular: they can be regarded as the formalization of real and imagined historical difference". Fawcett and Downs (1992:9) reason that typologies present an explanatory character as they "specify relations between dimensions or characteristics of individuals, groups, situations, or events. They explain how the parts of a phenomenon are related to one another". In this study, typology confers the forms and structures of the transition, and the diversity / variation types of the transition in accordance with the main analysis criteria, namely – occupational career and international migration.

3.3. The field research

3.3.1. Multi-sited study: Cheltenham Spa, Leicester and London

The research strategy was to identify the location of Romanian migrant enclaves[51] and, subsequently, to make the participant selection from those localities. Using official business registers, ONS data, and social media websites, a secondary data desk-research was carried out in order to localise[52] the areas with high density of Romanian businesses and services. The research locus was London, as studies (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva, 2013; Vargas-Silva, 2014) suggested that the majority of Romanian migrants in the UK are capital-city residents.

[51] Initially, the study was considering the research of migration from the human geography angle, namely the migrant enclave community and neighbourhood, by using the netnography method (the ethnographic study of online communities and virtual worlds) (Bowler, 2010).

[52] In theory, the place of work and the residence of migrants are often in close geographical proximity (Khattab et al., 2010).

As the research aim refocused from migrant enclave to the migrant career, additional research locations were added. Based on a classic social field research approach, I contacted the Embassy of Romania to the UK of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in order to identity any formal diaspora associations and representatives. After establishing a research-only email address and putting together a research informative letter, the first wave of interview invitations went out. Just two positive replies were received – one on behalf of the Romanian Embassy and another, on behalf of the representative of the Gloucestershire Romanian community. Concomitantly, at the suggestions of the thesis supervisors, efforts were made to access Romanian migrants in Leicester. In the end, in accordance with the changes in thesis aim, three field research locations were selected: Cheltenham Spa, London and Leicester.

3.3.2. The fieldwork timeline

The field research comprised two waves of data collection, the first in 2015 (February-September) and the second in 2017 (January-April), summing up to over 12 months of field-related activity. More details about the fieldwork experience are found in Annex 2.

Field preparation and pilot: February 2015

During February 2015, invitations letters[53] were sent to a total of 29 Romanian migrant community associations, organisations, media and religious representatives (priests and reverends). More than half of the contact details were out of date (email addresses, phone numbers, including no longer active associations). A few rejected the invitation based on either lack of availability or lack of interest. Two positive replies were received, one on behalf of the Embassy of Romania to the UK of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and another from the representative of a Romanian professional network in the UK who was also the leader of the Romanians in Gloucestershire community.

The first meeting took place with the Embassy representative responsible with social and employment relations of Romanians in the UK. The interview was in an official setting[54] in London, and it lasted around 1h15'. The interview offered insights in aspects

[53] The invitation letters forms are shown in Annex 1.1.
[54] One of the convention rooms of the Romanian Embassy.

such as: a) Romanian community in the UK and b) common employment issues of Romanian migrants in the UK[55].

The gatekeeper of the Romanian community in Gloucestershire was a diaspora leader with strong opinions and knowledge on the subject of Romanian migration. The first interaction took place over the phone, a conversation of about 45' on various subjects relating to the emerging Romanian communities in the UK and their activities (such as cultural events, workshops, weekend school for Romanian language and history etc.). He expressed interest in the study and agreed to lend a hand, offering information and the contacts of Romanian migrants in the UK. A face-to-face interview was organized.

1st data collection wave: March – September 2015

The face-to-face interview with the representative of Romanian community in Gloucestershire (the gatekeeper) took place in Royal Leamington Spa. The meeting lasted around 5h, out of which 1h20' was recorded and released as research data (with a signed informed consent form).[56] The setting of the interview was informal, and at the choice of the interviewee. The interview questions regarded: a) the trends of Romanian migration in the UK, b) the discrepancies between Romania and the UK, and c) the Romanian diaspora community characteristics.[57]

The pilot study was carried out during my first visit to Cheltenham Spa, at the first ever gathering of the Romanian community in Gloucestershire. Overall, 6 Romanians (4 women and 2 men) willingly talked about their employment life histories in light of their international migration experiences. All were informed that this was not an official interview, as nothing was recorded and as the notes are solely for the researcher's eyes (not the actual research data). For all 6 Romanians, phone numbers and email addresses were obtained.

As a consequence of the pilot study, I became aware of the need for a different type of interview that would permit qualitative data collection in a structured manner, given

[55] The interview was not recorded and the notes taken during the discussion were not officially released as research data.
[56] The informed consent forms (English and Romanian versions) are found in Annex 1.2.
[57] The remaining time was spent listening to the gatekeeper's plans regarding the Romanian community and plans for the Romanian language school in Gloucestershire.

that discussing history implies durations and sequences of events. Hence, a quasi-longitudinal research design was adopted and the life-grid interview became the main instrument for collecting the occupational and migration histories. Following, 4 out of the 6 six migrants with whom discussions were carried during the pilot, accepted to formally participate in the study.

By the end of May 2015, other three visits were made to Cheltenham Spa, and a total of 8 interviews were completed (each with a signed consent form). The data obtained (interview transcripts) was returned to the participants for verification. All the interviews were carried out in comfortable familiar settings and at the choice of the participant – public spaces such as coffee shops, restaurants, parks or their private homes.

Access to participants in London was obtained through the gatekeeper's professional network. During our interactions, some names were mentioned and it was suggested to either give them a call or contact them via email, activity which resulted in three research interviews. However, at that point, the access to participants reached an impasse. Although references were made, contacts were established, getting to the interview phase became problematic. As a solution, a couple of visits were made to London, in search of Romanian spaces. However, due the lack of personal social connections in the area, no research data was collected.

Meanwhile, in order to identify Romanian migrants living in London, I contacted PhD colleagues at other universities across the UK. Going through my personal network paid off, as a couple of friends managed to put in me contact with some of their acquaintances. Three more interviews where accomplished, one of them leading to other two interviews in London, and one interview in Leicester. The interviews took place in public places, mostly in coffee shops.

Nevertheless, I kept trying to access relevant informants or gatekeepers. As such, I made two more visits to London, this time with the goal of attending Romanian diaspora events.[58] At both events, contact numbers of diaspora representatives and

[58] Specifically, 1) an employment advice seminar for Romanian migrants organised by the Romanian Embassy in collaboration with the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority in the UK, including various

migrants were obtained. However, although contact was established, no migrant interviews were recorded. A total of three representatives were contacted, out of which just one accepted to be part of the research (the informant). The other two instances, including the N-E London Romanian diaspora representative met at a diaspora event, refused having a formal interview.

The face-to-face interview with the representative of the Romanian community in London took a little over 1h. The setting of the interview was informal, taking place at a fancy coffee bar around King's Cross station. This participant is considered a Romanian community informant given the following characteristics: a) long-term Romanian migrant (year of arrival in the UK was 1999); b) permanent resident; and c) transnational business entrepreneur (both in Romanian and in the UK). The informant was a visible and active person in the Romanian diaspora in UK, being the subject and the author of various British mass media and social media articles. The interview collected opinions on: a) the trends of Romanian migration in UK, b) the labour market outcomes of migrants and c) Romanian migrant community characteristics.[59]

Concomitantly, efforts were made in order to secure interviews in Leicester. The main reasons of searching for participants in Leicester[60] were a) proximity (the researcher's place of residence) and b) the migrant character of the city. After January 2015, I had noticed the increase of Romanian-speakers in various locations around the city – such as city centre or Narborough Road (the most multi-cultural and multi-ethnic street in the city). Besides international transport and couriers, several Romanian shops and restaurants opened, catering for these migrants. However, despite these developments, access to participants proved problematic as there was no Romanian migrant association. Also, the majority of the Romanian migrants tended to be very recent arrivals (with less than 6 months of residence in the UK). In total, just 3 interviews were made in Leicester.

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other local Romanian migrant associations / organisations; and 2) the World Refugee Day event organized in by a Northern London borough.

[59] On a tangent, this was the only interview where, at the preference of the informant, a third person was present during the discussion. Nevertheless, this did not affect the quality of the interview – the third person was an observer, never interrupting or participating during the interview recording.

[60] Also, a supervisory recommendation.

2nd data collection wave: January – April 2017

In between the two waves of data collection, the recorded interviews were transcribed, validated by the participants and organised based on the individual socio-demographic characteristics. As the data was organised, I noticed that the sample presented a gendered character (more women than men). Additionally, it became apparent that the sample required balance also in terms of interview site (the majority being collected in Cheltenham Spa). Consequently, in order to assure the sample variance, I decided to go for another round of data collection. This time around, solely via my social network, I contacted friends and family members in Romania, in order to identify and access potential participants in London. A total of 5 interviews were collected in London, all taking place in either public or private settings, at coffee shops or at the participant's home. Overall, the fieldwork took longer than planned, due to issues regarding the access to participants. The key difficulty was not necessarily identifying Romanian migrant spaces or diaspora communities, but reaching the face-to-face interview stage.

The life-grid forms corresponding to the interviews from the first research wave were updated as the level of 2017, by phone or email, and validated with the participants.

As a tentative assumption, it was a matter of context-related opportunities dependent on the participant's flexibility given their time availability, openness and willingness to interact with other Romanians. The decision to exit the field was mediated by reaching sample variance (saturation)[61] – a sample which is balanced in terms of gender, yet presenting a wide spectrum of migration motivations, aims, periods of arrival, origin and destination residences, ages, family statuses, education levels, and occupations.

[61] Saturation is achieved as "successive interviews/observations have both formed the basis for creation of a category and confirmed its importance and there is no need to continue with data collection in relation to that category or cluster of categories" (Bryman and Bell, 2015:431).

3.4. Data collection: instruments and participants

This section presents the research instruments, the sampling method, as well as the main characteristics of the participants in the research sample.

3.4.1. The sampling methods and selection criteria

The research comprises multi-method sampling – specifically, the snowball, the generic purposive and the maximum variation techniques. The primary sampling method was the snowball technique – a non-probabilistic technique that does not account for the entirety of the population, but identifies a small group of people appropriate for the research purpose. Bryman and Bell (2015) consider this technique to be the most suitable for the study of shifting (mobile) populations.

Concomitantly, the generic purposive sampling[62] and maximum variation techniques (both non-probabilistic techniques) were utilised. On one hand, the generic purposive sampling was guided by the multi-sited character of the research, as a means to confer a balanced distribution[63] of interviews in terms of fieldwork locations. However, due to lack of developments in one of the locations (Leicester), the sample is balanced based on gender (the guiding purpose of the 2nd data collection wave).

On the other hand, Maykut and Morehouse (1994:56-57) consider that the maximum variation technique "attempts to understand some phenomenon by seeking out persons or settings that represent the greatest differences in that phenomenon. [… and] provides the qualitative researcher with a method by which the variability characteristics of random selection can be addressed, while recognizing that the goal of a qualitative study is not generalizability". In this sense, the research sample

[62] Generic purposive sampling "may be employed in a sequential or in a fixed manner and the criteria for selecting cases or individuals may be formed a priori (for example, socio-demographic criteria) or be contingent or a mixture of both" (Bryman and Bell, 2015:433).

[63] According to Ruane (2015) the generic purposive sampling technique implies intentional selection of sample characteristics, based on the 'know best' of the researcher.

heterogeneity results from discrepancies in: age, period of arrival in UK, migration aim, education level, English language proficiency, family status (from single to married with children), work experience (number of years spent in employment, both pre-migration and overall), and type of occupation (low-skill to high-skill). Accordingly, aside from gender, the principle sample selection criteria were:

- Romanian nationality individuals (women and men),
- Who experienced voluntary international migration,
- Who present a minimum of 6 months residence in the UK,
- And, who had been employed in the formal employment on the UK labour market (informal and illegal types of labour are out of scope).

The study uses a small-scale sample (21 participants), given the methodological choice for quasi-longitudinal data at the transitions level (during lifetime for several life spheres), which leads to a significantly large yet manageable amount of empirical data to need a quasi-statistical method of analysis.

Response rate

In terms of response / participation rate, during the first wave, as a result of both written and verbal research invitations, a total of 10 direct and 5 indirect refusals were received. A direct refusal means a definite and clear 'no' from the participant. Often, these were cases of limited availability or lack of interest in the study. An indirect refusal meant an initial 'yes' which became a 'no' after a couple of follow-ups. For example, the individual would agree and give out their contact number; I would call and receive a conditional 'yes' (e.g. not this week, call me later); I would return with a call as indicated, and after reminding them about the research, I would inquire about whether they are still willing to participate and try to set up the interview date / location. However, usually after a couple phone calls with the purpose of setting a meeting, the individual would either end communication or further postpone it. As a rule, after the third failure to set up a meeting, I would consider the case an indirect refusal and would no longer pursue the contact. Just one case of indirect refusal was the matter of 'bad timing', as

the individual unexpectedly became unemployed, and the idea of talking about the occupational history was depressing (made explicit by the individual).

3.4.2. The interview: life-grid and questions

As specified earlier, during the pilot study it became obvious that a structured instrument is required in order to assure the collection of the rich data of migration and occupational life histories / events. Without an interview instrument, it proved difficult for both researcher and participant to verify the data. Focusing on the occupational life implies assuring that all durations and periods of employment / unemployment, including their characteristics and stories, were chronologically[64] discussed.

Moreover, there was also the issue of recording each occupational transition alongside other life spheres. As such, a quasi-longitudinal research design is adopted, the interview recording retrospective data about the entire individual history in the life spheres of migration, occupation, education, family, and with regard to the UK, neighbourhood and housing. The research instruments were adjusted, choosing the in-depth interview in conjunction with the life-grid instrument. The in-depth interview has been semi-structured, as the aim has been "to achieve both breadth of coverage across key issues and depth of coverage within each" (Legard et al., 2003:148).

According to Parry et al. (1999) the life-grid instrument[65] is an accurate, yet dynamic, qualitative tool for collecting life course retrospective data. The life-grid instrument entails a joint endeavour, cross-referencing and access to relevant contingent life events (e.g. family status changes). The pace of the interview is set by the participant (Richardson et al., 2009), and the instrument allows the participant to jump in with either corrections or additional information. Given the retrospective data, often the participant could not remember the exact period or the entirety of occupations held during lifetime. In these instances, I would read back to the participant the past occupations and events in a chronological order. Or, I would offer the life-grid to the participant in order to help with the recollection. In this sense, both the researcher and

[64] "In sum, knowing history is important in some situations because it is critical to addressing the meaning and significance of current life-course transitions" (Henretta, 2003:100).
[65] For the life-grid instrument see Annex 1.3.

participant are reconstructing the life history. As Tierney (2000:550) said "life history is something more than collective memory. Ideology and social and cultural frames help define how we see the past and construct its stories. Identity is not something fixed and predetermined; rather, it is constantly re-created. In this re-creation, the past's histories help construct the future."

The interview started with introductions, which were sometimes followed by a brief moment of awkwardness or shyness from the participant. Consequently, although the interviewing process was explained beforehand, I would allow the participant free choice of a topic, and initiate small talk. When the participant was ready to start the interview, I would explain again that the research is about their work life history in light of international migration experiences, starting from the first job ever to the current job. Once the participant would confirm, I would start recording.

Given the in-depth interview method with the focus on narratives of migration and career, immersed in the broader life history[66] very few questions were fixed. Nevertheless, the following questions aided with the mapping of the discussion. Generally, the interview would start with '*what was your first job ever?*' question. The participant would talk about each occupational transition in terms of: a) job characteristics, b) job choice and access, c) its meaning (if any) in terms of self-actualization and social mobility and d) reasons for job change. The same process was applied to all subsequent occupational experiences.

In the instances of participants with pre-migration work life, the questions regarding international migration characteristics and impact were discussed in a chronological manner. If only post-migration work life (as in the first job ever took place after the international migration), the interview would start with '*why did you choose to leave Romania?*' and/or '*why did you choose the UK?*' question(s).

The career topic would either come up organically (as the participant would start talking about the topic on their own) or through questions like '*what does career mean*

[66] Where "life history refers to a chronology of events and activities across life domains, such as residence, household composition, education, work life, and family events […] Retrospective life histories record past events and experiences in terms of the present, and thus entail potential distortion or misrepresentation, especially in relation to emotion-laden events and their meaning" (Elder Jr. and Johnson, 2003:56-57).

to you?' and '*do you consider that you have a career?*'. The interview would conclude with questions about language – '*how important is English language in order to be successful in the UK?*', and intentions for the future – '*what are your future plans, both short and long term (let's say 5 years from now)?*'. All questions were open-ended, meaning that the participant would narrate their life story with little interruption from the researcher. The interruptions were mainly for verification purposes (to avoid data inaccuracy).

3.4.3. The research sample

The size of the research sample is that of 21 with Romanian migrants in the UK. In addition, two[67] more interviews with knowledgeable representatives of Romanian communities were carried out, one with the gatekeeper (Cheltenham Spa) and one with the informant (London). The nature of these interviews is different, as the data collected focuses on the Romanian migrant community and their occupational trends in the UK.

The research sample comprises of 9 men and 12 women participants. As shown by Bîrsan and Campbell (2008), this distribution by gender is in line with the feminized character of international migration patterns from Romania to the northern Europe.

Predominantly, the participants are under 40 years of age, with a minimum of 24 and a maximum of 56 years old.[68] The migration period (first arrival in the UK) covers the period between 1972 and 2016. Before the first arrival in the UK, the migrants were aged between 9 and 31 years old (with an average age of 25 years old). Thus, with the exception of one interviewee, who migrated during childhood, all the other participants were young adults at the first arrival in the UK.

The participants came from various Romanian social backgrounds / classes. According to their own assessments, 9 belonged to middle class, 7 from poor families, while 6 were from well-off families. In terms of health, previous to migration, just four of them declared some problems relating mainly to severe work accidents or depression.

[67] Excluding the interview with the Romanian government agency representative in the UK, from which no research data was released.
[68] Age determined at the moment of interview (2017).

The majority (12) were single, while 6 were in a serious relationship and two[69] were married and had one child each.[70] Only one owned a dwelling, while the others were living together with their families or in rented flats. The research sample contains predominantly young people who could not set up an independent household, experiencing a prolonged period of dependency. In this regard, the research sample corresponds to the average Romanian international migrant profile: young (between 20 to 40 years of age) with no opportunities for a decent life in the home country (lacking ownership of house or apartment) (Dimitriu, 2010).

All participants completed formal education in Romania, with the exception of (AMM, W3) who was a child at the time of arrival in the UK. Previous to migration, in absolute numbers: 1 participant completed vocational school, 7 high school (of which 1 was already enrolled as a student), 10 were graduates and 2 postgraduates. Compared with a statistically representative sample of Romanian migrants (ibid; Stănculescu and Stoiciu, 2012), this research sample over-represents individuals with higher education.

A subjective self-assessment was utilised to establish the language proficiency of each participant. So, 9 declare high language skills (native / bilinguals or full professional proficiency), 9 participants present medium skills (professional working proficiency), and 3 participants have limited working proficiency.

All interviewees used to live in large cities, which are county capitals in Romania. In fact, 6 persons came from the capital city (Bucharest), 8 from cities with a population of 200-300 thousand inhabitants,[71] and 7 from smaller urban centres with 14-100 thousand inhabitants.[72] As compared with a statistically representative sample of migrants for work abroad (Sandu, 2005; 2010), natives from the North-East region of Romania are over-represented in the research sample (11 participants), while the rest divide amongst different southern regions, predominantly from Bucharest.

[69] (AB, W8) and (GB, M1).
[70] In addition, (AMM, W3) was a child at her first arrival to the UK.
[71] These are considered large cities and university centres in Romania, namely Bacău, Constanţa, Craiova, Galaţi and Iaşi.
[72] These refer to Husi, Rm. Vâlcea, Slobozia, and Vatra Dornei.

Figure 1: The distribution of participants by origin location in Romania

Note: N = 21 participants in the research sample.

To summarize, the research sample over-represents individuals with higher education, predominantly originating from urban localities. Given the maximum variation sampling technique and the research aim, the sample offers significant occupational experiences (namely, formal continuous employment periods for more than 9 months), in low and high skill jobs, both pre- and post- international migration to the UK.

3.5. Data management

This research is based on a total of 23 formal interviews, each accompanied by a signed informed consent form. The participants' interviews (21) are also accompanied by a completed life-grid interview form. Interviews were face-to-face, digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim.[73]

[73] There is one phone interview with no recording. This is the case of (RED, M6), who due to family responsibilities was not available for a face-to-face interview. At his suggestion, we agreed upon having a phone interview. However, due to hardware malfunction (the device did not record, although it was showing otherwise) there is no digital recording. In this instance, the research data is based on information

In terms of interview duration, the minimum took 40 minutes and the maximum took 120 minutes, with an average of 76 minutes. The gatekeeper and informant interviews each took around one hour. The language of the interview depended on the participant's choice. The majority of the interviews were carried out in Romanian, and a couple – the cases of (AMM, W3)[74] and (ILS, W4)[75] – were in English.

The interview transcriptions were carried out either by the researcher or by transcriptionists. Due to time constraints, I outsourced some of the Romanian language interviews to transcriptionists in Romania. Once the transcripts were received, I would authenticate them via the digital recordings. Furthermore, with several exceptions, most of the interview transcripts were then delivered to the participants for verification purposes. The exceptions were instances of participants who requested to not receive the interview transcripts or to not be contacted any further regarding the study.

The translation from Romanian to English was made by the researcher, as the translation of qualitative data is often a reflexive process of sense-making given that cultural differences are negotiated in light of the researcher's authority (Xian, 2008; Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2004). This activity assured uniformity in term of the translation interpretation, given that sometimes idioms or proverbs specific to the Romanian culture have no equivalent in English language. In instances of Romanian specific idioms and proverbs, the researcher provides the appropriate explanation or meaning.

Overall, the interview transcripts totalled approximately 166.000 words. Aside from the transcripts, other types of data[76] were collected throughout the fieldwork period.

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from the life-grid interview form and interview notes, containing some verbatim quotes. Nevertheless, at one of the Gloucestershire community events, the participant signed the consent form.

[74] (AMM, W3) identifies herself with the Romanian nationality, but has been a British citizen since late 1970s. Before the interview started, she mentioned that her understanding of the Romanian language is quite good, but speaking the language is not that easy.

[75] (ILS, W4) is of Romanian nationality and citizenship, but she preferred to discuss in English due to occupational terminology – being unsure about the corresponding terms in Romanian language.

[76] During the fieldwork, occasionally, I took photographs and videos of Romanian migrant spaces and events. All the visual data was collected in public spaces, as "although the legal situation is not crystal clear, in the UK and the USA, anyone is allowed to take photographs in public spaces, even if the photo shows a private place. Legally, then, consent from people pictures in public places is not required" (Rose, 2012:333). However, this type of data is not included in the analysis, given that some individuals might be identifiable, hence conflicting with the ethical stance of the thesis. Nevertheless, the visual data proved to be valuable for the researcher's recollection of the fieldwork experience.

The life-grid confers the interview recording as the chronological outline of the key research theme (occupation) in correspondence with other life spheres (international migration, education, and family) as experienced by each participant.

In terms of storage, the data is kept in both hard and soft formats (MS-Word, MS-Excel and .m4a). The raw data is backed-up on both private devices and university servers. With the exception of the paid transcriptionists, the raw qualitative data was not distributed to other parties. After anonymising the transcripts, some were shown to the supervisors, for sole purpose to seek guidance. Except for these occasions, under no other circumstances (context or purpose) was the data shared or disseminated with any other third parties.

3.6. Data analysis

3.6.1. Themes and transitions

The analysis is based on qualitative primary data. The qualitative data is analysed as (a) narrative, for which the unit of analysis is the paragraph or the dialogue scene, and as (b) quantified data, for which the unit of analysis is the transition.

The data as narrative identifies the recurring Romanian during lifetime (overall) career patterns. In this regard, the narrative analysis comprises 21 case studies[77] (one for each participant), sorted on the following themes:

- Occupation: employment attainment in terms of: (i) job characteristics; (ii) career choices and opportunities; and (iii) the motivations for changing the job.
- Career: the participant's subjective interpretation and assessment of career and career success, in terms of occupational and overall life satisfaction.
- International migration: the principal reasons for migrating and choosing the UK, participant's characteristics on arrival, duration of stay, as well as individual 'being a migrant' narratives.

[77] Case study is strongly associated with qualitative research "particularly because case studies allows for the generation of multiple perspectives either through multiple data collection methods, or through the creation of multiple accounts from a single method" (Gray, 2009:169).

- Education: the formal or informal education attainment in Romania and abroad.
- English proficiency: the participant's language skill self-assessment, and its impact on the occupational trajectory during migration.
- Family: proximal or distal social networks, family or friends, in Romania or in the UK, which influence the individual when it comes to international migration decision, occupational choice and behaviour.
- Life in the UK: social integration and adaptation to the UK, involving interactions with native and Romanian / other nationality migrants, living in a migrant neighbourhood and housing – as such events influence the individual's attitude towards the host society.
- Future goals and plans: narratives regarding the intention to remain in the UK or return to Romania, containing the reasoning of the choice. The intentions are discussed for both near future (1 year from the time of the interview) and distant future (5 years from the time of the interview).

Sorting the narratives into analytical themes means that the outputs illustrate the participant's overall life course in terms of occupation, education, international migration and family transitions.

In order to analyse the trajectories and transitions of Romanian migrants in the UK, the data is quantified then compiled into two databases,[78] namely:

- Database at the participant level (21 case studies)

- Database at the transitions level (a total of 340 transitions during lifetime across all life spheres, see Table 1).

The data analysis process consists of three phases. Firstly, thematic analysis is conducted for each of the 21 life history narratives, resulting in an Excel colour-coded database. Based on the chronological sequencing of occupational transitions (primary interest of the research) transitions pertaining to the other life spheres are attached.

Secondly, once the narrative themes and subthemes are quantified, results the initial SPSS database – namely, the case study database (participant level). The purpose of this

[78] For the complete list of variables used for both SPSS databases see Annex 1.4.

database is to organise the cases by socio-demographics and other characteristics, like: social class, place of origin and residence, language proficiency, citizenship, and even partner's occupation and nationality.

Thirdly, the periods, the durations and the characteristics of transitions formed a second SPSS database – namely, the transitions database. The transition is operationalised as the change from an initial state to a new different state in terms of:

- Occupation/ Employment transitions: Any change of occupation and/or of employer, considering both employment and unemployment. Employment transitions refer to both formal and informal jobs, paid or unpaid. Unemployment transitions refer both to: (i) the job-seeking periods (the cases of 'without a job, but looking for a job') and (ii) the not-into the labour market periods (the cases of 'without a job, but with other interests than finding employment'). The employment transitions are measured with the International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO) codes[79] (ILO, 2012) and by the International Standard Industrial Classification of all Economic Activities (ISIC) codes[80] (UN, 2008). Thus, in line with Carr and Sheridan (2001), this procedure aims to detect only the substantial occupational changes.
- Educational transitions: Any change of the formal education level and/or the completion of formal trainings / qualifications (including cases in which diploma or certificate pending completion at the time of the interview), starting with high school or vocational school. For this category, the following categories

[79] The classification of occupations by skill distribution comprising 9 main occupational codes: ISCO9 for elementary occupations; ISCO8 for plant and machine operators / assemblers; ISCO7 for craft and related trade workers; ISCO6 for skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers; ISCO5 for service and sales workers; ISCO4 for clerical support; ISCO3 for technicians and associate professionals; ISCO2 for professionals; ISCO1 for managers and business owners. Although the sample does not record any ISCO6 or ISCO9, the analysis utilises the entirety scale.

[80] The classification of occupations by the economic domain of the activity comprising the codes: (A) agriculture, forestry and fishery; (B) mining and quarrying; (C) manufacturing; (D) electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply; (E) water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities; (F) construction; (G) wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles; (H) transportation and storage; (I) accommodation and food service activities; (J) information and communication; (K) financial and insurance activities; (L) real estate activities; (M) professional, scientific and technical activities; (N) administrative and support service activities; (O) public administration and defence, compulsory social security; (P) education; (Q) human health and social work activities; (R) arts, entertainment and recreation; (S) other service activities; (T) activities of households as employers, undifferentiated goods- and service-producing activities of households for own use; (U) activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies.

were utilised: (a) high school and vocational school; (b) undergraduate and postgraduate diploma in Romania; (c) formal training in the UK; and (d) undergraduate and postgraduate diploma in the UK.

- Family transitions: Any change in relationship and marital status. For this category, the following categories were utilised: (a) single (never married), (b) in a serious relationship (living together with the partner), (c) marriage with/without children (primary family in Romania), and (d) family in UK (forming, coming with or bringing primary family to the UK). The data uncovered other types of family transitions that bear impact upon the life trajectory, such as: (DI, W7) for whom the death of her mother meant the loss of interest in Romania (not even as holiday destination) and taking the British citizenship; (AI, W10) who due to unstable family situation enters the labour market at 16 years of age (the legal working age in Romania); (SD, M3) for whom the initial motive for migrating to the UK is to be with his partner, but soon after arrival, the relationship ends; (AN, W6) who after a serious work accident, her engagement ends, so she cancels the wedding, then the proximal community becomes unsupportive, and as a consequence, chooses to migrate to the UK; and (ML, M5) who, after the death of his father, follows in his footsteps by choosing the same career, namely cookery.
- Migration transitions: Any change of the permanent place of residence – be the movement internal (within national borders) or international (across national borders). Internal migration transitions are measured only for instances in Romania and in the UK. Internal migration transitions are included in the analysis, on the premise that they might act as catalyst for international mobility. International migration transitions are measured as instances of one-month minimum stay abroad. The choice for minimum stay abroad is reasoned by cases where the individual travels to other international destinations, before settling in the UK.

The life course paradigm deems that at any point in time, the individual concomitantly enacts a series of roles pertaining to the different life spheres. Accounting for the

duration and sequence of events, a trajectory represents the sum of all transitions particular to a life sphere – for example, all occupational transitions represent the occupational trajectory or career of the individual.

For data comparability reasons, during the conversion of textual data into numerical format, the following conventions are applied:

- Career: the last jobs for the participants interviewed in 2015 (first wave of fieldwork) were extended up to July 2017 (the reference period) with the use of online public secondary data, obtained from social media, professional networks or via direct contact (phone call) with the participant. In some cases, the participant could not be reached. In these situations, depending on the trajectory and the ISCO code of the job at the time of the interview, I would extend the same code to 2017 – as in the case of participants who have already reached the maximum ISCO code (managers and entrepreneurs).
- Historical time: all occupational trajectories take as starting point the year of the oldest first job ever (during lifetime) of the research sample – namely, the case of (GB, M1) who entered the labour market in 1980.
- Historical time: all educational trajectories have as starting point the age (14 or 15 years) at which the participants started high school or vocational school.

Both the case studies' and the transitions' SPSS databases contain numeric and string variables, and both involved quasi-statistical analysis. Given the sample characteristics, mostly descriptive statistics were performed (frequencies, crosstabs, correlations) and occasionally One-Way Anova variance analysis. The results were exported to Excel in order to be converted into graphical outputs.

It is relevant to understand that every case study entails simultaneously:

- A spatial perspective: where the individual comes from, where they are, where they are planning to be;

- A temporal perspective: a ‘then’ as a native in Romania and a ‘now’ as a migrant in the UK; and

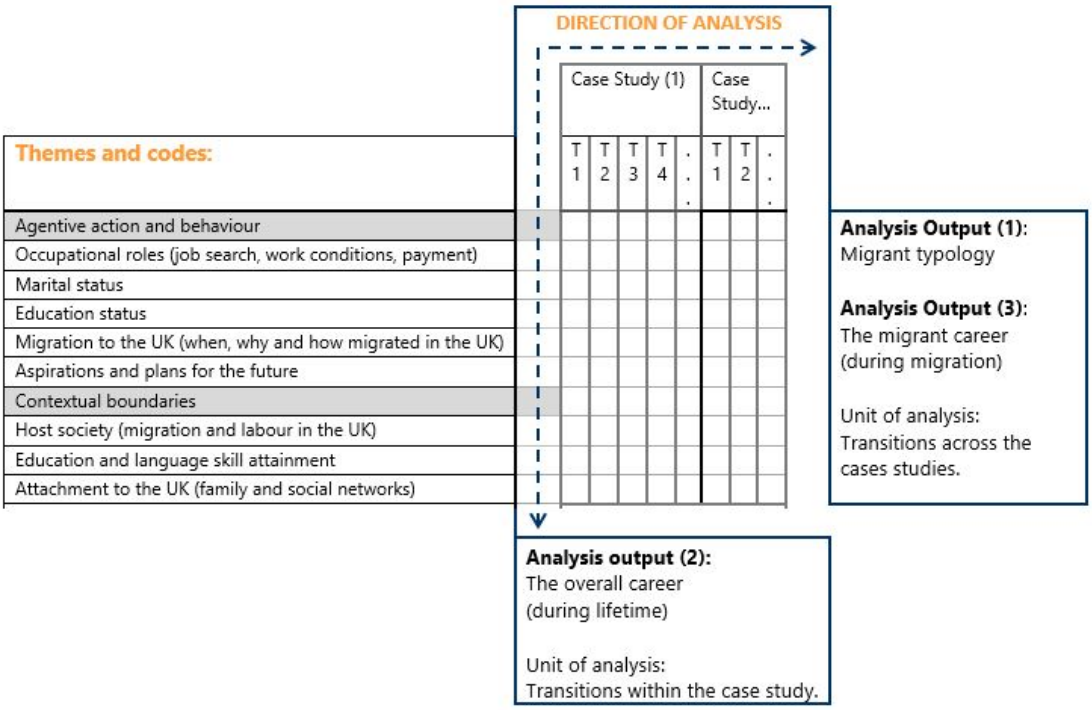
- A level of reality: the way in which the individual rationalises and experiences the career as a native in Romania or as a migrant in the UK.

Fundamentally, this research discusses the journey of the migrant individual on various labour markets, from origin to destination countries. The authenticity and truth of migrant occupational narratives, histories and experiences (transitions) originates in the manner in which the participant interprets their spatiality, temporality and reality. Hence, the results express the impressive itinerary of Eastern Europe Romanian economic migrants on the UK's labour market in light of culturally-coloured career transitions and trajectories interlinked with other life spheres.

3.6.2. Analysis framework

Given the interdisciplinary approach, this grounded study proposes a life course methodological design, tracing the overall and the migration time occupational trajectories. Life history data is collected with the aid of the life-grid interview instrument comprising the in-depth chronological record of all occupational events, as well as other life spheres events regarding migration, education and family statuses. The impact of international migration upon the career plays out in light of its sequential representations upon the occupational trajectory. The multi-sited field research and multi-method sampling methods convey rich data and assured sample heterogeneity.

Figure 2: The analysis framework



The emergent analysis framework[81] is based on thematic narrative and quasi-statistics methods. By looking at the relinquishing and the acquisitions of occupational roles, the structural aspects are enacted via the timing of life events (in terms of age), the ordering of life events (the sequencing) and the duration (the length of time spent in a certain role). Similarly, the micro and macro features characteristic to both country of origin and destination are enacted in the individual narratives.

International migration is measured as the aim of migration, the pull and push factors, and the duration of stay (from temporary to permanent). Additionally, after the arrival in the UK, the analysis accounts for aspects, such as: ethnic labour market concentration (the low wage sectors), language proficiency, transference of professional qualifications and migrant social network. Taking into consideration the migrant's recruitment

[81] "An emergent research design means that you will begin with an initial focus of inquiry and an initial sample, and refine your focus of inquire and sampling strategy as you engage in an ongoing process of data collection and analysis [...] a non-emergent research design means you will pursue your focus of inquiry with qualitative methods of data collection and data analysis, but that you will collect the data, then analyse it" (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994:64).

process (from employment agency to social network) into certain occupations, the characteristics of the migrant occupational transitions are discussed by availability for working long and / or unsocial hours, contract type (full-time, part-time, self-employed), commute, wage, and opportunities for advancement.

When it comes to understanding and explaining the migrant career of Romanians in the UK, the discussion focuses on the trajectories during the lifetime of each participant in view of traditional versus new career types. Understanding the occupational trajectory as interlinked transitions of occupation, education, family and attachment to the UK, the migrant career has many advantages. In particular, it allows the integration of pre-migration occupational experiences, and concomitantly, the exploration of effects of the other life spheres including the international migration experiences in relation to career success (objective and subjective), as experienced and understood by the individuals themselves.

3.7. Ethical research considerations

The researcher role bias was moderated by culturally appropriateness of behaviour and actions during the interactions with the participants. As Janesick (2000:389) argues, one of the most efficient solutions for tackling credibility in qualitative research is to offer the full description of the researcher's role as "the readers need to understand the relationship between researcher and participants", in terms of his or her social, philosophical standpoint in the study.

Contrary to initial expectations, while the research is on Romanian nationals, sharing the same nationality[82] and native language has not implied easy access. I recall the interactions at the World Refugee Day event in N-E London. They kept asking me to take group photos of them. I had to assume the role of 'the rented photographer'. Yet,

[82] The socio-characteristics of the researcher sometimes bear impact upon the access to the participants, as Gallagher (2004:204-2005) explains that "there was a temptation to assume I had access to respondents simply because of our skin colour. Access to others because of one's race is often perceived as a methodological given. [... as such] while inscribing myself within these interviews as a racial insider I was also able to maintain the role of the 'objective' outsider."

there I was, invited to this event, because I was a Romanian. Accessing the Romanian migrants in the UK was heavily dependent on the intensity of the social bond (attachment and belief) rather than just sharing the nationality.

Given the difference between self as researcher and self in relation to participants:

a. Being a Romanian studying Romanians in the UK did not impede on the quality of the data. On the contrary, it helped given that majority of the interviews were carried out in Romanian language.
b. As a researcher, my role was always overt, always introducing myself as a PhD student researching the occupational lives of Romanian migrants in the UK.
c. During discussions with participants or interactions at various events, as a researcher I did not share any personal values or beliefs.
d. As a researcher, I acted in a professional and ethical manner, and on some occasions during the first data collection wave, I took part in various activities, such as: bringing drinks or just supervising children. However, as a researcher I mostly observed the group dynamics rather than participated.

As a Romanian migrant researching Romanians in the UK, I did not experience the 'going native' issue.[83] Speaking both Romanian and English assured objectivity during the fieldwork. Without dismissing the veracity of theory-informed statements and findings,[84] the fieldwork experience made obvious the existence of unexplored alternatives of migrant occupational outcomes and mobility in the UK.

The ethical stance of this research corresponds to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) 2015 framework for research ethics. All interviews have signed informed consent forms, which outlines the research scope, data management and anonymity

[83] "The research setting provides richness and boundaries. It provides an environment within which to interconnect data. But we must not forget other data that may connect it with a broader community or society. Settings are not always ready-made or easy to find. Their choice will depend upon the complex logistics of the broader environment. They may well be the construction of the researcher. 'Culture' is used within qualitative research as an operational, heuristic construct. Researchers must be wary of reducing reality to the 'culture' they themselves constructed" (Holliday, 2007:41).

[84] Which tend to imply or support that the majority of Eastern European migrants: (i) come to the UK solely for economic reasons; (ii) access the low-wage sector where they remain stuck in 3D jobs (dirty, dangerous and demeaning); (iii) and might not achieve career success or upward mobility in the UK due to the lack of formal qualifications / language proficiency.

implications. Furthermore, I would always reiterate at the start and close of the interview that the study is voluntary and of academic character, informing them about the option for refusal or interview interruption at any point during the discussion.

In terms of anonymity, some participants were indifferent[85], especially, those who were or intended to become public / visible figures in the community / the UK. Nevertheless, anonymity measures were taken for all participants, each being assigned a code name. Any other identification data which could bring harm either to the individual or to tertiary parties (such as names of employer, company and institution) were excluded from discussion (being replaced in text with symbols).

[85] As Butler-Kisber (2010:78) explains that "it is difficult to retain anonymity and comply with the institutional review demands required for ethical research [given that] some participants do not want their anonymity identified. Rather, they want their stories to be shared and to be identified."

4 The migrants' geographical mobility prior to the UK

In order to answer [**RQ1**], this chapter sets up the scene by presenting the participants' behaviour of migration out of the origin country, as well as their reasons for leaving Romania. From the migrant's perspective, this chapter confers the migration strategies employed before arriving in the UK, and the international migration push-factors.

4.1. Internal migration within Romania

Out of the research sample, 9 participants had had internal geographical mobility in Romania. Before leaving the country, about a half tried first to either complete university education or find better employment opportunities. For these purposes, they moved from their origin localities to a university centre or a larger city.

Searching for better job opportunities in the capital city

> (IUL, M7): "Why Bucharest [capital city]? Like I said, from my point of view, if you want to do something in any contemporary society, for the lack of better words, you need to go where the information flows. And I know from media, that the information flows at the centre. So, I went to most powerful centre."
>
> Researcher (R): With the intention to do what in Bucharest?
>
> (IUL, M7): "With the intention to continue working in mass media."
>
> R: Did you have any connections in Bucharest?

(IUL, M7): "No, no! Because I like to grab my backpack on and go anywhere, thinking I'll make it, no!? I'm conscious of what I can do, maybe too much sometimes, I confess sometimes so full of myself..."

Overall life dissatisfaction at origin location

(DI, W7): "I wasn't satisfied in Iaşi. I wasn't satisfied financially, professionally, not even personally as I was single. I wasn't in a stable relationship. [...]. Professionally you need to be satisfied. Let's say you wouldn't earn a lot... but I felt that professionally I wasn't progressing. Where I worked, they wouldn't offer new equipment to work with, or trainings, in order to apply my knowledge."

In this sense, although some of the interviewees spent their childhood in rural areas, all of them used to reside in urban localities before choosing to leave Romania.

4.2. International geographical mobility out of Romania

The analysis of the international migration behaviour is based on transitions defined as the change of the country of the permanent place of residence. Since a transition implies, by definition, that the individual studies or works in the destination country for at least one month, the migration transition (although brief in scope) is associated with a gradual change, involving the acquisition and relinquishing of roles.

The migrants used various migration strategies for arriving in the UK. Most of participants (12) moved directly from Romania to the UK. Correspondingly, these individuals have only one international migration transition. Four participants present a multiple transitions strategy, with many migration transitions of back and forth between the origin and the destinations. Finally, the remaining 5 changed one or more countries before arriving in the UK, experiencing many international migration transitions (part of which were to or from the UK). As a consequence, out of the total 37

international migration transitions Romania-abroad, the majority were direct (singular) moves from Romania to the UK (Table 2).

Table 2: International geographical mobility of the participants before arriving in the UK (number of international migration transitions)

Participant code		Migration RO-abroad	Return migration abroad-RO	International migration strategies
AMR	W1	1	0	RO-UK
GB	M1	1	0	RO-UK
MS	M2	3	2	RO-UK-RO-UK-RO-UK
MEC	W2	2	1	RO-USA-RO-UK
AMM	W3	2	0	RO-IL-UK
ILS	W4	1	0	RO-UK
SD	M3	1	0	RO-UK
AD	M4	2	1	RO-UK-RO-UK
CL	W5	1	0	RO-UK
AN	W6	1	0	RO-UK
DI	W7	1	0	RO-UK
AB	W8	1	0	RO-UK
AMC	W9	1	0	RO-UK
ML	M5	6	4	RO-CY-RO-CY-RO-CY-RO-UK-RO-CY-UK
AI	W10	1	0	RO-UK
OI	W11	2	1	RO-UK-RO-UK
RED	M6	3	2	RO-AU-RO-UK-RO-UK
IUL	M7	1	0	RO-UK
GEO	W12	2	1	RO-UK-RO-UK
AP	M8	1	0	RO-UK
GA	M9	3	1	RO-IT-RO-IT-UK
	Total	**37**	**13**	

Notes: W = woman, M = man, RO = Romania, CY = Cyprus, AU = Austria, IL = Israel, IT = Italy. In yellow are marked the cells showing multiple transitions back and forth between Romania and UK and in light grey are cells showing migration strategies that involved other countries besides RO and the UK.

As it can be observed, the analysis shows that there are three types of international migration strategies. These appear to not associate with the gender, level of education or social background from Romania of the participant. Nonetheless, the multiple transitions strategy (back and forth between Romania and the UK) and the migration to various countries are predominant for young people who start migrating abroad earlier (before 20 years old). These two migration strategies also associate with no or very short (occasional, for less than 9 months) employment in the origin country.

Before moving to the UK, only 3 participants had spent more than three months away from Romania (see Table 3). Additionally, half of the interviewees travelled abroad to various countries, for periods shorter than one month.[86]

Table 3: Length of stay in international migration before arriving in the UK

Participant code		Year of birth	Age (in 2017)	Up to 15 years old spent in ...		Since 16 years old to present spent in ...		First arrival in the UK	
				RO (years)	Else-where (years)	RO (years)	Else-where (months)	Year	Age
AMR	W1	1991	26	15		4		2010	19
GB	M1	1961	56	15		15		1991	30
MS	M2	1973	44	15		11		1999	26
MEC	W2	1987	30	15		8	3	2010	23
AMM	W3	1963	54	6	3	-	-	1972	9
ILS	W4	1986	31	15		9		2010	24
SD	M3	1985	32	15		14		2014	29
AD	M4	1990	27	15		3		2008	18
CL	W5	1988	29	15		12		2015	27
AN	W6	1978	39	15		11		2004	26
DI	W7	1976	41	15		16		2007	31
AB	W8	1983	34	15		13		2011	28
AMC	W9	1990	27	15		9		2014	24
ML	M5	1982	35	15		14	21	2013	31
AI	W10	1989	28	15		10		2014	25
OI	W11	1988	29	15		8		2011	23
RED	M6	1980	37	15		9	3	2004	24
IUL	M7	1986	31	15		13		2014	28
GEO	W12	1990	27	15		9		2014	24
AP	M8	1988	29	15		13		2016	28
GA	M9	1993	24	15		7	19	2016	23

Notes: W = woman, M = man, Present = At the moment of interview, in 2017, RO = Romania, Elsewhere = Countries other than RO and UK (USA, IL, CY, AU, IT).

The age at which the first international migration took place differs from the age at the first arrival in the UK for only 5 participants. These individuals present a complex international migration strategy, having migrated to other countries before arriving in the UK. While the majority of the participants have chosen the UK to be the destination of their first ever international migration, there were some (4)[87] who made the choice

[86] According to the methodological operationalisation of the transition, any migration of less than a month is not registered / measured as a transition.
[87] (AMM, W3) is not included, since she migrated during childhood.

only after experiencing life in other European countries – which have been popular destinations among the Romanian migrants (such as Italy or Cyprus).[88]

4.3. Reasons for leaving Romania

Participants expressed their reasons for leaving Romania as either micro or macro narratives. That is, they refer to either personal circumstances and/or life plans as dependent upon the structural conditions of the Romanian society.

(AMM, W3) experiences forced emigration before 1989 given the problematic condition of Romanian Jews during the communist regime[89]. All the other participants left Romania after 1989. During the early 1990s, migrated people like (GB, M1) who lost their privileged position given structural transformations associated with the transition years from state to market. Specifically, during the communist regime he used to be a professional sportsman at a prestigious sports club – an occupation with opportunities for travelling abroad, a privileged social position and significant financial returns.

For more than a third of the international migration transitions (see Table 2), the interviewees provided macro reasons for leaving Romania referring primarily to: the country's poor governance, burgeoning corruption, heavy bureaucracy, nepotism and legislative instability. Such references were often accompanied by disappointments or dissatisfactions regarding the low valuation of education - "what can one do with a Romanian diploma?", the difficult transition from education to employment, the insufficient "decent" jobs, the labour regulations that are just "on paper", and the lack of career opportunities such as progression or advancement.

In 2014, leaving Romania after losing their job due to systemic instabilities

> (SD, M3): "I had this job, but because in our lovely Romania the laws change from one season to another, meaning from one month to another, the investors said 'we're not investing in Romania anymore' [referring to the regulations in green energy industry]."

[88] For example: Sandu (2005, 2010), Sandu et al. (2004, 2006).
[89] For more details about the (AMM, W3) case study, see Annex 3.1.

R: So, it was because of Romania's instable legislation?

(SD, M3): "Exactly, legally it was zero. And because of these reasons, being an unstable country in terms of legislation, one of our projects was worth about 20 million Euros, was hanging in one paper, literally an A4 piece of paper. And I needed to handle that. And I managed. I won't say how or in what way, but I managed. And that also, because legislation wasn't stable, so I found an 'opening' and it was ok. But even so, the investors said 'stop' and so it was."

However, for the majority of international migration transitions, the participants specify personal reasons. These individual narratives incorporate the macro-structural aspects and can be organised into two major themes, namely work-life and non-work-life. On one hand, the work-life narratives represent aspects such as lack of employment opportunities, lack of career development / progression, lack of access to a career of choice, financial insecurity, work conditions, low wages in comparison to the living costs, and the 'perceived' rich availability and easy access to jobs abroad. On the other hand, the non-work-life narratives refer to: holidays, wandering and sense of adventure, trying new things, experiencing new ways of life and cultures, visiting family or relatives abroad, and escaping (the search for independence or liberation from family, circumstances, or community).

In 2004, leaving Romania in order to escape poverty and shame in a small city

(AN, W6): "Because I was ashamed [after having had the engagement broken by her fiancé]. Everyone asked me 'what is he [former fiancé] doing, where is he'. And I didn't know anything of him. The [engagement] presents were sent back; the wedding venue booking was cancelled. I did all of that, everything was done by me, he didn't even… as you don't see him now, so didn't I. That life had no meaning and even with the family… even if I earned, I was the only one bringing money in the house, still only me. At the bank, I would earn up to 1,900 RON [approx. 450 EU][90] per month, so it was good money, but 3 days after payday I would be penniless."

[90] In 2003, the average monthly net wage on the economy was about 800 RON, approx. 200 EU.

R: Because you needed to pay all the house bills?

(AN, W6): "Yes, and I decided 'enough'. [...] When my mother told me that I wouldn't be going to university, I thought there is nothing to do in Romania. Because I didn't have the money [...] I said that I'll be patient for a few years. But I knew since I was little that I'll leave. In the same year when I broke my neck, I was jokingly saying that I would leave. I was telling her since I was 16 years old that I will be going to the UK and my mother used to often reply: 'When the pigs will fly above the house, that's when you'll go to UK'."

Regardless gender, education, migration strategy (see Table 2) or narratives (macro or micro), over two thirds of all (24) international migration transitions RO-abroad were employment-related. The Cheltenham Spa gatekeeper talks about the Romanian international migration, as "an economic exile – in the same way it can make you go abroad, send you out of the country, to limit yourself".

Overall, 16 participants mentioned employment as the main reason for at least one of their international migration transitions. Fernández-Reino and Vargas-Silva (2018) showed that, in 2017 about 62% of EU nationals migrated to the UK for work-related reasons. The share was even higher for citizens from Romania (and Bulgaria), reaching about 84%. Consequently, most participants migrated wherever they could find a job allowing them to make a better living, which is in line with previous studies that highlighted the prevalence of economic migration.

5 First arrival and settling in the UK

This chapter continues the migration stories by showing when and how the participants did arrived, and subsequently, settled at the destination. It also analyses the participants' reasons for choosing the UK and the migration aims at the first arrival.

5.1. When did they arrive for the first time and how long they stayed in the UK

The international migration of Romanians should be understood in relation to several different historical periods determined by changes of the legal and policy contexts at both origin and destination, and within the larger context of the European Union. Before 1989, the Romanian international migration was predominantly political, given the strict control of the communist regime. After 1990 and before 2000, it was limited to political asylum, repatriation or long-term visa travels (Roman and Voicu, 2010). Between 2000-2006, given the accession negotiations between the EU and Romania, the Romanian international migration gained momentum. After becoming an EU member state, in 2007, the rights to work and claim benefits of the Romanians (and Bulgarians) were limited only for the first seven years of EU membership. On 1 January 2014, the UK – and all other EU countries – was legally required to end any 'transitional' controls that had been placed upon Romanian and Bulgarian migrants' access on the labour market. According to Fernández-Reino and Vargas-Silva (2018), since 2006, the Romanian (and Bulgarian) migrants in the UK inflows have been registering a continued steady growth.

In this regard, the research sample covers all the above-mentioned historical migration periods specific to Romanian nationals.

	Before 1989	1990-1999	2000-2006	2007-2013	2014-2017	Total
No. of participants with the first arrival in the UK, in the period:	1	2	2	8	8	21

Note: See also Table 3.

Correspondingly, the duration[91] of stay in the UK varies greatly among the participants, between one year[92] and as long as 45 years.[93] The duration of stay highly correlated with age. Thus, while the participants in the 18-29 age group had spent, on average, almost four years in UK, those aged 30-39 were in UK for nearly seven years at the moment of interview, while the three participants over 40 years old had between 10 to 26 years lived in the UK.

Table 4: Time spent in the UK between the first arrival and the interview (in months)

Age (in 2017)	N	Average number of months spent in UK	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
18-29	9	45	32	12	105
30-39	8	82	47	34	151
40 or over	3	199	101	120	312
Total	**20**	**83**	**71**	**12**	**312**

Notes: The case of (AMM, W3) who arrived in the UK sometime in 1970s is not included.

The first arrival in the UK was also the moment of settling in the destination country for nearly all participants. Correspondingly, the duration of stay in the UK does not vary according to the migration strategy (see Table 2). Participants who had multiple migration transitions back and forth UK and Romania, or other European countries do not have an average length of stay shorter than those with a one-way ticket to the UK, as the periods spent outside of the UK were less than 6 months (Table 5).

[91] The duration of stay in the UK is measured from the first arrival to the moment of interview (2017).
[92] As in the cases of (AP, M8) and (GA, M9).
[93] The case of (AMM, W3).

Table 5: After the first arrival in the UK, migration strategy and the duration of stay in the UK

Participant code		Age (in 2017)	First arrival in the UK		International migration strategy after the 1st arrival in the UK	After the 1st arrival in the UK and 2017, time spent in ...		
			Year	Age		UK (years)	Returns in RO (months)	Other country (months)
AMR	W1	26	2010	19	-	7		
GB	M1	56	1991	30	-	26		
MS	M2	44	1999	26	UK-RO-UK	14	44	
MEC	W2	30	2010	23	-	7		
AMM	W3	54	1972	9	-	45		
ILS	W4	31	2010	24	-	7		
SD	M3	32	2014	29	-	3		
AD	M4	27	2008	18	UK-RO-UK	9	2	
CL	W5	29	2015	27	-	2		
AN	W6	39	2004	26	-	13		
DI	W7	41	2007	31	-	10		
AB	W8	34	2011	28	-	6		
AMC	W9	27	2014	24	-	3		
ML	M5	35	2013	31	UK-RO-CY-UK	3.5	1	4
AI	W10	28	2014	25	-	3		
OI	W11	29	2011	23	UK-RO-UK	5.5	6	
RED	M6	37	2004	24	UK-RO-UK	13	2	
IUL	M7	31	2014	28	-	3		
GEO	W12	27	2014	24	UK-RO-UK	3	2	
AP	M8	29	2016	28	-	1		
GA	M9	24	2016	23	-	1		

Notes: RO = Romania, CY = Cyprus, W = woman, M = man. See also Table 2.

It is worthwhile mentioning that all participants repeatedly returned to Romania for less than one month for reasons such as events or celebrations, visiting parents and/or relatives, holidays, or renewing legal documents. However, in this study these kinds of visits were not considered migration transitions.

> (DI, W7): "I go very rarely to Romania. First time was for my mother's funeral, in 2009, the second was in 2013 when my brother wanted to sell the [parents'] apartment because it was deteriorating. Last year [2014], I went back for the high school reunion and it was an occasion to see everyone. So, I went back to Romania, 3 times in 7 years. As you have noticed, I am not keen on visiting Romania since my small family is either gone or don't get along that well."

In some cases, settling in the UK was a much longer and difficult process, at least for the migrants who arrived in UK before 2007. In the research sample, (MS, M2) arrived in

the UK for the first time in 1999. For 18 months he made a living by working as dishwasher, supermarket replenishment staff and hospital porter. As he did not find a satisfactory job, he returned to Romania in 2001 and opened a paper factory. The business was not successful hence in March 2003 he considered a second try in the UK. He stayed until September 2005, making a living first as hospital porter and then as senior warehouse manager. With the accumulated capital and knowledge, and at his family insistence, he decided return to Romania, where he tried various business ventures until November 2007. After several failed business attempts, he decides to go back to the UK where he has remained until present. Thus, between the first arrival in the UK (in 1999) and the last one (in 2007) out of the total period of 92 months, he spent 48 months in the UK and 44 months in Romania.

5.2. Internal migration within the UK

Most of the 21 interviewees have remained in the city where they first arrived in the UK. Only 7 participants experience one or more internal migration transitions.

Table 6: Origin and destination cities of Romanians internal migration transitions in the UK

Origin	Destination	Number of transitions
Tewksbury	Cheltenham Spa	1
Cheltenham Spa	Basingstoke	1
Cardiff	Cheltenham Spa	1
London	Leicester	1
London	Brighton	1
Stroud	Cheltenham Spa	1
Southampton	London	2
Brighton	London	1

The participants who migrated within the UK are both women and men with very good proficiency in English (as compared with the other participants). Out of them, just one - (AMM, W3) changed cities for family reasons. She left London in order to join her partner and then, some years later, returned as a family to London for work-related reasons. Furthermore, only in this instance, the social networks within the UK played a significant role in determining the internal migration.

The remaining 6 participants who experienced internal migration in the UK were single at the time of the relocation. Even if they have had family or love ties in the UK, they did not move for family reasons, but for education or work-related purposes, including for cheaper accommodation. Usually, the desired studies, job or accommodation were pre-arranged and found before moving. Also, the migration transitions within the UK took place in the first years after arrival, hence before finding satisfactory employment.

5.3. Reasons for choosing the UK as destination

The purposes of migration and the intention to remain in the UK are changing throughout the years, depending on both personal circumstances and plans including changes of the economic, legal and policy contexts. Consequently, the reasons for choosing the UK were recorded for each migration transition to present (the time of the interview).

As previously mentioned, most participants migrated (one or more times) to the UK primarily for work-related reasons (Fernández-Reino and Vargas-Silva, 2018). Nonetheless, job opportunities have also been available in other European countries. So, the question 'why UK and not another EU country?' still requires an answer. Hence, firstly, most (11) participants mention the existence of Romanian social networks residing in the UK, be it family, love ties or friends, with whom they want and could share accommodation, and could offer and receive all sorts of support.

The second frequent reason relates to the existence of previous experiences, the anticipative socialization with the British society from movies, books, but also gained during holidays in the UK or during previous migration transitions in the UK. Few participants reasoned their choice for the UK based on information from friends, Internet and mass media according which "the economic situation is good", "jobs are available for all" and "success is possible".

The third reason was the existence of a work contract obtained either via employment agencies in Romania (for example, for the dentist)[94] or EU project (5 participants).[95]

The fourth reason related to education opportunities at affordable costs and the availability of specialised higher education courses that would allow them to pursue their dreams, such as sports management (3 participants).[96]

Finally, only two participants[97] declared to have chosen the UK due to their knowledge in the English language.

However, as (CL, W5) put it, "success in the UK is possible even with poor English" and anyway "show me a Romanian who doesn't know at least the basics in English" (see Table 10). Furthermore, on various social media platforms, the migrants in the UK form groups, often sharing both employment opportunities and Romanian's English usage / proficiency jokes. When it comes to migrants with limited English proficiency and access to the UK labour market, the online Romanian migrant communities' advertisements for employment are usually explicitly worded as 'jobs for Romanians who don't know English, a chance to work in London'. As for jokes, for example: 'a reporter goes to a Romanian village. To the reporter's surprise, the village looks abandoned. The report comes across an elderly woman, and asks in Romanian: where are all the men? The woman replies in Romanian: at the culture centre, learning English. And where are all the women? The reply is 'at the culture centre, learning English'. And the children as well, asked the reporter. 'Yes, they are also there, learning English'. Then reporter goes 'then what about you ma'am?'. The elderly woman replies in English "I already speak English'.

[94] (AN, W6), (DI, W7) and (ML, M5).
[95] (OI, W11) and (RED, M6).
[96] (AMR, W1), (ILS, W4) and (AD, M4).
[97] (IUL, M7) and (AB, W8).

5.4. Aim at the first arrival in the UK

Although migration to the UK was mostly for work-related reasons, the participants give different meanings for their reasons. Six participants, all from poor social backgrounds, expressed their aims at the first arrival in the UK as purely economic: "making more money", earning money for a specific target such as buying an apartment in Romania, "making a living", "escape poverty" and "survival".

By contrast, (6) participants from middle or well-off background mentioned their aims in social mobility terms as: "good job", "decent life style", "career of my dream", "to learn in a good university", "to do better than my parents", "to make a difference", "self-development", including "adventure" in few cases.

Five participants of various social backgrounds argue for a combination of economic and social mobility narratives. In the sample, (DI, W7) arrived in 2007 for the first time in the UK as a student looking to get familiar with the Western dentistry practices, attached both economic and social mobility meanings to the migration experience. Only 3 participants,[98] all women, arrived in the UK in 2014 for family reasons.[99]

To sum up, participants arrived in the UK primarily for work-related reasons, but chose the UK as their destination due to family, love ties or friends in the UK and their familiarity with British society. At first arrival in the UK, depending on the social background in the origin country, the governing migration aims were economic mobility, social mobility or the combination of the two.

[98] (AB, W8), (AMC, W9) and (GEO, W12).
[99] In addition, (AMM, W3) arrived as a child, together with her family during the 1970s.

5.5. The role of social networks in moving to the UK

Literature on the relevance of social networks in achieving international migration (Düvell and Vogel, 2006; Markova and Black, 2007; Burrell, 2010) showed that the Eastern Europeans often arrived in the UK via well-developed migration networks as a result of either historic relationships between countries or immigration regulation changes. Similarly, for the participants in this study social networks (family, love ties or friends) played a substantial role in choosing the UK as destination.

16 participants had social connections (family and friends) already residing in the UK. This represented an important pull factor which influenced the decision-making in respect to the migration destination. For example, (AMC, W9) had her sister (and brother in law) residing in the UK. She had started visiting them regularly once she reached 18 years of age. At 24, after completing a master in banking and financing, and after an unsatisfactory job in a bank in Romania, she decided to move with her sister and settled in the UK. This happened in 2014, after the lifting of work restrictions on Romanians. Another case is (SD, M3), for who the initial motive of coming to the UK was to be with his girlfriend whom migrated to Leicester at the invitation of one of her cousins (however, soon after arrival, the relationship ended).

In some instances, there are 'weak ties' that provided information, encouragement or accompaniment, as in the cases of (AMR, W1), (GB, M1) and (GA, M9). While in high school, (AMR, W1) met some "Brit students whom I befriended and what I learned from them made me think that I would like and would handle well the British law. So, I decided to follow law in the UK." (GB, M1) succeeded to obtain a visa for the UK in 1991, based on an invitation sent by a friend who had already migrated to the UK and owned a construction company – friend who offers not only a place to live, but also a job. Since secondary school, (GA, M9) parents have been working in Italy. He travelled several times to visit them and he had his first ever employment experience in Italy. After six years of travelling back and forth, in 2015, he decides to join his parents.

However, at that particular time the general atmosphere was unfriendly for Romanians and the situation on the labour market was not good. After one year (in 2016), he gets invited and moves to a friend's place living in UK.

By contrast, the migrants' social network from the origin country played a somewhat ambivalent role. On the one hand, many of the middle or well-off families from Romania played the support role for facing the hardship (from financial to emotional support) during the first months in UK. However, there are instances in which the family situation in Romania plays the role of a push factor. This was the case of (AN, W6). The pressure of being the single provider (for both her mother and sisters) together with a broken engagement (associated with shame in a small city), forced her 'escape' through international migration to the UK - "the country that I have dreamt to live since I was 16." There was also the case of (DI, W7) for whom the death of her mother meant the loss of interest in Romania (not even as holiday destination).

On the other hand, well-off families forced returns in Romania and offered support for development at the origin and not in a far away foreign country, in the hope of stopping their offspring's migration. For this reason, the setting process of the (MS, M2) in the UK took about eight years (between 1999 and 2007), out of which four years spent in the UK and almost four years in Romania.

The role of 'strong ties' is relevant in the decision-making process regarding migration and settling in the UK, as well as relevant during the migration time.

Table 7: With whom migrated the participants at their first arrival in the UK

Marital status before the 1st arrival in the UK:	Child with parents	Couple	Individual	Mother with child	Total
Child	1	-	-	-	1
Single (no partner)	-	-	12	-	12
With a serious relationship (living together)	-	6	-	-	6
Legally married with a child	-	-	1	1	2
Total	**1**	**6**	**13**	**1**	**21**

All (6) participants in serious relationships before arriving in the UK, make the migration transition as a couple. All these couples migrated in the period 2014-2017 (after the lifting of work restrictions for Romanians in the UK) and comprised individuals with no previous migration experiences. For example, (CL, W5) migrates in 2015 as couple to the UK as "we wanted a change, so we decided to leave". They arrived in the UK, knowing that despite having limited English proficiency, no set plans and jobs, they will make it work, as some of their friends before them did.

The two married participants[100] followed the pattern of 'shadow migration' (first, the man migrates and then the woman/child follow) specific to the Romanian international migration pattern to Southern European countries (i.e. Italy and Spain) (Bîrsan and Campbell, 2008). Furthermore, two other participants[101] who developed serious relationships between their first arrival in the UK and the time of interview followed the same pattern, as their Romanian girlfriends followed them to the UK.

Hence, this study hypothesises that after 2014, once Romanian nationals got free access to the UK's labour market, not only did the number of Romanian migrants significantly increase, but also the nature of migration might have changed – including young couples with no previous international experiences, as well as, an increase of the 'shadow migration' pattern.

[100] (GB, M1) and (AB, W8).
[101] (AD, M4) and (ML, M5).

6 Lifetime trajectories across different contexts: Romania, the UK or other countries

This chapter looks at the participants' trajectories during lifetime, from the *origin* to the *destination* country. The aim is to follow the occupational actions / behaviour of migrants during lifetime in order to understand the career patterns in interaction with the international migration experiences and the roles enacted concomitantly in other life spheres. The focus is on occupational and education trajectories.

In accordance with the life course paradigm, the individual (during lifetime) trajectories in any life sphere should be analysed in regard to timing, length of transitions, continuity versus discontinuity, sequencing, and interplay between life spheres (Elder Jr and Johnson, 2003; Clausen, 1986; Settersten, 2003; Healy, 2004). Conversely, in this study *timing* is interpreted not only in relation to historical or biographical time, but also according to the international migration time – meaning in relation with the country of residence in which the transition was enacted (Romania, the UK or other country). The interplay between life spheres is further explored in Chapter 8 in terms of linked transitions of work, education, accommodation, and family.

6.1. Trajectories and transitions

This section presents the transition analysis[102] as the gradual change of the acquisition and relinquishing of roles (however brief in scope). It considers two types of transitions:

- *Employment transitions* - any change of occupation[103] and/or of employer, accounting for both employment[104] and unemployment.[105]

- *Education transitions* - any change of the formal education[106] level and/or the completion of formal trainings / qualifications, measuring from high school or vocational school level onwards.

Accompanying the life course paradigm, the literature further emphasises the need to analyse concomitantly (un)employment and education transitions. Specifically, the human capital and labour market studies (Acemoglu and Autor, 2011; Kalleberg, 2006; Holzer et al., 2004; Appelbaum et al., 2003) which explain the migrant's occupational role and labour market position in causation with the formal education via qualifications, degrees and trainings are often enabling factors for career progression. Furthermore, specific debates in international migration studies regard the aspects and impact of skill underutilisation of migrant individuals, as in the acceptance a job with no connection to the previous occupational role involving the use of generic skills rather than professional skills / expertise. Once at destination, some migrants enter low wage, low skill jobs often with few prospects of advancement, experiencing a shift from professional (skilled labour) to menial (limited or generic skill) jobs.

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[102] In order to analyse the trajectories and transitions of Romanian migrants in the UK, the data was quantified then compiled into two databases, one for the 21 people and one containing the entirety of transitions (+300). For the complete list of variables of both SPSS analyses see Annex 1.4.

[103] Changes in occupation are measured by using the International Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO) codes (ILO, 2012) and by the International Standard Industrial Classification of all Economic Activities (ISIC) codes (UN, 2008). See section 3.6.1.

[104] Employment transitions refer to both formal and informal jobs, paid or unpaid.

[105] Unemployment transitions refer both to: (i) the job-seeking periods (the cases of 'without a job, but looking for a job') and (ii) the not-into the labour market periods (the cases of 'without a job, but with other interests than finding employment').

[106] These include cases in which the diploma or certificate was pending graduation at the time of the interview. See also section 3.6.1.

Accounting for the duration and sequence of events, the trajectory is defined as the sum of all transitions particular to a singular life sphere – for example, all employment transitions represent the individual's occupational trajectory / career. The number of transitions by types is provided in Table 8, while the participants' educational and occupational trajectories during lifetime are shown below in Figure 3.

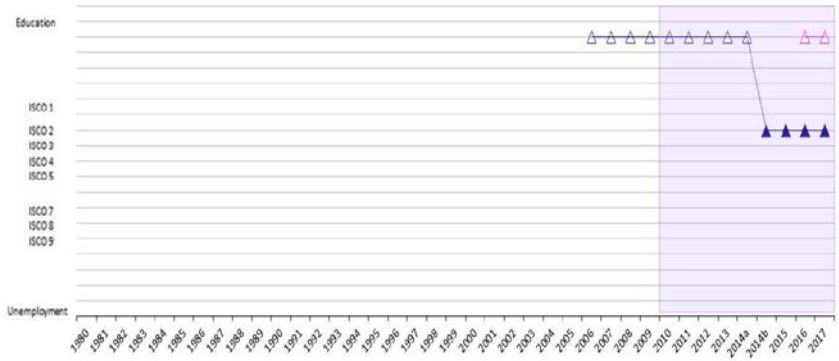
Table 8: Number of education, unemployment and employment transitions during lifetime by participant and country where it happened (Romania, the UK or other country)

Participant code		Inter-view time (2017)	First arrival in the UK	Number of transitions while living in RO			Number of transitions while living in the UK			Number of transitions while living elsewhere		
		Age	Age	Ed	UnE	E	Ed	UnE	E	Ed	UnE	E
AMR	W1	26	19	1	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0
GB	M1	56	30	1	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0
MS	M2	44	26	2	1	4	0	2	7	0	0	0
MEC	W2	30	23	2	0	0	1	0	7	0	0	1
AMM	W3	54	9	1	0	0	2	0	11	0	0	0
ILS	W4	31	24	2	1	1	1	0	4	0	0	0
SD	M3	32	29	2	1	5	0	0	6	0	0	0
AD	M4	27	18	2	0	2	3	1	14	0	0	0
CL	W5	29	27	2	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	0
AN	W6	39	26	1	1	4	1	0	4	0	0	0
DI	W7	41	31	3	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0
AB	W8	34	28	2	0	7	0	1	2	0	0	0
AMC	W9	27	24	3	1	3	0	0	3	0	0	0
ML	M5	35	31	2	4	2	0	0	2	0	0	4
AI	W10	28	25	2	1	4	1	0	4	0	0	0
OI	W11	29	23	3	1	1	0	1	4	0	0	0
RED	M6	37	24	3	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	1
IUL	M7	31	28	2	0	4	0	1	4	0	0	0
GEO	W12	27	24	2	2	1	1	1	3	0	0	0
AP	M8	29	28	1	0	10	0	0	1	0	0	0
GA	M9	24	23	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	2
	Total			**41**	**15**	**57**	**12**	**7**	**100**	**1**	**0**	**8**

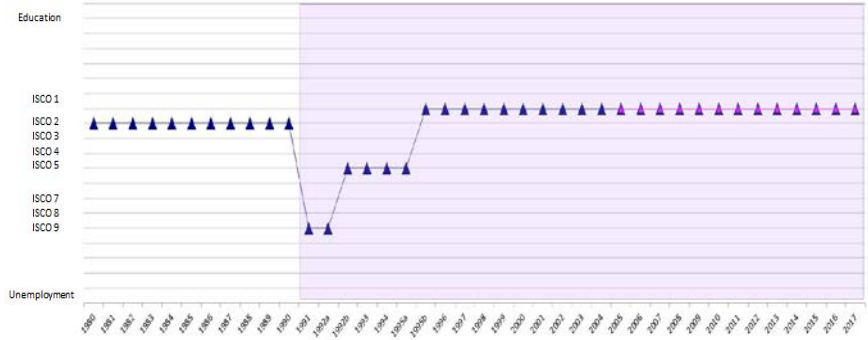
Notes: Ed = Education, UnE = Unemployment, E = Employment, RO = Romania, Elsewhere = Countries other than RO and UK (USA, IL, CY, AU, IT), W = woman, M = man.

Figure 3: The participants' educational and occupational trajectories during lifetime

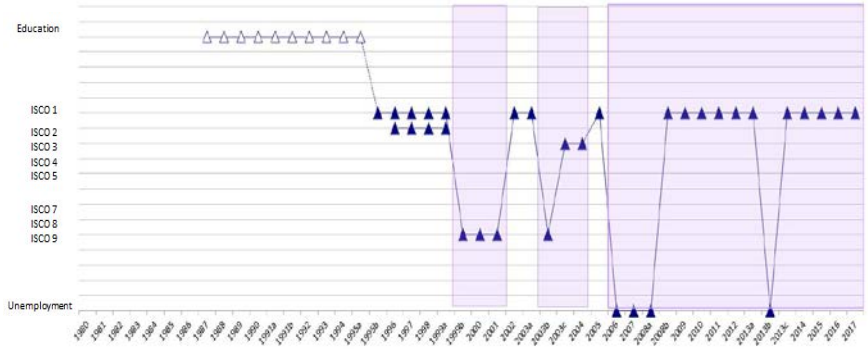
Participant (AMR, W1)



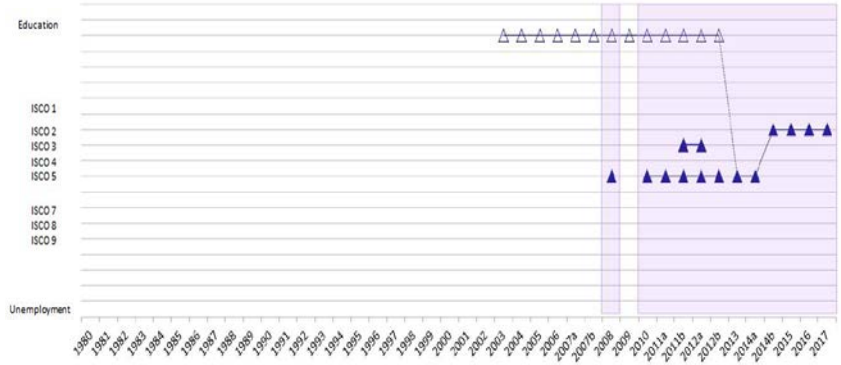
Participant (GB, M1)



Participant (MS, M2)

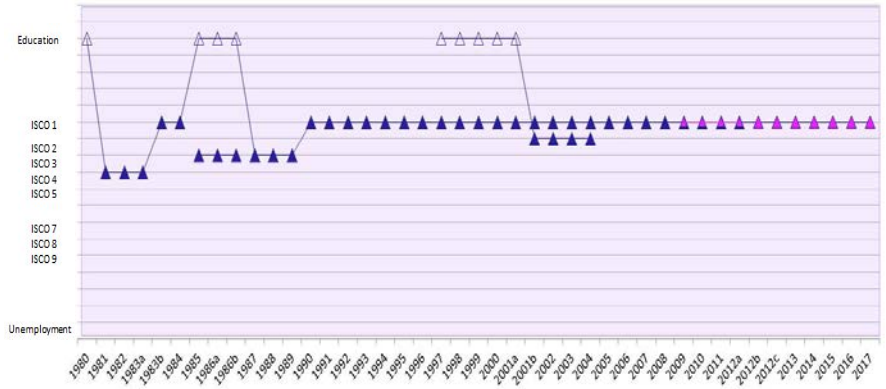


Participant (MEC, W2)

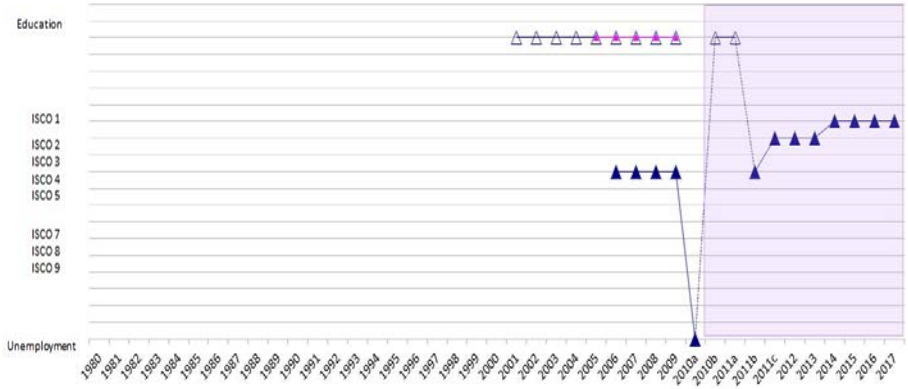


See legend and notes at the end of the figure.

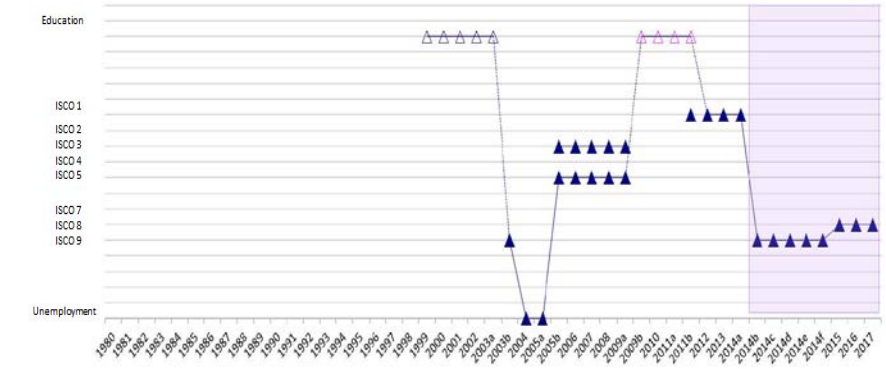
Participant (AMM, W3)



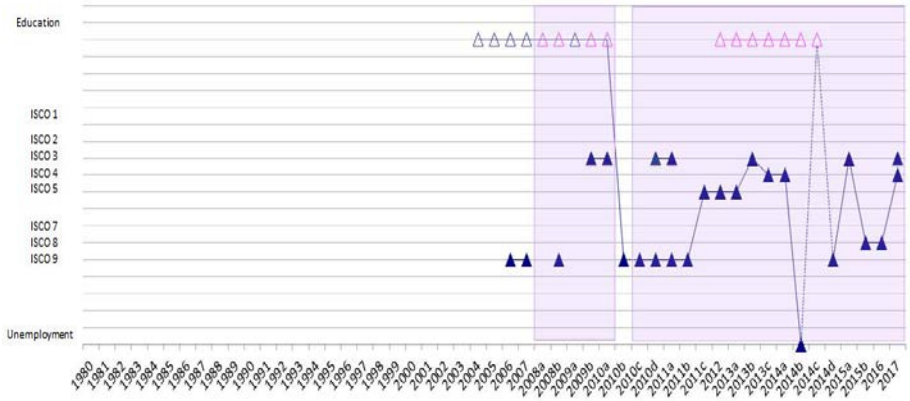
Participant (ILS, W4)



Participant (SD, M3)

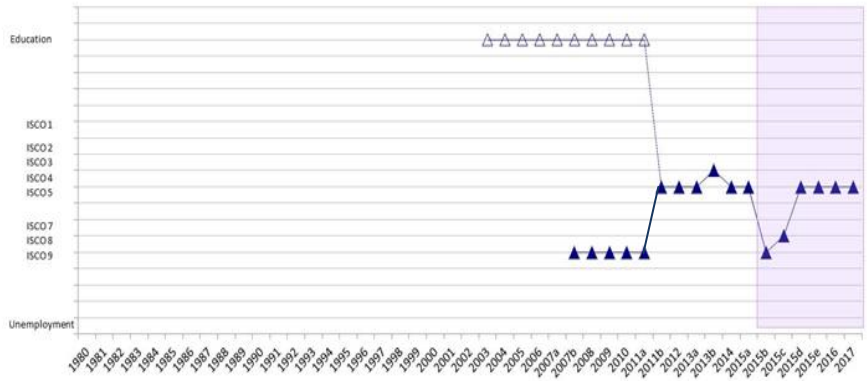


Participant (AD, M4)

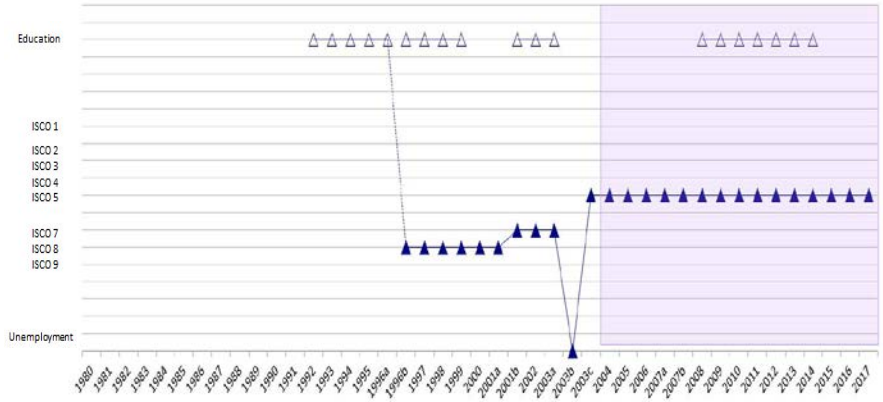


See legend and notes at the end of the figure.

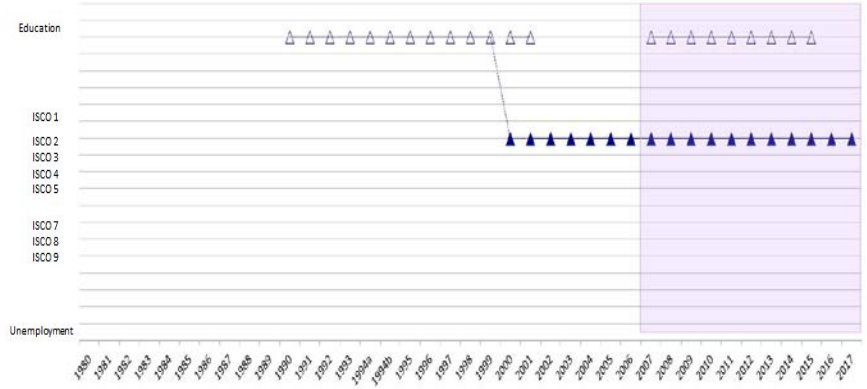
Participant (CL, W5)



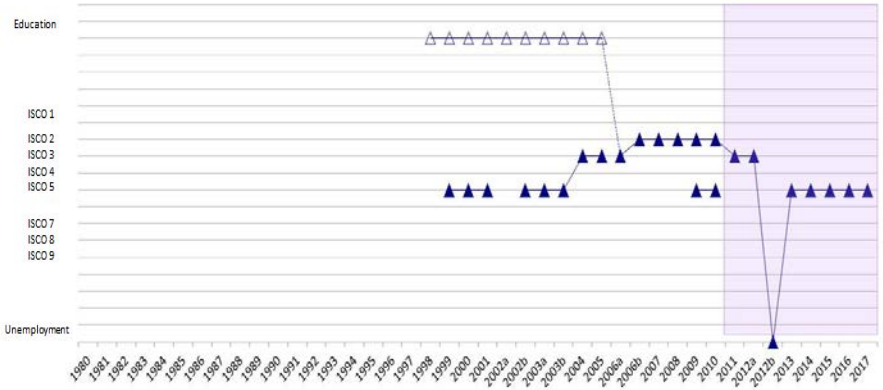
Participant (AN, W6)



Participant (DI, W7)

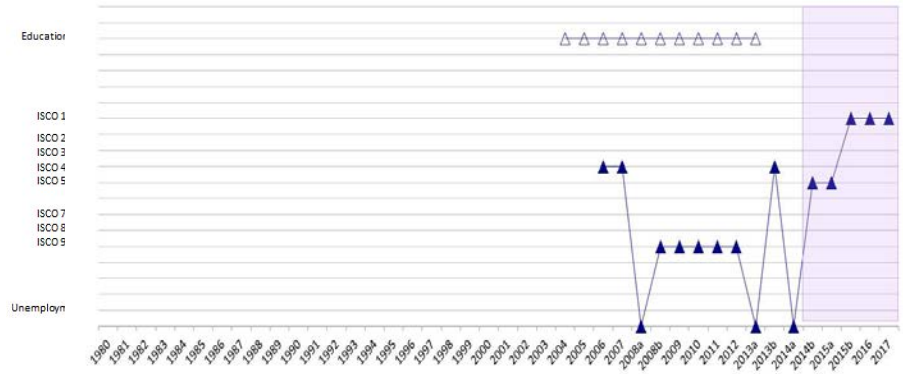


Participant (AB, W8)

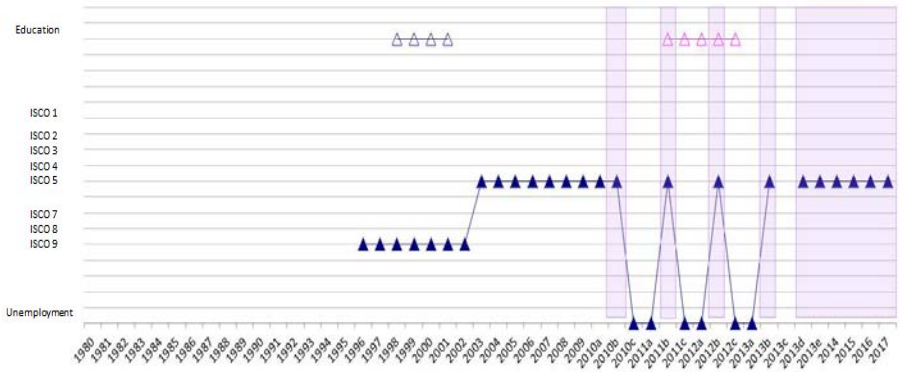


See legend and notes at the end of the figure.

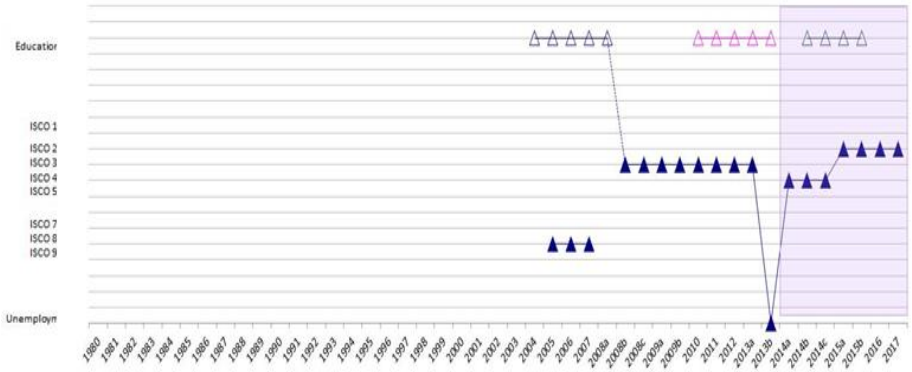
Participant (AMC, W9)



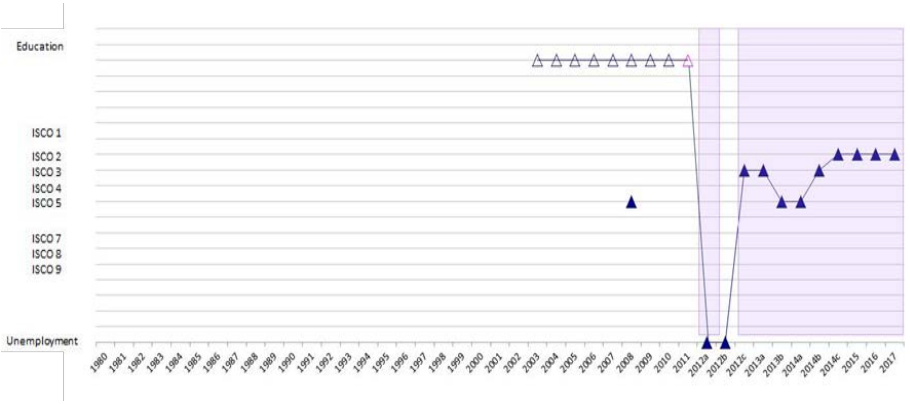
Participant (ML, M5)



Participant (AI, W10)

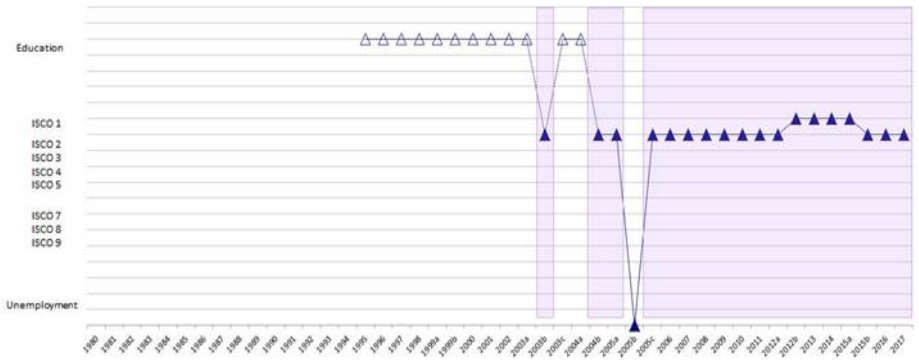


Participant (OI, W11)

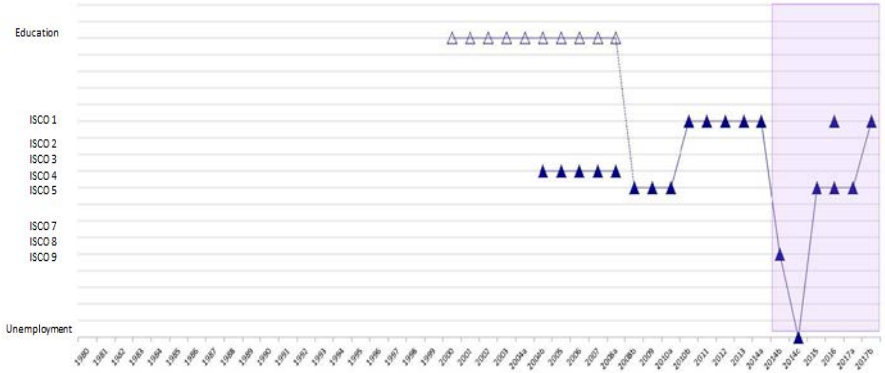


See legend and notes at the end of the figure.

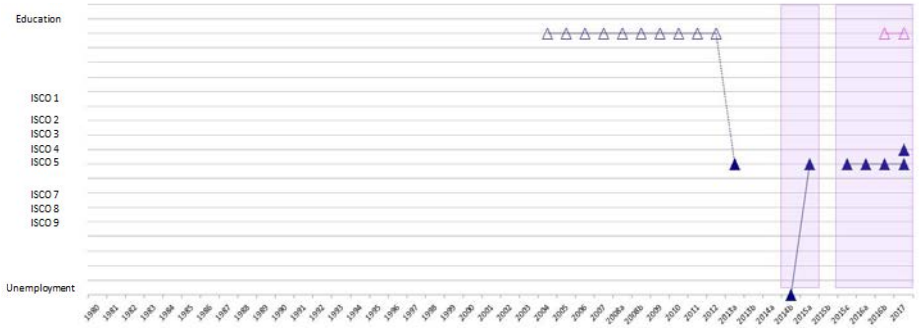
Participant (RED, M6)



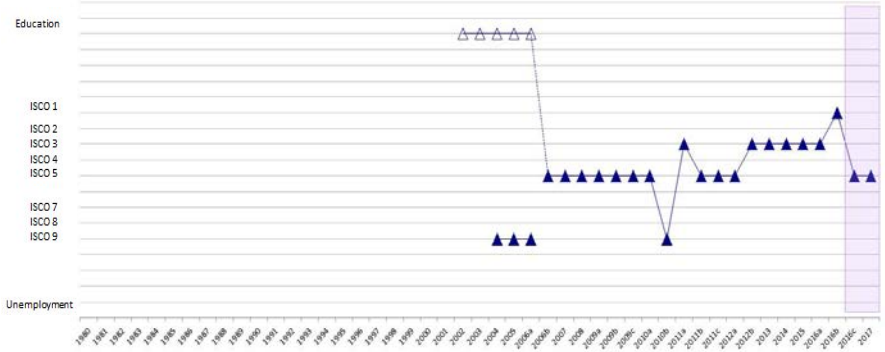
Participant (IUL, M7)



Participant (GEO, W12)

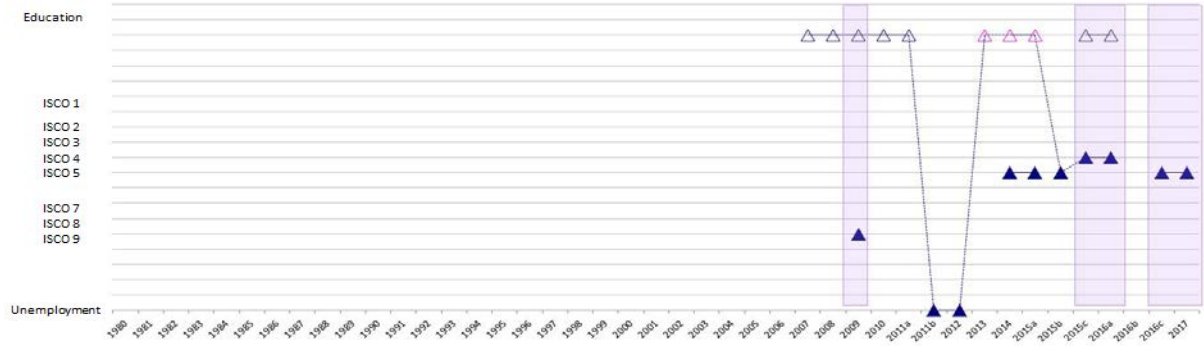


Participant (AP, M8)



See legend and notes at the end of the figure.

Participant (GA, M9)



Legend:

- Period in employment or unemployment
- Period in formal education with degree/certificate
- Period in formal education without degree/certificate
- Period of overlap between two jobs or two courses

Notes:

The marked blocks of colour show the periods of international migration (for all participants) from Romania to the UK and in other countries, in the cases of: (MEC, W2) in the USA, (ML, M5) in Cyprus, (RED, M6) in Austria and (GA, M9) in Italy.

For data comparability reasons, the occupational trajectories take the year 1980 as starting point, as this year represents the earliest first-ever during lifetime job of the research sample – namely, the case of (GB, M1).

The educational trajectories have as starting point the age (14 or 15 years) at which the participants (Romanian nationals) usually start either high school or vocational school. Also, in Romania, the legal working age is 16 years old.

Four extended narratives (comprehensive participant perspective) of employment in tandem with the human capital trajectories are provided in Annex 3. The examples describe the trajectories during lifetime of individuals who migrated in the UK at different historical periods and with different reasons. These are the cases of:

(i) During the '70s, in childhood, for political reasons (AMM, W3);

(ii) At the beginning of '90s, for economic reasons (GB, M1);

(iii) In 2004, for social mobility reasons, choosing to enter the labour market in the UK and not in Romania (RED, M6);

(iv) In 2010, for educational purposes (MEC, W2).

6.2. Life orientations typology

Corresponding to the historical interval 1980-2017, the following section covers the trajectory analysis of the participants' education, employment and unemployment transitions during lifetime (see Table 8).

The analysis of educational and occupational trajectories during lifetime starts with an overview of the participants' life orientations, which represents an important dimension of the human capital. By definition, life orientation reflects both the individual's life cycle and his/her preference for investment of time, effort, energy and hopes in a specific life sphere. While some people start working during early adolescence (for example, at 14 years old apprentice) and never return to school, others continue education up to 30 years of age and seek employment just after completing postgraduate education.

The life orientation is determined based on the percentage of years of work-life (16+ years old) that the individual spent either in education or in employment (Table 9). Three life orientations were distinguished. Individuals who spent more than a half of their work-life in education are considered education-oriented. Those with more than half of their work-life in employment are considered work-oriented, while those who

overlap education and work spending more than half of their work-life in both life spheres are considered the mixed-oriented.

Table 9: The participants' life orientations during lifetime

Participant code		Inter-view time (2017)	First arrival in the UK	Life cycle at the interview time (2017)	Percentage of total work-life years spent in ...			Life orientation
		Age	Age		% Ed	% UnE	% E	
AMR	W1	26	19	Early adulthood	78	0	30	Education
GB	M1	56	30	Midlife	10	0	93	Work
MS	M2	44	26	Midlife	29	10	66	Work
MEC	W2	30	23	Early adulthood	64	0	50	Mixed
AMM	W3	54	9	Midlife	24	0	84	Work
ILS	W4	31	24	Early adulthood	60	4	60	Mixed
SD	M3	32	29	Early adulthood	50	6	66	Mixed
AD	M4	27	18	Early adulthood	64	2	55	Mixed
CL	W5	29	27	Early adulthood	62	0	73	Mixed
AN	W6	39	26	Midlife	24	1	89	Work
DI	W7	41	31	Midlife	44	0	68	Work
AB	W8	34	28	Early adulthood	44	1	72	Work
AMC	W9	27	24	Early adulthood	82	7	82	Mixed
ML	M5	35	31	Midlife	26	7	95	Work
AI	W10	28	25	Early adulthood	65	2	83	Mixed
OI	W11	29	23	Early adulthood	69	8	38	Education
RED	M6	37	24	Midlife	43	1	62	Work
IUL	M7	31	28	Early adulthood	53	1	83	Mixed
GEO	W12	27	24	Early adulthood	80	12	27	Education
AP	M8	29	28	Early adulthood	31	0	96	Work
GA	M9	24	23	Early adulthood	91	25	38	Education

Notes: Ed = Education, UnE = Unemployment, E = Employment, W = woman, M = man. Employment transitions consider formal and informal jobs, paid and unpaid. Unemployment transitions refer to both job seeking periods and to not-into the labour market periods (the cases of 'without a job, but with other interests than finding employment'). Life cycles according to Armstrong (2008).

As expected, the midlife participants are work-oriented, whereas those in their early adulthood are more diverse, reflecting their life choices in favour of a certain life domain. As such, age and marital status are significantly associated with life orientations: the younger (up to 29 years old), especially the single, tend to be education-oriented, while those aged 35 years or more, especially the married with children, tend to be work-oriented. Overall, in the research sample, 9 participants are work-oriented, 8 are mixed-oriented and 4 are education-oriented. Gender, the level of

education[107] and the social class at origin do not seem to be relevant factors with regard to the life orientation type.

6.3. Education transitions during lifetime: Investing in human capital

This section presents the analysis of the (54) education transitions[108] recorded during lifetime for the (21) participants in the research sample (see Table 8), in terms of length, timing and outcome – conferring the behaviour of the Romanian migrants in relation to the acquisition of educational credentials or occupational qualifications in the UK.

Firstly, all participants complete formal education in Romania, with the exception of (AMM, W3) who was a child at the time of arrival in the UK. Thus, (ML, M5) completed vocational school in cookery, 7 interviewees finished high school (with a baccalaureate diploma) while (ILS, W4) was already enrolled as a student in TV production, 10 were graduates[109] in law, public administration, dentistry, IT, political sciences, psychology, and philosophy, and two[110] were postgraduates in IT and banking and financial.[111]

> (AMC, W9): "My family invested a lot in education. Appetite for learning can be considered a family legacy. Plus, I like it too."

Secondly, none of the interviewed migrants mentioned problems or difficulties in the recognition of their educational credentials or certifications obtained in Romania. Furthermore, none mentioned as a problem the recognition of any occupational licenses or of any work experience accumulated before the arrival to the UK.

[107] For example, out of the 12 participants who are graduates in 2017 (either in Romania or in the UK): 5 were mixed-oriented, 4 were work-oriented, and 3 education-oriented.
[108] Any change of the formal education level and/or the completion of formal trainings / qualifications (including cases in which diploma or certificate was pending completion at the time of the interview), from high school or vocational school level onwards.
[109] Three of them completed the courses, but had yet to obtain the bachelor degree.
[110] (AMC, W9) and (RED, M6).
[111] As mentioned in the Chapter 3, the research sample over-represents the highly educated migrants.

Table 10: The participants' human capital at the first arrival in the UK and at present

Participant code		Life orientation	First arrival in the UK			Interview time (2017)				
			Age	Level of education	LLL	Age	Level of education	LLL	On job T	EN proficiency
AMR	W1	Education	19	High school	No	26	Graduate	Yes	0	High
GB	M1	Work	30	High school	No	56	High school	No	0	High
MS	M2	Work	26	Graduate	No	44	Graduate	No	1	Medium
MEC	W2	Mixed	23	High school	No	30	Graduate	No	0	High
AMM	W3	Work	9	Child	No	54	Graduate	Yes	0	High
ILS	W4	Mixed	24	Graduate	No	31	Postgraduate	No	1	High
SD	M3	Mixed	29	Graduate	No	32	Graduate	No	6	Medium
AD	M4	Mixed	18	High school	No	27	High school	Yes	4	High
CL	W5	Mixed	27	Graduate	No	29	Graduate	No	0	Low
AN	W6	Work	26	High school	Yes	39	High school	Yes	0	Medium
DI	W7	Work	31	Graduate	Yes	41	Graduate	Yes	0	High
AB	W8	Work	28	Graduate	No	34	Graduate	No	1	Medium
AMC	W9	Mixed	24	Postgraduate	Yes	27	Postgraduate	No	0	Medium
ML	M5	Work	31	Vocational	No	35	Vocational	No	0	Low
AI	W10	Mixed	25	Graduate	No	28	Graduate	Yes	2	High
OI	W11	Education	23	Graduate	No	29	Graduate	No	3	Medium
RED	M6	Work	24	Postgraduate	No	37	Postgraduate	Yes	2	High
IUL	M7	Mixed	28	Graduate	No	31	Graduate	No	1	Medium
GEO	W12	Education	24	Graduate	No	27	Graduate	No	2	Medium
AP	M8	Work	28	High school	No	29	High school	No	0	Medium
GA	M9	Education	23	High school	Yes	24	High school	No	0	Low

Notes: W = woman, M = man, LLL = Completed formal training or qualification courses besides the formal education courses, On job T = Number of completed on job training without a license or certification. EN proficiency = English proficiency measured in three categories 'low' - limited working proficiency, 'medium' - professional working proficiency, and 'high' - full professional, native or bilingual proficiency. Regarding life orientations see Table 9.

As it can be observed above, out of the 20 participants who came to the UK as adults[112], only 9 invest time and effort to improve their educational level as migrants.

Just 3 participants complete higher education in the UK. Another two participants start faculty courses in the UK, but they either dropped out because as it was not what they expected – the case of (AD, M4), who drops out after two years of study; or, they had started the course, but had not finish it by the interview time – as in the case of (GEO, W12). Additionally, those who opted to follow higher education in the UK made this choice in light of perceptions regarding education in Romania, as being rather "low quality" and "useless".

[112] The case of (AMM, W3) who arrived in the UK during childhood. During lifetime she completed both higher education and formal training in the UK.

Those who opted for higher education in the UK not only made this choice as a strategy to achieve their career goals, but also as a means to travel the world, whilst learning and having new experiences which are not available in Romania.

Table 11: Distribution by level of education at the interview time (2017) and by type of acquired human capital in the UK (number of participants)

Attended higher education in the UK	Attended formal training in the UK	Highest level of education achieved at the interview time				
		Vocational	High school	Graduate	Postgraduate	Total
No	No	1	3	6	1	11
No	Yes	0	1	2	1	4
Yes	No		0	2*	1	3
Yes	Yes		1*	1	0	2
	Total	**1**	**5**	**11**	**3**	**20**

Notes: The case of (AMM, W3) is not considered as she arrived in the UK at the age of 9 years old. * The cases of (AD, M4) and (GEO, W12).

Moreover, the international migration for study purposes has been an effect of Romania's EU accession, as the opportunities to study abroad have expanded given educational placements, such as Erasmus or university transfers.

The Romanian migrants (6 participants) increased their human capital by completing formal training or qualification courses in the UK (see Table 11). Actually, a half (3 cases) attended in the UK specialization courses beneficial for career advancement: (AMR, W1) in legal activities, (DI, W7) in dentistry, and (RED, M6) in IT programming. The others (3 cases) acquired new occupational licenses or certifications unrelated to previous specialization obtained in Romania, namely: (AD, M4) qualifies as a football referee in the UK, while (AN, W6) and (AI, W10) completed NVQ courses.

(DI, W7): "I took a lot of courses, I wanted to get used to the British system."

Acquiring human capital through formal training for new qualifications may represent a lifestyle adopted by some migrants both at the origin and at the destination. This is illustrated by the trajectories of two participants with very different characteristics. They are a middle-aged woman (AN, W6) who came in the UK when she was 26 years old and a young man (AD, M4) who arrived in the UK at 18 years of age. Both completed high school in Romania. However, both switched several times their occupations and each time, they obtained formal qualification required for the new start. Thus, while in

Romania (AN, W6) followed formal trainings in tailoring, pastry chef and insurance, and continued in the UK by taking the NVQs in childcare. (AD, M4) enrolled for an undergraduate degree in sport management in the UK. He did not complete the course. In parallel with the course, he had started working and had obtained the certification of football referee. He starts developing a career in refereeing, while also obtaining a security guard certificate and various on job trainings, all necessary for survival in the UK. Among which, he also followed a game programming course – this tied in to another of his interests for potential future career.

> (AN, W6): "I was taking my NVQs. Each week, at the nursery, I would take all the courses available; everything there was about children and care, I went up to level 3. Because I had the childminder certification, I could have worked in the nursery without the NVQ, but no. I wanted more, I permanently wanted more... So, this is my idea, life is too short to be wasted. Learn!"

Acquiring human capital through formal training for qualifications seems to be a behaviour adopted more in the UK (destination) as compared to Romania (origin).[113] This is a result of the fact that the UK, unlike in Romania, has encouraged institutional paths for lifelong learning, as the connections between the labour market and education system are institutionally rooted. In this sense, the transition from education to employment or vice versa is generally entrenched within the requirements specific for a career track or occupation. For example, in order to qualify as a caregiver for certain types of patients there are NVQ courses; if the intention is to progress, additional courses are set in place to aid the individual's career advancement. Such mechanisms seem to encourage the migrant to consider formal training courses, at least for some occupations, while in the UK.

However, the migrants needed time to learn about the opportunities available in the institutional context of the UK. As newcomers, they have limited information about the UK's labour market, its functioning and any existent institutional bridges with the

[113] Only 4 of the migrants had completed formal trainings before their first arrival in the UK (see Table 10). Thus, (AN, W6) completed various courses, (DI, W7) and (AMC, W9) took specialization courses in Romania. In addition, (GA, M9) took a language and culture course while a migrant in Italy.

educational system. With time, they increasingly learn about the available opportunities and how to access these institutional routes. All participants who increased their human capital through formal training had three years or more from the first arrival to the UK. In other words, it took three or more years to gain experience and to adapt to the new institutional context of the destination (see Table 10).

The quasi-statistics analysis shows that acquiring human capital via formal training is not linked to the individual's life orientation[114]. Nonetheless, in terms of length of the educational transitions during lifetime (including formal education and training and accounting for the high school level and onwards), there are differences: during lifetime the work-oriented invested less time as compared to participants with mixed or education-driven life orientations.

Investing in education and training in the UK is associated with proficiency in English language.[115] On the one side, good knowledge of English is an asset that supports individuals to register in formal courses. On the other, by taking courses they further improved their language skills.

Investing in education and training in the UK is associated with the age at arrival. Due to their higher adaptability to the new context, the participants who arrived while under the age of 25 years old have higher probability to follow in the UK, either higher education or formal trainings or both, as compared with the migrants of over 25 years of age.[116]

Also, investing in education and training during lifetime is differentiated by gender. While formal higher education presents a gendered tendency (as women predominate)[117] there seem to be no such an effect when it comes to formal trainings.

[114] As defined in this thesis.
[115] Out of the 9 participants with medium/average English language skills just 2 completed higher education / formal training in the UK, whereas out of the 9 participants with English language proficiency, 8 completed higher education / formal training in the UK.
[116] Out of the 10 participants over 25 years at their first arrival in the UK only 2 completed higher education or formal training in the UK, whereas out of the 11 participants aged 18-25 years, 8 did so.
[117] The prevalence of women among those following higher education degrees reflects representative population data (the Romanian population census data).

6.4. Sequencing between education and employment

In the research sample, the trajectories of only few (4) participants[118] display traditional sequencing between education and employment; as they firstly complete education and then enter employment with no return to education (be it formal education or on-job trainings) (see Figure 3).

During lifetime, the periods of overlap between education and employment appear to be popular. The trajectories of (17) participants contain overlap periods. The most common pattern of overlapping refers to working while in education (during high school or faculty) which pertains to young students under 25 years old, working in Romania (9 cases), in the UK (4 cases) or in both countries (4 cases).

> (MEC, W2): "From 2010 to 2014 [during student years in the UK] my main source of income was from waitressing. […] in London, I landed in a collective where waitressing was the main occupation. There were people who were 40-50 years old and were waitressing, and it was enough for them. Contrary, I am an ambitious person and I cannot imagine the possibility of telling my children that I am a waitress, when in my 40s or 50s."

Less often (just 5 cases), the pattern of overlapping refers to studying while in employment. These cases refer either to specialization courses compulsory for certain occupations (such as dentistry (DI, W7) or legal occupations (AMR, W1) or to various qualification courses mainly in association with a change of career, as in the cases of (AMM, W3) and (AI, W10), in the UK, or (AN, W6) in both Romania and the UK.

The quasi-statistic analysis reveals that gender and the origin social class do not seem to play a significant role with respect to the sequencing between education and employment. By contrast, the life orientation associates with the sequencing pattern between education and work. Thus, people with a mixed life orientation tend to work

[118] (GB, M1), (MS, M2), (RED, M6), and (OI, W11).

while in education, whereas those work-oriented (especially the midlife individuals) tend to overlap employment and education by attending specialisation / qualification courses in parallel with their jobs.

6.5. Employment transitions during lifetime: Pursuing a career

This section presents the analysis of the employment transitions[119] recorded during lifetime for the research sample (see Table 8), in terms of length, timing and outcomes. The analysis covers 165 employment transitions regarding jobs (formal and informal, paid and unpaid) and 22 unemployment transitions, which refer either to job-seeking or to out-of-work periods. The unemployment periods bear impact on the quality of life, and might lead to restructuring of life strategies (i.e. following a period of unemployment, the individual might consider international migration). The section refers to the behaviour of the Romanian migrants in relation to pursuing a career, the type of career and its interaction with both international migration and the human capital investment behaviours.

The career is explored both in objective and subjective terms (Savickas, 2002). The subjective career refers to the participants' understanding of career, its meanings, evaluations and plans as self-reported in the interviews. The objective career is analysed based on the occupational trajectory - sequence of employment transitions during lifetime (Sears, 1982; Collin, 1997). By definition, in this thesis, a participant is considered *to pursue a career* only if a certain occupation is central for her/his life and, as such, is acknowledged by that participant as being an integral part of her/his identity. All other instances are considered to be *contingent workers* who do not pursue a career, but in a rather instrumental manner they are inclined to undertake any occupation which provides better income and/or working conditions in accordance with their life plans / goals.

[119] Any change of occupation or of employer, considering both employment and unemployment. In line with Carr and Sheridan (2001) this definition aims to detect only the substantial occupational changes.

Table 12: The participants' subjective and objective career during lifetime

Participant code		Interview time (2017)	First arrival in the UK	Life cycle at the interview time (2017)	Level of education (2017)	Work experience in years		Pursuing a career versus Contingent workers	Only for those pursuing a career:		Subjective career
		Age	Age			During lifetime	In the UK		Central occupation	Type of career	
AMR	W1	26	19	Early adulthood	Graduate	3	3	Career	Legal	Traditional	Yes
GB	M1	56	30	Midlife	High school	37	26	Career	Business	Boundaryless	No
MS	M2	44	26	Midlife	Graduate	18.5	14.5	Career	Business	Boundaryless	No
MEC	W2	30	23	Early adulthood	Graduate	7	7	Career	TV production	Boundaryless	Yes
AMM	W3	54	9	Midlife	Graduate	32	32	Career	Business	Boundaryless	Yes
ILS	W4	31	24	Early adulthood	Postgraduate	9	6	Career	Legal	Boundaryless	Yes
SD	M3	32	29	Early adulthood	Graduate	10.5	2.5	Contingent worker	-	-	No
AD	M4	27	18	Early adulthood	High school	6	6	Career	Football referee	Protean	No
CL	W5	29	27	Early adulthood	Graduate	9.5	2.5	Contingent worker	-	-	Yes
AN	W6	39	26	Midlife	High school	20.5	13	Contingent worker	-	-	No
DI	W7	41	31	Midlife	Graduate	16	9.5	Career	Dentistry	Traditional	Yes
AB	W8	34	28	Early adulthood	Graduate	13	6	Contingent worker	-	-	Yes
AMC	W9	27	24	Early adulthood	Postgraduate	9	2.5	Career	Business	Boundaryless	No
ML	M5	35	31	Midlife	Vocational	18	4	Career	Cookery	Traditional	No
AI	W10	28	25	Early adulthood	Graduate	10	1	Contingent worker	-	-	No
OI	W11	29	23	Early adulthood	Graduate	5	5	Career	IT	Boundaryless	Yes
RED	M6	37	24	Midlife	Postgraduate	13	13	Career	IT	Boundaryless	Yes
IUL	M7	31	28	Early adulthood	Graduate	12.5	2.5	Contingent worker	-	-	Yes
GEO	W12	27	24	Early adulthood	Graduate	3	2.5	Career	Legal	Protean	Yes
AP	M8	29	28	Early adulthood	High school	12.5	1	Career	Barista	Protean	No
GA	M9	24	23	Early adulthood	High school	3	0.5	Contingent worker	-	-	Yes

Notes: W = woman, M = man. Life cycles according to Armstrong (2008).

Regarding participants who pursue a career, the following types of career are distinguished:

(i) "Traditional career" - progression as steps within a singular occupational environment (Zaleska and de Menezes, 2007) and

(ii) "New career" - progression as shifts between multiple occupational environments, with two subtypes: "protean career" and "boundaryless career" (Inkson, 2006; Gunz et al., 2000).

While the traditional careers correspond to the linear occupational trajectories, the new careers refer to the non-linear occupational trajectories, which involve an interspersed series of short employment episodes, intertwined with periods of job search and unemployment, besides the central occupation (see also Figure 3).

The distinction between the protean and the boundaryless careers refers mainly to the central occupation type. The boundaryless career is used for knowledge-related occupations in industries such as film production, IT or business which are usually based on temporary projects rather than permanent structures (Inkson, 2008); whereas the protean career is used for central occupations in industries which are usually not project-based (see Table 12).

6.5.1. Occupational mobility before arriving in the UK

Only two[120] out of the 21 interviewees did not have their first employment experience prior to arriving in the UK. Furthermore, other 5 participants succeeded to have an occasional job (for less than 9 months in total) as their first employment experience, either in Romania or abroad (excluding the UK).[121]

[120] (AMM, W3) was a child at the time of arrival in the UK and (AMR, W1) left Romania immediately after graduating high school (at 19 years old).

[121] (AD, M4) worked for 4 months as a volunteer for a children's summer camp, (OI, W11) was for 1 month a customer sales advisor for a mobile company, (GEO, W12) worked for 8 months as customer sales advisor for a mobile company, (MEC, W2) worked for 3 months as a waitress during an international (Romania-USA) student-work exchange program, and (RED, M6) was a paid intern for 3 months in an EU project located in Austria.

Previous to the first arrival in the UK, 14 participants had gained considerable employment experience. They held between one and ten jobs in Romania, Cyprus or Italy, which cumulated a total number of years varying from 2.5 to 14 years of continuous full-time employment.

Table 13: The pre-migration occupational mobility before first arrival in the UK

The worst job in RO	The best job in RO	No. of participants	Occupational mobility
ISCO 2	ISCO 2	1	
ISCO 2	ISCO 1	1	Upward
ISCO 3	ISCO 3	1	
ISCO 4	ISCO 4	1	
ISCO 5	ISCO 5	1	
ISCO 5	ISCO 2	1	Upward
ISCO 5	ISCO 1	1	Upward
ISCO 8	ISCO 5	1	Upward *
ISCO 9	ISCO 4	4	Upward
ISCO 9	ISCO 1	2	Upward **

Notes: ISCO9 = Elementary occupations, ISCO8 = Plant and machine operators, ISCO7 = Craft and related trade workers, ISCO6 = Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, ISCO5 = Service and sales workers, ISCO4 = Clerical support workers, ISCO3 = Technicians and associate professionals, ISCO2 = Professionals, ISCO1 = Managers, legislators, business owners.

* Example: (AN, W6) had her first job in Romania as a skilled factory worker (tailor) at 18 years of age. After various qualifications and jobs, she became a bank teller.

* Example: (SD, M3) had his first job in Romania as unskilled labourer in constructions at 18 years of age. After graduating, he was employed as site manager for a wind farm by a multinational company.

More importantly, the majority of the 14 participants experienced upward occupational mobility in Romania (Table 13). Even so, they either lost their jobs or businesses or found unsatisfactory, before the migration to the UK.

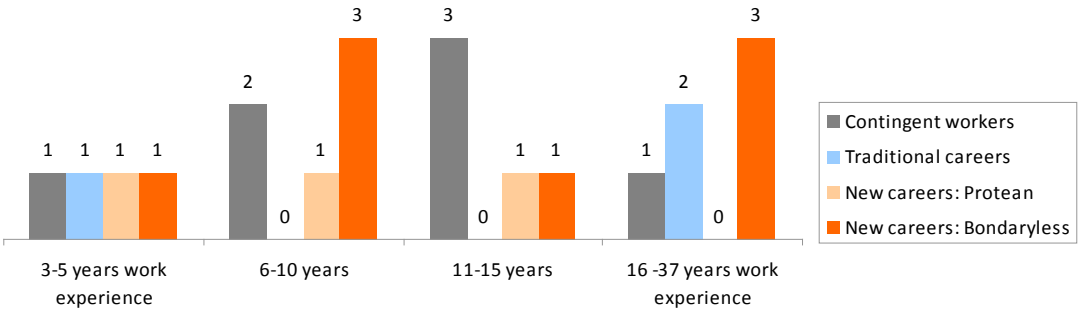
6.5.2. The migrants' objective careers during lifetime

Based on the during lifetime occupational trajectories analysis, all participants in the research sample are classified as either pursuing a career (be it traditional, protean or boundaryless) or as being contingent worker. Consequently, the objective career typology represents an overview of the participants' work experiences extended over both Romania and the UK. Table 12 shows that in the research sample, at interview

time (2017), 14 participants have pursued a career during lifetime, while 7 were contingent workers.

In terms of during lifetime work experience, the sample covers all career stages, from the early stages corresponding to 3 years work experience to the mature stages of 37 years work experience. Pursuing a career and being a contingent worker represent persistent behaviours during lifetime, as there are contingent workers with more than ten years of work experience (Figure 4). Consequently, many contingent workers for years have been facing a skill underutilisation process.

Figure 4: Types of careers during lifetime by career stages (number of participants)



Note: See Table 12.

Irrespective the achieved education level, some participants behaved on the labour market as contingent workers even before becoming a migrant. For example, while living in Romania, (SD, M3) worked as unskilled labourer in construction (during high school), then dog trainer, fitness instructor, and subsequent to graduating the law faculty, became site manager for a wind farm company. Then, he moved to the UK where he worked as warehouse worker, dispatch operator, ink operator, unloading operator, conveyor-belt operator at a cheese factory, and back to warehouse operator. In other words, out of over ten years of work experience, although (SD, M3) held a total of 11 jobs, he neither had nor pursued employment related to his law specialization, but '"all my life, I have just struggled to make a better living."

Contingent workers are not differentiated from participants who pursue a career by gender, age, age on arrival in the UK or educational attainment. The only significant indicator appears to be the provenance social class. Participants from poor families

seem to be more likely to behave as contingent workers during lifetime as compared with the participants from middle or well-off families.[122]

Traditional careers are experienced by three participants. One case is at the early career stage (AMR, W1), while the other two cases[123] have more than 15 years of work experience. Regardless their international migration from Romania to the UK, all had 4-6 employment transitions during lifetime, as they changed employers, while progressing in their central occupations. In terms of future plans, just one participant (ML, M5) mentions the intention to abandon the current career, while the remaining 2 want to further develop: "to become a solicitor and to work in human rights or environmental law" (AMR, W1) or "to open own private practice in the UK" (DI, W7).

The new types of career predominate among the participants in this research sample. The protean careers are fewer (only 3 instances) and comprise of a higher number of employment transitions and short duration jobs in comparison with the boundaryless careers (as well as, the traditional ones).[124] For example, (AD, M4) had 16 jobs in six years of work experience. In Romania, he worked only as a volunteer in a children's summer camp. In the UK, he came to study sport management as undergraduate. During faculty years, he worked as construction labourer. Then, he attended a football referee course and dropped out of the faculty. From that point on, he focused on promoting his career as football referee and on survival, making a living as: fast-food prepper, promoter, event staff at a stadium, customer service operator on train platform, ticket office operator at the London Tube, informal construction labourer, warehouse operative, and warehouse office support.

[122] Out of all 7 participants who come from poor families, 5 are contingent workers and 2 pursue a career. By contrast, among the 14 participants from better-off families, only 2 are contingent workers.
[123] (DI, W7) and (ML, M5).
[124] The 3 participants with protean careers cumulate 31 employment transitions with an average length of less than 10 months each, whereas the 8 participants with boundaryless careers sum up 60 employment transitions with an average duration of about 31 months each. For comparison, the 3 participants with traditional careers gather a total of 18 employment transitions of 27 months each, on average. See Table 10 for the number of employment transitions.

Career and discontinuities due to unemployment

The majority of during lifetime occupational trajectories present discontinuities due to unemployment (14 out of 21 participants). Periods of job-seeking seem to be characteristic for the contingent workers.[125] Concomitantly, at least in this research sample, the contingent workers experienced the longest periods of unemployment.

In 2014, after 3 months of unemployment in Romania, she decided to migrate to the UK

> (AI, W10): "I finished the university course, I quit my job, then I started searching and practically, I didn't find anything. I went to a bunch of interviews. They told me, that although I had experience, it wasn't relevant for the position."
>
> R: What jobs did you applied for?
>
> (AI, W10): "Somewhat basic jobs, like call centres… [...] We needed to sell some products [...], you had targets, and the salary was around 1000RON [around 230 Euro]. It was very little [less than the average salary per economy estimated at 350 Euro] and there were so many conditions, it was horrible. [...] The best job I went for it was for an international multinational, for the position of accounting assistant or such. I didn't practically reach the interview, just the skill test stage..."
>
> R: For how long were you unemployed?
>
> (AI, W10): "September, October, November, around three months' time [in 2013]. No, end of October I went for the interview for the Brit company in Cluj. So, I decided to leave Romania and come November, I began applying for papers, because I didn't have a passport back then."

The least likely to experience discontinuities due to unemployment seem to be the pursuers of traditional careers. Out of the three holders of traditional careers, only (ML,

[125] Six out of all 7 contingent workers had such transitions during lifetime. Only two of them (AN, W6) and (GA, M9) had periods out-of-work. (AN, W6) was incapacitated for 4 months due to a serious work accident. (GA, M9) lived for two years (at 18 to 20 years) from the remittances sent by his parents from Italy, as a philosophy student in Bucharest.

M5) had out-of-work periods, which however, were linked to his choice for circulatory migration and not really to lack of a job. In his 18 years of work experience, he worked in Romania for 12 years, after which in the next three years he worked for 7 months in Cyprus (as a chef during spring-summer seasons), followed by 5 months out of work in Romania. However, this was not due to lack of job opportunities, but it was his choice to dedicate more time to personal development. He started to study psychology, which he abandons after two years of study. Last three years, beginning 2013 onwards, he migrated to the UK and has continuously worked, with a discontinuity interval of 4 months as he went back to work in Cyprus.

Among the participants with new types of careers, the unemployment transitions are common (7 out of 11 cases). Nonetheless, in just one instance it refers to a job-seeking period (OI, W11). In the other cases, discontinuity in career is given by out-of-work periods pertaining to education (i.e. preparing for exams, applying for studying abroad, attending a course in order to obtain a certificate required to access a certain job),[126] to family and preparations for migration abroad[127], and to explore new business.[128]

Overall, when it comes to unemployment transitions, it is worth noting that the majority[129] took place in Romania (pre-migration) and represented a relevant, if not powerful, trigger as a preparation phase to the international migration to the UK.

[126] (GEO, W12), (ILS, W4), and (AD, M4).
[127] (AMC, W9) and (RED, M6).
[128] (MS, M2).
[129] Out of all 22 unemployment transitions, 16 occurred in Romania. Out of the 14 participants with unemployment transitions, 8 had such transitions only in Romania, 3 only in the UK, and 3 in both countries.

6.5.3. The relation between the objective career and the subjective career

The majority of the narratives contain a discourse about their careers (12 out of the 21 cases). In line with Moen and Han (2001), this section focuses on the self-definitions, meanings, expectations and evaluations related to subjective careers which were spontaneously provided by the participants.

There seems to be no association between the subjective careers and the objective careers as defined in the previous section. In other words, there are contingent workers with a discourse on career (4 out of 7 cases), while at the same time there are career pursuers without a subjective career discourse (6 out of 14 cases). Additionally, as expected, the contingent workers do not speak of career (3 cases), while those who pursue a career (8 cases) self-proclaim their central occupations in terms of career. Participants who spoke about their career are not differentiated from the others by gender, age, education level, social class or any other objective indicator.

The subjective careers are unique constructs that most likely differ significantly from the factual data reconstruction of their career. Specifically, this is the case of contingent workers – individuals with no objective career during lifetime. While the career pursuers talk about the subjective career in reference with historical, during lifetime factual deeds and actions, the contingent workers talk about the subjective career as interpretations of past successful experiences and plans / wishes for the future. Some contingent workers present meaningful subjective careers narratives despite lacking an objective during lifetime career.

As contingent worker, (CL, W5) considers the graduation in public administration as a turning point in her life and her dream for the future is "to get a master [degree] and in order to find a job in public administration in the UK." However, in her 7 years of work experience in Romania, during faculty she worked as a supermarket worker and, afterwards, as assistant at two pawn shops and then as a cashier in a restaurant. After moving in the UK, she accumulates 2 and half years of work experience by working as a

warehouse packing worker, printing house worker, and food server at two fast food restaurants at a highway break-stop. No mention of career is found in her narrative.

A second case, (IUL, M7) graduated philosophy in Romania. As student he worked as a reporter at various radio stations. After graduation, he moved to Bucharest and worked as sales consultant and subsequently, became the store manager at a mobile phones company. With the 10 years of work experience gathered in Romania, in 2014, he arrived in the UK. After almost two weeks of recruitment agency job as construction labourer and a couple of job-seeking months, he found work as sales assistant in a mobile phones store. In 2017, he becomes the store manager. In parallel, he had several failed attempts to open a business in London. Nevertheless, he speaks of career since "in the future, for sure, I will be able to have my own business, I'll be a proper entrepreneur in the UK."

The early career stage young contingent worker (GA, M9) has only three years of work experience. He was a kitchen helper at a pizza restaurant in Italy, a fashion model in Romania, hotel receptionist in Italy, and sales agent in the UK. Nonetheless, he speaks about career because "sometime in the future I am going to graduate interior design in the UK, and I will succeed in have a career. A career in anything."

The contingent worker (AB, W8) makes a distinct case. She constructs her subjective career only in relation with her past successful experiences. In Romania, during high school she worked as door to door make-up representative. Then she studied psychology and worked as project assistant, then data collection operator for a marketing research company. Following, she shifted to the NGO sector and worked as child counsellor, fundraiser, and, after graduation, as project manager. Becoming a mother represents a turning point. After moving to the UK, she completely changed her life philosophy. In her case, the subjective career is limited to the sequence of education and occupational roles from the past.

> (AB, W8): "We never… I mean we travelled before to see the world. We didn't see much of it, because we didn't have much money and because both of us worked. We both wanted careers and things like that, but then we figured it

out... Now, we don't want that. No more careers, just freedom that is important."

With regard to participants pursuing a career, the lack of a subjective career is a result of the role and place they give to the central occupation within the broader context of their lives. However, the central occupation is part of identity for all of them:

(i) They want to cease or to put on hold the current career in favour of new occupational roles better suited to current life plans. For example, that is the case of (ML, M5) who after experienced a traditional career as chef, due to family status changes (getting married) and due to the high levels of stress at work, refuses promotion to management and considers, a change of career – maybe in nursing.

(AP, M8) with a protean career as barista

(AP, M8): "Firstly, in order to have a career you need to work a lot for it, obviously. And a career needs to be in something which makes you feel fulfilled; every day makes you go with a smile to work. Whatever you're doing, do your best in order to reach top 100 richest people."

R: Do consider that you have a career?

(AP, M8): "At the moment, no. Not at this moment, I don't. It is impossible to see a career in this [barista], it would be crazy. [...]"

R: Then in the case of your previous work experiences, do you consider you had a career in Romania?

(AP, M8): "No, because at that time I wasn't thinking about that. I consider that it wasn't career. It just helped a lot with the barista experience. I could say that is one of my careers, but I'm telling you I don't want it, I want to erase it."

R: Put it behind you?

(AP, M8): "Yes, and to take it from zero, that is my plan."

(ii) They perceive their central occupation as a hobby, because although they invest in it a lot of time and effort it remains rather marginal for making a living. In the research

sample, that is the case of (AD, M4) who presents a protean career as football referee – as although formally full-time employed as a warehouse operator, he concomitantly strives to make it as a skilled football referee.

(iii) They pursue boudaryless careers as entrepreneurs, irrespective the activity. At the core of their identity is to be creative and flexible enough to build a successful business, and not a specific occupation. Correspondingly, they do not speak of "career". Instead, they often mention opening, carrying on and developing various businesses (failure or success). This is the case of (GB, M1), (MS, M2) and (AMC, W9), all with boudaryless careers of business owners in food production and public transport, in constructions and in food services.

6.5.4. Interactions between career and family

The career trajectories are influenced by the participants' families in three different ways. Firstly, the central occupation which defines the career may represent a family inheritance, as in the cases of (AMM, W3),[130] (ML, M5),[131] and (AMC, W9)[132] whose careers were all initiated and developed at the demand of and with the support of the biological families.

Secondly, the family resources play a critical role in the development of the (objective) careers for some migrants.[133] These are the instances of well-off families that invested considerably in the education and personal development of their offspring. For example, (AMR, W1) could develop her career after she graduated law in the UK because she was able to complete the Legal Practice Course[134] given her parent's extended and continuous financial support.

[130] See also the case study provided in Annex 3.1.
[131] (ML, M5)'s father was a chef hence he started training with him at 14 years old. After the death of his father, he followed the family legacy developing a career as a chef.
[132] (AMC, F9)'s parents own a cake / patisserie shop and catering business in Romania. She worked informally in the family business. In the UK, she followed her parents' footsteps by opening a restaurant together with two associates.
[133] (AMP, W1), (MS, M2), (AMM, W3), and (AP, M8).
[134] This is a professional training course which allows access to law practice internships and as such, access to the barrister career path.

Conversely, the family's lack of resources (possibly associated with a dysfunctional family environment) forced (AB, W8) and (AI, W10) to start working at 16 years old while they were high school students.

> (AI, W10): "My parents separated and there was no possibility of living with either of them. So, I took the first job because I needed money, as I moved on my own and I needed the money to support myself. This is how I lived from 16 to 18, being a waitress and going to school."

Thirdly, the occupational trajectories of both contingent workers and career pursuers change during lifetime given the impact of family role responsibilities. In the research sample, out of all (165) employment transitions about a fifth were influenced by family commitments, by parents and extended family, partner, child responsibilities, or the position of the household breadwinner.

About how family influences the migrants' work-life

> (AN, W6): *In the UK after having her first child, she changes her job from private childminder for a rich family to child carer at the nursery where her child is enrolled*. "As a childminder, I would leave the house at half past 6 a.m., and take two buses to get to my job, with the baby in the stroller. I would get there around 8 a.m., and at 5-6 p.m., sometimes 7 p.m., we would get back home. So, I accepted the nursery job to be with my child. [...] Then, I said, since the second child was on the way, the girl that I'd like to be more with… However, I am left just 100 pounds after all taxes, paying kindergarten, petrol, other expenses, what to do with 100 pounds? So, there was no point, and I decided to take some time off and to spend more time with my children. [...] After I got the NVQ certificate, I changed to home care. I work with the elderly, night shifts from 8 p.m. to 6 p.m., three days per week. [...] For the future, I want to have even more time for my children, so I want to become a teacher's assistant, but not full-time, I want to work only part-time."

> (RED, M6): "In 2012, I started my own IT Company together with two associates, a lot of enthusiasm. In 2014 the company went into a stagnant period, with

little financial advancements. Meanwhile, in 2013, I got married and we had our first baby. The company was very demanding, so I had no time for family and insufficient earnings. Increasingly, the family commitments had become the priority; hence I decided to accept a job as employee in the public sector, at the UKAS. So, now, for the same money, I get fix working hours, free weekends, and less responsibility."

During lifetime, the family commitments affected in various stages, the occupational trajectories of both men and women, of all ages, from all social classes, both single and married (or in serious relationships), with or without children.

6.5.5. Interactions between career and human capital investment

As explained in section 6.5.3 there is no association between the lifetime objective career and the subjective careers. Accordingly, career presents a dual relation with educational attainment. The objective career is not associated with educational attainment during lifetime, since people may have an occupation or craft that they have pursued their entire life and it has been central to their identity, irrespective of the achieved level of education.

By contrast, the subjective career seems to be correlated with the educational attainment during lifetime. Participants who speak about career are more likely to either have completed higher education or to have future plans in this sense.[135] Correspondingly, during lifetime they have spent more years in education than those that are without a career discourse.

In terms of investing in education behaviour as migrants in the UK, the situation is reversed. The subjective career is not associated with this behaviour. By contrast, the objective career appears to associate with following higher education in the UK.

[135] Out of the 6 participants who achieved at most high school, only (GA, M9) speaks about a career given that his future plan is to enrol for an interior design. Out of the 15 participants with higher education, 11 present a discourse on career (out of which 8 have an objective career).

However, acquiring human capital via formal training is similar for both contingent workers and career pursuers, as formal training implies not only new qualifications, specialization courses, but also the credentials required in order to access a specific job.

Table 14 shows that all (6) participants who have followed higher education in the UK have also pursued a career during lifetime. What differentiates these participants from the other career pursuers is that all were early career stage at the first arrival in the UK (correlated, their ages on arrival was under 25 years old). Only (ILS, W4) had 3 years of working experience on arrival, whereas the others had either a singular casual job[136] or none at all.[137] In conclusion, pursuing a career in early stages as a migrant is associated with following higher education in the destination country.

Table 14: Distribution of sample by career type at the interview time (2017) and by type of acquired human capital in the UK (number of participants)

Attended higher education in the UK	Attended formal training in the UK	Objective careers				Subjective careers	
		Contingent workers	Traditional careers	New careers: Protean	New careers: Boundaryless	Yes	No
No	No	5	1	1	4	5	6
No	Yes	2	1		1	2	2
Yes	No			1 *	2	3 *	
Yes	Yes		1	1 **	1 ***	2 ***	1 **
	Total	**7**	**3**	**3**	**8**	**12**	**9**

Notes: * (GEO, W12) who was following faculty at the interview time. ** (AD, M4) who dropped out faculty. *** (AMM, W3) who arrived in the UK at the age of 9 years old. See also Table 10 on human capital and Table 12 on career during lifetime per participant.

The trajectory of (GEO, W12) represents a good exemplification of the relation between career (both subjective and objective) and investment in human capital. After graduating law (in 2012), she returned to her small hometown and works for 8 months as customer sales advisor at a mobile phone store. In parallel, she followed her dream of becoming a judge and to reach this aim, she prepares for the Magistracy exam.[138] The first attempt failed. Hence, she stopped working and focused on learning.

[136] (AD, M4) worked for 4 months as a volunteer for a children's summer camp, (GEO, W12) worked for 8 months as customer sales advisor for a mobile company, and (MEC, W2) worked for 3 months as a waitress during an international (Romania-USA) student-work exchange program.
[137] (AMM, W3) who arrived in the UK at the age of 9, and (AMR, W1) who came at 19 after completing high school.
[138] This is held on a yearly basis in Bucharest.

Meanwhile, her boyfriend becomes an economic migrant in the UK. After the second failure at the Magistracy exam, in 2014, she joined her partner in the UK.

In 2014, choosing the UK in order to join her partner and the first 'migrant' job

> (GEO, W12): "When I came to the UK, I didn't really come to find work. I came because I wanted to be with my partner. The relationship at distance was very difficult for me. Afterwards, at some point, I thought our financial situation wasn't great, so it might be the case that I should get a job."

While in the UK, because "our financial situation wasn't great" she worked for 8 months as staff member in a fast food restaurant and in the same time she learned. In 2015, she returned to Romania for 2 months in order to try for the thirds time at the Magistracy exam. Another failure and this becomes a turning point as she decided to move for good in the UK and to start over. Starting 2015, she worked as staff member at a large clothing store (for 20 months). Also, she enrolled at a law faculty in the UK. In 2017, overlapping education and work, she succeeded to get an unpaid internship at the Citizens Advice Bureau in her legal specialization. So, "my career is now on track, still at the beginning, but on track". Consequently, during lifetime objectively she pursues a protean career, owning a strong career narrative, even more so considering that in the future "the main objectives are career development and to achieve a PhD in law."

With regard to English proficiency, another dimension of human capital, people pursuing a career detain various levels, but they are significantly more likely to have English proficiency as compared to the contingent workers.[139] This relation is not valid for the subjective career.

The analysis of interviews with regard to career reveals an additional dimension of human capital, aside from investment in education, language proficiency, experience with the destination, and life orientation. Specifically, participants pursuing a career speak about their passion / preference for a certain occupation (profession), and their determination / perseverance which support the planning and strategizing in the

[139] Out of the 14 participants pursuing a career, 8 have English proficiency. In contrast, out of 7 contingent workers, only one is English proficiency.

achievement of set career goals. Whereas, the contingent workers focus on "more money" and "better working conditions", the participants pursuing a career present themselves as heroes of their own history with successes and failures in navigating the labour market, all for the sake of career progression and development.

6.5.6. Interactions between career and migration strategy

In this research sample, the contingent workers seem to have little migration experience (having migrated only once, namely from Romania to the UK). In opposition, people pursuing a career have a higher probability to arrive in the UK after gathering experiences in other countries or after multiple migrations in between Romania and the UK.[140] This denotes a major difference in attitude, as contingent workers tend to search for a space which offers possibilities to reap as much as they can (maximise capitals), whereas people pursuing a career are adventurous, mobile and search for a space in which they can maximize their chances to achieve the career goals and life dreams.

Concomitantly, in comparison with the participants pursuing a career, the contingent workers have a higher probability to belong to the new wave (after 2014) of migrants, presenting a length of stay in the UK of only 1-3 years.[141] Furthermore, most contingent workers came to the UK primarily with economic purposes, whereas the participants pursuing a career have mixed economic and social mobility reasons.

[140] Out of 7 contingent workers, 6 migrated just once, from Romania to the UK. Whereas out of the 14 participants pursuing a career, just 6 present singular migration experiences. See also Table 2 for the international migration strategy during lifetime per participant.
[141] Out of 7 contingent workers, 5 arrived in the UK in 2014 or later. Among the 14 participants pursuing a career, only 5 arrived in the UK after 2014.

7 The U-shape pattern in the work-life of the Romanian migrants in the UK

This thesis looks at Romanian migrants in the UK, at their careers from the origin to the destination country. While the previous chapter identified the during lifetime typology of careers followed by migrants, at both origin and destination, this chapter shifts attention to the occupational mobility after arrival in the UK. To this aim, the theoretical framework is provided by studies that have discuss the U-shape pattern of the immigrants' occupational trajectories in the United States (Chiswick and Miller, 2005; 2008) and in some European countries – Italy, Spain and France (Fellini and Guetto, 2018). These studies demonstrate that migrants experience a fall at the first job(s) at destination as compared with the last job held at origin. Nevertheless, this initial downgrade is typically followed by a recovery of the occupational status.

Consequently, this chapter starts with a section on a migrant typology according to the career stage on arrival in the UK. The second section presents the fall - the initial phase of downward occupational mobility from the first six months after arrival. The third section refers to a comparative analysis between the job sequences over the time spent in Romania and the UK. Lastly, it explores the rise - the upward occupational mobility phase in the UK.

7.1. A typology of migrants by the career stage on arrival in the UK

This section concerns with what did the Romanian migrants in the UK, in their first six months after the first arrival. As mentioned in section 6.5, in terms of during lifetime work experience, the research sample covers all career stages, from the early stages corresponding to 3 years work experience to the mature stages at 37 years work experience. In the same time, regarding the work experience on arrival, the research sample contains young with no pre-migration work experience, as well as the middle career stages (with about 3 and a maximum of 14 years of work experience).

Only two[142] out of the 21 interviewees do not have their first employment experience before arriving in the UK. In addition, other five participants succeeded to have just an occasional job (for less than 9 months overall) either within the country or abroad (elsewhere than in the UK).[143] Correspondingly, those 7 participants are considered to have no pre-migration work experience.

There seems to be no relation between the lack of pre-migration work experience and historical time of arrival, gender and education. Simply, the 7 participants with no work experience arrived in the UK at various historical periods and present different levels of education. Nonetheless, they all arrived at ages under 25 years old.[144] Furthermore, after their arrival, 6 out of 7 participants followed formal education or training courses. Some of them entered education within the first 6 months of the arrival to the UK, while others at later stages.

[142] (AMM, W3) who was a child at the time of arrival in the UK and (AMR, W1) who left Romania immediately after graduating high school (at 19 years old).

[143] The 5 participants with limited pre-migration work experience are: AD, M4) - volunteer for a children's summer camp, for 4 months; (OI, W11) - customer sales advisor for a mobile company, for 1 month; (GEO, W12) - customer sales advisor for a mobile company, for 8 months; (MEC, W2) waitress during an international (Romania-USA) student-work exchange program, for 3 months; and (RED, M6) - paid internship in Austria within an EU project, for 3 months. All of those worked in Romania if not mentioned otherwise.

[144] Out of the 11 participants who arrived in the UK at 9-25 years old, 7 had none or less than 9 months of work experience.

The remaining 14 participants present pre-migration work experience. Among them, only (ILS, W4) enrolled in higher education shortly after arriving in the UK. The others found a job and started working. Only 4 participants underwent training for new qualifications, but not during the first months after arrival. Therefore, investing in human capital at destination represents a behaviour specific to migrants without pre-migration work experience at arrival.

As shown below, the typology of career stages on arrival is determined based on factual data regarding the pre-migration work experience and the immediate post-migration actual behaviour.

Table 15: The migrant career stages on arrival in the UK (number of participants)

Work experience before the 1st arrival in the UK	What they did in the first 6 months after 1st arrival	Career stages				Total
		Childhood	Education	New entry	Middle stages	
No or <9months	Childhood	1				1
	Education		3			3
	Unemployment			1		1
	Job			2		2
Yes (9+ months)	Education		1			1
	Job				13	13
	Total	**1**	**4**	**3**	**13**	**21**

Note: See also Table 12 on work experience and Table 16 on the fall.

With regard to career stages, Table 15 shows that the research sample contains:

- One case of childhood migrant[145] that has lived 'the most British Romanian life', and consequently, has experienced a career trajectory similar with the native British.

- Four cases of education migrants[146] that were in higher education for 1 to 3 years after their arrival in the UK. Predominantly, they then to have no or very limited pre-migration work experience at arrival.

- Three cases of new labour market entry migrants[147] that did not present (or had less than 9 months) pre-migration work experience, but immediately after arriving in the UK

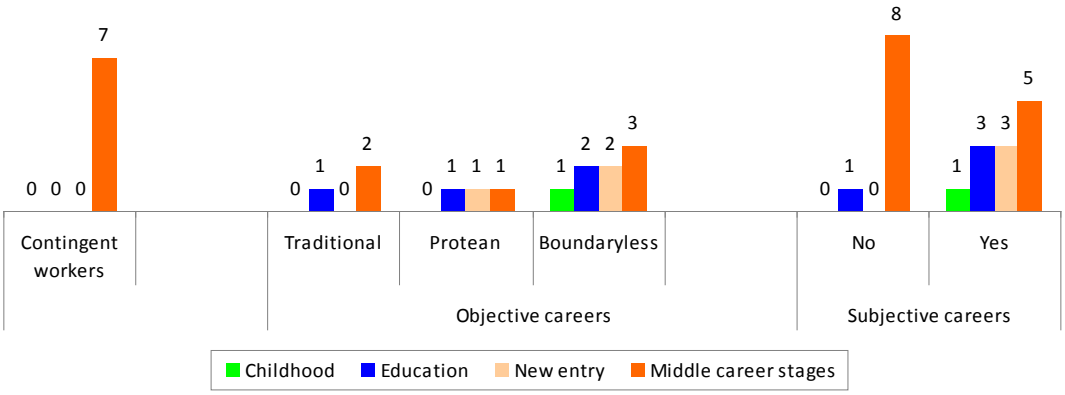
[145] (AMM, W3). See her case study in Annex 3.1.
[146] (AMR, W1), (MEC, W2), (ILS, W4) and (AD, M4). See also the case study of (MEC, W2) in Annex 3.4.
[147] (OI, W11), (RED, M6) and (GEO, W12). See also the case study of (RED, M6) in Annex 3.3.

started working. With the exception of (GEO, W12), the other two cases entered the British labour market with pre-arranged jobs via EU placement programs.

- Thirteen cases of migrants in middle career stages,[148] with pre-migration work experience, that found employment and begun working soon after arrival in the UK.

Early career stages are linked to lack or limited pre-migration work experience. By contrast, in the research sample the middle career stages match, on average, 8 years pre-migration work experience,[149] with an average of 4 jobs before arriving in the UK.[150] Nevertheless, there is no significant difference between participants in early and middle career stages when it comes to either the work experience[151] accumulated in the UK or the total number of jobs accumulated during lifetime.[152]

Figure 5: Distribution of sample by types of career (objective and subjective) and career stages (number of participants)



Notes: N = 21 participants in the research sample. See also Table 12 on career typology.

Unlike the participants pursuing a career who are distributed among all career stages, the contingent workers are all in the middle career stages. The same applies to the participants without a subjective career (Figure 5).

There are no differences between participants at different career stages in regard to gender, age, social class at origin, educational attainment or life orientation. The sole

[148] See the case study of (GB, M1) in Annex 3.2.
[149] With a minimum of about 3 years and a maximum of 14 years, and a standard deviation of 3 years.
[150] With a minimum of 1 job and a maximum of 10 jobs, and a standard deviation of 2.4 jobs.
[151] On average, all groups have an overall 6-7 years work experience gathered in the UK.
[152] On average, about 8 jobs, with a standard deviation of 3 jobs.

group with specific characteristics is that of young migrants in education, having a higher probability to have English proficiency in comparison with the rest.

In terms of migration strategy, the participants in early career stages (education and new entries) tend to migrate at younger ages (under 25 years old) and to take periods of return migration to Romania for completing education, taking exams, or obtaining diploma. Most arrived in the UK during 2007-2013, primarily for social mobility or family purposes. Conversely, among the participants in middle career stages are over-represented purely economic migrants who came in the UK after 2014 with no previous international migration experiences.

7.2. The fall: the comparison between the last job in Romania and the first job in the UK

This section explores the initial downward phase of migrant occupational mobility accounting for the first six months from arrival, by comparing the migrants' last job at origin with their first job at destination. In line with previous studies,[153] the analysis considers as relevant indicators: the historical period and the age on arrival, the pre-migration work experience, the occupational mobility and educational attainment. Additionally, the richness of longitudinal data of participants' pre- and post-migration occupational trajectories and outcomes allow the introduction of two new indicators, namely the career stage on arrival and the career type during lifetime (detail in the previous sections). Hence, part of [**RQ1**] considers the why and how the initial international migration to the UK leads to the occupational fall.

[153] Chiswick and Miller (2005; 2008), Fellini and Guetto (2018).

Table 16: The participants' last job before first arrival in the UK & the first job(s) during the first 6 months in the UK

Participant code		Age (in 2017)	BEFORE ARRIVAL					ON ARRIVAL			IN THE FIRST 6 MONTHS AFTER		DURING LIFETIME
			Level of education	Wexp (years)	Occupational mobility	**Last job in Romania (or elsewhere)**		Year	Age	Career stage	**First job in the UK**		Objective career
AMM	W3	54	Child	0	-	-		1972	9	Childhood	ISCO 4	* Legal assistant	Boundaryless
AMR	W1	26	High school	0	-	-		2010	19	Education	ISCO 2	* Legal assistant	Traditional
MEC	W2	30	High school	<1	-	ISCO 5	Waitress / USA	2010	23	Education	ISCO 5	** Waitress	Boundaryless
ILS	W4	31	Graduate	3	Only one job	ISCO 4	Lawyer assistant	2010	24	Education	ISCO 4	* Parliamentary assistant	Boundaryless
AD	M4	27	High school	<1	-	ISCO 9	Volunteer instructor	2008	18	Education	ISCO 9	** Construction labourer	Protean
OI	W11	29	Graduate	<1	-	ISCO 5	Sales rep	2011	23	New entry	ISCO 3	Teaching assistant	Boundaryless
RED	M6	37	Postgraduate	<1	-	ISCO 2	IT specialist / Austria	2004	24	New entry	ISCO 2	IT specialist	Boundaryless
GEO	W12	27	Graduate	<1	-	ISCO 5	Sales rep	2014	24	New entry	ISCO 5	Fast food	Protean
DI	W7	41	Graduate	6.5	Constant	ISCO 2	Dentist	2007	31	Middle	ISCO 2	Dentist	Traditional
ML	M5	35	Vocational	14	Constant	ISCO 5	Chef / Cyprus	2013	31	Middle	ISCO 5	Chef	Traditional
GB	M1	56	High school	11	Only one job	ISCO 3	Professional boxer	1991	30	Middle	ISCO 9	Construction labourer	Boundaryless
MS	M2	44	Graduate	4	Upward	ISCO 1	Shop owner & Lawyer	1999	26	Middle	ISCO 9	Dish washer	Boundaryless
AMC	W9	27	Postgraduate	6.5	Upward	ISCO 4	Bank clerk	2014	24	Middle	ISCO 5	Waitress	Boundaryless
AP	M8	29	High school	11.5	Upward	ISCO 1	Own firm	2016	28	Middle	ISCO 5	Barista	Protean
SD	M3	32	Graduate	8	Upward	ISCO 1	Project manager	2014	29	Middle	ISCO 9	Warehouse worker	Contingent
CL	W5	29	Graduate	7	Upward	ISCO 5	Pawn assistant	2015	27	Middle	ISCO 9	Packing labourer	Contingent
AN	W6	39	High school	7.5	Upward	ISCO 5	Insurance agent	2004	26	Middle	ISCO 5	Au-pair	Contingent
AB	W8	34	Graduate	7	Upward	ISCO 2	Fund raiser	2011	28	Middle	ISCO 3	Teaching assistant	Contingent
AI	W10	28	Graduate	9	Upward	ISCO 4	Accounting assistant	2014	25	Middle	ISCO 5	Caregiver	Contingent
IUL	M7	31	Graduate	10	Upward	ISCO 1	Store manager	2014	28	Middle	ISCO 9	Construction labourer	Contingent
GA	M9	24	High school	2.5	Upward	ISCO 4	Hotel receptionist / Italy	2016	23	Middle	ISCO 5	Sales rep	Contingent

Notes: W = woman, M = man, Wexp = Work experience. Contingent = Contingent worker. Regarding career types during lifetime see Table 12. * Later on, not in the first 6 months after arrival. ** In parallel with education. The table is organized according to the career stages on arrival and career types during lifetime.

Firstly, in order to be comprehensive, the analysis considers the migrants' career stage at first arrival in the UK. The occupational trajectories of the early career stage participants (childhood, education, new entry on the labour market) are not affected by the international migration from Romania to the UK. Some enter education and start work only after completing their studies. Those[154] who worked in parallel with studying succeeded to attain survival jobs in accordance with previous work experiences. Moreover, the new entries came with pre-arranged contracts or found a job immediately after moving to the UK.

Secondly, middle career stage individuals on arrival have a high probability to experience downward occupational mobility during the first months, which is in line with the findings of previous studies regarding various migrant groups and countries (Chiswick and Miller, 2005, 2008; Fellini and Guetto, 2018). Out of the 13 participants with pre-migration work experience, 10 participants[155] experienced an occupational fall on the UK's labour market. The 3 participants[156] who did not experience the occupational fall have one common characteristic, namely that all came on a pre-arranged employment contract via professional recruitment agency from Romania.

This result may be an effect of the fact that most middle career stage participants had pre-migration upward mobility (Table 16). Consequently, in Romania they strived and succeeded to reach higher initial positions, and as result experience a higher probability of lower occupational status (fall) associated with the first job on arrival in the UK.

Thirdly, if career stages are not considered, the contingent workers are considerably more likely to experience an occupational fall immediately after arrival as compared with career pursuers. However, by controlling for the career stage on arrival, the advantage of people pursuing a career disappears. Thus, for individuals who migrate during middle career stages, the contingent workers and the career pursuers share the

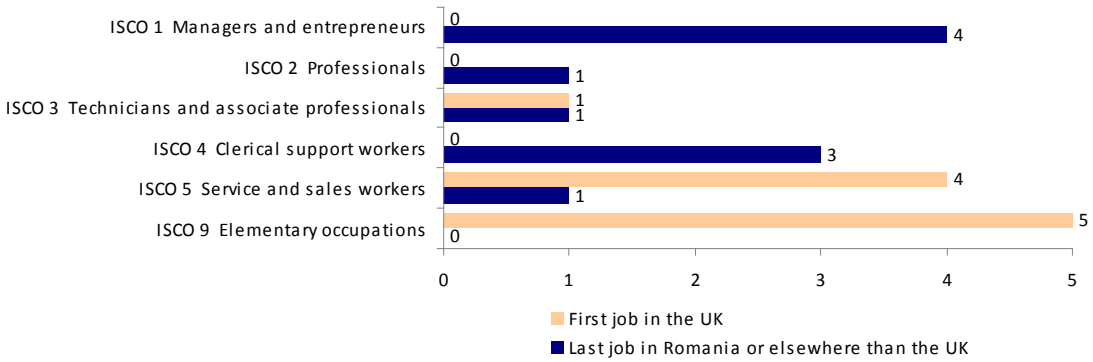
[154] (MEC, W2) and (AD, M4) who had pre-migration work experience of less than 9 months.
[155] For 2 out of the 10 participants who experience occupational fall, the last job in Romania is also the first job ever during lifetime.
[156] (DI, W7), (ML, M5) and (AN, W6). However, while the first two kept their initial occupation, the latter experiences an occupational change (within the same ISCO 5 category).

same high probability of downward occupational mobility during first months after arrival.[157]

With regard to the career type, only the traditional careers seem to have higher probability to avoid the occupational fall. However, this remains a hypothesis to be tested by future studies, since the research sample includes only two participants with traditional careers who both arrived with a pre-arranged employment contract. In other words, it cannot be determined if the avoidance of occupational fall is linked (and to what extent) to the career type, or to the transferability of skills associated with certain central occupation, or to the existence of a pre-arranged contract.[158]

The magnitude of occupational fall varies across cases (Table 16). For most cases (6 out of 10), the fall is severe (from the top / maximum occupational tier to the bottom occupational tier).

Figure 6: The initial occupational fall of the Romanian migrants in the UK by occupational categories (ISCO codes and number of participants)



Note: N = 10 participants with occupational fall in the first months after arrival in the UK.

The contingent workers seem to be more likely to have a mild-scale downgrading as they are more flexible, never having had a job during lifetime corresponding to the level of education or specialization. The contingent workers are prone to take any

[157] In the research sample, 6 out the 7 contingent workers experienced a fall immediately after arrival, compared to only 4 out of the 14 participants pursuing a career. However, for to the middle career stage participants the ratios changes to 6 out of 7, and 4 out of 6.

[158] There are 6 participants who arrived in the UK with pre-arranged employment contracts via Romanian professional recruitment agencies or via EU projects. Four of them - (DI, W7), (ML, M5), (OI, W11), and (RED, M6) - pursue a career and succeeded to keep their initial occupations, whereas the other two - (AN, W6) and (AI, W10) - are contingent workers who had to change their initial occupations.

occupation that would provide better income or working conditions in the given context. As a consequence, unlike previous studies, this research sample shows no association between the magnitude of fall and the education level. Usually, the higher the migrants' education level, the greater the potential downgrade as those who have higher qualifications enter under-qualified occupations (Fellini and Guetto, 2018). Nonetheless, if people with higher qualifications have worked in under-qualified jobs during their entire lives, as contingent workers do, than the downgrade would be rather mild and not severe.[159]

The English proficiency does not appear to contribute in diminishing the magnitude of the fall. Among the middle career stage participants, the ones with low or medium proficiency experienced a mild fall, while those with high proficiency downgraded from the top to the bottom of the occupational ladder. Concomitantly, the magnitude of the initial occupational fall depends upon the age at arrival. A younger age on arrival means shorter time to gain work experience or upward mobility in Romania, which leads to a lower occupational position wherefrom the fall occurs after arrival in the UK. Correspondingly, ages below 25 years old on arrival are associated to a mild scale fall.

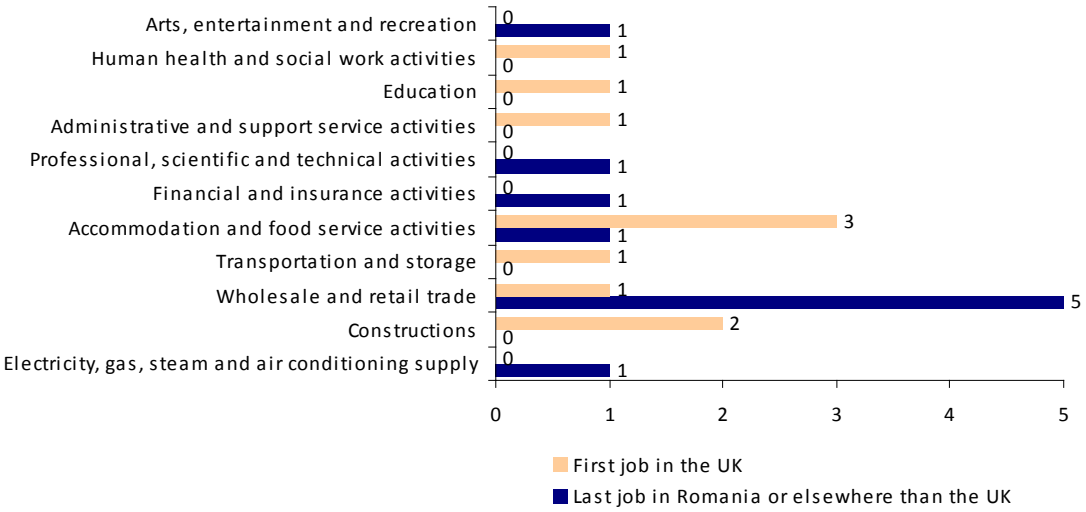
Once at destination, the migrants change both occupation and economic activity sector as their behaviour on the labour market, be they contingent workers or participants pursuing new types of careers (especially, the entrepreneurs).

The migrants' first jobs in the UK is spread across more activity sectors than their previous jobs in Romania, predominantly in accommodation, food services and constructions (Figure 7). Thus, 9 out of the 10 participants who experience an occupational fall in the first months after arrival in the UK enter the labour market via jobs in migrant-specific sectors (Kawata and Sato, 2011; Rienzo, 2013; Wright, 2007; Green et al., 2007). Just one interviewee (GA, M9), after only 7 months stay in the UK, at the interview time appeared to face the risk of becoming isolated in the migrant ethnic labour market (Patacchini and Zenou, 201; Wright and Ellis, 2000; Portes and Manning,

[159] For example, out of the 13 middle career stages participants 7 are faculty graduates. (DI, W7) with a traditional career does not experience the initial fall, while (AB, W8) and (AI, W10) contingent workers experience a mild fall, while (CL, W5) contingent worker experiences a medium level fall.

2008; Bailey and Waldinger, 1991) with no opportunities of assimilation in the broader society. In the research sample, this is the case of (GA, M9) who risks being trapped in the migrant labour market – after just 7 months in the UK, working since as arrival as a warehouse operative in a just-migrant work environment for a migrant-owned food centre with no intention of finding a 'better' job.

Figure 7: The initial occupational fall of the Romanian migrants in the UK by economic activity categories (ISIC codes and number of participants)



Note: N = 10 participants with occupational fall in the first months after arrival in the UK.

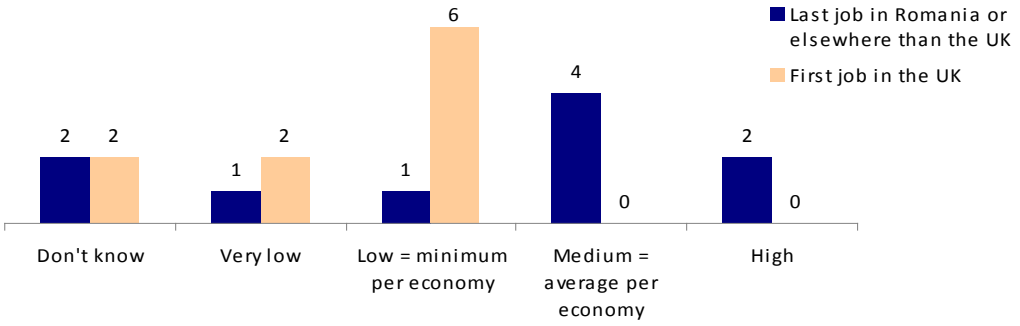
Additionally, the migrant niche jobs / occupations of the UK labour market present a gendered effect – as indifferent to the migrant's historical period of arrival and initial fall period, women tend to concentrate in service occupations (e.g. waitressing or care giving), while men tend to concentrate in constructions and warehouse occupation.

The migrant occupational fall is also visible in terms of earnings. Figure 8 illustrates that the international migration causes a shift from medium-high earnings at origin country to the minimum per economy at destination country. In absolute terms, the earnings in the UK are generally higher than in Romania,[160] although incurring significantly higher

[160] The average (median) full-time gross monthly earnings for April 2007 were £1,830 in the UK and £238 (1,387RON) in Romania. For April 2017 the average monthly earning were £2,200 in the UK and £620 (3,291RON). Data compiled from the Institute of Statistics Romania and the Office for National Statistics UK (websites, accessed March 2018). The conversion from RON to GBP was made in accordance to the currency exchange rates of the Romanian National Bank (website, accessed 2018).

living costs especially in terms of rent cost (given that the majority used to live with their parents in Romania).

Figure 8: The initial occupational fall of the Romanian migrants in the UK by earnings categories (number of participants)



Note: N = 10 participants with occupational fall in the first months after arrival in the UK.

Considering the loss of prestige and incomes, why do people accept such an occupational fall? The majority (8 out of 10) said "for livelihood, even if it [first job in the UK] is like in Prison Break, it will pass" (AI, W8).

Furthermore, only 3 participants[161] (out of the 10) who experienced an initial occupational fall in the UK identify the situation as "a lower social class" experience. The common characteristic is the maximum magnitude of the fall in the UK, from the very top to the very bottom (from managerial or professional positions to elementary jobs based on heavy manual labour), of middle or better-off social classes provenance (Table 16). Only one more participant experienced an initial fall of similar magnitude - (SD, M3) has no discourse about downward social mobility and comes from a poor background.

About reaching the very bottom, "a lower social class" as a Romanian migrant in the UK

> (IUL, M7): "First day of work. I get there up to 12 a.m. I was asked to unload a truck; one of those huge trucks, large as a train. A Polish man or something, he didn't speak either Romanian or English, asks me to unload the truck which was full with construction materials - plasterboards, cement bags. I was used with a different type of work, for 7-8 years, I was finished. I couldn't even lift the

[161] (GB, M1), (MS, M2) and (IUL, M7).

cigarette to my mouth in the 10 a.m. break. Good, got the 10 a.m. break, and I tell myself 'it cannot get any worse, what can be worse than this?!' Then from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. another truck. Wait, that's not all! All my friends who know about the story, start laughing out loud. I'll remember it at old age and laugh as well. Now, comes the other truck, this time filled with kitchen cupboards that needed unloading. All that suspended-type kitchen furniture, I needed to unload it, and here they have such narrow entrances... the doors. And it was for one of those new residential complexes, still under construction. I needed to take the furniture to the first floor. Anyway, it was elegant, beautiful. Around 12.30-1 p.m., I don't remember exactly because it happened 3 years ago... I thought there were just 3 hours until 4 p.m., the end of the shift. I felt like I was in the army; I didn't do the army, but I imagine that's how the army would be like. I wasn't feeling anything anymore, not even my toenails. What do you think? The last blow came just at the end of the shift. They handed me a sledgehammer and huge plastic bag - a basket, to me and two others. Luckily, one of them was a Romanian. This guy knew the business, he was well-built, had muscles, for him it was no biggie. They send us somewhere on the second floor, where in 2 rooms of 4mx4m the cement screed was cracked. It needed to be smashed with the sledgehammer, loaded into those baskets, and then dropped down the shoot. And after that first day of work, I couldn't sit on toilet seat for 1 week... I cannot explain the muscle fever I had due to the 'smash, pick up and so on'! I simply reached the very bottom, so I stopped and looked for another job."

Usually, the occupational fall is experienced in the first months of migration and lasts up to one year. The majority of the occupational falls took place in the first 6 months in the UK, and in just three instances, the period extended to one year.[162] Moreover, in some (3) cases, the occupational fall in the UK went beyond the first job and continued with other 1-3 employment transitions (jobs) in the same occupational category (ISCO) as the first migrant job. Even so, in the research sample, the occupational fall reached a

[162] (GB, M1), (AB, W8) and (AP, M8). See the case study of (GB, M1) in Annex 3.2.

maximum of 18 months after arrival in the UK. This is the case of (MS, M2) who during the first migration to the UK (in 1999) worked for a total of about 18 months as dishwasher at an Italian restaurant (less than 1 month), followed by supermarket replenishment staff (5 months), and hospital porter (1 year). All these jobs were grey-paper jobs, elementary occupations (ISCO 9), based on pseudo-legal employment agreements. As a result, in 2001 he goes back to Romania, and returns to UK in 2003.

Another example of extended occupational fall beyond the first job is (SD, M3). Before departing from Romania, he was a project manager for a wind farm of a multinational company. In 2014 he arrived in the UK in order to be with his girlfriend (but soon the relationship ended). He registered with an employment agency and in less than a week after arrival, he got his first job in the UK as warehouse worker (ISCO 9). One month later, through another recruitment agency, he changed to dispatch operator (ISCO 9) packing food products in a cold storage space. Two weeks later, he became an ink operator (ISCO 9) for one month, followed by 5 days as unloading operator (ISCO 9) and 4 days as conveyor-belt operator (ISCO 9). After a total of about 3 months in 5 elementary jobs found through various recruitment agencies, early 2015, he returned to the initial (first) warehouse job as operator (ISCO 8), occupation in which he had remained until the interview time (in 2017).

The quasi-statistical analysis of the employment transitions of the (10) participants who experienced an occupational fall in the first months in the UK, reveals the following sequence of events:

- Duration of the last job in Romania varies greatly between 5 and 132 months, with an average length of 39 months.[163]

- The interval between the last job in Romania and the migration to the UK is on average 3-4 months, conferring considerable variation between from few days to 12 months.

[163] Standard deviation of 37 months.

- The interval between the arrival in the UK and the start of the first job is less than a month, irrespective the historical period of arrival or the existence of a pre-arranged employment contract.

- Duration of the first job in the UK varies substantially, taking between few days to a maximum of 1 year, with an average length of 5 months.[164] In the instances of prolonged occupational fall, the duration can increase to 18 months, which is sometimes followed by return migration to Romania, and subsequent return to the UK. As comparison, when all 21 participants are considered (Table 16), the average duration of the first job in the UK increases to 7.5 months.[165] This is because the first jobs in the UK of the (11) participants who did not experience an occupational fall were generally better paid and more stable.

Finally, the period marked by the initial occupational fall comprises major transitions in occupation and country of residence, but very few transitions in education, family or attachment to the destination or origin countries. All time and effort of migrants are focused on accessing the destination labour market and overcoming the initial fall. Consequently, during this initial period, none invested in formal training for new qualifications either in Romania or in the UK. In terms of family transitions only one participant - (SD, M3) experiences a change in relationship status after the arrival in the UK (relationship break-up). Thirdly, during the first job in the UK, participants do not recall or mention any sort of attachment for the UK.

[164] Standard deviation of 5 months.
[165] With a minimum of few days, a maximum of 3 years, and standard deviation of about 9 months.

7.3. Comparison between jobs in Romania and in the UK: being the native versus being a migrant

This section presents a comparative analysis of the employment transitions (jobs) from Romania and the UK in order to understand the effects of the shift in status from native to migrant over the quality of employment and the job-seeking strategy.

For this purpose, from the entire research sample, were selected only the participants who held at least two jobs in each country. The comparative analysis involves a total of 75 employment transitions (38 in Romania, before migration, and 37 in the UK, after migration) of 9 participants (see Table 8 regarding the number of transitions per participant).[166] This sub-sample contains only individuals in middle career stages, out of which the majority (6) are contingent workers, 2 are entrepreneurs with boundaryless careers and 1 has a traditional career as dentist.[167] Also, 7 experienced an initial occupational fall in the first months after arrival in the UK, of various magnitudes, from very mild to very severe. Hence, the analysis is relevant mainly for the economic migrants from Romania to the UK - women - contingent workers during lifetime.

As a particular effect of the initial occupational fall triggered by migration, among the jobs held as migrants in the UK the share of the blue-collar occupations (especially the unskilled ones) is considerably higher, while the shares of professional and white-collar occupations (especially office staff) are lower as opposed to the corresponding shares

[166] The others (12) had only one job either in Romania or in the UK. Two cases were not considered in the analysis, namely: (AD, M4) recorded with 2 jobs in Romania, but both jobs refer to volunteering at a children's summer camp for two consecutive years (hence, his case can be assimilated as with only one job at origin); and (ML, M5) registered 8 jobs out of which 4 were in Cyprus, where he built as a migrant his career as chef (hence his case does not fit the analysis purpose).

[167] The employment transitions included in this analysis belong to 9 participants who arrived in the UK at all historical periods (predominantly, 2014 or after), with ages between 24 and 31 years old, and have a length of stay in the UK between 2 and 13 years. Their work experience during lifetime ranges from 9 to 20.5 years, out of which 1 to 14.5 years on the British labour market. On average, their work experience is about 13 years during lifetime, of which 6 years in the UK. They held 6 to 11 jobs during lifetime, of which 3 to 7 in Romania, and 2 to 7 in the UK.

among the jobs held as natives in Romania.[168] Actually, the probability of a participant to work in a blue-collar job is roughly two times higher as migrant in the UK than as a native in Romania. This result is even more relevant taking into consideration that almost a half of the jobs held as natives in Romania were undertaken with just high school diplomas, while nearly all the jobs from the UK were undertaken with higher education diplomas (graduates).

Due to the structural differences between the labour markets at destination and origin along with the initial occupational fall triggered by migration, the jobs from Romania are spread between diverse sectors of economic activities, whereas those from the UK tend to narrow into migrant-specific sectors, especially health, catering, constructions, wholesale and retail trade, transportation and warehouse.

The downgrade in occupations and the narrowing into the migrant-specific economic sectors lead to a considerable increase of the share of jobs paid with the minimum wage among the jobs in the UK as compared to Romania[169]. However, in migrants' perception they make significantly more money in the UK, enough to afford better living conditions than in Romania.

> (AMC, W9): "I believe what made me come here [in the UK] was the financial aspect, and the way in which Romania is governed, and the way they think. [...] On one hand, I didn't want to depend on my parents. On the other hand, if I would have worked at a bank, my entry salary would have been 900 RON [approx. €200]. So, to study banking and finances for 5 years then to go work for 900 RON... Moreover, you need the professional attire, as you well know. You go to a bank in Romania, the jacket and the clothes are at your personal expense. Not like in the UK, where the banks offered the specific attire to all employees. Back in Romania, they have high expectations, from shoes to attire,

[168] The 38 jobs from Romania distribute by occupational groups in 13% management, 16% professionals, 53% white-collars, and 18% blue-collars. By comparison, the 37 jobs from the UK distribute as follows: 14%, 8%, 43%, and 35%.

[169] Among the jobs as natives the share of those paid with the minimum wage per economy or less is 32%, while the share of those paid with the average wage per economy or more is 47%. Up to 100%, there are unpaid jobs 5% and non-responses 16%. The corresponding percentages among the jobs as migrants in the UK are 57%, 30%, 3%, and 11% respectively.

make-up. There, it seems, they choose employees based on how they look and not what's in their heads."

The majority of jobs from the UK are formal, based on work contracts. Although in Romania the participants were natives and not migrants, their probability of having an informal job was almost two times higher than in the UK, reflecting the structural over-representation of informal work in Romania. Alternatively, in the UK, the few jobs which were informal took place before 2007, when the Romanian migrants struggled to obtain legal employment given the requirement of work and residence permits. This seems to indicate the impact of migrant employment regulations at the destination.

In both countries, for most jobs, the participants were employees with full-time contracts and no (or very small) promotion prospects. Nevertheless, as compared to the situation in Romania, the jobs held as migrants in the UK have considerably higher chances of being associated with temporary work contracts,[170] with shift-based work,[171] and commuting.[172]

In the role of migrant, the participants made noteworthy efforts to boost availability for working long and unsocial hours, especially during the first year after arrival on the UK labour market. They declared such availability for about a third of the jobs from Romania, which increased to over 60% of the jobs from the UK. However, in terms of actual jobs involving long hours work there appears to be no difference between the origin and the destination country (this share was about a third for each). For example, soon after arrival in the UK, during the first 3 months, (SD, M3) changed 5 jobs, all temporary, shift-based, with unsocial hours, and remunerated at the minimum wage rate. The jobs involved commuting either to factories or warehouses around Leicester, for which transport was assured by the employer.

(SD, M3): [Dispatch operator for 2 weeks] "You would enter some corridors where it was super warm, quite pleasant. Then you would go in corridors with -

[170] The share of temporary work contracts is 21% of the jobs from Romania and 51% of those from the UK.
[171] The share of shift-based jobs is 5% of the jobs from Romania and more than 10 times higher - 57% of those from the UK.
[172] The share of jobs implying commuting is over 21% of the jobs from the UK, while being extremely rare for the jobs from Romania.

2 degrees Celsius. I would work only day shifts. I would wake up at 4.30 a.m., in order to be there by 6 a.m. and literally, my stomach would ache. So, when I knew that I'd need to go there, it was psychological, I was destroyed. [...] It was a nightmare. You needed to work with incredible speed, it was cold... and I said, okay, I'm leaving."

[Factory conveyor-belt operator for 4 days] "I worked at this *** factory. It was the dirtiest factory I ever saw in my life, a factory in which supposedly food was being produced. It was horrible, you wanted to puke. They had a factory cafeteria. [...] It's as if they were growing pigs in the cafeteria. I didn't know how to eat, how to sit, how to clean up the food and how, holy God... I would have never believed this was possible, really. [...] I worked there 3-4 days, and then I told them 'I'll be late for work, I have a job interview'. So, of course, they didn't call me back."

In only one respect is it the case that jobs held as migrants in the UK are slightly better than the jobs they held as natives in Romania. Although generally they have lower quality jobs on arrival, most jobs in the UK tend to provide on-job training.

A work environment marked by intense socialization with co-workers of the same nationality reduces the propensity of migrants to change their job even if it is low-skilled, heavy labour and low-paid (Alberti, 2014). The assessments of the participants in the research sample at each of their jobs during lifetime show that:

(i) the evaluation of work environment as being positive is correlated with the existence of Romanian or other East-European co-workers, but only regarding the jobs from the first year after arrival;

(ii) a positive work environment may help in coping with poor work conditions, but does not influence significantly either the decision to migrate or to change the job.

The participants declared that they had a positive work environment in about a half of their jobs in Romania, including the last job. However, they consider that a difficult work environment represented an effective training for the position of migrant,

whereas a positive one remained a nice memory with little influence over the decision to change, not only the job but also the country of residence. Regarding the jobs in the UK, also about half were self-assessed as having a positive work environment, including the jobs during the first year after arrival. Even so, none of the participants decided to change or to keep a job depending on the work environment, be it positive or not.

None of the participants was member of a trade union, in any of the jobs held in Romania. The situation was the same in the UK. Therefore, keeping and switching the job have been for all participants, irrelevant of location, an individual or family matter.

As migrants in the UK, the participants adapted their job seeking strategies to the new context. As natives in Romania, the participants heavily relied on family and social networks for finding a job. As migrants in the UK, they used mainly recruitment agencies and, less often, social networks.[173] On one side, this can be interpreted as reflecting the seriously underdeveloped recruitment agencies practices in Romania.

> (ML, M5): "So the first time in the UK, I was happy, let's see if it's going to be. I stayed a month in the UK, it was terrible. So, the work was from 9 a.m. to 9, 10, 11, 12 or 1 a.m. with no overtime pay. For lunch break, we had 20 minutes, maximum 30, just to grab a coffee. And I quit, considering that this cannot be, this isn't the UK I had in mind... So, I went back home, to the agency and I told that man: hey, what did you do, where did you send us?! I made a complaint about that person, because he sent us where he shouldn't have. And not just me, there were many others who left with the same agency. [...] And I said 'hey, this isn't good, this and that, I want my money back!' There were some misunderstandings, but eventually I got the money back, half of it anyway."

On the other side, in the UK, using the recruitment agencies is indicative of the individual willingness to integrate and adapt to the new society.

[173] Out of the jobs from Romania a half were found through family and social networks. The other methods included: personal recommendation, local media, community, in-company placement, open own business, Internet, recruitment agencies, and by chance. The jobs in the UK were found through recruitment agencies (33%), family and social networks (16%), open own business (16%), in-company placement, Internet, and chance.

(CL, W5): "They asked me what job I would like. I told them that I'm not particular, as long as it means day shift. The first job that came about was at a printing house. They asked whether I would be alright with it, whether I would be interested... I accepted, because I didn't have any other options."

For the participants, being migrants in the UK meant that social networks not only lost influence as job seeking strategy, but also changed in nature. In Romania, the strong ties played the most important role in finding a job, whereas in the UK the weak ties - friends and acquaintances, especially British ones - gained the major role.

7.4. The rise: Occupational mobility and success of Romanian migrants in the UK

This section refocuses the analysis on the (100) employment transitions (jobs) held by all (21) participants during their stay in the UK, from arrival to the interview moment (in 2017). The previous section has shown that the jobs held as migrants in the UK have a lower quality than the jobs held as natives in Romania. Even so, this does not mean that all jobs held as migrant are the same. After the initial fall (section 7.2), as time goes by, the migrants learn increasingly more about how the new labour market functions, improve their language proficiency, expand their social networks, and find about available opportunities and ways to surpass the obstacles met at beginning. Consequently, their chances to find and retain better jobs increase. They become likely to experience upward occupational mobility and, in the long run, they may even perform better than on the native labour market in Romania. This pattern empirically demonstrated[174] for other countries other than the UK is explored in this section, on the following research questions: As time goes by, have their jobs in the UK improved? Did they experience upward mobility? Under what conditions? And if they did, was the upgrading enough to reach the same position (recovery) or even a better one (success) than the one earned in the origin country? Hence, unlike previous studies, this thesis

[174] Chiswick and Miller (2005, 2008); Fellini and Guetto (2018).

does not compare the Romanian migrants with the British natives, but measures recovery and success by taking, as benchmark, the best position obtained as natives in Romania. In accordance with Fellini and Guetto (2018), the factors expected to affect the occupational recovery and success of the migrants include gender, educational level, length of stay in the UK, age on arrival, and language proficiency. In addition, the career stage on arrival, career type during lifetime, and social networks are inquired as relevant factors.

7.4.1. Occupational mobility of the Romanian migrants in the UK

As method, the analysis divides employment transitions in the UK in three groups, the (21) first jobs, (60) midway or intermediary job(s) and (19) current or last jobs (see Table 17).[175] In order to offer insights on the distinctive structure and characteristics of the migrant career, the study analysis the data by job sequencing groupings: first, midway and last. The group of first jobs in the UK was already analysed by comparison with the last jobs from Romania. Therefore, in this section the first jobs are compared with the other two groups of jobs held as migrants in the UK.

The main results of the analysis confirm the U-shape pattern hypothesis. The initial occupational fall of the Romanian migrants in the UK is followed by upward mobility, the jobs improving significantly as time goes by. The midway jobs are better than the first jobs, while the last jobs are even better.

[175] Current jobs are only 19 because two participants were newcomers at the interview time (in 2017) and they had a single job during their stay in the UK. Total number of jobs per participant varies between 1 and 14. There is also a considerable variation, since (AD, M4) has 14 employment transitions in 9 years of stay, while (DI, W7) has only 3 employment transitions in 10 years of stay.

Table 17: The participants' jobs in the UK between the first (arrival) and the interview time (in 2017)

Participant code		DURING LIFETIME (in 2017)			ON ARRIVAL			IN THE FIRST 6 MONTHS AFTER		Number of intermediary jobs in UK	INTERVIEW TIME (in 2017)	
		Age	Level of education	Objective career	Year	Age	Career stage	First job in the UK			Current job in the UK	
AMM	W3	54	Graduate	Boundaryless	1972	9	Childhood	ISCO 4	* Legal assistant	9	ISCO 1	Chief executive COBCOE
AMR	W1	26	Graduate	Traditional	2010	19	Education	ISCO 2	* Legal assistant	2	ISCO 2	Paralegal
MEC	W2	30	Graduate	Boundaryless	2010	23	Education	ISCO 5	** Waitress	5	ISCO 2	TV producer
ILS	W4	31	Postgraduate	Boundaryless	2010	24	Education	ISCO 4	* Parliamentary assistant	2	ISCO 1	Communication manager
AD	M4	27	High school	Protean	2008	18	Education	ISCO 9	** Construction labourer	12	ISCO 3	*** Football referee
OI	W11	29	Graduate	Boundaryless	2011	23	New entry	ISCO 3	Teaching assistant	2	ISCO 2	IT Technician
RED	M6	37	Postgraduate	Boundaryless	2004	24	New entry	ISCO 2	IT specialist	4	ISCO 2	IT specialist UKAS
GEO	W12	27	Graduate	Protean	2014	24	New entry	ISCO 5	Fast food	1	ISCO 4	Counsellor CAB
DI	W7	41	Graduate	Traditional	2007	31	Middle	ISCO 2	Dentist	1	ISCO 2	Dentist
ML	M5	35	Vocational	Traditional	2013	31	Middle	ISCO 5	Chef	0	ISCO 5	Chef
GB	M1	56	High school	Boundaryless	1991	30	Middle	ISCO 9	Construction labourer	4	ISCO 1	Own firm
MS	M2	44	Graduate	Boundaryless	1999	26	Middle	ISCO 9	Dish washer	5	ISCO 1	Own firm
AMC	W9	27	Postgraduate	Boundaryless	2014	24	Middle	ISCO 5	Waitress	1	ISCO 1	Own firm
AP	M8	29	High school	Protean	2016	28	Middle	ISCO 5	Barista	Only 1 job	-	
SD	M3	32	Graduate	Contingent	2014	29	Middle	ISCO 9	Warehouse worker	4	ISCO 8	Warehouse operator
CL	W5	29	Graduate	Contingent	2015	27	Middle	ISCO 9	Packing labourer	2	ISCO 5	Fast food
AN	W6	39	High school	Contingent	2004	26	Middle	ISCO 5	Au-pair	2	ISCO 5	Care worker
AB	W8	34	Graduate	Contingent	2011	28	Middle	ISCO 3	Teaching assistant	0	ISCO 5	Wedding photographer
AI	W10	28	Graduate	Contingent	2014	25	Middle	ISCO 5	Caregiver	2	ISCO 3	Nurse
IUL	M7	31	Graduate	Contingent	2014	28	Middle	ISCO 9	Construction labourer	2	ISCO 1	Store manager
GA	M9	24	High school	Contingent	2016	23	Middle	ISCO 5	Sales rep	Only 1 job	-	

Notes: W = woman, M = man, Contingent = Contingent worker. Regarding career types during lifetime and years of work experience in the UK (see also Table 12). * Later on, after completing education, not in the first 6 months after arrival. ** In parallel with education. *** In the same time, (AD, M4) worked as warehouse office support (ISCO 4) for making a living. The table is organized according to the career stages on arrival and career types during lifetime.

As compared with the first jobs group, for intermediary jobs and, especially, the last jobs groups in the UK: the professional (ISCO 2) and managerial (ISCO1) occupations are over-represented. Moreover, these occupations take place in various economic sectors (and not in the migrant-specific industries), taking shape via entrepreneurship and self-employment, permanent (and not temporary) jobs based working contracts (their share increases from less ¼ at the first job to about 1/3 at the midway jobs, and reaches 2/3 at the last jobs). Elementary occupations practically disappear.

The migrants' readiness for working long and unsocial hours, which is specific at the first jobs, continuously diminishes as the migrants advance to the midway and last jobs. The share of actual jobs involving long hours followed the same declining trend from the first to the last jobs. Similar, the informal jobs were only few since the first jobs and completely disappeared among the last jobs. By contrast, the shares of shift-based jobs and of commuting remained constant as those have been rather structural features of the UK labour market than individual choices.

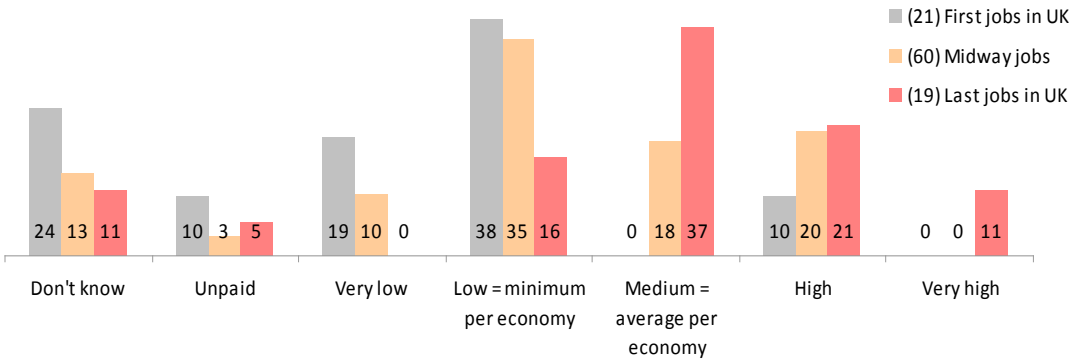
On-job training has been available since the first jobs in the UK, but it was mainly during the midway jobs when the participants looked for and attended not only in-company trainings, but expanded to formal education and training programmes in the education and training system which helped land in the last jobs. Furthermore, in the first jobs the promotion prospects were virtually zero, while the majority of the last jobs were either own businesses or have had advancement opportunities attached, either as payment increase or position advancement.

As the migrants' jobs improved, the earnings also considerably increased (Figure 8). It was during the period of midway jobs, when most participants ‘escaped’ the migrant-specific low-wage, low-skill jobs. As they accumulated experience on the UK labour market, the likelihood of identifying better-paid occupational opportunities improved.

For every employment transition in the UK, the participants provided their view on the social mobility attached to that particular job. According to their assessment, only 3 out of the 20 first jobs were associated with "a higher social class than in the origin

country", whereas among the midway jobs 13 out of 57 were indicative for upward social mobility, the ratio reaching 11 out of 18 for the last jobs.[176]

Figure 9: The occupational recovery or rise of the Romanian migrants in the UK by earnings categories (% of jobs group)



Note: N = 100 employment transitions in the UK of the 21 participants in the research sample.

In conclusion, the analysis of all jobs held as migrants in the UK indicates an incremental improvement from the first job to the intermediary and to the last, in both objective and subjective terms. Consequently, during the migration in the UK, most of the participants (13 out of 21) experienced upward occupational mobility (see also Table 17). Furthermore, 5 participants have a linear trajectory at the level of occupational trajectory (ISCO categories). Only one participant experiences downward occupational mobility, while the remaining 2 cases are newcomers still in their first year from arrival (hence, in the initial occupational fall period).

7.4.2. The temporal pattern of occupational mobility

The U-shape pattern of the Romanian migrant occupational trajectories in the UK associates with a particular temporal pattern. The analysis of the length (duration) of the employment transition brings evidence that:

- The first jobs that correspond with the initial occupational fall are found in the first months of migration, lasting up to one year which can prolong (as a series of similar type jobs) to a maximum of 18 months.

[176] The case of (AMM, W3) is not included as she arrived in the UK at 9 years old.

- The midway jobs cover an average period of approximately 2 years, indicating that about 3-4 years from arrival the migrants land in stable and better jobs (the last jobs).

The trajectories of most participants during middle career stages comply with this temporal pattern, irrespective of the number of jobs held as migrant. However, there are also exceptions, such as (MS, M2), who after 18 months of prolonged initial fall, he returns to Romania. Then he had two more rounds of back and forth migration between Romania and the UK, so that his settling period in the UK covered about eight years (between 1999 and 2007), out of which four years were spent in the UK and about the same in Romania. Due to this back and forth migration strategy, he obtained his first stable and adequate job (senior store manager) in 2003, at about 4.5 years after the first arrival. However, because he considered it unsatisfactory, he returned again in Romania in 2005 and came back again in the UK in 2007. Starting 2008, he opened his own construction business and has remained in the UK. This is probably a relevant case for migrants pursuing a career with back and forth migration strategy, coming from a well-off family in Romania, and under conditions of prolonged initial occupational fall in the UK.

However, the temporal pattern does not apply to migrants with a pre-arranged work contract at first arrival in the UK. Moreover, the time it takes to find the first adequate job is relatively shorter for migrants who complete higher education in the UK. Depending on the graduated specialization, the duration to find suitable employment varies between few months to about 2 years after study completions.

7.4.3. The role of British-native social networks in migrants' occupational mobility

Generally, the first jobs were found through recruitment agencies and were accepted on the premise of 'taking any available job'. During the midway jobs the migrants started to change their jobs usually for reasons related to better wages and work conditions, flexible work hours and qualification opportunities. They did so by opening their own businesses or by using various job seeking methods, especially Internet, in-

company promotion / placement, and personal recommendations. At the last jobs, they chose jobs primarily on the criteria of upward mobility or career development.

As their stay in the UK extends, the native social networks become essential in finding job opportunities and accessing employment. In relation to the first jobs, a perceived positive work environment was correlated with the presence of Romanian or other East-European co-workers. At start, having British co-workers or clients was not perceived as positive work environment. The native social networks were either non-existent or underdeveloped. Moreover, even the employer was not a native for one in every four first jobs. During the midway job(s) the situation changed, as the migrants have been actively searching to integrate in the UK. The native social networks become increasingly important as about a half of the last jobs are obtained via their support. For the last jobs, the employers are either native or the participants ran their own businesses. Furthermore, some participants even became themselves employers of migrants, recruiting Romanian workers in the UK – turning into a well-established migration hub between Romania to the UK. In the research sample, one such case is (MS, M2) who, in November 2008, opens a construction company in London, that turns into a migration hub for Romanian migrants.

> (MS, M2): "Thousands of people went through my hands. Now I have around 100 employees or so. I give them all a chance. I brought them all from back home, and we all know how life is there... Even from my hometown. Knowing a lot of people, I paid for their plane tickets, picked them up from the airport, found them homes, got them papers through my lawyer and accountant, and second day [after landing in the UK] they started working. […] if you work for me, even if working for a penny less than in other places, I struggle to offer continuity for my employees. I finish a project, immediately I send you somewhere else. If I have no work for you, then I call some of my Romanian friends telling them 'look, I have these people...'."

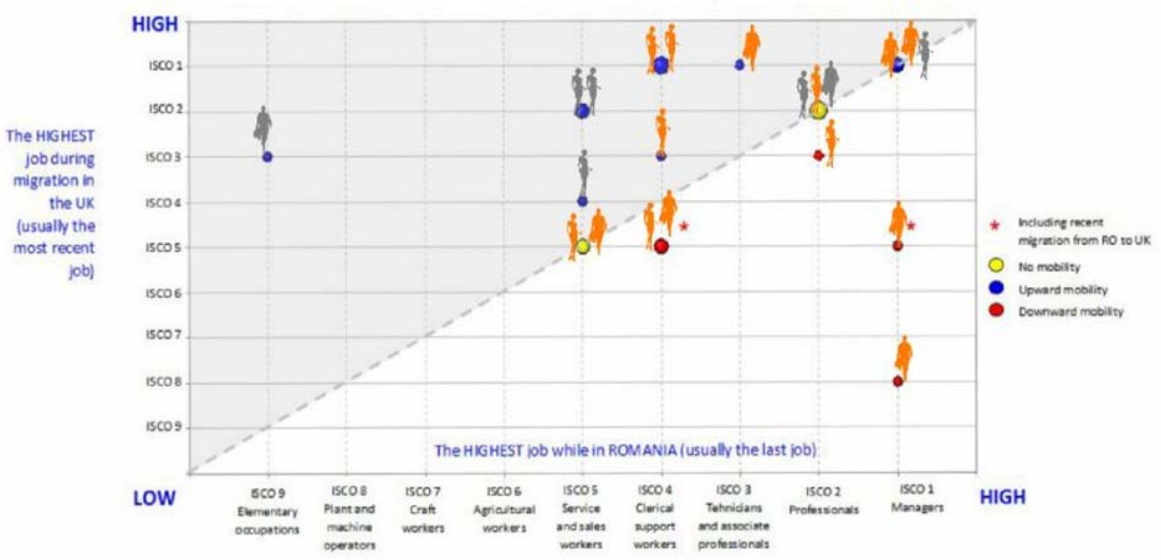
7.4.4. Occupational success or decline of the Romanian migrants in the UK

Just knowing that the migrants' occupational trajectories follow an expected U-shape pattern (meaning an initial fall followed by subsequent rise) is still not sufficient. Particularly, given that this analysis focuses on the level of occupational categories (ISCO categories). Information regarding the height of the occupational rise is needed in order to appraise recovery or success as compared with the original state on the arrival in the UK. In order to establish how far up the occupational ladder the Romanian migrant in the UK goes, this study considers (i) recovery (as the point of reaching the highest during lifetime labour market position as a migrant in the UK) and (ii) success (as the point of surpassing the highest during lifetime labour market position while a migrant in the UK). To this aim, this section deals with the research question regarding whether the upgrading is enough to reach the same position or even a better one than that gained in the origin country, or not.[177]

There are two different situations. The first situation refers to the participants in early career stages on arrival (childhood, education, new labour market entries) without pre-migration work experience in Romania. In these instances, success is determined based only on their occupational trajectories in the UK. The sole exception is (ILS, W4) who arrived in the UK for education purposes, but also had relevant (more than 9 months continuous employment) pre-migration experience. The second situation entails participants in middle career stages with relevant pre-migration occupational experience gained in Romania. In these cases, recovery and success is measured by comparing the highest occupational position reached in the UK (usually the last job) with the pre-migration highest position held in Romania (usually the last job).[178]

[177] Unlike the previous studies, this thesis does not compare the migrants with the natives, but measures success taking as benchmark the best position obtained in Romania.
[178] See Table 16 for the last job in Romania and Table 17 for the last job in the UK.

Figure 10: Occupational success of the Romanian migrants in the UK



Notes: N = 21 participants in the research sample. The grey icons indicate the participants with no pre-migration work experience (or less than 9 months). The area marked in grey (above diagonal) indicates the cases of occupational success. The white area (below diagonal) shows the cases of occupational decline. The cases situated on the diagonal represent constant occupational positions.

Migration from Romania to the UK led to occupational success for 11 out of the 21 participants (Figure 10), conferring upward mobility which ensured that post-migration positions are higher than pre-migration. Five participants had linear trajectories and succeeded to secure similar positions as migrants in the UK, conferring that the highest job is the same for both Romania and the UK (the ISCO position during lifetime is constant). Finally, 5 participants experienced a decline as migrants in the UK, as although experiencing upward mobility, they have achieved only lower positions than their highest one in Romania.

Depending on the career stage on arrival, the migrants have substantially different chances to achieve occupational success at destination. The 13 migrants who came in the UK during their middle career stages have fairly equal chances to end in a position of success, constant or decline. By contrast, the 8 migrants who arrived in the early career stages have considerably better chances to be successful in the UK context. Out

of them, 6 had upward mobility in the UK. The remaining 2[179] had linear trajectories in UK, their cases corresponding to the occupational constant category. However, all 8 early career stages can be considered successful (see also Figure 3).

The migrants in early career stages on arrival

- (AMM, W3) who arrived in the UK during childhood has integrated in the British society and built up a successful boundaryless career similar to that of a native.[180]
- The (4) migrants who came in the UK for education purposes followed diverse occupational trajectories, but all have been successful.

    (1) (AMR, W1) shortly after graduating law found her first job and pursued a traditional career, following a linear trajectory at a constant position adequate for her level of education and specialization. Although constant at the level of professional occupational category (ISCO 2), in only 3 years of work experience in the UK, her career progressed from unpaid legal assistant to part-time paid paralegal to full-time paralegal and to full-time paralegal with the law training contract at an eminent law firm in London. Therefore, although with a constant occupational position and a linear trajectory, she can be assimilated as a successful migrant in the UK.

    (2) (ILS, W4) came in the UK for attending a master in law and international relations. She is the sole migrant in this group with pre-migration work experience in Romania (3 years). In parallel with her studies, she had her first job in the UK, as a parliamentary assistant (unpaid internship). After completing the master, in only three years of pursuing a boundaryless career and experiences upward mobility, reaching a top position, as the communication and events manager with an NGO in London. According to the definition, she represents a typical example of occupational success.

[179] (AMR, W1) and (RED, M6).
[180] See the case study in Annex 3.1.

(3) (MEC, W2) had transferred from Romania to the UK as a TV production student. In parallel with study, she held several jobs as part-time waitress and did an unpaid internship at an independent TV station. After graduation, for two years she continued to work as a full-time waitress, whilst pursuing a boundaryless career by volunteering for various small TV production projects. Finally, she got to be a professional TV producer in London. Therefore, although relatively delayed as compared with the other participants in this group, she reached success.[181]

(4) (AD, M4) came in the UK for higher education, but dropped out after 2 years as the course was not what he expected. Immediately after arrival, he started working, but he got his first adequate job only at about 1 year of stay having finalized formal training and obtained the necessary credentials as football referee. Overall, he cumulated 6 years of work experience in the UK marked by upward mobility, which was continuously linked in a protean manner the football referee career with multiple survival jobs. The survival jobs also abided to the upward trajectory trend (a rather fragmented trajectory). He advanced from labourer in construction to warehouse office support (job with which he is satisfied as it pays the bills and allows him to pursue his career / life plans). Consequently, he is also on the occupational success track.

- The (3) migrants who were new labour market entries in the UK have also been successful. Firstly, 2 interviewees benefitted of pre-arranged working contracts on arrival (via EU projects), easing their entrance on the UK's labour market. Secondly, one participant is a very dedicated career pursuer, who after a series of failures re-started the process by shifting from new labour market entry to migrant for higher educational purposes. Therefore, these cases are relevant for quite particular types of new entries, and not necessarily for the typical ones (as in completion of education and entrance in the career / occupation of choice).

[181] See the case study in Annex 3.4.

(1) (RED, M6) is an IT specialist who arrived in the UK for the first time with an EU project. After the project finished (as a compulsory condition), he had to return to Romania. Two months later, he returns to the UK with the aid of his British-native social network, having been offered a professional job in IT. Subsequently, he cumulated 13 years of work experience by pursuing a boundaryless career as part-time and then full-time IT specialist in different companies, within his own IT company and, finally, as IT specialist for a government institution. He had a rather linear trajectory with small ups and downs, but always a constant position adequate for the level of education and expertise. Therefore, he can be assimilated as a successful migrant.[182]

(2) (OI, W11) arrived for the first time in the UK as a typical new labour market entry, in search for adequate employment. She spent 6 months as unemployed living with her cousin in London, while learning and applied for various EU work placement programs. After securing a placement, she returned to Romania, gets married and after 6 months, returns to the UK as a couple. She begins working as teaching assistant via an EU-funded Comenius project (9 months). When the placement ended, she entered the period of occupational fall as during that particular historical period (2013) she did not hold a work permit and "nobody wanted to apply for the work permit for you." As a coping solution, she found a waitressing job at a coffee shop, through a Romanian migrant. After few months, a recruitment agency finds her another teaching assistant job. It took about 2 years until she found an adequate job in the UK, namely as an IT support technician. Since then, she has thoroughly pursued her boundaryless career. Thus, she can be considered a migrant success story.

(OI, W11): [About her first adequate job] "Emotionally, maybe this sounds weird, but I would have taken this job even without pay. The IT job, I mean. I would have taken it even without pay, if only for the work experience and possibility for some progression... not to get stuck in a service job."

[182] See the case study in Annex 3.3.

(3) (GEO, W12) arrived in the UK for family reasons. Long before arrival, she had dreamt and had made all efforts to become a judge. In the UK, although she had no intention to work, the financial hardships forced her entrance on the labour market. She started as a staff member at a fast food restaurant. She returned to Romania with the hope to pass the Magistracy exam. As she failed, she returns to the UK and decides to start over. She took a job as staff member at a large clothing retail chain store, while in parallel enrolling for a law degree in the UK. As a student, at about 3 years after her first arrival (and 2 years after the second one), she found a specialized unpaid job with the Citizens Advice Bureau. This was not a proper adequate job (since she has already graduated law in Romania), but it represented the start of her protean career in law: "my career is now on track, at the beginning but on track," which she has hopes to continue with "career development and to achieve a PhD in law."

The Romanian migrants in the UK who arrived in early career stages, especially during childhood or for higher education purpose, have high chances not only to find a job, but to secure an adequate job, to experience upward mobility and, if willing, to build a career. For the new labour market entries, the result should be cautiously considered, since the cases included in the research sample are relevant only for particular types of new entries (based on pre-arranged contracts) which are not necessarily the typical.

These participants are both women and men, who arrived in the UK in various historical periods (2004-2014),[183] with various levels of education (both high school and higher education) and from different social backgrounds (from poor, middle or well-off families in Romania). However, they all arrived at ages between 18 and 24, with professional or native level English proficiency, and pursue a during lifetime career. While in the UK, all invested in higher education or formal training courses, and most

[183] Exception makes (AMM, W3), who arrived as child in 1972.

had previously developed or extended British-native social networks which played a positive role related to their upward mobility occupational trajectories.[184]

The migrants in middle career stages on arrival

The migrants (13) who came in the UK during their middle career stages present fairly equal chances to end in a position of success, stability or decline.

- Three migrants[185] did not experience the initial fall after arrival in the UK and experience a linear trajectory (the same ISCO occupational category). All arrived in the UK with pre-arranged working contracts and remained in constant positions adequate for their level of education and specialization. Actually, during their stay in the UK, they rarely switch jobs and by 2017 (the time of interview), all succeeded to land in jobs with better working conditions and/or pay than the first.
- Five migrants experienced decline on the UK labour market.
  - (AB, W8) continued the downward trajectory after the initial occupational fall, and, concomitantly, she loses interest in having a career.
  - (AP, M8) and (GA, M9) were in their first year after arrival at the interview time, meaning that they were experiencing the initial occupational fall period.
  - (SD, M3) and (CL, W5) who after the initial occupational fall had upward mobility, but insufficient to reach similar positions as those held in Romania. Hence, they could not compensate for the migration-related occupational losses.
- Five migrants experienced the initial fall, but then recovered, experiencing upward mobility, succeeding to reach positions equal or higher than the initial ones. They not only compensated the migration-related occupational loss, but they have achieved occupational success by moving from Romania to the UK.[186]

[184] Out of all 53 employment transitions of the participants who arrived in early stages about a half were facilitated by the support of British native friends or acquaintances. Conversely, for participants who arrived in middle career stages the share is less than 15%.
[185] (DI, W7), (AN, W6) and (ML, M5).
[186] See also the case study provided in Annex 3.2.

The analysis[187] of the characteristics and circumstances of the migrants from these three groups of occupational success-decline shows that gender, level of education on arrival, and the provenance social class do not discriminate among the migrants who arrived in middle career stages. Neither does age at arrival, years of pre-migration work experience, magnitude of the initial fall, number of jobs, and investment in education or training in the UK.

Only four variables seem to make a difference to the success or decline of the middle career stages migrants, namely: length of stay in the UK, English proficiency, the pre-arranged work contract, and the existence of a during lifetime objective career. The migrants who experienced an occupational decline are more likely to have had a shorter stay in the UK and, correlated, low-intermediary English language skills as compared to those who succeeded occupational stability or success. They are also more likely to be contingent workers[188] and to migrate in the absence of pre-arranged working contract. Equally, the chances of occupational success after migrating to the UK appear to increase considerably (i) under conditions of a pre-existing work contract; (ii) as the duration of stay at destination increases and, correlated, English proficiency; and (iii) if the migrant is determined to pursue a career, especially the boundaryless career (in knowledge-related occupations pertaining industries, such as, film production, software development or business that are based on temporary projects rather than permanent structures).

[187] This analysis refers only to 11 migrants who arrived in middle career stages and their employment transitions, excluding the 2 newcomers (AP, M8) and (GA, M9).
[188] In the research sample, all cases of decline are contingent workers.

8 The migrant career and linked lives transitions

Post et al. (2002:5) define the career as "the interaction of work roles and other life roles over a person's lifespan, including both paid and unpaid work in an individual's life. People create career patterns as they make decisions about education, work, family and other life roles". Likewise, Moen and Han (2001) draw attention that in order to address the new occupational trajectories, career theory needs to see the individual within the household unit context including its associated resources, constraints and family responsibilities. Heinz (2001:5) deems that "human agency refers to the individuals' active shaping of their biographies, linked lives to interrelationships of partners', spouses', parents', and children's life courses."

In line with the theories of interlinked transitions and relationship, this chapter concerns the relationship between career and other life spheres transitions. The first section treats transitions in education and family life, the second refers to social mobility, whereas the last addresses the community themes of migrant neighbourhood and accommodation (housing). Overall, the research question is if and how the migrants' occupational trajectory in the UK (upward, constant or downward) interconnects or relates with other life spheres expansion.

Concomitantly, this chapter represents the preamble of the finishing analysis chapter, which addresses the migrants' attachment towards the destination country theme as the expansion in any life sphere(s) that subsequently leads to developing strong attachment and stronger intention to remain in the UK.

8.1. Interlinked life transitions: migrant work, education and family life spheres

Figure 11 presents the global picture of the interlinked transitions in employment, education and family life (along with attachment towards the UK) for each participant in the sample. In addition, Table 18 provides an overview of all interlinked transitions per participant including also social mobility, community and accommodation themes.

The educational transitions during lifetime and the behaviour of investing in human capital at destination have already been analysed in sections 6.3 and, respectively 6.5.5. This section returns to the educational transitions, focusing on the investments in higher education or formal training as migrant in the UK (also, see Table 9).

The participation in both formal training and in higher education is considered expansion. As shown, expansion in education as migrant in the UK is associated with the age on arrival: those who arrived under the age of 25 years old have a significantly higher probability to follow in the UK either higher education or formal trainings or both, as compared with older migrants. Therefore, the expansion in education is specific to migrants in early career stages at arrival (Table 18).[189] This stands to explain why the educational expansion is associated with occupational success in this research sample. However, this relation is no longer confirmed when looking at the middle career stages migrants.

In terms of sequencing, the educational expansion by higher education can take place before entry to the labour market or in parallel with the first job, as well as during the period of the midway jobs. Expansion through formal trainings expands throughout entire occupational trajectory, but not in parallel with the first job, as the newly arrived migrants need time to learn about the opportunities available in the new institutional context and the functioning of the new labour market.

[189] By contrast, out of the 13 middle career stages migrants on arrival, only 3 followed formal training (not higher education). Furthermore, these 3 migrants present either constant or successful trajectories.

Figure 11: Career and interlinked transitions in education, family life, and attachment at the destination country (Romanian migrants in the UK)

Migrants in early stages: EDUCATION - *SUCCESS*

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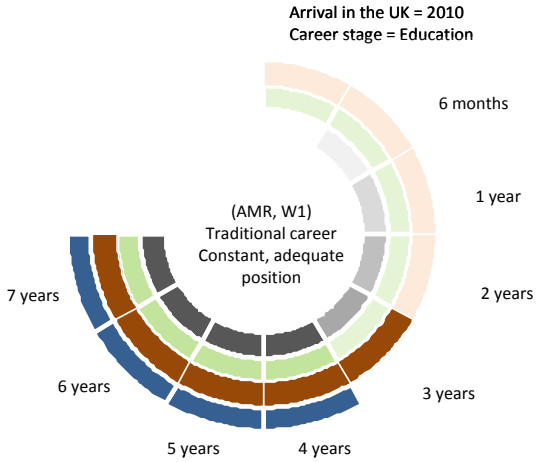
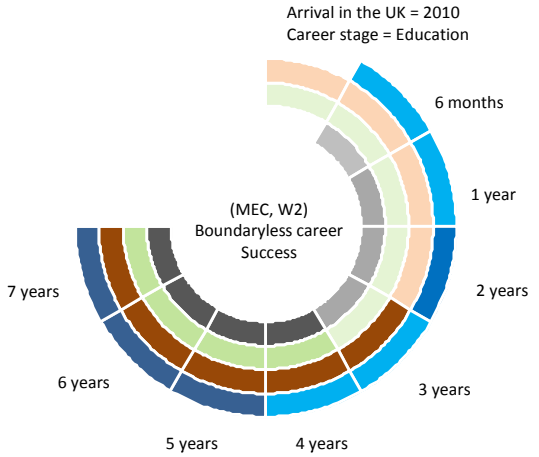
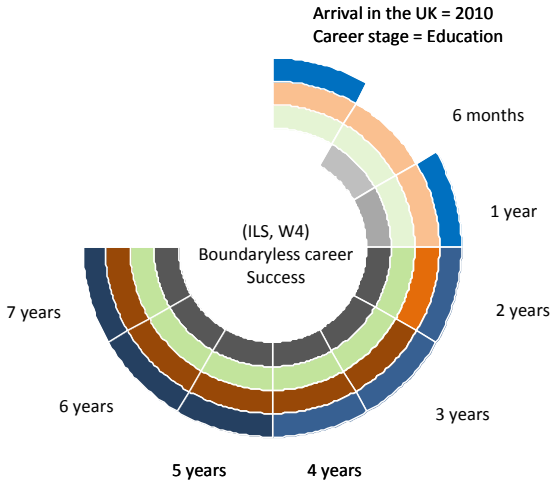
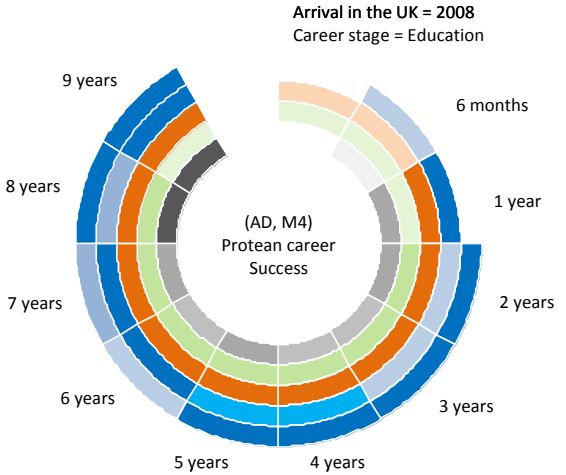


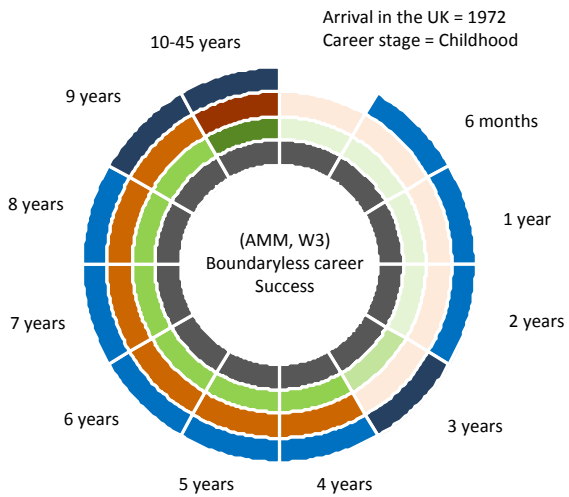




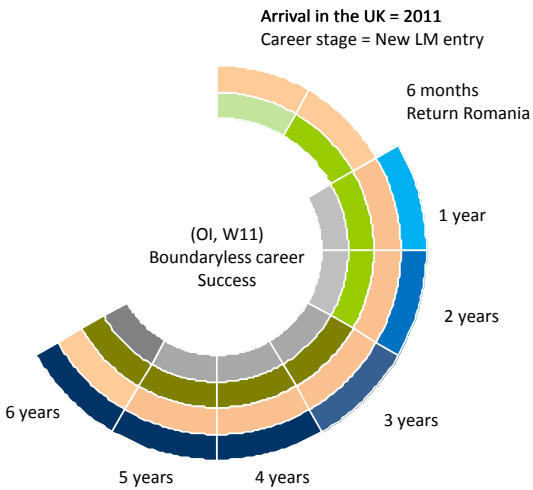


Migrants in early stages: CHILDHOOD & NEW ENTRIES -

SUCCESS



Note: The graph starts with the year 1981 when she had first job.



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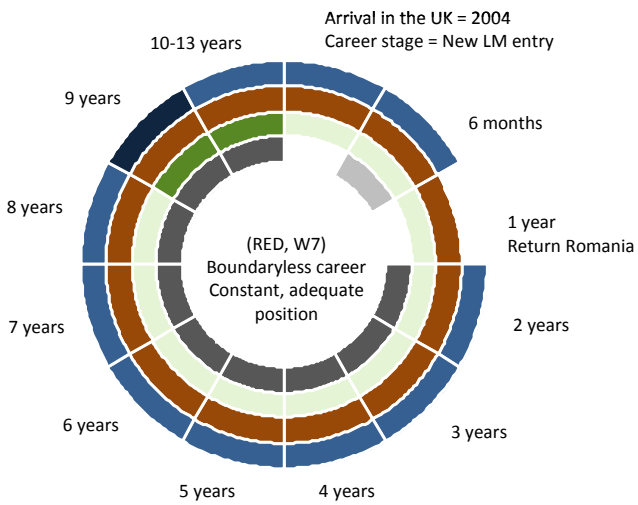

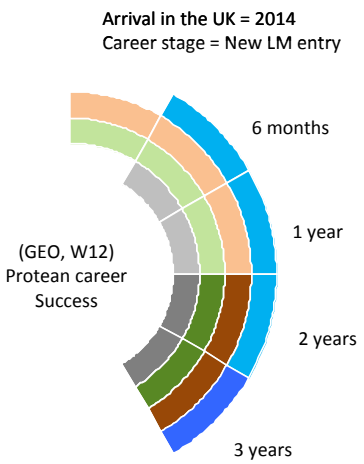

Migrants in middle stages: TRADITIONAL & PROTEAN CAREERS - *CONSTANT & NEWCOMER*

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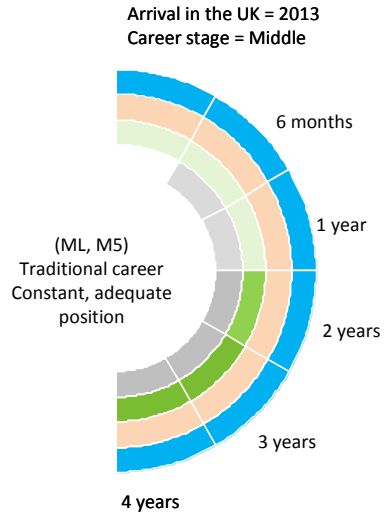

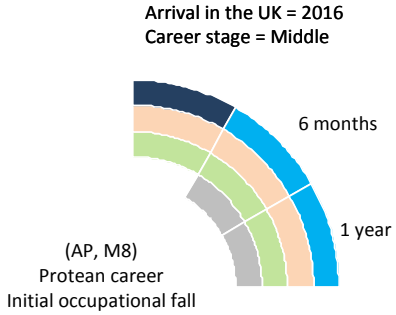

Migrants in middle stages: BOUNDARYLESS CAREERS -

THE ENTREPRENEURS

SUCCESS

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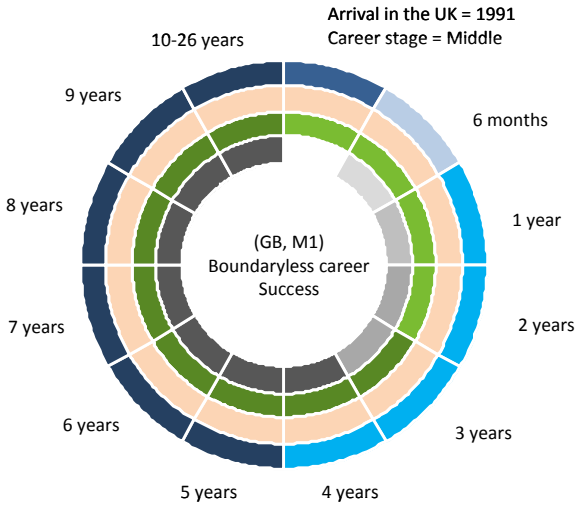

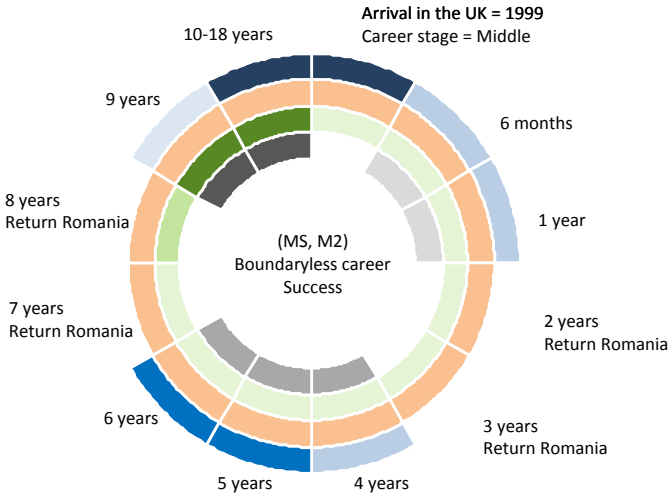

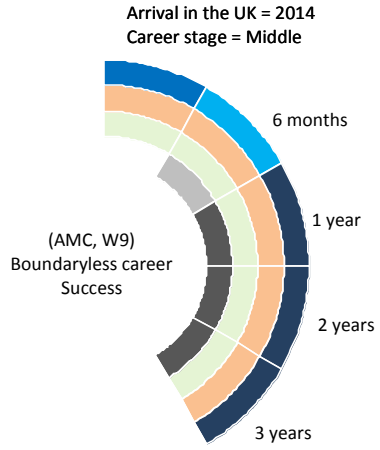

Migrants in middle stages: CONTINGENT WORKERS -

DECLINE

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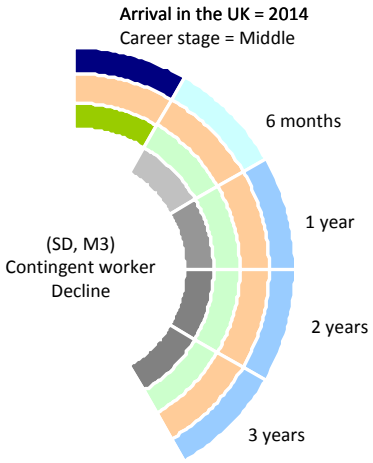

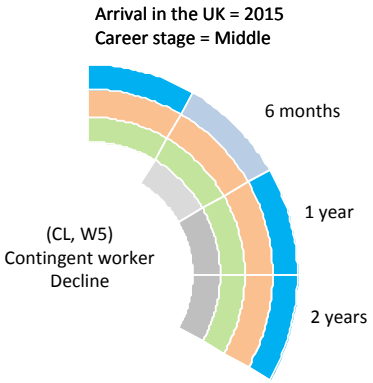

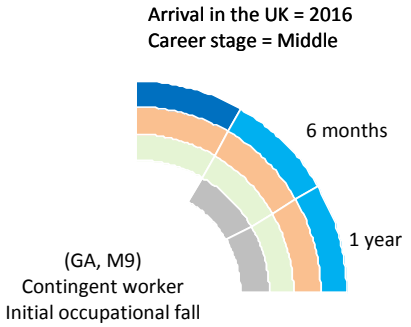

Migrants in middle stages: CONTINGENT WORKERS -

CONSTANT & SUCCESS

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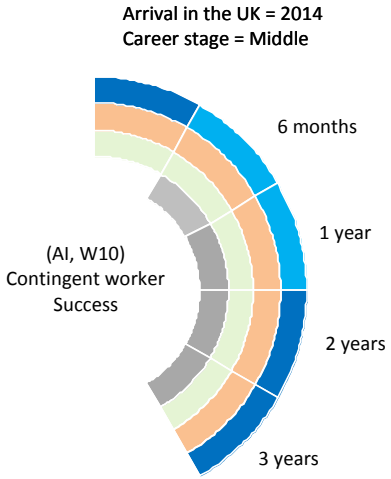
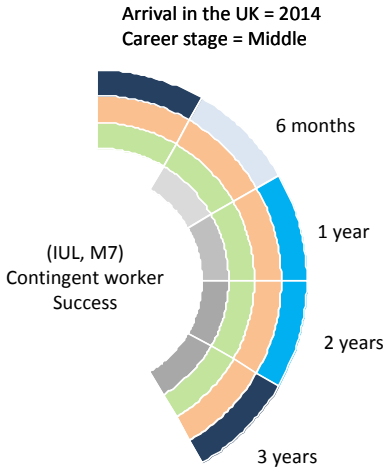




Legend:

From the exterior to the interior:

1st Circle - OCCUPATION (ISCO code)

- Unemployment
- Elementary occupation (ISCO 9)
- Craft and plant workers (ISCO 7 and 8)
- Service and sales workers (ISCO 5)
- Tehnicians, associate professionals, clerical support (ISCO 3 and 4)
- Professionals (ISCO 2)
- Managers, employers (ISCO 1)

2nd Circle - EDUCATION

- Highschool / Vocational
- Higher education in RO
- Formal training in UK
- Higher education in UK

3rd Circle - FAMILY

- Single with no partner, never married
- With a serious relationship
- Married without children (family in RO)
- Married with children (family in RO)
- Family in UK

4th Circle - Attachement to UK

- Very low
- …
- Very high

Notes:

The graphs also include the attachment towards the UK evolution per each participant, despite discussing the theme in the next thesis chapter.

Dark shades indicate better/successful instances / outcomes, as the gradient of lighter illustrates the sequencing or evolution of a life sphere.

For data comparability reasons, graphs cover the period of stay in the UK between the first arrival and the interview time in 2017.

The graphs are ordered according to career stages on arrival and career types during lifetime.

Table 18: The interlinked transitions of the Romanian migrants in the UK per participant

Participant code		DURING LIFETIME (in 2017)			ON ARRIVAL				AS MIGRANTS IN THE UK					
		Age	Level of education	Objective career	Year	Age	Career stage	Social class	Occupation	Expansion Education	Expansion Family	Social mobility	Community	Expansion House
AMM	W3	54	Graduate	Boundaryless	1972	9	Childhood	-	Success	Yes	Yes	-	-	Own house
AMR	W1	26	Graduate	Traditional	2010	19	Education	Well-off	Constant+	Yes	Yes	Same	-	Individual
MEC	W2	30	Graduate	Boundaryless	2010	23	Education	Medium	Success	Yes	Yes	Up	-	Individual
ILS	W4	31	Postgraduate	Boundaryless	2010	24	Education	Well-off	Success	Yes	Yes	Up	-	Individual
AD	M4	27	High school	Protean	2008	18	Education	Medium	Success	Yes	Yes	-	Success	Others
OI	W11	29	Graduate	Boundaryless	2011	23	New entry	Medium	Success	No	Yes	-	-	Individual
RED	M6	37	Postgraduate	Boundaryless	2004	24	New entry	Medium	Constant+	Yes	Yes	Up	-	Own house
GEO	W12	27	Graduate	Protean	2014	24	New entry	Poor	Success	Yes	No+	Up	Fail	Others
DI	W7	41	Graduate	Traditional	2007	31	Middle	Medium	Constant+	Yes	Yes	Up	-	Own house
ML	M5	35	Vocational	Traditional	2013	31	Middle	Poor	Constant+	No	Yes	-	-	Others
GB	M1	56	High school	Boundaryless	1991	30	Middle	Medium	Success	No	Yes	Up	-	Own house
MS	M2	44	Graduate	Boundaryless	1999	26	Middle	Well-off	Success	No	Yes	Up	Success	Own house
AMC	W9	27	Postgraduate	Boundaryless	2014	24	Middle	Well-off	Success	No	Yes	Up	-	Others
AP	M8	29	High school	Protean	2016	28	Middle	Well-off	Decline 1	No	No+	-	Success	Others
SD	M3	32	Graduate	Contingent	2014	29	Middle	Poor	Decline 2	No	No	Same	Fail	Others
CL	W5	29	Graduate	Contingent	2015	27	Middle	Poor	Decline 2	No	No+	Up	Fail	Others
AN	W6	39	High school	Contingent	2004	26	Middle	Poor	Constant+	Yes	Yes	Up	-	Individual
AB	W8	34	Graduate	Contingent	2011	28	Middle	Medium	Decline	No	Yes	Same	-	Individual
AI	W10	28	Graduate	Contingent	2014	25	Middle	Poor	Success	Yes	No	Up	-	Others
IUL	M7	31	Graduate	Contingent	2014	28	Middle	Medium	Success	No	No+	Up	Fail	Others
GA	M9	24	High school	Contingent	2016	23	Middle	Poor	Decline 1	No	No	-	Fail	Others

Notes: W = woman, M = man, Contingent = Contingent worker. Social class in Romania as self-assessed by participants. Occupation: Constant+ = Constant at adequate position; Decline 1 = Newcomer; Decline 2 = Initial fall and insufficient upward mobility. Expansion Family: No+ = No expansion, but migrated as a couple. Social mobility in the UK as compared with the social class from Romania: '-' = The participant had no discourse on social class. Community: '-' = Never lived in a migrant neighbourhood. Expansion House: Individual = Individual rental. The table is organized according to the career stages on arrival and career types during lifetime.

Expansion in family life

Section 6.5.4 already showed that during lifetime (life span), the family commitments affect, at various stages, the occupational trajectories for both men and women, for all ages, for all social classes, for both single and married (or in a serious relationships) with or without children. This section looks at the family life expansion, defined as progress from single to serious relationship (living together), marriage without children, and respectively marriage with children. Advancing from one stage to another means setting up own (independent) household with increasing resources, but also diversification and intensification of family commitments and responsibilities. Correspondingly, for the migrants in a serious relationship or with own household before migrating to the UK, the expansion of the family life refers to bringing family members from Romania to the UK (the so called 'shadow migration').

The family life expansion is determined based on the analysis of the marital status on arrival in the UK and of the (29) family-related transitions recorded while migrants in the UK. At arrival in the UK, the majority of the participants (12) were single, while 6 were in a serious relationship and 2[190] were married, each with one child.[191] As migrants in the UK, 14 of the 21 participants recorded expansion in family life and only one participant experienced contraction.

Table 19: Dynamic of family life as migrant in the UK (number of participants)

	Marital status on arrival	Marital status in the UK at the interview time (in 2017)				Total
		Single	Serious relationship	Married without children	Married with children	
Contraction	Serious relationship	1				1
Stagnant	Single	2				2
	Serious relationship (and migrated as a couple)		4			4
Expansion	Childhood				1	1
	Single		5	1	4	10
	Serious relationship			1		1
	Married without children					0
	Married with children				2	2

Note: N = 21 participants in the research sample.

[190] (AB, W8) and (GB, M1).
[191] Excluding (AMM, W3) who was a child at arrival time.

Table 19 shows the kind of changes that occurred in the participants' family life while a migrant in the UK. The expansion in family life is related to an upward trend in the occupational trajectory. The initial occupational fall and occupational decline are linked to either with no family transitions or with a contraction of the life sphere. By contrast, once the occupational trajectory starts to recover and gain momentum, the migrants free more of their time, energy, efforts and resources necessary to expand the family life. They find a lover or engage or marry or make children or bring to the UK family members from Romania. Therefore, the migrants' expansion in family life appears to associate with occupational success or stability (constant adequate position, the same ISCO category).

(MS, M2) had a prolonged process of setting in the UK. He arrived for the first time in the UK in 1999 and practiced back and forth migration until 2007 when he moved with permanent migration intentions. In 2008, in parallel with opening his own construction firm, he "rushed" into marriage and had his first child.

> (MS, M2): "That's when [in 2008] I realized, that in order to make a life here [in the UK], I need to start a family. It was a forced decision - I knew I loved her, and here I am very happy, 2 kids, business. An extraordinary woman [Moldavian national], and the moment my first child was born, I found peace of mind."

Accordingly, nearly all expansion-related family transitions took place after over 3 years as migrant in the UK. To note, the participants generally formed couples mainly with Romanian partners. Nonetheless, among the 18 participants living with a partner (married or not), 6 of them have partners of other nationalities: British, German, Moldavian, Polish, or Portuguese.

The expansion in family life is associated neither with the level of education on arrival, not with the expansion in education as migrant in the UK. Additionally, the family life expansion took place both for men and women, of all ages on arrival, without any significant differences.

8.2. Interlinked life transitions: the migrant occupational and social mobility

The participants in the research sample originate from various social backgrounds in Romania. According to their own assessments, 8 identify with the middle class, 7 came from disadvantaged families, while 5 were part of well-off families.[192]

With regard to each employment transition as migrant in the UK, the participants provided their view on the social mobility as attached to that a particular job. In this regards, majority of the participants tended to assess at the first jobs in the UK as "lower social class than in Romania", while the last jobs were evaluated as "higher social class than in Romania". Overall, 12 out of the 21 participants have perceived their social class trajectories as leading to upward social mobility in comparison with the initial position on arrival in the UK (Table 19).[193] Consequently, the subjectively assessed upward social mobility is correlated with the objectively assessed occupational success, irrespective of the migrant's type of career.[194]

In other words, for this research sample, the discourse on social mobility (social class) is specific to migrants who are graduates, irrespective of gender, age or other analysis indicators. Lastly, the social class appear to not associate with expansions in the education or family life spheres.

[192] The case of (AMM, W3) is not considered because she migrated during childhood.
[193] Only 3 participants have considered their trajectories as resulting in "the same social class as in Romania", while 6 participants choose not to discuss about social mobility.
[194] Also, there is no association between the subjective career and the self-assessed social mobility.

8.3. Interlinked transitions: the migrant work, neighbourhood and accommodation

A migrant neighbourhood represents both the reception area for new arrivals and the main entry point to the labour market for the economic international migrants. The migrant neighbourhoods may be a mobility "springboard" for the successful migrants or a mobility "end point" for the others. Generally, the successful members avoid or leave behind the migrant neighbourhood (as well as the niche job) as soon as possible, but this is not a universal process (Logan et al., 2002; Khattab et al., 2010).

The migrant neighbourhoods played a limited role for the Romanian migrants newly arrived in the UK, most probably because these neighbourhoods have only recently developed (unlike countries such as Italy or Spain, which present extensive localities identified as Romanian migrant spaces).

Table 20: Social class in the origin country and residence in the UK (first arrival and present)

Self-assessed social class in Romania	Residence in a migrant neighbourhood at the first arrival in the UK			Still in a migrant neighbourhood at the interview time (in 2017)		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Poor	4	3	7	4	3	7
Middle	2	6	8	1	7	8
Well-off	1	4	5	1	4	5
Total	7	13	20	6	14	20

Notes: The case of (AMM, W3) is not considered because she migrated during childhood.

At the first arrival in the UK, 7 of the participants lived in a migrant neighbourhood. This coping strategy seems to be specific for those who migrated as couple (arriving in 2014 or later). Also, young couples appear to have the tendency to remain in the migrant neighbourhood, even if they are successful, especially if they identify as from a poor social background. However, this does not necessarily mean that the migrant neighbourhood represent the mobility "end point" for them. As the informant of the Romanian community in London pointed out, the Romanian couples tend to stay in a

migrant neighbourhood until they have a child, moment when they start seeking for more suitable accommodation alternatives.

A Romanian migrant neighbourhood represents the reception area also for two single men[195]. No single woman lived in such an area at the arrival in the UK. One of them left behind the neighbourhood as soon as he could afford rental in a different area. The other was still a newly arrived and shared the rental with his friend (the participant had only 7 months stay in the UK at the moment of interview).

Living in a migrant neighbourhood is not only a survival strategy of the newly arrived Romanian young couples (without children) or single men, but it can also be part of a business strategy. This is the case of (MS, M2). At his arrival in the UK he used to live with relatives, in a much fancy area in London. After experiencing success, he bought a house in a Romanian migrant concentrated neighbourhood (London) because it was cheaper. Yet, primarily the house purchase represents recruitment of labourers and workers necessary for his operating construction company in the UK. In this sense, settling in a migrant neighbourhood could represent a viable business strategy for recruitment, and not just a survival strategy for the newly arrived migrants.

Accommodation as migrant in the UK

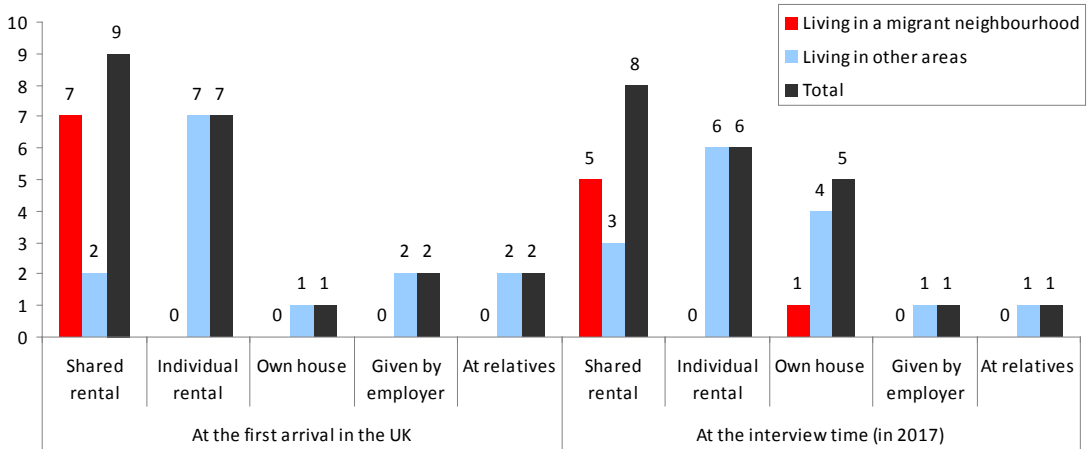
In Romania, only one participant was a house owner, while the others lived together with their families or in rented flats. The research sample contains predominantly young people who could not set up an independent household in Romania, being into a prolonged period of dependency. In this regard, the research sample corresponds to the average Romanian international migrant profile (Dimitriu, 2010): young (between 20 to 40 years of age) with no opportunities for a decent life in the home country (lacking ownership of house or apartment).

In the UK, rental accommodation has predominated, both at the arrival and present periods. However, those residing in a migrant neighbourhood were all in shared rentals, while those residing outside migrant areas, the types of accommodation have been diverse, individual rental being prevalent.

[195] (AD, M4) and (GA, M9).

As the migrants succeed in finding adequate / better employment, they not only left the migrant neighbourhood, but also sought for better housing conditions (individual rental) or, when possible, invest in owning a house. In the research sample, 5 participants became house owners (Table 18). The house owners were 37 years old or over (in 2017), were legally married with children, and all experienced successful careers.

Figure 12: Accommodation of participants at the first arrival and at the interview time (in 2017)



Note: N=21 people in the research sample.

Generally, in search for better and cheaper housing, nearly all migrants changed several accommodations during their stay in the UK.

> (AD, M4): "My first house was temporary, my cousin had found it. Then I moved with another cousin, thinking that we could live together, because we used to get along. We were the same age. We ended up having a fight in the house, that's how well 'we got along'. He moved out, I remained there until school finished. Then I moved as well. [...] I thought of moving in with some university colleagues. Romanian colleagues, all came to UK at the same time. We thought of moving in together, to make a student house. We were 3 and found other 2. And we lived together for 2 years. Then it started to stink. All students, no one cleaned, all with their own things, music everywhere. We no longer got along, it was dirty and loud. It had reached the point where a mouse had died somewhere in the house and we couldn't find it. Because we had mice and we

had gotten poison, and if one dies, and you don't know where it died, it stinks like crazy. [...] And along with the students we moved to Stanford, somewhere close to the university. I didn't really like it there, it was an industrial area. Afterwards, I was done living with students. I'll go back to Harrow and find something. And I found a wonderful house, two Romanian families, two double rooms and me in a single. I stayed there 3 years, and after 3 years something happened and I needed to move out. So, I moved in another house, I had found on the 'Romanians in UK' website. I lived there around 2 months, it was a horrible area. Not just bad, but horrible - there were shootings in the park, knife attacks and every week, in front of the police station. It was somewhere at the city's periphery, I didn't like it. I would come from work at 1AM. It happened once that shootings happened right behind me, here in the park, fights, and I said enough. After a month I told those people I'll be leaving, I cannot live here. I come from work at night and I'm scared. And then I found another house where I stayed for 3 years."

The role of social networks in accommodating the newly arrived migrants was very limited; only (AMC, W9) lived at her sister after arrival and still does. The other migrants with Romanian social networks in the UK were not offered much support in terms of accommodation, but there were instances in which they stayed together in the same shared rental (even if just for a short while).

9 Choosing between 'mobility power' and 'country of choice'

From a contextualist life course perspective, the previous chapter looked at the career and the interlinked transitions with other life spheres (education, family, social class, community and accommodation). By connecting each occupational transition to its correspondent other life sphere transition, the analysis extracted the explanatory factors to why Romanian migrants choose to remain in the UK regardless of the initial occupational fall and various other hardships.

This chapter looks at the missing link that is attachment to the host country, and it tests the hypothesis according to which the expansion across all life spheres leads to increasing attachment towards the host country – indicating a strong intention to remain in the UK. Correspondingly, the chapter is organized in two sections. The first refers to the dynamic of the Romanian migrants' attachment towards the UK, and the latter examines the intentions for the future.

9.1. Attachment to the UK

The relations between the attachment towards origin and destination countries and the migrants' occupational success have already been empirically demonstrated for other countries than the UK (Düvell and Garapich, 2009; Engbersen et al., 2013). The attachment and high frequency connection with "back home" tend to interfere with the migrant's adaptive process, affecting their economic experience and mobility (Badea et al., 2011). The migrants with strong connections with the country of origin send

remittances, visit, make invests, stay in contact with family and friends, and consume media from back home. Usually, they have weaker attachments to the host country given that they hold weaker positions on the labour market (often in temporary, irregular jobs or unemployment), encounter administrative deficiencies (e.g. lack of bank account), and are less integrated (rarely interacting with natives, weak language proficiency, and limited interest in the host society). In contrast, the migrants with strong attachment for the host country are more likely to not only integrate, but also achieve occupational success at the destination country.

This section further examines the relation between attachment and occupational success, including expansions in other life spheres, specific to Romanian migrants in the UK. To this aim, in order to measure attachment to the host country at each employment transition[196] held as migrant in the UK the following five indicators were coded:[197] (i) Interaction with natives - British co-workers and/or clients; (ii) Interaction with natives - British friends with whom spend leisure time; (iii) Interest in the host society (media consumption); (iv) Good opinion on/like the host country; (v) Have UK bank account and the necessary administrative features. By adding up the five indicators, the attachment towards the UK is determined using a sum score that ranges between 1 - very weak and 5 - very strong. Furthermore, the attachment to the UK is not a global score for the entire experience as migrant, like in the previous studies, but is specific for each job so that it allows an analysis of its dynamic in time.

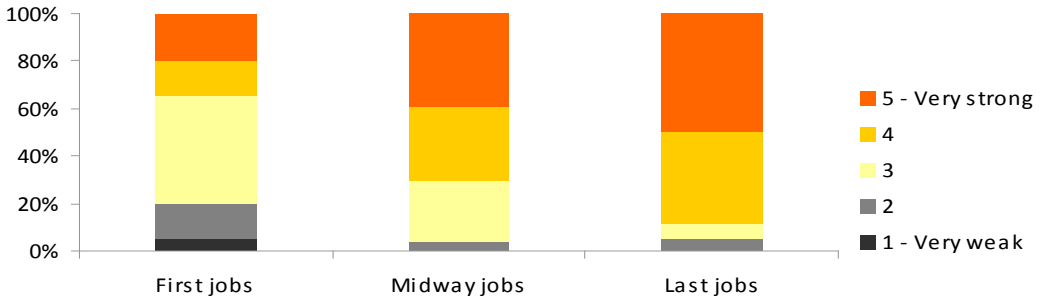
The attachment towards Romania is determined only at the interview time (2017) as a global score entailing interest in the origin society, remittances, visits, and attitude towards the Romanian diaspora, which ranges from negative to neutral and to positive.

An initial finding is that there exists a strong negative correlation between the attachment to the UK and the attachment to Romania – the stronger the first, the weaker the latter. Hence, as the attraction forces towards the UK develop, the weaker the forces pulling back the migrants towards Romania.

[196] A total of 89 jobs were held by the 20 participants, adults on arrival in the UK. The case (AMM, W3) is not included as she arrived during childhood.
[197] Using dichotomy codes of yes/no.

The second finding is that the attachment towards the UK increases incrementally from the first jobs to the last jobs. In other words, during the initial occupational fall, many migrants rarely interact with natives, have not only limited knowledge but also little interest in the host society, do not have a clear opinion on the new society, and some do not even have all necessary administrative papers. Once they overcome the downward period and start recovery, they find solutions and opportunities, and their attachment increases accordingly, as shown in the following figure.

Figure 13: The dynamic of the migrant attachment to the UK (the first to the last jobs in %)



Notes: N = 89 employment transitions in the UK of the 20 participants who were adults on arrival. The graph shows the distribution according to the degree of attachment to the UK for all jobs of a certain rank (from the firsts to the lasts).

Thus, the attachment towards the UK increases the duration of stay. The attachment to the UK is significantly stronger for migrants who achieve occupational success (or are constant at adequate positions) on the host labour market, as compared to those who experienced occupational decline.[198]

As explained in section 6.5.6, there is a significant difference in attitude, as contingent workers tend to move to a space from which they try to reap as much as possible, whereas people pursuing a career are mobile and search for a space in which they can maximize their chances to achieve the career goals. Correspondingly, the contingent workers differ considerably from the migrants pursuing a career in respect to attachment towards the host country. The contingent workers seem more likely to have

[198] The average degree of attachment to the UK is 4.6 for the employment transitions of the migrants with occupational stability (constant at adequate positions), 3.9 for those of the migrants with occupational success (who experienced also the initial fall), and only 3.2 for those of the migrants with occupational decline.

a weaker attachment to the UK than the migrants pursuing a career, particularly those with traditional or boundaryless careers.

Besides the migrant's success on the labour market, the expansion in other life spheres can also result in developing attachment towards the host country. This is true for expansion in education or in family life, for perceived social mobility, for living elsewhere than in a migrant neighbourhood, as well as for securing better accommodation in the form of individual renting or house ownership. Therefore, irrespective of the migrant's occupational success or decline, as long as there is expansion in at least one of the interlinked life spheres, they expand / develop attachment for the UK. Simply, achieving success or expansion in more life spheres, the stronger the attachment to the UK, and the more integrated the migrants.

At the interview time, in relation with the last job, 16 participants have had developed strong or very strong attachment to the UK, while 4 still had weak or medium levels of attachment.[199] The latter ones were both contingent workers and career pursuers that had resided in the UK for less than 4 years, all achieving limited success or expansion in any of the studied life spheres.

9.2. Looking into the future: The intention to remain or leave the UK

Alberti (2014) discusses the precarious migrants in London's hospitality jobs, as migrants who make a strategic use of their "mobility power" in order to escape the harsh work conditions, a socially-generated bond which aids the migrant in moving onto better jobs and locations. The migrant's mobility power is often reasoned as beyond mere economic rationale and is explained as agentive independence from the occupational identity as precarious migrant worker. It is a sort of power which derives from social domains that surpass the workplace environment, including family, friendships, local and transnational communities.

[199] (AMM, W3) is not included as she arrived during childhood.

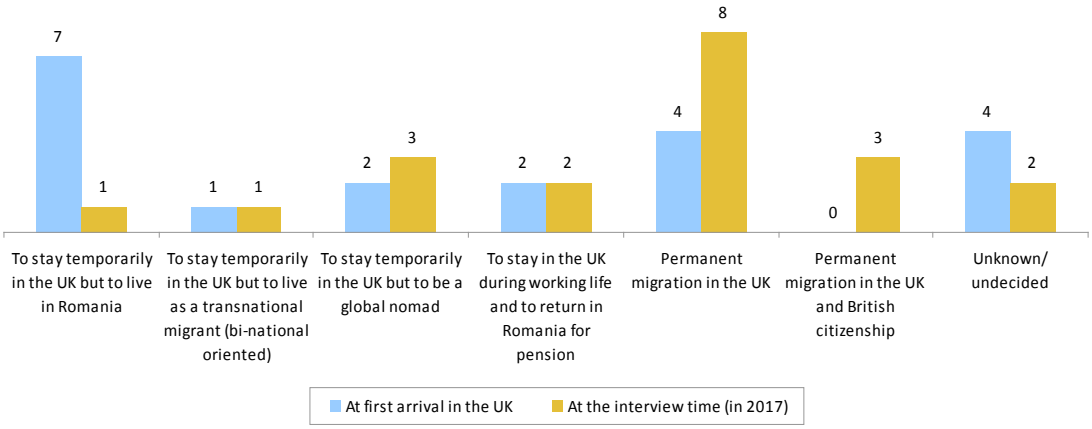
Specifically, the focus of this section is how Romanian migrants made use their 'mobility power' and whether, during their stay in the UK utilise this resource in a strategical manner. The migrant's mobility power entails both occupational and geographical mobility. Since the previous chapters covered in the migrant's occupational mobility, this section is limited to the migrants' geographical mobility, both actual behaviour and plans for the future, bringing new information to light whilst building upon aspects discussed in section 5.1.

In terms of factual behaviour, Table 5 already detailed that for most participants, the first arrival also implied the moment of settling in the UK. Just 6 interviewees experience, after the first arrival to the UK, out migration transitions (as either returns to Romania or migration to other country for periods usually shorter than 6 months). Moreover, these out migration transitions were not executed in order to escape some sort of harsh conditions (despite the fact that some of the Romanian migrants held low-wage jobs at that time), but were migrations relating either career-related or personal reasons.[200] Not to mention, they all returned to the UK. In other words, the Romanian migrants in the research sample made use of their mobility power only with purposes which reason career advancement or expansion in family life, and not for escaping the 'precarious migrant in the UK' status.[201]

[200] (MS, M2) returned two times in Romania to his well-off family's insistence in order to build his career as entrepreneur. Each time he came back to the UK, the place where he succeeded to get married and to open his own business; (AD, M4) returned to Romania for personal reasons after he obtained the license of football referee in the UK; (ML, M5) went back to Cyprus for closure and then to Romania to find a partner, just to return to UK with plans to bring his wife too; (OI, W11) was unemployed after her first arrival in the UK. But after she secured an EU placement, she returned to Romania to get married and afterwards came back in the UK as a couple; (RED, M6) returned to Romania as a compulsory condition of the EU project with which he arrived in the UK, but after 2 months he came back; (GEO, W12) returned to Romania for an exam critical for her career.

[201] Of course, this does not mean that in the entire cohort of Romanian migrants there are not any individuals who return to their home country, following the escape migration strategy.

Figure 14: Long-term migration plans of the Romanian migrants in the UK (number of participants)



Note: N = 20 participants. (AMM, W3) who arrived during childhood is not included.

As shown in the above figure, the long-term plans regarding geographical mobility have changed between the first arrival in the UK and the interview time.

If on arrival the intentions of temporary migration in the UK prevail, as time goes by, and as the migrants navigate from the first jobs to the midway jobs, the intentions modify. An increasing number of migrants change their plans from temporary to permanent residence in the UK (Figure 14). The long-term plans regarding geographical mobility evolve with the length of stay, from returning to the home country to remaining (making a life) in the country of choice.[202]

> (Informant of the Romanian community in London): "Economic migrants, pushed by the country of origin for financial reasons, who sooner or later manage to succeed financially; for whom unknowingly the duration of stay in the host country, respectively the UK, is way longer than initially estimated."

Several factors contribute to this choice, namely occupational success (or stability at an adequate position),[203] expansion of human capital,[204] proficient English language

[202] On arrival 10 participants intended temporary stay in the UK and 6 had permanent (or until pension), whereas at the interview time the corresponding numbers reversed into 5 and 13 respectively.
[203] Out of the 15 participants (without AMM, W3) with occupational success or stability 13 have permanent residence intentions, whereas out of the 5 with occupational decline, 4 intend temporary stay and 1 is undecided.
[204] Out of the 9 participants (without AMM, W3) with expansion in education 8 have permanent residence intentions, whereas out of the 11 without studies in the UK only 5 have such plans.

skills,[205] perceived upward social mobility[206] and expansion in a larger number of life spheres during the stay in the UK,[207] including a stronger attachment towards the UK.

Aside from attachment towards the UK – understood as participation in host society acquired by institutional means (labour market, mass media consumption, having a bank account, citizenship) – another powerful attraction force results from the presence of strong ties migrant network within the UK. The more extended the network of significant others in the UK, the more likely that the migrant will opt for permanent residence in the UK. The likelihood of intended permanent residence increases incrementally (a) from being single to having relatives, (b) to having the partner, (c) to having children, (d) to having children in education in the UK and (e) to becoming a migration 'hub' for other Romanians. The more extended the network, the larger the number of linked lives and the higher the probability that the UK is to represent the good choice place of residence (especially, the case of migrants with children of school age). Furthermore, the stronger the Romanian strong ties of the migrant in the UK, the stronger the intention to remain in the UK even during difficult times. Although the majority of the migrants still have relevant family members in Romania (e.g. parents, siblings), the presence of the nuclear (primary) family intensifies the interest to remain in the UK, overpowering any intention of return to Romania.

> (AN, W6): "The wedding was in UK, the children were in UK, everything in UK, home is the UK. [...] No! To get back to Romania, so that I can pay money in order for my son to learn English and my daughter to go to school, for them to do whatever they want in life, no... only with bribes and such?! I cannot. It's impossible. While here I know for certain the fee at the doctor's is £200, £7,400 the university fees. I have everything written down on a list."

[205] Out of the 8 participants (without AMM, W3) with high proficiency 7 have permanent residence intentions, whereas out of the 12 with medium or low language skills only 6 have such plans.
[206] From 11 participants (without AMM, W3) with jobs that they associate with upward social mobility as compared to Romania, out of which 9 have permanent residence intentions. Alternatively, only 4 of the remaining 9 have such permanent intention plans.
[207] Out of the six life spheres considered - occupation, education, family, perceived social class, migrants' community and housing, see Chapter 8.

(DI, W7): “The UK gave me everything. In Romania nothing was happening, not even financially.”

(RED, M6): "There is no way of returning to Romania. Maybe at old age, when there’s no need to give bribes. It is a beautiful country..."

The factual data shows, not only the intent to remain in the UK, but also that the migrants who stayed long enough and achieved occupational success, continuously kept extending their network of strong ties within the UK, as (5) participants bought their own house, and (4) participants obtained the British citizenship.

The main reasons provided by migrants for remaining in the UK are: career development, for the family (children’s) sake, and for the lifestyle – namely, that a "normal personal" can afford a decent livelihood in the UK (perceived as being much better than in Romania). Aside from the dominant categories of temporary and permanent migration, there are also other types of migration options comprising of global nomads, transnational and the undecided.

In line with (Düvell and Vogel, 2006), the global nomads refer to migrants who are not orientated towards any country in particular. Accordingly, the global nomads are career-oriented, have extended social and professional networks, and are most likely to achieve career success as compared to the other types of migrants. In this research sample, this is the case of (ILS, W4). She has pursued a boundaryless career, has achieved occupational success and expansion in all other life spheres. She is engaged with a German Ph.D. student and when it comes to both their migration plans, they are hesitating between the UK, Germany, maybe Canada, or wherever the jobs are.

However, there are various types of global nomads. (GA, M9) had less than one year stay in the UK at the interview time, but also presented years of migration between Romania and Italy. When thinking about the future, he states: "I am going to graduate interior design in the UK, and I will succeed to have a career, a career in anything. Somewhere, in some country, I can't yet tell." Alternatively, (AB, W8) makes for a distinctive case. She stayed in the UK for about 6 years and experiencing continual

decline or stagnation. Nonetheless, being a migrant in the UK meant a total changed in life philosophy from career-oriented to freedom-oriented as a worldwide traveller.

Plans regarding migration – the case of an atypical Romanian global nomad

> R: So, 5 years ago you were dreaming of a corporate career, and now you are the total opposite?
>
> (AB, W8): "Yes, UK did this to me. [...]To go and work from 9 to 5, I'd go crazy... to live for the weekend?! I cannot. We cannot. At some point, you know, when we arrived, I wanted that as I wasn't thinking the way I do now. I wasn't appreciating my freedom because I never thought that I would have it. UK did this to us. [...] I changed my job and my husband's too [she is freelancer wedding photographer and he is taxi driver]. At first probably it was tough on him, you know the social status that you lose once you become a taxi driver. [...] He appreciates the freedom of going to work whenever he wants, however he wants, and he can take days off whenever. [...] We want to travel more. The main reason for which he is taking our daughter out of school [the child was about to start home schooling], so we are not tied down by the weekend or school holidays. [...] I want my daughter to have the same experiences as I did when I was a child. [...] Additionally, around 3 months a year, we would like to stay a year in Romania. So, 3 months in Romania, 6 here [in the UK] and 3 anywhere else. Things we didn't see, other countries. The entire third world, as I had enough of the West. [...] It is great for the children... but photographically, it isn't natural or authentic."

An example of transnational migrant is (SD, M3) with his long-term bi-national orientation, towards both origin and host countries. During his three-year stay in the UK he experienced decline or stagnation in all life spheres, but he maintained strong social ties, economic and political interests in both countries. For the future, he wants to live both in Romania and in the UK, without a definite preference.

Plans regarding migration of a Romanian transnational migrant

(SD, M3): "Firstly, I studied law. In Romania is something, in UK something else, no connection, totally different. Why would they allow me to work in that field? [...] That's my plan: go to Romania, give my Bachelors, translate all documents, come back to UK and I hope next year to enrol here for a Master. Meaning, taking it step by step. [...] Yes, so I said, I need to do something to evolve. And for the level I want, I can only reach it with studies in UK."

R: So, you're thinking of remaining here [in the UK]? What is your long-term plan?

(SD, M3): "I would like to work, a job and to get married here. Yes, to remain here. But I don't have a specific job in mind because I don't know what opportunities the Master brings along. So, here or in Romania, we will see."

Usually, migrants are undecided regarding their migration plans in the first period after arrival, and especially during the period of initial occupational fall. However, in some cases, particularly for those who migrated as a couple, the indecision may prolong.

Plans regarding migration of a Romanian undecided migrant after a 6-year stay

(OI, W11): "And we stayed here [in the UK], but even now I cannot believe that we don't have a concrete plan for the future. I don't have one. I mean we plan: to get married, to buy a house, to have a child, but they are all just ideas. I feel as if I am migrating from one place to another, I do not feel settled somewhere in particular. [...] We both know that for the moment, we want to be here. Here is good and for a while, we'll stay here. It would be wonderful to return home and everyone there and...".

10 Discussion and conclusions

A THESIS APPRAISAL: AIM, OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The primary objective of this thesis is to explore the relation between international migration and career and how they affect each other over time, in the case of the Romanian migrants in the UK. This research assumes an interdisciplinary qualitative approach that allows the utilization of multiple theoretical paradigms and research methods with the purpose of understanding the migrants' career dynamics. The research employs a life course methodological framework, in order to obtain rich data which to permit the analysis of contextualism and linked lives, as all life spheres (e.g. education, family, and others) are interconnected.

Despite the significant attention given to the Eastern European migrants in the UK, the Romanian migrants still represent an under-researched group, although since January 2014 exhibit a significant increase in their immigration to the UK. This study looks at the careers and occupational success or failure over time of the Romanian migrants on the UK's labour market. According to Fellini and Guetto (2018:2) only "few studies have dealt with immigrants' occupational careers over time in destination countries [...], and even fewer single-country studies have considered immigrants' occupational trajectories from the origin to the destination country." Moreover, even fewer studies have considered the occupational trajectories of the Romanian individuals, be them migrants or not. Consequently, this study uses a quasi-longitudinal qualitative design for understanding the occupational trajectories of Romanian migrants in the UK, at both origin and destination countries.

Methodologically, this is a qualitative study that uses the grounded theory to answer the research questions in an exploratory manner. Instead of developing exact hypotheses previous to the data collection phase, the study proceeds with hypothetical inference, as the interpretation of data draws on the 'axial coding' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Correspondingly, this thesis does not employ the process of hypothesis testing, but it seeks to generate theoretical hypothesis aimed to explain the empirical findings, which remain to be further tested on representative samples in future research.

This research is a multi-sited investigation (London, Leicester and Cheltenham Spa), that utilised multiple sampling methods – snowball, maximum variation and generic purposive techniques, and multiple analysis methods – thematic analysis and quasi-statistics. The data was collected via in-depth interviews alongside the life-grid instrument. The research sample comprises 21 Romanian migrants in the UK. In addition, two more interviews with representatives of Romanian communities were carried out, one as a gatekeeper (Cheltenham Spa) and one as an informant (London). The research sample over-represents individuals with higher education, predominantly originating from urban environments. Nevertheless, given the maximum variation sampling technique and the research aim, the sample contains significant occupational experiences (namely, formal continuous employment periods of more than 9 months), in low and high skill jobs, and both pre- and post- international migration to the UK.

The study intercalates theory with data. As the data unravelled, the research direction was adjusted, as well as the approach – from a singular literature (international migration) to an interdisciplinary approach (a life course interpretation of international migration and career literatures), and from the thematic analysis to the quasi-statistics analysis. Firstly, the data collected through in-depth interviews was analysed by using the thematic narrative method. Secondly, according with the quasi-longitudinal research design, retrospective data at the transition level was collected and coded, given the life-grid data instrument (a tool which permits chronological data collection and revisions). Specifically, this includes periods, durations, sequences, and characteristics relating work, education and family status during lifetime. Understanding the life story narratives as chains of transitions means that each of transition

characteristics are converted into numerical data. In other words, in order to allow measurement and comparison, the job characteristics (i.e. commute, full or part-time, temporary or permanent), the historical and societal aspects (especially, the push-pull migration factors), as well as the meanings, intentions and goals assigned by the participant are quantified. Coding the empirical data at the transitions level resulted in a significant amount of data for which a second analysis method was chosen, namely the quasi-statistics method understood as the application of descriptive statistics on qualitative data (Maxwell, 2008, 2010).

When it comes to understanding and explaining the migrant career of Romanians in the UK, the discussion focuses on the trajectories during the lifetime of each participant in view of traditional versus new career types. Understanding the occupational trajectory as interlinked transitions of occupation, education, family and attachment to the UK, the migrant career has many advantages. In particular, it allows the integration of pre-migration occupational experiences, and concomitantly, the exploration of effects of the other life spheres including the international migration experiences in relation to career success (objective and subjective), as experienced and understood by the participants themselves.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

The thesis brings forth two principle theoretical contributions related to the two main research questions.

[RQ1]: *Do the Romanian migrants in the UK achieve occupational success or are they more likely to remain stuck in the 3D (dirty, dangerous and demeaning) jobs?*

The Romanian migrants tend to resiliently pursue occupational success in the UK

Firstly, based on quasi-longitudinal data, the study demonstrates that the Romanian migrants' occupational trajectories in the UK comply with the well-established U-shaped pattern (fall and raise), and that over time, many of them succeed to achieve occupational success. Unlike previous studies, rather than comparing the labour market performances of the migrant with those of the native, this thesis measures the migrant occupational recovery and success by comparing the most recent (and best) position

obtained in the destination country (the UK) with the highest position obtained ever in the origin country (Romania). Thus, 16 out of 21 participants experience upward mobility as migrants in the UK, ensuring that the post-migration occupational position is higher or similar with the best one held in Romania. The individuals who experience decline as migrants in the UK, despite achieving upward mobility, present only lower occupational positions than their best in Romania.

Depending on the career stage on arrival, the migrants have different chances to achieve occupational success at destination. The migrants who arrived in the early career stages have considerable chances to be successful in the UK. Especially, the Romanian migrants who arrived to the UK during childhood or for higher education purpose have high chances not only to find a job and find an adequate job, but also to have upward mobility and, if willing, build a career. These individuals are both women and men, arriving in the UK in various historical periods, with various levels of education and from different social backgrounds / classes. However, they all arrived at ages between 18 and 24, with high English proficiency, and pursuing a lifetime career. While in the UK, all these migrants invested in higher education or formal training, and the majority have developed earlier extended British-native social networks which played a positive role in their occupational trajectories.

In regard to the new labour market entries, the results should be cautiously considered, since the cases included in the research sample are relevant only for particular types of new entries – namely, those who migrated with a pre-arranged employment contract which might not be necessarily the typical.

By contrast, the migrants who came in the UK during their middle career stages (with pre-migration work experience) have fairly equal chances to end in a position of success, constant or decline. Only four variables seem to make a difference with regard to the success or decline of the migrants arrived in the middle career stages, explicitly: length of stay in the UK, English proficiency, a pre-arranged work contract, and the existence of an objective career during lifetime. As compared to migrants who succeeded occupational stability or success, the migrants who experienced an occupational decline are more likely to have had a shorter stay in the UK linked with a

low-medium English proficiency. Moreover, in accordance to the results, it appears that the migrants who experience decline all tend to be contingent workers, migrating without any pre-arranged working contract. Conversely, the chances of occupational success after migrating from Romania to the UK appear to increase considerably with (i) a pre-existent work contract; (ii) as the length of stay at destination increases given medium-high English proficiency; and (iii) if the individual is determined to pursue a career, especially a boundaryless career in knowledge-related occupations / industries, (e.g. film production, software development or business based on temporary projects). Among the migrants who arrived in middle career stages (with pre-migration work experience), the other tested variables – gender, level of education at arrival, the provenance social class, number of pre-migration work experience years, age at arrival, initial fall magnitude, number of jobs or investment in education and training in the UK – do not discriminate with regard to the occupational success or decline.

[RQ2]: *What are the plans of the Romanian migrants regarding the strategic use of their geographic mobility power for the future?*

Occupational success and/or expansion in other life spheres make most Romanian migrants willing to remain permanently in their 'country of choice', the UK

Secondly, the analysis expands from occupation to the other life spheres and shows that aside from occupational success, many Romanian migrants experience positive expansions in other life spheres, especially by forming a family. Consequently, as various expansions occur on education, family, perceived social class, (migrant) residence instead of intending to use the geographical 'migration power', they choose to permanently remain in the UK, particularly after/if they have a child. The expansion in other life spheres also means developing attachment towards the host country. This is true for expansion in education or in family life, for perceived social mobility, for living elsewhere than in a migrant neighbourhood, as well as for securing better accommodation in individual renting or house ownership.

Alberti (2014) discusses the relative success of migrants in terms of turning down 'bad jobs' by strategies of occupational and geographical mobility, as in the individual's perceptions of 'temporariness' at the destination and in certain occupations. This study

presents an alternative interpretation to migrant success, as it assumes that any employee (regardless whether Western or not, migrant or not) presents the inherent agentive power as in the 'ability' to leave any place and quit any job. For the Romanian migrants in the UK the struggle is to identify and obtain continuous, permanent employment while strategizing to achieve their life plans which expand beyond employment. If on arrival the intentions of temporary migration in the UK prevail, as time goes by and the migrants navigate from the first jobs to the midway jobs, the 'temporary' intentions weaken as an increasing number of migrants change their plans to permanent residence in the UK. Thus, long-term plans regarding geographical mobility evolve with the length of stay, from returning to home country to remaining in their country of choice that is the UK.

Furthermore, the factual data shows that most of Romanian migrants do not experience out-migrations after the first arrival in the UK. The few existent out-migration transitions were not performed in order to escape some sort of harsh conditions (despite the fact that some of the Romanian migrants held low-wage jobs at that time), but were migrations related to either career or personal reasons. Moreover, they all returned to the UK. In this sense, it appears that career advancement and expansion in family life represent the prevailing reasons for which the Romanian migrants make use of their geographical mobility power.

If at first, being part of co-national migrant work environment is somewhat perceived as positive, usually after the first couple of migrant role years, the Romanians value more their connections and relations with the natives. In time, they become familiar with the British society, come to understand the labour market workings and start to be attached as in willing to integrate and assimilate with the destination society. They make strategic employment choices, looking to succeed and for career advancement. They start families, get higher education degrees and start speaking only English, including at home.

The expansion in education is associated with the age on arrival – given that migrants under the age of 25 years old have a significantly higher probability to follow either higher education or formal trainings or both in the UK, as compared with the older

migrants. Furthermore, the expansion through formal trainings occurs throughout entire occupational trajectory, but not in parallel with the first job, as the newly arrived migrants need time to learn about the opportunities available in the new institutional context and the functioning of the new labour market.

The expansion in family life is generally delayed until the occupational trajectory takes an upward trend. The initial occupational fall and trajectory decline are linked to either with no family transitions or a contraction within the life sphere. Once the occupational trajectory starts to recover and gain momentum, the migrants free more of their time, energy, efforts and resources necessary to expand the family life. In this sense, as a Romanian migrant in the UK, the expansion in family life appears to associate with occupational success or stability. Additionally, the more extended the network of significant others in the UK, the more likely that the migrant will opt for permanent residence in the UK. The likelihood of intended permanent residence increases incrementally from being single (a) to having relatives, (b) to having the partner, (c) to having children, (d) to having children in education in the UK and (e) to becoming a migration 'hub' for other Romanians. The more extended the network, the larger the number of linked lives and the higher the probability that the UK is to represent the 'good choice' permanent place of residence (especially, the case of migrants with children of school age). Furthermore, the stronger the Romanian strong ties of the migrant in the UK, the stronger the intention to remain in the UK even during difficult times. Although the majority of the migrants still have relevant family members in Romania (e.g. parents, siblings), the presence of the nuclear (primary) family intensifies the interest to remain in the UK, overpowering any intention of return to Romania.

The expansion of perceived social class trajectories indicates upward social mobility in comparison with the initial position on arrival in the UK. Consequently, the subjectively assessed upward social mobility is correlated with the objectively assessed occupational success, irrespective of the type of career. As a note, the social class appears to not associate with expansions in the education or family life spheres.

The migrant neighbourhoods played a limited role for the newly arrived Romanian migrants in the UK, most probably because these neighbourhoods have only recently

developed (unlike countries such as Italy or Spain, which present extensive localities identified as Romanian migrant spaces). Living in a migrant neighbourhood tends to be mostly a survival strategy of the newly arrived Romanian young couples (without children) or single men, or part of a business recruitment strategy. As the migrants succeed in finding adequate employment, they not only leave the migrant neighbourhood, but also seek better housing conditions (individual rental) and if possible, purchase their own houses.

Therefore, irrespective of the migrant's occupational success or decline, as long as there is expansion in at least one of the interlinked life spheres, they increasingly develop attachment towards the UK. Moreover, due to expansions on the other life spheres, the overall life satisfaction and happiness of the Romanian migrants is higher than ever before, especially in the case of migrants with pre-migration work experience. Furthermore, achieving success or expansion in more than one life sphere, seems to imply stronger the attachment to the UK. The higher the attachment towards the UK the stronger the intention to remain. Arriving and choosing the UK as destination underlines the individual's agentive power to reconstruct and redefine their own life, identity and sociability. Not to mention, despite the initial treacherous journey on the UK's weakly regulated labour market, until major migration and labour policy changes – the UK seems to offer institutional paths ('recipes') for success to Romanian migrants.

Other relevant results

In addition to the two main contributions, this thesis speaks to other important contemporary debates, which are synthetically presented as follows:

- migration strategies before and after the first arrival in the UK;

Before arriving to the UK, the Romanians are predisposed to internal migration, as some choose to move to county capital cities in order to pursue higher education or better employment opportunities.

International migration for Romanians is represented by three distinct strategies based on the choice / selection of destination: direct (a one-way from A to B), multiple returns (as a back and forth between A and B), and multiple destinations (as stops are made in

one or more countries before settling in the UK). Before moving to the UK, only few had spent more than three months abroad, while the majority travelled abroad for short less-than-a-month periods to various countries.

The macro reasons for leaving Romania refer to the structural conditions that prove unfriendly or unwelcoming to the individual (or their family). In the case of the older migrants, the structural conditions meant the communist regime or the early transitioning period to democracy. In the case of younger migrants, who left Romania after 2000, the macro reasons are often narrated as a mix of bureaucratic institutionally corrupt country, with an undeveloped labour market – education transference process (including extremely limited access to certain professional occupations). The micro reasons confer mainly employment-related narratives.

Usually, the first arrival represents the moment of settling in the UK. The main reason for choosing the UK as destination is employment. The rationales for choosing the UK and not some other EU country are explained by: i) the presence of Romanian social network; ii) the anticipated socialisation with the British society (media, news, culture); iii) the existence of a legal work contract; and, iv) the education opportunities.

The aim of migration, at the first arrival to the UK appears to be determined by the provenance social class. In this sense, those from disadvantaged background present purely economic goals. Dissimilarly, individuals from middle or well-off background specify social mobility terms, from a better job to adventure.

- migrant during lifetime career patterns, pre- and post-migration to the UK;

In this study, the career is explored both in objective and subjective terms, identifying patters of both traditional (linear) and new career (protean and boundaryless) trajectories. In this thesis, the objective career is analysed based on the occupational trajectory - sequence of employment transitions during lifetime (Sears, 1982; Collin, 1997). An individual is considered to pursue a (objective) career only if a certain occupation is central for her/his life and acknowledged as an integral part of her/his identity. The other instances are defined as contingent workers (who do not pursue a career) – who in an instrumental manner and in accordance with life plans or goals are

inclined to undertake any occupation that provides better income or working conditions. Pursuing a career and contingent worker are persistent behaviours during lifetime, given that some contingent workers have more than ten years of work experience.

The contingent workers are not differentiated from individuals who pursue a career by gender, age, or educational capital age at arrival in the UK. The only significant indicator appears to be the provenance social class, as those from disadvantaged families seem prevalent as contingent workers during lifetime than those from middle or well-off families. Also, by comparison, the contingent workers have a significantly higher probability to belong to the new wave of recent migrants (after 2014). Most contingent workers came to the UK primarily with economic objectives, whereas the individuals pursuing a career express mixed economic and social mobility aims. There is a significant difference in attitude towards geographical mobility, as contingent workers tend to move to a space from which they try to reap as much as possible, whereas people pursuing a career are mobile and search for spaces in which they can maximize their chances to achieve career or life goals. Correspondingly, the migrant contingent worker seems more likely to have a weaker attachment to the UK than the migrant pursuing a career.

Among the individuals who pursue a career, two types of career are distinguished: (i) "traditional career" - progression as steps within a singular occupational environment (Zaleska and de Menezes, 2007) and (ii) "new career" - progression as shifts between multiple occupational environments, with two subtypes: "protean career" and "boundaryless career" (Inkson, 2006; Gunz et al., 2000). In this respect, the new types of career predominate among the Romanian migrants in the UK, especially boundaryless careers. The protean careers are fewer and comprise of a higher number of employment transitions and short-duration jobs.

The career is explored not only in objective terms, but also in subjective terms (Savickas, 2002). The subjective career refers to the individual self-reported understanding of the career, its meanings, evaluations and plans. In this regard, most Romanian migrants tend to have a subjective discourse about their career. For the

contingent workers the subjective career is a unique construct that is likely to differ from the factual data found in their objective occupational trajectory. Concomitantly, some of the career pursuers present no subjective career discourse. Three explanations for the lack of subjective career narratives were identified: (i) the intent to switch or cease the career, (ii) the career (central occupation) is more like a hobby (marginal to making a living), and (iii) the pursuit of entrepreneurial boundaryless career (making it about a business, rather than a specific occupation).

- international migration from Romania to the UK leads to the initial occupational fall;

In the theoretical framework provided by the studies that have proved the U-shape pattern of the immigrants' occupational trajectories in the United States (Chiswick, Lee, and Miller, 2005; Chiswick and Miller, 2008) or in some European countries[208] (Fellini and Guetto, 2018), this thesis shows that the Romanian migrants in the UK experience a downgrading with the first job (jobs) at destination as compared with the last job held at origin, which in time tends to be followed by a recovery of the occupational status. In line with the previous studies, the thesis accounts for relevant indicators, specifically: the historical period and the age on arrival, the pre-migration work experience, the pre-migration occupational mobility, as well as the pre-migration educational attainment. Furthermore, given the retrospective longitudinal character of the data on occupational trajectories and positions, both pre- and post-migration, two new indicators are developed, namely: the career stage on arrival and the (during) lifetime career type.

A distinction according to the career stage is needed in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the migrant experience spectrum. In this sense, the thesis distinguishes between early career stages migrants (the childhood, the education, and the new entry on the labour market) and the middle career stages migrants (individuals who have significant pre-migration work experience). The occupational trajectories of early career stages migrants appear to not be affected by the migration from Romania to the UK. Immediate to the arrival in the UK, some enter education and find work only after completing the studies. Those who worked in parallel with studying succeeded to

[208] Italy, Spain and France.

find survival jobs similar to the ones that they held before. The new entry migrants come with pre-arranged contracts or find a job shortly after moving to the UK.

The migrants in the middle career stages on arrival have a high probability to experience downward occupational mobility in the first months after arrival. The occupational fall (measured by comparing the last job in Romania and the first job in the UK) is experienced in the first 6 months of migration and lasts up to one year. Moreover, in some cases, the occupational fall comprised more than just the first job, continuing with other 1-3 employment transitions in the same occupational category (ISCO). This may be a sample effect, as the majority of middle career stages migrants experience pre-migration upward mobility.

If career stages are not considered, the contingent workers are considerably more likely to experience an occupational fall immediately after arrival as compared the career pursuers. However, by controlling for the career stage at arrival, the advantage of people pursuing a career disappears. Thus, for individuals with pre-migration work experiences (middle career stages), the contingent workers and the career pursuers share the same high probability of downward occupational mobility in first months after arrival in the UK.

With regard to the career type, only the traditional careers seem to have higher probability to avoid the occupational fall. However, this may another sample effect, since it comprises just a couple of traditional career migrants, both arriving with pre-arranged employment contract. In this sense, it cannot be determined if the lack of occupational fall is linked (and to what extent) to the career type, or the transferability of skills associated with the central occupation, or the pre-arranged job contract.

The magnitude of occupational fall significantly varies across cases. For most cases, the fall is severe, from the top occupational tier to the bottom occupational tier (ISCO). Unlike previous studies, this research has not found an association between the magnitude of the occupational fall and the migrant's education level. Usually, the higher the migrants' education level, the greater the potential downgrade as those who have higher qualifications enter under-qualified occupations (Fellini and Guetto, 2018).

Nonetheless, if a person with higher qualifications worked in over-qualified jobs during their entire lives, as contingent workers do, than the initial downgrade is often mild than severe.

As a particular effect of the initial occupational fall triggered by the international migration, among the first jobs held as migrants in the UK the share of the blue-collar occupations (especially, the unskilled) is considerably higher, while the shares of professional and white-collar occupations (especially, office staff) are lower as opposed to the corresponding shares among the jobs held as natives in Romania. Actually, the probability to work in a blue-collar job is roughly two times higher as migrant in the UK, then as a native in Romania. This result is even more relevant taking into consideration that almost a half of the jobs held as natives in Romania were accepted with just high school diplomas, while nearly all the jobs from the UK were accepted as graduates.

Finally, the period marked by the initial occupational fall comprises major transitions in occupation and country of residence, but very few transitions in education, family or attachment (in either destination or origin countries). The migrants focused all time and effort on accessing the destination's labour market and overcoming the initial fall. Consequently, during this period, none make human capital investments.

- the way migrants make strategic use of their occupational mobility power on the UK labour market;

Considering the loss of prestige and incomes, the main reason for accepting the occupational fall is livelihood. Furthermore, few migrants who experienced the fall identify the situation as 'a lower social class' experience. However, the migrants perceive making significantly more money in the UK, sufficient to afford better living conditions than in Romania. The majority of jobs at destination are based on formal work contracts. As Romanian natives, the probability of having an informal job was almost two times higher than in the UK. In both countries, for most jobs, the migrants were full-time employees with no (or very small) prospects for advancement.

As compared to the situation in Romania, the jobs held as migrants in the UK have significantly higher chances to be associated with temporary work, with shift-based work, that implies some commuting. In the migrant role, the Romanians make significant efforts to boost availability for working long and unsocial hours, especially during the first year in the UK. Furthermore, an exclusive aspect which makes the jobs held as migrants in the UK to be slightly better appreciated than the jobs held as natives in Romania – is the on-job training.

Irrelevant of location, keeping and switching the job is an individual or family matter. Moreover, as migrants in the UK, the Romanians adapt the job-seeking strategies to the new context. Back in Romania, they heavily relied on family and social networks to find a job. As migrants, they mainly used recruitment agencies and, less often, social networks. In other words, being migrants in the UK meant that social networks not only lost influence as job-seeking strategy, but also changed in nature.

- the Romanian migrants' U-Shape - occupational upgrading follows the initial fall;

The U-shape pattern of the Romanian migrants' occupational trajectories is demonstrated by comparing the employment transitions corresponding to the first jobs, midway or intermediary job(s), and (current) last job at the time of the interview. The analysis shows that the initial occupational fall is indeed followed by upward mobility, as the jobs improve significantly as time goes by. The midway jobs are better than the first jobs, while the last (current) jobs are better than the midway jobs.

As compared with the first jobs group, for intermediary jobs and, especially, the last jobs groups in the UK: the professional (ISCO 2) and managerial (ISCO1) occupations are over-represented. Moreover, these occupations take place in various economic sectors (not only in the migrant-specific industries), taking shape via entrepreneurship and self-employment, permanent jobs based on legal contracts.

The U-shape pattern of the Romanian migrants' occupational trajectories in the UK associates with a particular temporal pattern. The analysis of the length (duration) of the employment transition brings evidence that the first jobs corresponding with the initial occupational fall take place in the first months of migration, lasting up to one

year which can prolong (as a series of similar type jobs) to a maximum of 18 months. The midway jobs cover an average period of approximately 2 years, indicating that about 3-4 years from arrival the migrants land in stable and better jobs (the last jobs).

The trajectories of most Romanians with pre-migration occupational experiences (middle career stage) comply with this temporal pattern, irrespective of the number of jobs held as migrant. However, this temporal pattern does not apply to migrants with a pre-arranged work contract at first arrival in the UK. Also, the time it takes to find the first adequate job is relatively shorter for migrants who complete higher education in the UK. Depending on the degree subject, the duration to find suitable employment varies between few months to about 2 years after graduation.

- the role of social networks in achieving migration and occupational success in the UK;

Literature on the relevance of social networks in achieving international migration (Düvel and Vogel, 2006; Markova and Black, 2007; Düvell and Garapich, 2009) showed that the Eastern Europeans often arrived in the UK via well-established migration networks given either historic relationships between countries or changes in the immigration regulations.

Social networks (family, love ties or friends) played a substantial role in choosing the UK as destination for Romanians. Before migrating to the UK, most Romanians had social connections (family and friends) residing in the UK. This represented an important pull factor which influenced the decision-making process in terms of destination choice. For those without any developed social networks, there were 'weak ties' that provided information, encouragement or companionship.

The migrant social network residing in Romania played an ambivalent role. On the one hand, many of the middle or well-off families from Romania played the role of support for migration and for facing the hardship of the first months in the destination country. In cases of poverty and a difficult family situation (including trauma) represented the principle push factor for international migration. On the other hand, some well-off families force returns to Romania and offer support for development at the origin country, in the hope of deterring international migration of their offspring.

The role of 'strong ties' is important not only in the decision-making process regarding migration, but also after moving in the UK. Firstly, before arriving in the UK, there is the tendency of migrants in serious relationships to migrate as a couple. The couples migrated in the period 2014-2017 (after the lifting of work restrictions on Romanians) and comprised individuals with no previous migration experiences. Secondly, the role of social networks in accommodating the newly arrived migrants in the UK appears to be very limited. Mostly, the Romanian migrants with social networks in the UK are not offered support with accommodation, usually finding rentals on their own.

Third, the British native social networks become essential in finding opportunities and accessing better employment. In relation to the first jobs, a perceived positive work environment was correlated with the presence of Romanian or other East-European co-workers. Having British co-workers or clients was not perceived as positive work environment. The British native social networks were inexistent or underdeveloped. Moreover, even the migrant employer was not a British native for one in every four first jobs. During the midway job(s) the situation changes, as the migrants were trying actively to integrate in the UK. The British native social networks become increasingly important, so that about a half of the last jobs were obtained with their support of the migrant's native social network. As such, the last jobs involved British native employers or entrepreneurship. Furthermore, some of the participants became themselves employers of migrants, recruiting Romanian workers in the UK.

SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

This thesis tells the career 'stories' of some regular Romanian migrants in the UK. After years of limiting employment and migration policies, in January 2014, the Romanians were granted free access to the UK's labour market. In less than a year, as it was an electoral year, the U2 migrant inflows in the UK became 'hot news' as 'they were invading the UK'. However, after the inflows from the EU had consistently increased from 2011 to 2015, in large part due to the arrival of Southern-European and Romanian country nationals. According to Vargas-Silva and Fernández-Reino, (2018), by 2017, after the UK voted to exit the European Union in 2016, the immigration rates of EU

nationals sharply fell by 21% from 2015. In other words, the decline of EU immigration in the UK is a recent phenomenon.

The results of this study indicate that Romanian migrants might not only be here to remain, but also that they will most likely bring family and friends to the UK, as the UK seems to be the 'country of choice' where many of them are offered a real chance at success. Hence, this study concludes with the following research hypothesis: in the absence of drastic legal and policy changes, the Romanian inflow will persist, especially for individuals similar to the research sample – originating from urban localities and with medium or higher education degrees.

Furthermore, the Romanian migrants tend to arrive at a young age hoping to not only 'make something of themselves', but also to start a family. In this sense, the arrival to the UK associates with both establishing a household and making a family. Even if at the start, they experience negative employment dynamics, they are likely to achieve upward mobility in terms of better pay, better work conditions, and higher employment positions. The UK labour market offers superior work conditions than Romania, plus even the low-wage jobs offer the option for continuity alongside the legal employment status. As migrants in the UK, they have purchasing power and can afford holidays abroad; enacting the lifestyle they could only dream as Romanian natives.

The appearance of the first child and the 'future child' plan are strong determinants that associate with significant increases in attachment and intent to remain in the UK. Correspondingly, the second research hypothesis is the following: the Romanian migration inflow will not only persist, but will most likely comprise predominantly young couples with target goals presenting a clear preference for the UK, and as a post-2014 characteristic, intensified 'shadow migration' (as the man migrates first, and the woman/child follows).

Furthermore, the temporal pattern associated with the U-shape pattern specific to Romanian migrants might prove valuable for the betterment of the UK labour and migration policies – especially in the case of migrants who are determined to be permanent residents or British citizens.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

According to Bryman and Bell (2015) the qualitative research presents three main limitations: (i) difficulties in replication, (ii) generalisation problems and (iii) transparency issues. Firstly, given the use of quasi-statistics method, this study assures replication on larger datasets by proposing a series of variables alongside causal explanations. Secondly, given the qualitative sample and the participant characteristics, the results should be cautiously generalised as it refers mainly to Romanian individuals with medium to high educational capital originating from urban locations. Thirdly, Chapter 3 discusses in detail matters pertain to various transparency issues – the role of the researcher, the ethical framework of the research, data management and interpretation. Furthermore, the annexes include the extended field research record, the interview invitations, the variable list and the consent form utilized in this study.

In line with the grounded theory imperatives, future research should test the theoretical findings of this thesis. As mentioned by various researchers (Holmes and Tholen, 2013; Fellini and Guetto, 2018; Zorlu, 2016), current available EU and UK survey data does not record longitudinal data pertaining to migrants, meaning no occupational history, no educational background, and no life aspirations or future plans. Hence, until representative datasets comprising this information become available, it is proposed that future research undertakes the study of different composition samples. For example, verifying the migrant U-shape for involuntary migrants (such as asylum seekers or refugee), verifying the migrant career typology by looking at other EU nationals and at other EU immigration destinations, and/or lastly, verifying the occupational mobility and interlinked lives patterns of diverse types of migrant populations within the EU context.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Annex 1.1: Research invitation letter for the migrant participants and diaspora representatives

Bună ziua,

Numele meu este Mara Laura Stănculescu, doctorandă în anul doi la Universitatea De Montfort, Departamentul de Resurse Umane şi Management, din Leicester.

Ca membru al diasporei româneşti, vă invit la o discuţie asupra istoriei dumneavoastre de migraţie/muncă şi a calităţii vieţii de muncă în UK.

Calitatea vieţii de muncă se referă la acomodarea şi integrare pe piaţa muncii în UK, inclusiv la perspectivele şi planurile dumneavoastre de viitor.

În baza disponibilităţii dumneavoastre, putem planifica o întâlnire. Contribuţia, opinia şi istoria dumneavoastă contează! Este extrem de valoroasă – deoarece acest studiu, pe lângă scopul său academic, vizează să fie util diasporei şi instituţiilor românesti din străinătate.

De atlfel, discuţia va fii în concordanţă cu principiile etice de confidenţialitate şi protecţie a informaţiilor de caracter personal (cum ar fi, numele, prenumele sau orice altă informaţie personală).

Dacă aveţi întrebări sau doriţi să stabilim o întâlnire, vă rog frumos să mă contactaţi la adresa de email: ml.stanculescu@yahoo.com sau la numărul de telefon: 07479333442.

Multumesc anticipat,
Cu stima,
Mara Stanculescv

This represents the research invitation letter for the migrant participants. During the fieldwork, just the Romanian language version was used.

The English version:

Good day, my name is Mara Laura Stănculescu, a 2nd year PhD student at De Montfort University, Department of Human Resources and Management, Leicester.

As a member of the Romanian diaspora, I am inviting you to a discussion relating your personal migration / work history, as well as, quality of life in the UK. By quality of life, I refer to the accommodation and integration on the British labour market, including your options and plans for the future.

Depending on your availability, we can set up a meeting. Your contribution, opinions and life history can make a difference! They are extremely valuable as this study, aside from academic purpose, hopes to be useful to the Romanian diaspora and institutions abroad.

Also, the discussion follows the ethical principles of confidentiality and private data protection (such as your name or another personal data).

If you have any questions or you would like to meet, please contact me at the following email address ... or call... Thank you in advance, Kind regards...M.S.

For each of Romanian diaspora organisation, association and representative who were contacted during the 1st wave of the fieldwork, this email was adjusted and then sent both in English and in Romanian languages.

11.1.1.

Dear Mister/Miss .....,

My name is Mara Laura Stanculescu, a second-year PhD student at Department of Human Resources and Management, Faculty of Business and Law, De Montfort University, Leicester.

Given that ..... is the sole ..... organisation which is addressed to the Romanian community in UK, I am contacting in order to invite you to a discussion on the quality of work life of Romanian migrants in the UK, especially that of migrants active on London's labour market.

Quality of work life refers to how Romanian migrants accommodate to life in the UK, to their impediments and economic inclusion on the labour market, to their future prospects as Romanian migrants, and to their activities as members of the Romanian community in London.

Based on your availability, we can schedule an appointment. Your contribution is extremely appreciated – this study aims to aid the Romanian community, organisations and institutions in UK, as the results of the study will be disseminated accordingly. Furthermore, the discussion will be carried out in accordance with the ethical principles of confidentiality and protection of personal data.

For more information or to schedule an appointment, please contact via this email address or my office phone number: 0116 207 8237 (Monday to Wednesday, 15:00 – 18:00). Upon request, my mobile number can be made available.

Thank you in advance,
Kind regards,
Mara Stanculescv

De Montfort University Campus, Hugh Aston Building,
Business and Law Faculty, Room HU 4.105,
Leicester, LE1 9BH, United Kingdom

Annex 1.2: Consent form

dmu.ac.uk
DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY
LEICESTER

Dear ,

Thank you for taking part in this research study, which aims to examine the quality of work life of Romanian migrants in the UK. As a part of this study the researcher will be conducting interviews with both institutional / organisational representatives and members of the Romanian community in London, UK.

Research is conducted in accordance with the Economic and Social Research Council (ESCR) framework for research ethics; the key principal of which is to prevent harm to the individuals and organizations involved in research. A copy of this document is available online from http://www.esrc.ac.uk/about-esrc/information/framework-for-research-ethics/index.aspx or on request from researcher.

Once analysed, information gathered will form a part of a publicly available PhD thesis and possibly other publications. These will make no specific reference to you or your organization, information will be anonymised to prevent yourself or the case being investigated being identified.

Information gathered here will be stored physically and electronically by the researcher and on the university's systems. Your data will be kept securely in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998) in an anonymous form where possible.

Should you have any questions regarding the nature of research, or how your information will be stored or used, please contact the researcher, Mara L. Stănculescu (ml.stanculescu@yahoo.com), or if you feel it is more appropriated her supervisor Jonathan Payne (jpayne@dmu.ac.uk).

If you agree to these terms please sign this sheet and return it to the researcher, a copy will be provided for your records. If you have any queries now or in the future, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher.

Thank you very much for your participation

_____ _____

Researcher (Mara L. Stănculescu) Participant

De Montfort University, Faculty of Business and Law,
Hugh Aston Building, The Gateway, Leicester, LE1 9BH
T: (0116) 207 8237

dmu.ac.uk
DE MONTFORT UNIVERSITY
LEICESTER

Dragă ,

Mulţumesc foarte mult pentru participarea dumneavoastră în acest studiu, care urmăreşte să analizeze calitatea vieţii de muncă a migranţilor români din Marea Britanie. Ca parte a studiului, cercetătorul va realiza interviuri atât cu reprezentanţi instituţionali / organizaţionali, cât şi membrii ai comunităţii române în Londra, Marea Britanie.

Studiul este efectuat în cadrul codului etic de cercetare oferit de Consiliul de Cercetare Economică şi Socială [Economic and Social Research Council (ESCR)], prin care, scopul principal este de a preveni vătămarea persoanelor şi organizaţiilor participante. O copie a acestui document poate fii găsită online, la adresa http://www.esrc.ac.uk/about-esrc/information/framework-for-research-ethics/index.aspx, sau la cerere.

Odată analizate, datele culese vor fi parte a unei teze doctorale publice şi posibil, alte publicaţii. Acestea nu vor face referiri directe la adresa dumneavoastră sau a organizaţiei dumneavoastre. Informaţia va fi anonimizată pentru a preveni identificarea dumneavoastră şi a situaţiei investigate.

Datele culese vor fi stocate atât fizic şi electronic de către cercetător, cât şi pe sistemul electronic al universităţii. Datele vor fi securizate în concordanţă cu Actul de Protejare al Datelor (1998) prin anonimizare unde este permis.

În cazul în care aveţi întrebări în legătură cu obiectivul studiului, sau cu stocarea şi folosirea datelor oferite de dumneavoastră, vă rog să o contactaţi pe Mara L. Stănculescu (cercetător) (ml.stanculescu@yahoo.com), sau dăcă preferaţi, pe supervizorul acesteia Jonathan Payne (jpayne@dmu.ac.uk).

Dăcă sunteţi de acord cu aceşti termeni, vă rog să semnaţi şi să returnaţi foaia cercetătorului. Un exemplar vă v-a fi oferit pentru evidenţa dumneavoastră. Dacă aveţi întrebări, fie acum sau în viitor, vă rog să nu ezitaţi în a-l contacta pe cercetător.

Mulţumesc foarte mult pentru participare

_____ _____

Cercetător (Mara L. Stănculescu) Participant

De Montfort University, Faculty of Business and Law,
Hugh Aston Building, The Gateway, Leicester, LE1 9BH
T: (0116) 207 8237

Annex 1.3: The life-grid form

Interview code:

Date of birth:

Year	Age	Occupation	Location/Residential	Social	Details

Annex 1.4: Variable and labels

The participant database

	VARIABLE	LABEL
	CASE STUDIES	
1	Codom	Interview code
2	OMname	Participant code
3	IntLang	Language of the interview
4	IntDuration	Interview duration
5	IntMin	Interview duration in minutes
6	LocationRO	Origin of the participant
7	LocationUK	Destination of the participant (at the time of the interview)
8	Sex	Sex
9	Ybirth	Year of birth
10	AgeInt	Participant's age at the time of the interview
11	Age2017	Participant's age in 2017
12	Months17	Months of life starting with 17 years of age
13	Agecat	Categories of age 2017
14	ArriveUK	Age at arrival in UK (year of arrival in the UK - year of birth)
15	Citizenship	Citizenship of the participant
16	Ycitizen	IF YES to British, year of citizenship
17	Education	Highest level completed at PRESENT (at the time of the interview)
18	Specialization	ONLY for those who are graduates or postgraduates
19	LangEN	EN proficiency at time of the interview
20	ROintm	Experiences of internal migration in RO before coming to the UK
21	ROtravel	Travelled, worked or studied abroad before coming to the UK
22	ROrel	Anticipative socialization - relatives, friends or social network working or living abroad (incl. UK)
23	ROrelUK	Relatives, friends or social network living in the UK before coming to the UK
24	ROhealth	Any health problems before coming to the UK
25	PBhealth	IF YES, What health problems before coming to the UK
26	ROmarital	The marital status before coming to the UK
27	ROnokid	Number of children born before coming to the UK
28	vjobs	Volunteering Jobs during lifetime
29	SclassRO	Social class in RO
30	FamRO	Have primary family (strong ties) in RO
31	AttachRO	Attachment to RO (interest, positive attitude towards the RO diaspora, remittances)
32	HouseRO	Home ownership in RO
33	YUK	Arrival year in UK for the first time
34	YUKtype	Categories according to legislation
35	ROUTEed	Respondent used an institutional route in UK (education - occupation)
36	UKintm	Experiences of internal migration while in UK
37	UKmarital	The marital status at time of the interview
38	UKspouse	Partner Nationality at time of the interview
39	UKnokid	Number of children at time of the interview
40	UKhouse	Motives to remain in UK: House ownership
41	UKgoods	Motives to remain in UK: Access to various durable goods
42	UKtravel	Motives to remain in UK: Holidays
43	Career	Career perceptions
44	Individual	Individual attitude at the time of interview
45	Fplan1	Future plans 1
46	Fplan2	Future plans 2
47	Fplan3	Future plans 3

	VARIABLE	LABEL
	CASE STUDIES & transitions	
48	TT	Total number transitions (of all types) DURING LIFETIME
49	TT0	No. of unemployment transitions
50	TT2	No. of OCCUPATIONAL transitions
51	TT2ro	No. of OCCUPATIONAL transitions in RO
52	TT2uk	No. of OCCUPATIONAL transitions in UK during lifetime
53	TT2else	No. of OCCUPATIONAL transitions elsewhere (not RO and not UK)
54	TT1	No. of EDUCATIONAL transitions, incl lifelong learning
55	TT1x	= TT1+highschool
56	TT3	No. of GEO transitions (all types)
57	TT3a	No. of GEO transitions - INTERNATIONAL out of RO
58	TT3b	No. of GEO transitions - INTERNATIONAL return to RO
59	TT3c	No. of GEO transitions - INTERNAL in RO
60	TT3d	No. of GEO transitions - INTERNAL in UK
61	MIGCAT	Migrant type throughout life span (international migration)
62	TT0dur	No. of months in unemployment transitions
63	TT2dur	No. of months in occupational transitions
64	TT2durx	= Endexp x12
65	TT1durx	TT1durx = TT1dur+liceu
66	TT1dur	No. of months in educational transitions
67	TT3adur	No. of months in geo transitions - international out of RO
68	TT3bdur	No. of months in geo transitions - international return to RO
69	TT3cdur	No. of months in geo transitions - internal in RO
70	TT3ddur	No. of months in geo transitions - internal in UK
71	TT4	No. of family transitions
72	EndExp	Years of experience in work TOTAL during lifetime
73	EndExpOut	Years of experience in work abroad during lifetime
74	EndExpUK	Years of experience in work in UK during lifetime
75	Wexpbefore	Years of experience in work in BEFORE UK (1st arrival)
76	wexp0	Years of experience in work in BEFORE UK (1st arrival) recoded
77	Wexpunde	Countries in which they have work experience during lifetime (NOT THE UK)
78	UK6	What they did after arrival in the first 6 months?
79	TYPOLOGY	TYPOLOGY of trajectories in UK
80	TYPEwuk6	wexp0 x UK6 (meaning typology based on work experience previous to the UK and what they actually did
81	FALL0	1st job in UK represents a FALL as compared with the last job before UK
82	FALL1	Jobs in RO compared to jobs in UK just for those with similar TT2ro and TT2uk
83	po3adur	Share of life 17+ years spent abroad
84	TYPEMIG	Spent more than 45% of their life 17+ years abroad (international migration)
85	TYPEMIG3	% of work life (17+ years) spent in international migration (tt3a and po3adur)
86	po0dur	Share of life 17+ years spent in unemployment (tt0dur)
87	po1dur	Share of life 17+ years spent in education (tt1durx)
88	po2dur	Share of life 17+ years spent in jobs (tt2durx)
89	TYPEWE	Spent more than 45% of their life 17+ years in ... (in which domain the individual invested more time)
90	SEQUENCE	For developed trajectories that present overlaps between education and occupation
91	EndEducT	When the transition ended - Education
92	EducUK	Education in host country, the UK
93	educT1uk	On job training in UK
94	educT2ro	Formal training RO
95	educT2uk	Formal training UK
96	educT3ro	Formal education in RO
97	educT3uk	Formal education in UK

	VARIABLE	LABEL
1	CodOM	Interview code
2	OMname	Participant code
3	StartM	When the transition started - MONTH
4	StartY	When the transition started - YEAR
5	EndM	When the transition ended - MONTH
6	EndY	When the transition ended - YEAR
7	Duration	Duration of the transition in months
8	TType	Transition Type
9	YUK	Arrival year in UK for the first time
10	ArriveUK	Age at the first arrival in UK in years (=YUK-Ybirth)
11	Age2017	Participant's age in 2017
12	Ybirth	Year of birth
13	YUKtype	Categories of YUK according to legislation
14	IntLang	Language of the interview
15	IntDuration	Interview duration
16	IntMin	Interview duration in minutes
17	LocationRO	Origin of the participant
18	LocationUK	Destination of the participant (at the time of the interview)
19	Sex	Sex
20	Ybirth_om	Year of birth = Ybirth
21	AgeInt	Participant's age at the time of the interview
22	Agecat	Categories of age for Age2017
23	Education	= EndeducT - Education during lifetime
24	SclassRO	Social class in RO
25	ROhealth	Any health problems before coming to the UK
26	PBhealth	IF YES, What health problems before coming to the UK
27	vjobs	Volunteering Jobs during lifetime
28	VAR00008	NUMBERS AND DURATION OF TRANSITIONS
29	CodT	Transition code per participant
30	Code	Unique code per transition (=CodOM*100+CodT)
31	xTT0	TType=0, unemployment
32	xTT1	TType=1, educational (incl. professional qualifications)
33	xTT2	TType=2, job (occupational career)
34	xTT2ro	TType=2, job in RO
35	xTT2uk	TType=2, job in UK
36	xTT2else	TType=2, job elsewhere (not RO and not UK)
37	xTT3	TType=3, geo (migration)
38	xTT3a	International migration from RO to other countries
39	xTT3b	International migration return to RO
40	xTT3c	Internal migration RO
41	xTT4	TType=4, family
42	xTT0dur	TT0 duration in month, unemployment
43	xTT1dur	TT1 duration in month, education
44	xTT2dur	TT2 duration in month, job
45	xTT3dur	TT3 duration in month, geo (any type)
46	xTT3adur	TT3a duration in month, international migration OUT of RO
47	xTT3bdur	TT3b duration in month, international migration return in RO
48	xTT3cdur	TT3c duration in month, internal migration in RO
49	StayUK	Total duration of stay in UK in years (=2017 - YUK first arrival)
50	StartAge	Age at which the transition started (=StartY-Ybirth)
51	EndAge	Age at which the transition ended (=EndY-Ybirth)
52	TRANSITIONS	TOTAL aggregated at individual level from CASE STUDIES database

The transitions database

53	TT	Total number transitions (of all types) DURING LIFETIME
54	TT0	No. of unemployment transitions
55	TT2	No. of OCCUPATIONAL transitions
56	TT1	No. of EDUCATIONAL transitions, incl lifelong learning
57	TT1x	= TT1+liceu
58	TT3	No. of GEO transitions (all types)
59	TT3a	No. of GEO transitions - INTERNATIONAL out of RO
60	TT3b	No. of GEO transitions - INTERNATIONAL return to RO
61	TT3c	No. of GEO transitions - INTERNAL in RO
62	TT0dur	No. of months in unemployment transitions
63	TT2dur	No. of months in occupational transitions
64	TT2durx	= Endexp x12
65	TT1durx	TT1durx = TT1dur+liceu
66	TT1dur	No. of months in educational transitions
67	TT3adur	No. of months in geo transitions - international out of RO
68	TT3bdur	No. of months in geo transitions - international return to RO
69	TT3cdur	No. of months in geo transitions - internal in RO
70	TT4	No. of family transitions
71	Months17	Months of life starting with 17 years of age
72	MType	Transition represented migration internal or international
73	ROintm	Experiences of internal migration in RO before coming to the UK
74	UKintm	Experiences of internal migration while in UK
75	StartC	When the transition started - COUNTRY
76	StartL	When the transition started - Locality
77	EndC	When the transition ended - COUNTRY
78	EndL	When the transition ended - Locality
79	MIGCAT	Migrant type throughout life span (international migration)
80	TYPEMIG3	% of work life (17+ years) spent in international migration out of RO (tt3a and po3adur)
81	po3adur	Share of life 17+ years spent abroad (=tt3adur * 100/Months17)
82	TYPEMIG	Spent more than 45% of their life 17+ years abroad (international migration)
83	ROtravel	Travelled, worked or studied abroad before coming to the UK
84	MMrojob	If motives (micro or macro) to leave RO is linked to JOBS for each GEO international migr
85	MigrMRO	Motives to leave RO
86	MMro1	motives opened
87	MMro2	motives opened
88	MigrMUK	Motives to chose UK
89	MMuk1	motives opened
90	MMuk2	motives opened
91	MAim	Aim of migration when the transition started
92	Target	IF a TARGET EARNER, What was the target when the transition started?
93	MAim0	Aim of migration in UK at the first ARRIVAL
94	MAim1	Aim of migration in UK at PRESENT
95	xTT3aUK	International migrations from RO to UK
96	xTT3aUK1	ONLY International migrations from RO to UK for the first time
97	ROrel	Anticipative socialization - relatives, friends or social network working or living abroad (incl. UK)
98	ROrelUK	Relatives, friends or social network living in the UK before coming to the UK
99	xROmarital	marital status before arrival in the UK
100	xROnokid	No. of children before arrival in the UK
101	Mwho	With whom migrated abroad/UK?
102	Love	Love relation/family that influenced the transition
103	Lovew	What love/family influenced in which way
104	Hubm	The participant accomodated other RO migrants for a period (usually longer than one month)
105	Nuk0	Lived in a RO migrant neighborhood at ARRIVAL in UK
106	Nuk1	Lived in a RO migrant neighborhood at PRESENT
107	Huk0	Housing condition at ARRIVAL in UK
108	Huk1	Housing condition at PRESENT
109	xTT3d_om	Participants with internal migration in the UK (xtt3d=1)
110	xTT3d	Internal migration UK
111	xTT3ddur	TT3d duration in month, internal migration in UK
112	TT3d	No. of GEO transitions - INTERNAL in UK
113	TT3ddur	No. of months in geo transitions - internal in UK
114	po0dur	Share of life 17+ years that was spent in unemployment (tt0dur)
115	po1dur	Share of life 17+ years that was spent in education (tt1durx)
116	po2dur	Share of life 17+ years that was spent in jobs (tt2durx)
117	TYPEWE	Spent more than 45% of their life 17+ years in ... (in which domain the individual invested more time)
118	SEQUENCE	For developed trajectories that present overlaps between education and occupation
119	xStartEducT	When the transition started - Education

120	xEndEducT	When the transition ended - Education
121	xeducT1uk	On job training in UK
122	xeducT2uk	Formal training in UK
123	xeducT3uk	Formal education in UK
124	xeducT2ro	Formal training in RO
125	xeducT3ro	Formal education in RO
126	xEducUK	Education in host country UK
127	Ftraining	Formal training during lifetime at the level of individuals
128	EducT	What educational activities were done during the transition
129	educT1uk	On job training in UK
130	educT2ro	Formal training RO
131	educT2uk	Formal training UK
132	educT3ro	Formal education in RO
133	educT3uk	Formal education in UK
134	MEduc1	Motives for higher education or new professional qualification
135	MEduc2	Motives for higher education or new professional qualification
136	somaj	Unemployment during lifetime
137	somajSEQ	Unemployment sequencing during lifetime
138	somajC	Country where respondent experienced unemployment (one or more times)
139	Job1C	Country of the first job during lifetime
140	Agejob1	Age at the first job during lifetime (in years)
141	Agejob11	Age at the first job in UK (in years)
142	EndExp	Years of experience in work TOTAL during lifetime
143	EndExpOut	Years of experience in work abroad during lifetime
144	EndExpUK	Years of experience in work in UK during lifetime
145	Wexpbefore	Years of experience in work in BEFORE UK (1st arrival)
146	wexp0	Years of experience in work in BEFORE UK (1st arrival) recoded
147	Wexpunde	Countries in which they have work experience during lifetime NOT CONSIDERING UK
148	UK6	What they did after arrival in the first 6 months?
149	TYPEwuk6	wexp0 x UK6 (meaning typology based on work experience previous to the UK and what they actually did during the first 6 months
150	ISCOevo	ISCO dynamic
151	lastjobro	Last job in RO or elsewhere before arriving in UK & 1st job in UK
152	lastjob2	Last job in RO or elsewhere before arriving in UK & 1st job in UK = LASTJOBRO dichotomic
153	FALL0	1st job in UK represent a FALL compared with the last job in RO or elsewhere
154	Career	Career perceptions
155	recoveryjob	Recovery job in UK (isco >= last job in RO) - FOR TYPEWUK6 = 3
156	jobokuk	First adequate occupation in UK (even internship or unpaid) - FOR TYPEWUK6 = 1 & 2
157	FjobUK1	First job in UK as compared with the first job ever (during lifetime)
158	FjobUK2	First job in UK as compared with the first job abroad non-UK
159	FjobUK3	First job in UK as compared with the last job before arriving in UK
160	ISCO	ISCO associated to the JOB - International Standard Classification of Occupations (ILO)
161	Inherit	The transition has anything to do with family inheritance?
162	ISCOexp	If during transition the working experience from RO was useful/relevant
163	NACE	Economic sector of the JOB (ISIC)
164	Migsector	Migrant economic sector in UK (Only for jobs in UK)
165	Ethnic	JOB had a risk of becoming isolated in the ethnic labour market with no opportunities of assimilation in the broader society
166	Jobformal	The JOB was formal (based on a written contract) or informal (such as services to households)?
167	Legalstart	When the transition started - The legal/illegal status of the participant
168	Legalend	When the transition ended - The legal/illegal status of the participant
169	Diploma	Problems with the transference of professional qualifications across national borders (non-recognition of foreign qualifications)
170	WExp	Problems with non-recognition of previous work experience in RO
171	Employereth	Etnicity of the employer
172	Entrepre	Entrepreneurship?
173	Tunion	Willingness to do the job without causing any trouble, as migrants are less likely to be members of a trade union
174	Wage	Wage associated to the JOB
175	Recruit	How the participant found the JOB
176	SocnetRO	RO Social network - The role played in doing the transition
177	SocnetUK	Native UK Social network - The role played in doing the transition
178	Socnetw	Role of the migrant network in realizing the transition
179	Jseekstrategy	Job-seeking strategy
180	Avail	The availability to work long, unsocial hours
181	Longh	The JOB involved working long hours?
182	Perm	The JOB was permanent?
183	Full	The JOB was full-time?
184	Shifts	Worked in shifts during transition?
185	Commute	Commuted during transition?
186	Promotion	Promotion during transition?

187 Envir	Work environment (positive socialisation at the workplace, demotivates the individual for changing jobs)
188 Cowork	Worked with other RO at the JOB?
189 Identity	Subjective assessment of ethnicity: Being a RO is perceived as being ...
190 Motive1	MICRO Motives of the transition
191 Motive2	MICRO Motives of the transition
192 FALL1	Jobs RO compared tojobs in UK just for those with similar TT2ro and TT2uk
193 jobsUK	Typology for job transitions in the UK
194 TYPEJOB	TYPOLOGY FOR TRANSITIONS (turning points 6 months, 1-3years, 4+years of migration)
195 T6	Transition in the first 6 months after the first arrival in UK
196 T1_3	Transition in 1 to 3 years after the first arrival in UK
197 T4plus	Transition in 4 years or more after the first arrival in UK
198 TimeUK	Actual duration of stay in UK in years between the arrival for the first time and when the transition started (= STARTY-YUK)
199 TimeUKend	Actual duration of stay in UK in years when the transition ended (= EndY-YUK)
200 StartExp	When the transition started - Years of experience in work TOTAL
201 xEndExp	When the transition ended - Years of experience in work TOTAL
202 StartExpOut	When the transition started - Years of experience in work abroad
203 xEndExpOut	When the transition ended - Years of experience in work abroad
204 Neighstart	When the transition started - Living in a RO migrant neighborhood?
205 Neighend	When the transition ended - Living in a RO migrant neighborhood?
206 House	Housing condition
207 Dwellstart	When the transition started - Living/sharing the dwelling with other RO migrants?
208 Dwellend	When the transition ended - Living/sharing the dwelling with other RO migrants?
209 Marstart	When the transition started - Marital status
210 Marend	When the transition ended - Marital status
211 Child	No. of children in care during the transition
212 DurationUK	Intented duration of stay in the UK when the transition started (at transition level)
213 Countrystay	National orientation refers to where the individual intents to live, given the presence of social ties (at transition level)
214 SclassUK	Subjective assessment of class in UK, in terms of opportunities that lay ahead rather than an occupational or economic position held at present
215 Voluntary	Voluntary activities during the transition aside from job/education
216 RISEjob	If RISE maxro>maxuk (for fall0=2) OR minuk>maxuk (for fall0<2)
217 minRO	The worst job (lowest isco) in lifetime in RO
218 maxRO	The best job (highest isco) in lifetime in RO
219 minUK	The worst job (lowest isco) in lifetime in UK
220 maxUK	The best job (highest isco) in lifetime in UK
221 TYPOLOGY	TYPOLOGY of occupational trajectories in UK
222 RISEeduc	EndeducT>StartEducT OR FtrainingUK OR EducUK (at case level)
223 StartEducT	Education achieved before UK
224 EndeducT	Education achieved during lifetime
225 Ftraininguk	Formal training in UK at the level of individuals
226 EducUK	Education in host country UK
227 ROUTEed	Respondent used an institutional route in UK (education - occupation)
228 RISEfam	UKmarital>ROmarital OR UKnokid>ROnokid OR family brought to the UK
229 Mwho_om	With whom migrated abroad/UK? (at individual level just for transitions in UK)
230 ROmarital	The marital status before coming to the UK
231 ROnokid	Number of children born before coming to the UK
232 UKnokid	Number of children at PRESENT
233 UKmarital	The marital status at PRESENT
234 UKspouse	Partner Nationality at PRESENT
235 Marisco	IF SPOUSE or long-term relationship (living together), the partner's ISCO
236 Marnace	IF SPOUSE or long-term relationship (living together), the partner's NACE
237 Att1	Interacting with natives - Brit co-workers and/or clients
238 Att2	Interacting with natives - Brit friends with whom spend leisure time
239 Att6	Interacting with non-native in UK - co-workers and/or friends
240 Att3	Interest in the host society (media consumption)
241 Att4	Good opinion on/like the host country
242 Att5	Have UK bank account and administrative features
243 jobuknr	Indicative (no.) of the job in the line of jobs taken in the UK (from 1st to last)
244 AttachUK	Attachment to the host society (sum att1+...+att5)
245 AttachRO	Attachment to RO (interest, positive attitude towards the RO diaspora, remittances) IN PRESENT
246 FamUK	If family (or serious relationship) is in UK (living together)
247 HubM_om	Accomodated other RO migrants EVER during migration time in UK
248 Childed_om	Have children in the English education system AT PRESENT (at individual level)
249 Childed	Have children in the English education system

250 Attachfam	Attachment to UK due to FAMILY.
251 FamRO	Have family (strong ties) in RO
252 UKhouse	Motives to remain in UK: House ownership
253 HouseRO	Dwelling ownership in RO
254 UKgoods	Motives to remain in UK: Acess to various durable goods
255 UKtravel	Motives to remain in UK: Posibilities to have holidays
256 LangEN	EN proficiency at PRESENT
257 Citizenship	Citizenship of the participant
258 Ycitizen	IF YES UK, year of citizenship
259 Individual	Individual attitude (when the interview was done)
260 SuccessS	If transition was mentioned (perceived) as a success when the transition started
261 SuccessE	If transition was mentioned (perceived) as a success when the transition ended
262 Succjob	JOB = success
263 TPojob	Turningp=1 and ttype=2 means that JOB is an objective turning point
264 TPsjob	Turningps=1 and ttype=2 means that JOB is an subjective turning point
265 Turningp	Objective - Discontinuity and/or disruptive
266 Turningps	Subjective - Discontinuity and/or disruptive
267 DurationUK0	Intented duration of stay in the UK AT the first ARRIVAL
268 DurationUK1	Intented duration of stay in the UK AT PRESENT
269 IntUKchange	Intended duration of stay in the UK has changed? (which is which)
270 durperm	Intended duration of stay changed from whichever at the time of arrival to permanent in present
271 Country1	Country where individual intends to live AT the first ARRIVAL in UK
272 Country2	Country where individual intends to live AT PRESENT
273 Cukchange	Intended country of stay has changed? (which is which)
274 ukperm	Intended country of stay changed from which to which at arrival in UK in present
275 MMotive	Motive to stay in UK (4-6) or to return to RO (1-3)
276 Fplan1	Future plans 1 - open
277 Fplan2	Future plans 2 - open
278 Fplan3	Future plans 3 - open
279 Macro	Transition is linked to a macro or mezo change/event
280 Macrowhat	IF YES, what macro or mezo change/event
281 Macrowhere	IF YES, where took place the macro or mezo change/event

ANNEX 2: FIELD EXPERIENCE

The timeline record presented in this annex is based on the field and interview notes, and summarises my immersion in the Romanian diaspora in UK, the interactions with the participants, the gatekeeper (Cheltenham Spa) and the informant (London). The exposition of field research events and circumstances inform the aspects which directly influenced the course of study in terms of data collection instrument, as well as, access to participants and sampling. Moreover, it illustrates the primary researcher bias, namely the shared nationality (both being Romanian migrants in the UK).

Field preparation: February 2015

During February 2015, after sending invitation letters to a total of 29 Romanian migrant community associations, organisations, media and religious representatives, only two positive replies were received. These two interactions are described below.

The first meeting took place with the Embassy representative responsible with social and employment relations of Romanians in the UK. The interview offered insights in aspects such as: a) Romanian community in the UK and b) general or common employment issues of Romanian migrants in the UK. Additionally, at the end of the interview, I inquired about possible routes of access to Romanian migrants in London. The reply of the Embassy's representative was rather vague. It was explained how it is a matter of confidentiality and diplomatic procedures, as no data or information can be released by the Embassy without a legal formal request.

With the gatekeeper of the Romanians in Gloucestershire community, the first interaction took place over the phone. I started the conversation with a short introduction of myself and the study, followed by the purpose of the call. It was an unstructured interview, as no questions were prepared. The participant was very talkative, sharing his thoughts about the situation of Romanian migrants in UK. The representative was a diaspora leader, with strong opinions and knowledge on the subject (who had been residing in UK since 2006). He explained the difference between short- and long-term Romanian migrants is their orientation towards the diaspora

community, as the long term are set on building a community, while the short term are set on accumulation (this category being the most visible in the current, at that time, British news). Likewise, the long-term migrants usually organise and plan diaspora events to which usually short-term migrants partake.

The representative talks about the Romanian monthly meetings in Cheltenham Spa, and the intention of setting up a Romanian school which targets the children of Romanian migrants. He explained that the weekend school is in its incipient stages, and is still trying to attract Romanians. Apparently, quite a few Romanians insisted that the school should be under the Romanian-Orthodox Church tutelage. However, in the end, they decided to keep it within the community, without any religious pressures, given that some of the Romanian migrants might have other religious beliefs. In regards to the Romanian-Orthodox Church in UK, it was mentioned that they have no church building in UK, as venues from other religious institutions are rented, usually for the major events and ceremonies. Also, it was suggested that being a Romanian priest in UK is an extremely profitable business, as the migrant priests either do not have a religious background or are recent graduates of theology, who aim to improve their financial status.

Overall, the representative emphasized that the Romanian diaspora in UK lacks cohesion, that it is a community hard to access and that in general it is rather difficult to interact with Romanians abroad. When asked about ways of accessing migrants in London, the reply was that "*London is a hornet's nest*" given the financial and political competition within the migrant community. Nevertheless, the representative expressed interest in the study and agreed to lend a hand by offering information and contacts.

1st data collection wave: March – September 2015

The pilot study was carried out during my first visit to Cheltenham Spa, at the first ever gathering of the Romanian community in Gloucestershire. The majority of the individuals already knew one another. All had been living in the UK for quite a long time, either in Cheltenham Spa or Gloucester. The average of years of residence in the UK was somewhere around 5-6 years. After everyone arrived, tables and chairs were set

up in the hall resembling a formal conference table, rather than an informal social gathering. The gatekeeper opened with a speech about purpose of the meeting - how essential it is for Romanians to establish a community in the UK, and concluded with what would be the best/first thing to do in order to achieve this goal – namely, to open a Romanian language weekend school for the migrant children.

At the end of the speech, the gatekeeper introduced me to everyone. I stood up and formally presented myself, as a De Montfort PhD student in search of Romanian migrants who are willing to tell their occupational and migration life stories. Additionally, I mentioned that I was from Leicester and that I had chosen their community because it was welcoming and thriving. Some individuals voluntarily approached and inquired about my PhD research.

Overall, 6 Romanians (4 women and 2 men) ended up talking about their employment histories in light of their international migration experiences. After the research design was changed and the life-grid interview became the main instrument for collecting the occupational and migration histories data, only 4 out of the 6 six migrants with whom discussions were carried during the pilot, accepted to formally participate in the study.

By the end of May 2015, other three visits were made to Cheltenham Spa. The data collection started with the four individuals met during the pilot. Following one of the interviews, a participant befriended me. She took me around town, showing me the places where Romanian migrants worked, as well as, the locations of Romanian ethnic service or product shops in Cheltenham Spa. Moreover, via her recommendation one more interview was secured. I kept going to the monthly gatherings in order to observe the Romanian migrant community. As the word got out about what the interviews are about and given my physical presence, others changed their mind or became willing / available to participate in the study. My interactions at these gatherings were polite and orientated towards light topics of conversation. If required, I would partake in the activities – such as support or assistance with organising various child-related activities. As a result, a total of 8 interviews were completed in Cheltenham Spa.

In order to identify participants in London, I did a couple of visits. At the time of those visits, Burnt Oak presented the characteristics of what could be considered a Romanian migrant enclave. It was an agglomerated area of Romanian shops, offering Romanian-specific services and goods. The majority of the coffee shops had only Romanian clients, food and music. It felt like a totally different world than that of London city, like a world within a world. On my second visit to Burnt Oak, I went to all the Romanian establishments and got to chat with workers, as well as, some of the owners. In the majority of cases, I managed to have a chat and, on some occasions, even got contact numbers. However, due the lack of social connections in the area, no data was collected.

Afterwards, I made two more visits to London, this time with the goal of attending Romanian diaspora events. The first event was organised by the Romanian Embassy in collaboration with the Gangmasters and Labour Abuse Authority in the UK, including some other Romanian migrant associations. The aim was to offer employment advice to migrants – from how to enter the labour market (CV, job applications) to legal advice. The workshop was called 'Work in UK, a helping hand'. It was a daylong event, held in a city centre posh terraced house. A couple of dozen people were present, most of who were either recently arrived migrants (undecided) and long-term migrants (which had work related issues). The presentations were brief, majority being given in Romanian language. Additionally, some presentations were service-orientated: for example, certificate / qualification validation services or employment contract / issues services. Moreover, in the audience there were present employers and entrepreneurs who were looking to expand their workforce. This workshop proved to be insightful, by contrasting what authorities and diaspora associations consider relevant versus what migrants expect from such events (mostly, networking rather than necessity).

Several individuals who came to the event were desperate, and they were told to wait until all presentations were finished in order to receive advice regarding their issues. Their main problems were not regarding access to the labour market, but unpaid wages, abusive employers or exploitation. Given their poor English competencies, this was their only chance to have a face-to-face discussion with individuals who might help

or assist them with their problems. I tried approaching some of the migrants which had experienced work-relates issues in the UK. However, the moment they realised that I had nothing to offer – no money, no network or service – they would lose any interest. At this event, I got to chat again with some of the already interviewed participants.

The second event was the World Refugee Day organised in one of the North-East London boroughs – at the invitation of a Romanian community leader. Gaining access to this particular Romanian community representative was a tedious process, which took more than 3 months involving many emails and phone calls. Although I had contacted this representative in the initial data collection wave (February 2015), in was in June 2015 that we meet face-to-face. The event was held in on a school campus. At the event there were other diaspora communities such as Armenia, Turkey, Bengal, and a Middle Eastern country (the Red Sea community association). The event was social in nature, involving ethnic food, dances and music. I introduced myself as a researcher to most of the Romanians who were present, and did some small talk. At some point, the representative took me around the school, to show me the English-Romanian language classes. Our discussion on the Romanian community remained informal; it became clear that within this specific community there have been conflicts and disagreements. Consequently, there was a divide between the representative's clique and some of the other Romanian migrants present at the event. In a way, although these migrants appear to 'sign up' as the members of a diaspora community, they could not be more isolated and disorganised. There were power feuds, no leadership and transparency, not to mention no easy (or free) access to the migrant support channels.

Correspondingly, at both events, contact numbers of diaspora representatives and migrants were obtained. However, although contact was established, no migrant interviews were recorded. A total of three representatives were contacted, out of which just one accepted to be part of the research (the informant). The other two instances, including the N-E London Romanian diaspora representative met at the refugee event, proved to not be opened to formal discussions.

ANNEX 3: FOUR CASE STUDIES OF ROMANIAN MIGRANTS WITH SUCCESSFUL BOUNDARYLESS CAREERS IN THE UK

This annex provides four in-depth case studies, narrated from the participant's perspective, that describe the transitions during lifetime of people who migrated in the UK at various historical periods and for various reasons:

(1) during the '70s, in childhood, for political reasons (AMM, W3);

(2) at the beginning of '90s, at 30 years of age, for work-related reasons (GB, M1);

(3) in 2004, for social mobility reasons, at 24 years old choosing to enter the labour market in the UK and not in Romania (RED, M6); and

(4) in 2010, at 23 years old, for educational purposes (MEC, W2).

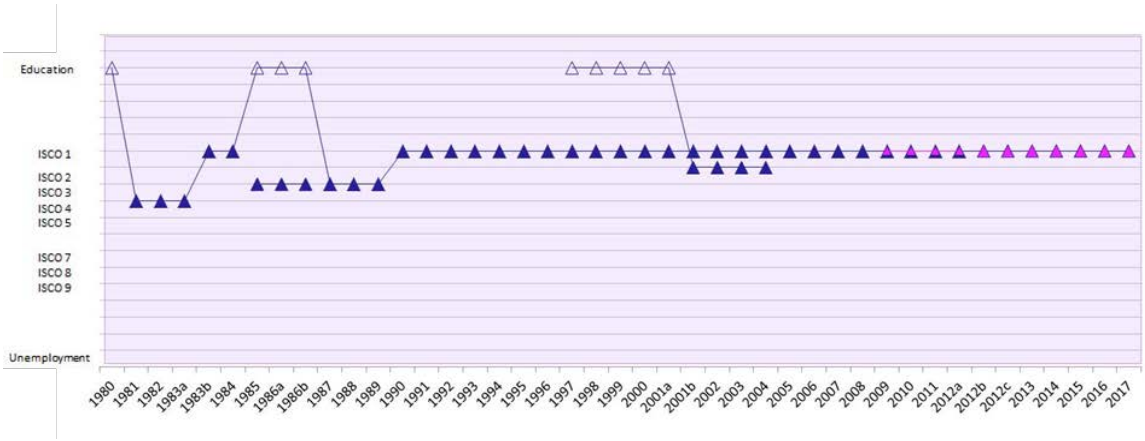
Annex 3.1: The childhood migrant arrived in the UK during the '70s

This is the case of (AMM, W3), who after a brief stay in Israel, based on her parent's choice, she arrived in the UK, in 1972. Both parents were highly skilled individuals. The father was a mechanical engineer, and the mother was a medic. The reasons for which her parents choose the UK related to family inheritance, and previous knowledge regarding the British society and English language. Also, this case related to the 1970s UK political climate which offered for certain groups of people refuge and family reunion support.

Given the young age of at the time of the arrival, the participant's integration and adaption to the UK happened during the early years of formal education. (AMM, W3) recalls the attitude towards education, as a divide between her parents and herself.

(AMM, W3): "My parents' generation, they are now in their mid to late 70s, my father is almost 80… their generation was particularly education focus [...] The conflict situation between parents and children, between myself and my parents was very difficult, particularly during teens, because I wanted to be like everybody else, integrated. I wanted to be like everybody else and to not give a damn about studying. Whereas they were like 'you have to do this, you have to do that', very rigid in their outlook and I don't know whether the younger generations are the same."

Annex 3. Figure 1: The educational and occupational trajectory during lifetime of a childhood migrant - (AMM, W3), Romanian at her arrival in the UK, in early '70s



Period in employment or unemployment
Period in formal education with degree/certificate
Period in formal education without degree/certificate
Period of overlap between two jobs or two courses

Notes:

The space marked in light grey shows the periods of international migration from Romania to the UK (for all participants) or in other countries, in the cases of: (MEC, W2) in the USA, (ML, M5) in Cyprus, (RED, M6) in Austria and (GA, M9) in Italy.

For data comparability reasons, the occupational trajectories take the year 1980 as starting point, because it represents the year of the oldest first job during lifetime in the research sample (namely, the case of (GB, M1)).

The educational trajectories have as starting point the age (14 or 15 years) at which the participants started high school or vocational school. In Romania, the age of 16 years old represents the legal working age.

During high school years, the divide between the parents and the participant grew.

(AMM, W3): "My interest wasn't great on the academic side. I was great with people, a bit naughty, I was rebellious. But whether you can blame that on what happened previously, who knows, we will never know. I was definitely inclined towards rebellious, an activist. I was quite political in my views anyway, about many things. Particularly when I was 17yo, 16yo onwards, I became an activist, not in the bad way. There was a period when there were a lot of marches, a lot to stand up for and that I always talk to my kids about. They always feel quite frustrated, they're both older, but they both feel frustrated cause there isn't very much to fight for anymore, compared to some stuff that, you know, late 70s early 80s… there was a lot."

Arriving in the UK, as a child migrant, (AMM, W3) had to deal with living in a country where the native language was not of the country of birth, and primary family expansion.

(AMM, W3): "In terms of the command of English language whilst it is very good, I don't have the knowledge like my sister [native], or my husband [native], or my kids [native] who started in the system from the very go. […] But I always remember Romanian [language] was always there and my sister who is 14 years younger than me, she was a happy surprise from my parents… Anyway, she hearing my mother talks it, it's even more interesting because she's born and bred in UK, born in the late 70s. She already had a sister that, you know, we are worlds apart, in terms of, you know, never mind the age, but the cultural understanding. I mean she is fascinated by it, but she doesn't understand the attachment I have for things Romanian, despite having left at such an early age. [...] So yes, it is odd how somehow Romania had always featured, it's natural, but on the other hand I did leave very early. I think the biggest detriment was, from an educational point of view, that I came into the [British] educational system very late."

In 1981, soon after graduating from high school, (AMM, W3) decided to get a job. She went to a job centre, and took an interview at a London city law firm, for the outdoor clerk position.

(AMM, W3): "It's very odd, particularly as I don't have a certain academic career. I didn't go university for example. I went straight to work at 18, I had absolutely enough... I was desperate to be independent. I think that was always my problem. I always wanted to be independent, I wanted to go out there and do what I wanted to do, but I wasn't really sure at that point. [...] It was the first job I ever went for, and a senior partner interviewed me. He was lovely and we immediate hit it off; he had a wicked sense of humour."

(AMM, W3) worked for 2 years at the law company. After the first year, she was promoted to legal assistant and received a significant wage raise. During these couple of years, the participant explained that given the work activities and the mentoring support, her skills, knowledge and competency significantly developed. After the promotion, the work tasks diversified, while the position was 'tailored' by the employers to suit her career development. After just two year of full-time employment, in 1983, the participant became a day centre manager for an UK charity, and reached the top (ISCO1).

At this point, her personal life took precedence. She was in a serious relationship, and as her partner was about to follow an academic course in Brighton, she decided to quit her job and joined him. In 1985, due to the touristic character of the town, she took a hotel management training course. Consequently, (AMM, W3) worked for one year as an assistant manager at a small hotel. This represented the first period during lifetime of overlap between education and occupation events.

But then, end of 1985, she received a call from her former employer. 'The guys in London' were expanding the law firm, and required a trustworthy office administration manager. Without any hesitation, she took the opportunity and she commuted between Brighton and London up to 1989. Once again, the law firm enabled her career development.

(AMM, W3): "I started getting involved very much in the PR, the marketing front at that point, because the clients were getting a very high profile and we started organising all sorts of events for clients. I used to manage all those

things, again a new set of skills from that as well. And as office manager, it's huge amount around HR. I learned so much about HR management, which is kind of what I loved, because the role I have now it's about being a jack-of-all-trades and I am sure that that came from that part."

By 1989, (AMM, W3) got married and returned to London. However, in 1990, once again the participant switched the activity sector, from services to business.

(AMM, W3): "Then in 1990, maybe, my father asked me to come and work with him. He decided that I did my training elsewhere. I learned stuff somewhere else, on somebody else back. His business was beginning to grow, so he wanted additional help. He was pretty much on his own with a couple of staff and he definitely needed to expand. I think one of the big areas was around the PR and marketing sides."

For the next 5 years she had worked as business manager for her father's company, dealing with trades (import and export) between the UK and Romania for the aeronautical engineering industry. In this period, she 'reconnected with Eastern Europe', visiting Romania for business purposes, first time since her departure in 1969. Her first business trip took place in 1992, shortly after revolution, and as such, it was a 'shocking' experience. In the previous year (1991), (AMM, W3) had had her first child, and in 1994, the second child. In 1995, she was promoted to the operations manager position. Also, during 1997-2001, she obtained Bachelors in Business Management. During the 6 years as operations manager, the company alongside other trade companies set up the British – Romanian Chamber of Commerce. As her father was preparing to retire, due to the absence of any engineering qualifications, she could not take over the business.

(AMM, W3): "Anyway, we got involved into this steer group for setting up the British-Romanian chamber and I was the nominated board member from dad's company. At some point dad decided to start winding things down a bit. [...] His biggest concern was, I mean I can see where he was coming from, that I didn't have an engineering qualification and I would not be able to actually take over the business. In reality, it may end up starting with him and ending

with him. He was very worried and I do appreciate what he did. At the time it did seemed a bit, hang on a minute we could find solutions, but I actually do understand where he was coming from. I loved doing what I was doing, I really enjoyed it and it was around the sort of family business thing. The fact that we had something together and we enjoyed doing that. I think that if he wasn't there it wouldn't have the same hold for me, obviously. So, he was saying 'listen, I think you need to start really thinking about this now'... He was saying 'look as you get near 40s I think now is the time for you to think what you want to do. What your next step is because I don't think you are going to do this just because you don't have the engineering background and then you need to employ somebody and it just becomes complicated, so think about what you want to do'."

Consequently, from 2001, for the next 11 years, (AMM, W3) became the CEO of the British –Romanian Chamber of Commerce. Nevertheless, although the ISCO code did not change (she has been still at the top of the occupational hierarchy), her career trajectory experienced significant events. On one hand, she started her own business consultancy firm, implying career diversification via self-employment. On the other hand, the switch from the manager to the CEO position implied a shift from full-time to part-time hours.

(AMM, W3): "And it was very convenient for me because, in a way, I was building my own portfolio and building my business portfolio and allowing me the flexibility to around when my kids needed me or whatever. Actually, from my point of view it didn't impede, because I wanted it to be there doing it, but it did allow me the flexibility that if any of my children were sick or something, to be home. I didn't have to *** my employer to say 'I am feeling sick today, I am not coming in'. I am afraid it did happen a lot for women and it still does, that's the reality. It did give me that flexibility to be around. [...] But obviously, the disadvantage was that you don't really know what your incomes are going to be from one year to the next because you're effectively self-employed."

In this respect, she mentioned the difficulties to balance work and family, as self-employment 'is almost a lifestyle' that conflict in many ways with the status of mother.

Moreover, given the shift to part-time hours and self-employment, in 2005, 2007 and 2008, she took on managerial positions on a voluntary basis for various business and charity boards. Then in 2009, still on part-time basis, she became the marketing and communications director of the Council of British Chambers of Commerce in Europe.

In 2012, still within the same organisation, she was promoted to the chief executive, but this time around, on full-time basis. The participant explained how the shift to full-time employment has related to the expansion and financial development of the organisation. Also, as she returned to full-time employment, her children left the family nest.

Overall, during lifetime (AMM, W3) experienced a traditional career. Although her trajectory showed fluctuations during the first 10 years of employment, the majority of her work-life was spent working in diverse directorial or managerial roles. Of course, there are contingent aspects which encouraged her trajectory dynamics, such as: the historical time of arrival to the UK and time of entering the labour market; the age at arrival and the will to adapt and integrate in the British society; and the family of origin, especially the role model set up by her father, and the Romanian Jewish cultural backgrounds.

> (AMM, W3): "[...] to achieve more. That's what has been kind of driven me over the years. Even in the early beginning, even as a teenager, the activist side of me, even the Romanian side, I mean the Romania side had so much to do with promoting Romania on the world stage and for me, the Chamber was vehicle for that, it was a way to get Romania on the map so it was about the bigger picture. I think you only get one chance at this you know, we are here only once, I assume. [...] For me it was not about delivering it or loving it, because it was his legacy, I mean he clearly saw the talent in certain areas and could see that there is no point in being something else. I mean as good as it was for him at that time, he knew that there wasn't any future for me. It was very opportune

and it was absolutely the right timing because I'd finally discovered, and the confidence came with that. I was confident anyway, on a shadow level or at a substantial level where I understood my own self-worth and value came very much around this kind of work. [...] I mean he was a huge role model for me, there is no question, and he still is. He's long retired now, but yes, in a way he set up the legacy. I mean he was one of the funding members of this chamber that actually gave me my career for life. By my 40s I knew what I was, that's when I discovered. I have to say by 40, I thought, bloody hell I am actually pretty good at this. This is what I am good at!"

From her point of view, career "it's a progress, ... it's about growing and evolving over time and I think it incorporates many other areas and not just your work, it's actually everything" referring to voluntary work, but also to family.

(AMM, W3): "I suppose a career is any path to progression. It starts with something and continues. It doesn't matter which, or if it's diverse or not. But I think for me a career it's a progress, an evolution, a means of an evolution."

R: So, it's not necessarily an evolution in a specific sector or organisation?

(AMM, W3): "No, I think it's about growing and evolving over time and I think it incorporates many other areas and not just your work, it's actually everything. It should be a holistic approach. It's about your work, your family, your income. All of that is part of it. If you're defined by, it's interconnected clearly. If you are defined by your work, surely you are defined by your family. By being a mother, a wife, a daughter or a sister. I am talking female now because of me. But I think it's everything. Not necessarily onwards, it's just going up. [...] A career is where the path is… [...] But interestingly enough, you hear these statistics from HR organisations or experts that say that the average career changes now 4 or 5 in life. And I am thinking, career changes!? It's all a career. They mean in what you are working. But in way it doesn't even have to be employment, because employment assumes that you are paid for something. Don't forget voluntary

work because I see again, people forget because that is partially a career path. I take it seriously."

Annex 3.2: An entrepreneur who migrated in the UK for work-related purposes, in early '90s

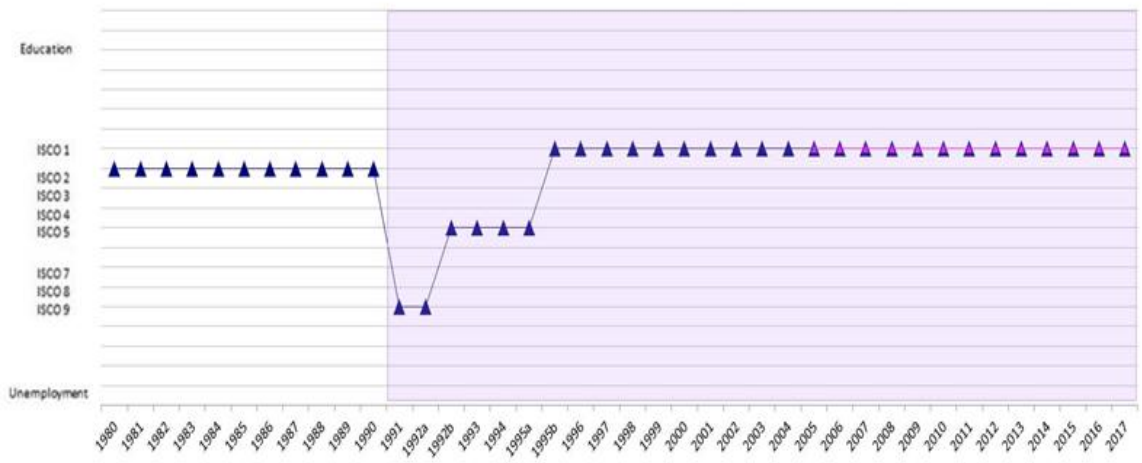
The trajectory of a Romanian migrant in the UK for work-related purposes

The majority of the participants (although heterogeneous in terms of age, education level, language skill, and period of arrival) have experienced this type of trajectory, which implies significant pre-migration work experiences and immediate employment experiences after arrival in the UK.

After completing the high school, (GB, M1) became a professional sportsman at a renowned Romanian sports club. During the sportsmanship years, he travelled abroad for competitions and trainings. In 1985, he married, and shortly after became a father.

As the communist regime fell (1989), major restructurings took place throughout the entire country, from institutions to society. Among other changes, certain occupations, which during communism were desirable and had high social status, became superseded or were dismantled, including the sportsman state-remunerate profession.

Annex 3. Figure 2: The educational and occupational trajectory during lifetime of a migrant for economic purposes - (GB, M1), Romanian at his arrival in the UK, in early '90s



Period in employment or unemployment
Period in formal education with degree/certificate
Period in formal education without degree/certificate
Period of overlap between two jobs or two courses

Notes:

The space marked in light grey shows the periods of international migration from Romania to the UK (for all participants) or in other countries, in the cases of: (MEC, W2) in the USA, (ML, M5) in Cyprus, (RED, M6) in Austria and (GA, M9) in Italy.

For data comparability reasons, the occupational trajectories take the year 1980 as starting point, because it represents the year of the oldest first job during lifetime in the research sample (namely, the case of (GB, M1)).

The educational trajectories have as starting point the age (14 or 15 years) at which the participants started high school or vocational school. In Romania, the age of 16 years old represents the legal working age.

In light of these structural changes, (GB, M1) seek for a way to leave Romania. One of his friends, who had already migrated to the UK and owned a construction company, sent (GB, M1) an invitation. In 1991, after obtaining the tourist visa, he left Romania behind, for the UK. The first year of migration meant working as an unskilled construction worker. By the end of 1991, his friend decided to take his family and had relocated to Spain.

> (GB, M1): "I tried joining my friend in this business, but I didn't succeed. [...] Anyway, it didn't work out - he stayed here for a short time, and I didn't succeed doing much. And since then, I started surviving on my own."

Given his lack of English language proficiency at his arrival in the UK and lenient access for migrants on the labour market, at the advice of one client of the construction firm, he became a taxi driver in London city. Then, he started working as a taxi driver during night and held various casual jobs during day.

> (GB, M1): "I was the only Romanian, the first Romanian to be a taxi driver in London. […] I became a taxi driver because I was forced. I needed to work, to persevere. […] This gave me the possibility to find people, to learn where they spend their money, where they have fun, where they eat. A lot of the British, even the Romanians, after a glass of wine they start telling stories... and if you listen carefully, interestingly enough you find out so many things. But shortly after, I moved to another place and I started working the night shift. So, during day time, I had time to do something else as well."

In four years after the arrival, by 1995, (GB, M1) had already purchased an apartment in London, and soon after, applied for family reunification in the UK. In the same year, the participant started two businesses dealing with Romanian wine imports and tourism. Although the first venture only lasted 3 months, the travel agency has existed to this day (with him the managing director).

> (GB, M1): "I opened a travel agency. I found lots of clients who would come to London, and they would find themselves in need of accommodation, given that what they were promised didn't match their expectations. Hence, I managed to conquer a lot of clients. I knew lots of hotels, given that I had my taxi routes there, and at the same time, I would do hotel reservations. I would find good and cheap rooms. That's how I started doing the travel business."

In 1997, (GB, M1) applied and obtained the British citizenship. Later on, in 2005, he also established a taxi company, which for the following 5 years had represented his primary source of income. Starting with a single employee, namely himself, in 3 years time, the company not only managed to win various bids, but has grown to over 200 employees. Then, in 2011, he found another business opportunity, and opened a charcuterie factory.

(GB, M1): "Two years ago, I had a hobby for importing Romanian food products. In that period, I had in mind importing produce that would be efficient, profitable, higher value - no biscuits or chocolates. I thought of meat produce, Romanian charcuterie, smoked meats that would address the needs of Romanians living here. But exactly in that period came about the issue of Romania being accused of exporting horse meat to EU markets. Then, the majority of the British I knew, when telling them about my plan to import Romanian charcuterie, said 'I don't even want to hear about it, or eat any Romanian produce'. So, I was forced to change the plan. I bought the technology, the machines and a warehouse hall, and made it into a charcuterie factory. It was the first factory located 10 minutes away from Tower, and it's functioning to this day. It was a very good idea; I produce Transylvanian delicatessen with British meat. Shot two rabbits at once, by using British meat with Transylvanian spices and technology. Currently, we are distributing to 860 stores in London. Also, a lot of stores from outside London come to buy produce from us. Technologically, in this meat business - sausages, salamis - a meat replacement is used; however, we use 100% meat and spices. All functions well, it's sought after produce."

(GB, M1) mentioned that he "had a lot of success, but only through hard work." Given the migration motives and arrival period in the UK, the participant found a career in entrepreneurship. Whilst the taxi driver occupation offered him time to adapt and integrate in the British society, it was via own businesses, that he developed his career. For the last 15 years, he went from employment to entrepreneurship, from a single business to multiple businesses. Alike (AMM, W3), the Romanian background proved to be income generating in the UK if used in an intelligent way. Moreover, (GB, M1) in his multiple business ventures, he was a migrant employer who has always recruited Romanian migrants – especially as workers, either taxi drivers or factory staff. Interestingly, he has allocated all middle-management and administrative positions to British natives.

Annex 3.3: An IT specialist who arrived in the UK as a new labour market entry, in 2004

The trajectory of a Romanian migrant who chose to enter the labour market in the UK instead of Romania

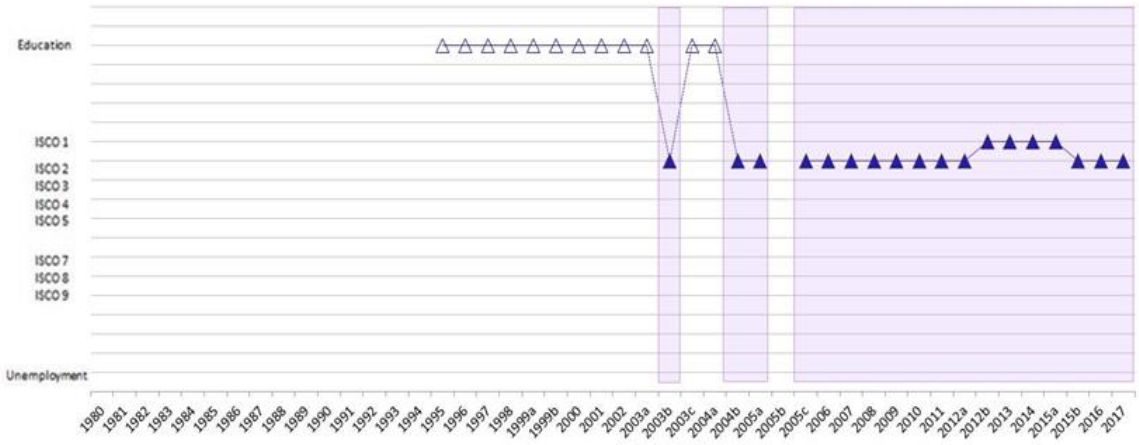
In the research sample, three participants share the type of trajectory that is presented in this section, namely (OI, W11), (GEO, W12), and (RED, M6) who is the subject here. All of them are migrants with limited pre-migration work experience, who soon after arrival start working in the UK. Also, they are young people (23-27 years of age), proficient in English language and with inclination towards professional careers (orientated towards a definite domain of activity).

In Romania, during the last year as IT undergraduate, (RED, M6) obtained a 3 months European Commission university scholarship / internship in Austria. After completing the internship in Austria, (RED, M6) returned to Romania, had graduated and enrolled for an IT master courses.

In Austria, he decided that he wanted to leave Romania in favour of "any country with more ambition." Even more so, given that his family work experiences - "I saw how my sister and father have been working …" - have represented the primary trigger to move abroad.

During the master's studentship, he applied to a European project, which brought him in 2004 to the UK, as an IT intern, at a company in Gloucestershire, for 8 months. In accordance with the Erasmus policy, he was obliged to return to the country of origin upon completion. So, (RED, M6) had returned for 2 months in Romania, obtained the master degree, after which he left for good in 2005 heading the UK. Starting with his first arrival in the UK, he testified: "I acted as if I was born here". His adamant decision of being like a native proved successful, by the end of 2004 he was offered a full-time permanent contract in the UK (at the company where he had the internship)

Annex 3. Figure 3: The educational and occupational trajectory during lifetime of a migrant for social mobility purposes - (RED, M6), Romanian at his arrival in the UK, in 2004



Period in employment or unemployment
Period in formal education with degree/certificate
Period in formal education without degree/certificate
Period of overlap between two jobs or two courses

Notes:

The space marked in light grey shows the periods of international migration from Romania to the UK (for all participants) or in other countries, in the cases of: (MEC, W2) in the USA, (ML, M5) in Cyprus, (RED, M6) in Austria and (GA, M9) in Italy.

For data comparability reasons, the occupational trajectories take the year 1980 as starting point, because it represents the year of the oldest first job during lifetime in the research sample (namely, the case of (GB, M1)).

The educational trajectories have as starting point the age (14 or 15 years) at which the participants started high school or vocational school. In Romania, the age of 16 years old represents the legal working age.

(RED, M6) had kept his first job (both during lifetime and in the UK), as an IT professional, for the next 5 years. After the first two years, between 2007 and 2009, his employment type switched from full-time to part-time, as a means to divide between work and in-company informal training. In 2009, for career advancement purposes, (RED, M6) moved to a different company, also as an IT professional. In the period 2012-2015, he opened an IT business along with two other associates, which implied working irregular and long hours.

During this period, major life changes were happening, as in 2013 he got married and became a father. After 9 years of permanent residence in the UK, in the same year, he applied and obtained the British citizenship.

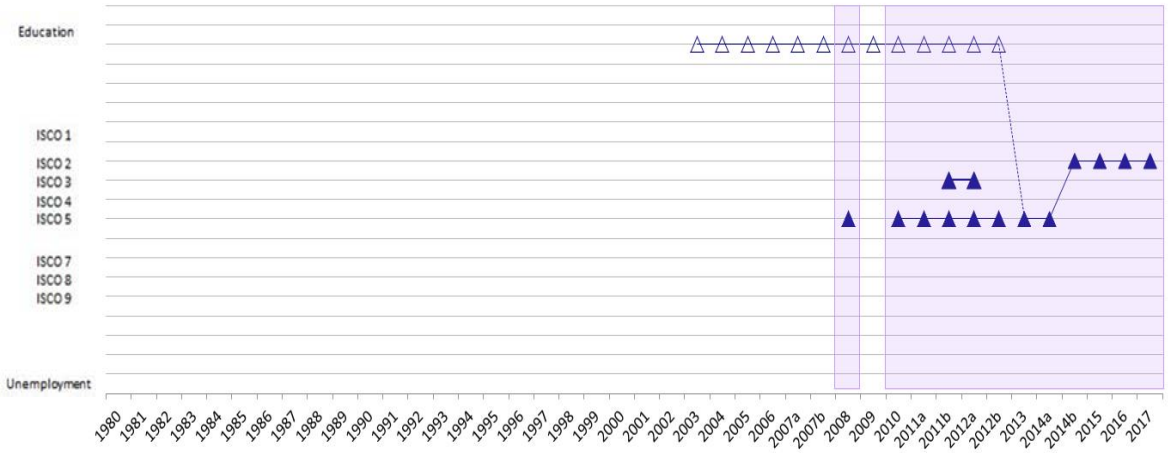
Despite all these positive life transitions, by 2015 (after three years as an IT business entrepreneur) given the lack of financial investments (economic stagnant period) and family responsibilities (child care), he returned to the position of employee at the UKAS. (RED, M6) sounded satisfied to have this job as: 1) it has functioned on a fix work schedule (9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) and free weekend, which has allowed family time and 2) it has offered similar income to the one he earned as an IT entrepreneur. Simply, the job as public employee has presented less responsibility and no significant cutbacks on the earnings.

Annex 3.4: A TV producer who migrated in the UK for educational purposes, in 2010

In the research sample, four participants share the type of trajectory that is presented in this section, namely (AMR, W1), (ILS, W4), (AD, M4), and (MEC, W2) who is the subject here. All of them are migrants who immediately or shortly after arrival began formal higher education in the UK. Also, these participants present limited pre-migration work experience. This category contains young individuals (18-23 years of age), originally from the Romanian middle or high social class, with good English proficiency.

After completing high school, in 2007, (MEC, W2) followed her passion and she enrolled at a TV production faculty in Romania. During studentship years, she became frustrated due to the teaching irregularities and inconsistencies found at the faculty, and she decided to try out other options. Thus, she enrolled in parallel at the law faculty.

Annex 3. Figure 4: The educational and occupational trajectory during lifetime of a Romanian migrant in the UK for educational purposes, arrived in 2010 - (MEC, W2)



Period in employment or unemployment
Period in formal education with degree/certificate
Period in formal education without degree/certificate
Period of overlap between two jobs or two courses

Notes:

The space marked in light grey shows the periods of international migration from Romania to the UK (for all participants) or in other countries, in the cases of: (MEC, W2) in the USA, (ML, M5) in Cyprus, (RED, M6) in Austria and (GA, M9) in Italy.

For data comparability reasons, the occupational trajectories take the year 1980 as starting point, because it represents the year of the oldest first job during lifetime in the research sample (namely, the case of (GB, M1)).

The educational trajectories have as starting point the age (14 or 15 years) at which the participants started high school or vocational school. In Romania, the age of 16 years old represents the legal working age.

In 2008, during her first year as a law student, (MEC, W2) experienced the first international migration trip with a student work and travel program (Romania – USA), which granted temporary work visa for any Romanian student (a maximum 3 months).

> (MEC, W2): "I wanted to leave the country, to go abroad. To see how it is to live in another place for a while. Plus, the majority of my older friends had had already went to the USA with this program and had a great time. So, I thought I should go."

While in the USA, the participant worked as a bartender / waitress. She only worked the night shift, 1 p.m. to 3-4 a.m. Despite their offer to extend the visa, due a love relationship, she decided to return to Romania. Shortly after her return from the USA, that love relationship ended.

> (MEC, W2): "I came back, foolishly, to Romania because I was in love. I returned because of love. I had the chance to remain in the USA for study. But I didn't, because I was in love, and it was my first love - thinking I had caught God by the leg, that the world begins and ends with that person."

She had continued with the studies in tandem, the TV production and law courses. During the first year of law, she had become aware of the commitments and sometimes, the uncomfortable situations which are encountered as a law person. This has represented a turning point in her life, as she decided to stop studying law and to focus on TV production, but outside Romania. Consequently, in 2010 she obtained a transfer as a student in TV production, in the UK, in Southampton.

> (MEC, W2): "I realised that regardless of whether you become an attorney or a prosecutor, in some way, you are still forced to make compromises with your consciousness. So, I am not the person for this job. Plus, I realised that I don't want to live in Romania, and the law degree would have tied me to the country, it would have been useless anywhere else. So, I left Romania."

Concomitantly, sometime in 2010, she found work as waitress. For the next four years (MEC, W2) had worked as a waitress in various restaurants. As a requirement of her degree, she got an unpaid internship as technician, at a TV production company, located in London. For the duration of the internship, she had commuted on a daily basis to London, at her own expense, Monday to Friday. (MEC, W2) had decided long time ago that she had wanted a career in TV producing, and such she accepted volunteer work at one of the local TV channels.

> (MEC, W2): "From 2010 to 2014 my main source of income was from waitressing. During studentship and the following 2 years, I managed to gain sufficient experience to get a job in media. [...] There were years when I

> volunteered working on various short movies, video clips, documentaries. […] Did an internship at *** channel for very few monies or nothing, just so I can meet people and gain experience - to have something on my CV in TV production."

As a student, she worked as a waitress only in the weekends, usually accepting double shifts, from noon to 11 p.m. During the last academic year, while waitressing, she also commuted to London for the internship and completed all the other academic requirements in order to graduate. Due to exhaustion, whilst living temporary at one of work colleague's place in London, she managed to break a leg.

> (MEC, W2): "After a few months of working non-stop, a colleague from *** channel took pity on me. He said he was going for to USA for 3 weeks, to visit his sister, and gave me his house key. 'I'm living on *** street, go stay at my place for 3 weeks, stop doing this crazy commute.' First night, I got at the apartment; it was February, the coldest night in England in the past 30 years. I didn't know how to turn on the heating, there was this tricky button which needed to be placed in a certain position in to turn it on. I fell asleep reading a book, woke up at 3AM. I got out of bed to turn off the light. Think there were -5 degrees Celsius in the house. So, I jumped out of bed, one of my legs was numb, and without realising I broke my leg on the first night."

After graduating in 2012, (MEC, W2) decided to move to London, the TV production hub in the UK. However, even after relocating to London, she continued waitressing. She had transferred jobs, given that at the time of the move she was an employee of a chain restaurant. The main reasons for why she chose to keep changing the waitressing jobs regard aspects specific for the service industry, such as poor management; nationality or gender discrimination; 'tip practices' (as in some restaurants, all tips are handed over to the manager / owner). (MEC, W2) took the opportunity to move to London, as a fresh start, a place where she could have gotten a career and possibly, life would got better. Although she volunteered for various small TV production projects, none of her efforts seemed to pay off. Moreover, she was no longer a part-time student waitress, but a full-time migrant graduate waitressing in London. In 2014, the change

from a chain restaurant to a high-end, posh cocktail bar waitress job, further depressed her.

Still in 2014, (MEC, W2) has found a partner. They met online, and to their surprise, it was only during the first face-to-face meeting when they realised that both are Romanians. Up to that point, their discussions were only in English language. Around the same time, her career took a turn – a break-through. The manager of the TV station, where she had her internship, called her and offered her a job.

> (MEC, W2): "I met my current boss when I was doing the internship for *** channel. That was still in the period when I wasn't living in London, and I would commute. I would pay £370 for the rail pass, and channel would give me £5 per day for lunch and tube pass, which was at that time £22. And then [after the health accident] I started working more in Southampton, because they needed someone there. But my boss, who at that time was the head of the news department, was extremely impressed by my power to sacrifice and by the fact that, Monday to Friday I would commute, spend a lot of money, while Saturday and Sunday I work long shifts in a restaurant. He said that anyone who had the will to do something like this has the will to do way more. He told me that I would be his first employee at his company - that he wasn't planning on sticking around much at *** channel. 2 years later, I get a call 'how are you? Did you find work?' And that's how I got my first job in TV production."

At the time of the interview, (MEC, W2) was celebrating the first year as a full-time TV producer in London. She was living with her partner and they were considering marriage. They were also considering applying for the British citizenship.

> (MEC, W2): "My first shock, the most extraordinary thing, was that for the first time in 5 years the UK; I knew what it meant to have a weekend off. For 5 years, I never had weekends, unless I was in Romania for holidays or on some trip. For me, to stay at home on Saturday and Sunday, was 'OMG, how is this even possible?!' And I discovered how it is to have job for which you were trained and a job which you actually like."

Despite the upward mobility, shifting from a service worker (waitress) to a professional occupation was associated with a decline in earnings, but “the satisfaction I have is 1000 times more." Being a waitress for half a decade, left a deep mark and consequently, shaped determination to succeed in having a career rather than an occupation.

> (MEC, W2): "In all these years of service work, I must admit that the entire time I felt embarrassed to tell anyone about the work that I do. Not necessarily because I felt shameful about the work itself, but because I was dissatisfied with myself - considering how much money my parents had invested in me, in my education and preparation for maths, physics and English. All for what?! The girls in my grandmother's village finish high school and come here, barely knowing English, and they work as waitresses. Never mind the fact that we live in a society with lots of stereotypes. For many of my clients at the restaurant, I was the Eastern European girl who doesn't have much education and came to this country to serve, clean toilets, take care of their off-springs. And eventually, marry a bloke who works in constructions, have 3 kids, stay at home and go for benefits, get a flat through city council and that's it. I came here to abuse their social system. […] in London, I landed in a collective where waitressing was the main occupation. There were people who were 40-50 years old and they were waitressing […] I cannot imagine the possibility of telling my children that I work as a waitress, when in my 40s or 50s. To tell them 'yes, your mother was a waitress when she was young. Oh my God, what times', yes. But not, when I’m in my 40s."

Just after she moved to London, (MEC, W2) experienced important life changes. She was no longer single and no longer career-less. Income or money was no longer a priority, given that a career implies the desired lifestyle. Moreover, as her lifestyle changed, so did her socialising pattern and interest. She became pragmatic, attending various professional gatherings, either British or migrant events, in order to expand her professional network.