

# London's changing migrant division of labour

April 2008

Jane Wills, Jon May, Kavita Datta, Yara Evans, Joanna Herbert  
and Cathy McIlwaine

Department of Geography  
Queen Mary, University of London, Mile End, London E1 4NS

ISBN: 0 90238 60 4



Queen Mary  
University of London



## **London's changing migrant division of labour**

Jane Wills, May, Jon, Kavita Datta, Yara Evans, Joanna Herbert and Cathy McIlwaine  
Department of Geography and The City Centre, Queen Mary, University of London, Mile  
End Road, London E1 4NS

April 2008

### **ABSTRACT**

This paper is located in the maelstrom of debate about immigration and employment in the contemporary economy. Drawing on original data collected in and on London, UK, the paper further develops the concept of the Migrant Division of Labour (May et al., 2007). The paper presents original analysis of data from the Labour Force Survey and a workplace case study in the cleaning sector to highlight growing employer dependence on a very diverse pool of foreign-born labour. The paper then goes on to explain such dependency by drawing on interview material collected from employers, employers' associations, community organisations and policy makers. Developing a set of arguments from the wider literature, the paper suggests that London's Migrant Division of Labour is a product of the semi-autonomous actions taken by employers, workers and Government in the particular context of London. Understanding the Migrant Division of Labour thus needs to encompass employer demand, migrants' 'dual frame of reference' and limited access to benefits, as well as employers' preference for foreign-born workers over 'native' labour supply. The state is also argued to play a critical role in this employment, determining the nature and terms of immigration, the accessibility and levels of benefits, and employment regulation. In sum, the paper argues that the nature of immigration, and particularly its impact on an individual's employment status and ability to find work and/or claim benefits has a very significant impact on labour market position. London's MDL is shown to intersect with, and in some cases overturn, existing patterns of labour market segmentation on the basis of human capital (class), ethnicity and gender.

### **KEYWORDS**

MIGRANT DIVISION OF LABOUR; MIGRANT LABOUR; IMMIGRATION; LOW PAID WORK; GLOBAL CITY LABOUR MARKETS; THE HIRING QUEUE; LONDON

### **Introduction**

Migrant workers are caught in the cross-fire of contemporary capitalism. On the one hand, advanced capitalist economies can't live without devouring the rich resources of cheap labour located in, and coming from, the poorer parts of the world. On the other, (so called) advanced capitalist polities find it hard to deal with the consequences of living with strangers. Politically at least, foreigners are best and most easily exploited abroad.

This poses acute political-economic dilemmas for Government in countries like the UK. At a time when the global economy depends on the competitive advantage that results from supplies of both skilled and low waged labour, it is impossible to promote economic success without the planned and unplanned movement of people. Indeed, immigrant workers are essential for prosperity by providing knowledge, skills, an anti-inflationary labour supply and new job creation, but such people also have needs, they acquire rights and they can upset the sense of entitlement and belonging of those who already reside. As a result, immigration – and low waged non-European immigration in particular – can all too easily become a moral panic (Hiebert and Ley, 2006, Hollifield, 1992, 2004; Zolberg, 1999). There is now increased public concern about immigration right across Europe, and parties and issues that were once at the ‘fringe’ of debate are becoming mainstream (Balibar, 2002).

In the UK, immigration has shot up the list of voter concerns. In February 2008, an opinion poll indicated that more than 40% of the British electorate felt that race relations and immigration were their top concern (IPSOS MORI, 2008). Following such pronouncements, the British Government have executed new measures to exclude, control and expel those immigrants that are perceived to be the real threat – the non-European, the non-white and those who arrive without the papers to work. The British Government are squaring the circle of immigration policy by simultaneously opening the nation’s borders to white Europeans from the east of the continent while slamming them shut to those who are classed as unskilled from anywhere beyond the European Union (EU). At a time when there is no lessening of employer thirst for foreign-born labour, the Government has chosen to source the low cost labour that is required from closer to home.

In Britain at least, we are living through a period of unprecedented activity in relation to immigration. On the one hand there are strong pressures increasing supply including European enlargement, the political instability associated with the end of the Cold War and the international ‘War on Terror’ as well as rising global inequality. On the other, the British Government has sought to ‘manage’ migration in the interests of the economy. In

the last decade the Labour Government has passed five parliamentary Acts that seek to ‘manage’ migrant labour supply (Somerville, 2007). In brief, these measures are designed to institute a hierarchy of immigrant labour, easing access for the highly skilled while closing national borders to those classed as ‘unskilled’ from outside the EU. In addition, the armoury of the state is now focused on increasing control and surveillance over those who are already in the country, and there are new measures to limit access to humanitarian assistance and prevent those without papers from accessing welfare and work.

Although research into the relationships between immigration and employment was in vogue in British social science during the 1970s, it has since rather slipped off the agenda. Over the past twenty years scholarship in the UK has tended to focus on labour market segmentation by human capital, ethnicity and gender (and for recent examples see Dale et al, 2002; Lloyd Evans and Bowlby, 2000), while also tending to prioritise questions of ‘race,’ culture, identity and community (and for some of this work in geography, see Keith, 2005; Peach, 1996, 2006; Smith, 1989), rather than the nature and impact of immigration itself. Here we suggest that it is timely to revisit this literature and re-integrate research on immigration with studies of urban labour markets. There is now a growing body of new research in this field and particular strengths include econometric research to explore the relationships between immigration and labour market success (Bell, 1997; Dustmann and Fabbri, 2005; Schmitt and Wadsworth, 2007; Wheatley-Price, 2001); research into developments in particular sectors of the economy (for agriculture see Rogaly, 2006; McKay and Winkleman-Gleed, 2005; hospitality see Batnitzky et al, 2008; Matthews and Ruhs, 2007; McDowell et al, 2007; Wright and Pollert, 2006; nursing and care see Anderson, 2007; Cox and Watt, 2002); research on the experiences of particular national groups (McGregor, 2007; Vasta and Kandilige, 2007); and a focus on particular categories of immigrant (Beverstock, 2004; Black et al., 2005; Raghuram, 2004; Raghuram and Kofman, 2004). While this research provides invaluable insight into emerging patterns for particular occupational categories and/or particular groups, we use the concept of the Migrant Division of Labour (MDL) to integrate this work into a broader analytical framework to understand change at the urban scale. We deploy the

notion of the MDL to capture multi-scaled developments as they appear at the level of the conurbation, and in our case, in London.

Our research has sought to develop an urban-level analysis that encompasses quantitative and qualitative data covering a number of low-paid occupations (care, construction, cleaning, food processing and hospitality) alongside interviews with representatives from particular communities as well as policy makers and analysts. The data that is presented here is part of a wider project that looks at the role, experiences and implications of migrant workers in low paid employment in London (see Datta et al, 2007a, 2007b; Evans et al., 2007; Herbert, 2008; May et al., 2007). Here we further develop the concept of the MDL to conceptualise the relationship between immigration and employment at the ‘bottom end’ of the economy in London. We use the concept to highlight the increased role of migrant workers in low paid employment in London whilst also attending to ongoing change associated with government policy and employer preferences, as well as new labour supply. While immigration status and circumstances are argued to be critically important in determining patterns of labour market segmentation, these processes operate in different ways for different groups of workers, in some cases reinforcing existing patterns of gender and ethnic segmentation, and in others, overturning established trends.

To make our case we draw on new analysis of the Labour Force Survey (LFS) that shows a dramatic increase in the proportion of migrant workers in low paid occupations in London since the mid 1990s. We also include data collected from one cleaning contract that highlights the super-diversity of this workforce, the importance of immigration status and circumstances and the ways in which this labour force both reinforces and overturns existing norms in relation to class, gender and ethnicity. Both sets of data highlight employers’ growing dependence on migrant labour and the workplace case study illustrates the increased diversity of labour supply. The paper then goes on to explore these dynamic trends in further depth by drawing on material collected from interviews with employers, employer representatives, community organisations and policy makers.

Before outlining this data, however, the paper goes back to core concepts. We review the existing literature in order to develop a holistic approach to the MDL. Most particularly, and responding to earlier critiques of research in this field, any conceptualisation has to incorporate multiple actors, each embroiled in a different set of dynamics that combine to create a dynamic MDL in the city. Such actors include the state, employers, migrants, migrant communities, the resident population, home governments and various political organisations. Here we build on our earlier introduction of the MDL (see May et al., 2007), to focus on the important roles played by employers and migrants in the context of changing Government policy. Most obviously, we argue that strong employer demand for a cheap and reliable labour supply is critical in explaining the MDL. However, we augment this position by highlighting the extent to which any migrant labour supply itself depends on a ‘dual frame of reference’ as workers locate their wage earning potential in relation to their situation ‘at home’ and in the UK. Just as it does for ‘natives,’ access to benefits makes a significant difference to the deliberations made by foreign-born workers living in the UK. In addition, it is important to recognise the extent to which employers have choices about whom to employ. When the costs of recruitment need to be kept to a minimum due to low margins and/or high labour turnover, employers tend to adopt stereotypical racial and/or national short-hand to find the workers they want. The emergent ‘hiring queue’ means that some migrants are more popular than others, and some will be employed ahead of any ‘natives’ who are also looking for work (Model, 2002; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003).

In sum, the paper argues that it is impossible to understand changes in the labour market in a global city like London – and by extension elsewhere as well – without a holistic approach that attends to the semi-autonomous roles played by employers, migrants and the state. We use the concept of the MDL to try and capture this broad set of processes and their outcomes in the urban labour market. In what follows we flesh out what we already know about the intersection of immigration and the labour market before putting this to work in relation to new research data that documents London’s changing MDL.

## **Migrant Divisions of Labour**

### ***The back story in the UK***

Established theoretical analyses of the intersections between immigration and the labour market were largely developed in the context of rising post-war immigration. Labour shortages after the Second World War meant that countries like Britain needed to attract workers to fill shortages in the labour market, and in tandem with the development of guest worker schemes in many European nations, the British government endorsed limited recruitment from beyond the UK (Winder, 2004). As might be expected, job vacancies tended to be at the bottom of the labour market in the most dangerous, dirty and disadvantaged occupations. While ‘natives’ were able to secure better forms of employment, immigrants arrived to fill the ‘bottom end’ jobs as demonstrated by the concentration of African-Caribbean workers in the National Health Service and London Transport, and Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi workers in manufacturing jobs (Castles and Koscak, 1973; Hollifield, 2004; Jackson, 1992; Miles, 1982; Ryan, 2005).

This situation prompted scholars to focus on employer demand as a key determinant of immigration. At a time when Marxist ideas were widely adopted in the social sciences, scholars argued that immigration was functional to capitalism, that it was driven by employer demand for cheap and pliable labour, and dependent upon surplus populations or ‘reserve armies’ in the ex-colonial world. In addition, the extent to which the state opened its borders was itself argued to be dependent upon the nature of the class compromise between capital and labour within any particular state. While a well organised ‘native’ working class might be able to defend its terms and conditions of work by keeping immigrants out, a weak working class could do little to influence state level change and reform (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Hjarnø, 2003; Miles and Brown, 1989; Miles 1988).

In one of the most sophisticated and well-known development of the arguments from this period, Piore (1979) posited that there was an inherent role for immigrant labour in advanced capitalist economies. He argued that labour-dependent employers in tight labour markets with limited margins could not simply increase wage levels to attract

natives into the work. Most obviously, such increases might put firms out of business, but he also argued that structural inflation led to significant knock-on effects elsewhere in the employment hierarchy. Raising wages at the bottom would mean demand for wage rises elsewhere and although this is somewhat questionable after the experience of implementing minimum wage legislation in the UK (see Wills, 2004), there is never a strong appetite for increasing wages for these kinds of jobs.

In addition, however, Piore also argued that employers needed to find workers with the motivation to work. Immigrants fitted this bill as they often arrived with poor language skills, low levels of education with few alternative sources of work. As Piore suggested, it was no surprise that such immigrants were overwhelmingly concentrated in dirty, dangerous and difficult jobs:

The jobs tend to be unskilled, generally but not always low paying, and to carry or connote inferior social status; they often involve hard or unpleasant working conditions and considerable insecurity; they seldom offer chances for advancement toward better-paying, more attractive job opportunities; they are usually performed in an unstructured work environment and involve an informal, highly personalistic relationship between a supervisor and subordinate. (1979, 17)

Immigrants were recruited in the wake of the ‘natives’ who were moving out of such jobs. Moreover, immigrants were argued to be then further confined by racism and wider socio-economic disadvantage to remain in ‘bottom end’ jobs.

This literature complemented ongoing work that highlighted the development and reproduction of segmented labour markets in relation to ethnic and gender divisions (Edwards et al., 1975; Peck, 1996). Researchers were exploring the processes by which certain kinds of workers ended up with similar others, sometimes regardless of skill levels, education and training. In what became known as the segmented labour market approach, scholars highlighted the nature of discrimination and differentiated labour supply that co-constitutes segmentation at work (Leontaridi, 1998). As argued by a later generation of geographers, such processes are also shaped by the state, which impacts on labour demand and supply, as well as the particular locality in which work takes place. Place is argued to play a key role in determining the strength of employer demand, the

nature of accumulated labour supply, inherited gender and ethnic divisions of labour, patterns of in and out migration, differentiated incentives, cultures and politics of employment (Hanson and Pratt, 1995; McDowell and Massey, 1984; Martin, Sunley and Wills, 1996; Peck, 1996, 1989).

Thus in London, the emergent MDL can be read as a particular product of the historical geography of the city's political-economy. As has been widely documented, London has experienced dramatic economic restructuring over the past thirty years. In tandem with neo-liberal policy developments that have facilitated globalisation, privatisation and contracting out, London's labour market has become increasingly polarised with a rapidly growing professional class at the top, a smaller increase in 'bottom end' service employment and a shake out of the jobs in the middle (see Buck and Gordon, 2000; May et al., 2007; Kaplanis, 2007; Sassen, 2001). Levels of unemployment have remained stubbornly high as Londoners have been displaced from jobs in manufacturing and as deflationary processes have de-valued many working class jobs making them less attractive than they were in the past. As a result, employers have struggled to recruit workers into low waged jobs like catering, cleaning, hospitality and food processing over the past twenty years. As happened in the 1970s and despite official Government policy to restrict 'unskilled' and non-European immigration, growing numbers of migrant workers – many of them from outside the EU - arrived to take up these jobs.

While they did so, academic researchers were largely looking elsewhere. By the late 1980s, notions of the reserve army of labour, the primacy of employer demand and the class-contract were widely critiqued as products of an increasingly discredited Marxist approach. As Marxism went out of vogue, researchers tended to focus on the experiences of racialised communities of people who were already in the UK (Gilroy, 1987; Hall, 1991). While a strong thread of research remained focused on the experiences of black and minority ethnic workers in the labour market, this analysis tended to focus on ethnicity and discrimination rather than immigration *per se* (see Daniel, 1968; Smith, 1977; Brown, 1984; and for more recent analysis in this tradition see Jones, 1993; Modood et al., 1997; Virdee, 2006).

In contrast, research into the intersection of immigration and the labour market remained buoyant in North America during this period. Spurred on by rising levels of immigration in the US and Canada, a group of researchers responded to the critiques made of the Marxist-inspired work of the 1970s, and have since explored the agency of migrant workers (Guarnizo, 2003; Massey et al, 1998; Theodore et al, 2006); the complexity of employer demand and the operation of hiring queues (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003); and the more complex role of the state (Freeman, 1995; Hollifield, 2004; Nevins, 2002; Zolberg, 1999). Rather than viewing migrant labour as a tool of capital, this body of scholarship has highlighted tensions between and within different arms of the state, explored the complex motivations of employers and unpacked the relative autonomy of the workers themselves. From the point of view of contemporary developments in London, this research is particularly important in relation to better capturing the motivations of migrant workers and employers in the context of the changing role of the state.

### ***Migrant labour supply, demand and the state***

In their explanation of migrant divisions of labour in Los Angeles, Waldinger and Lichter (2003) introduce the notion of the 'dual frame of reference' through which migrants view the labour market in their new destination. With one eye on the labour market 'back home,' migrants can clearly earn much greater sums of money in their new home. Moreover, with their other eye on the labour market in their new home, migrant workers often have very limited choices about their means of support. It is often difficult to find employment and without access to the benefit system, migrant workers are often forced to work for relatively low rates of pay.

Geographical displacement thus makes migrants a particularly valuable source of labour supply. As Waldinger and Lichter (2003, 179) suggest in relation to their research in Los Angeles:

The foreign-born comprise the preferred labor force, but not because employers have suddenly developed a soft spot for immigrants, immigration or the broader cultural or

social changes wrought by large-scale immigration. Rather employers perceive the newcomers as workers who assess the situation relative to the conditions and options encountered 'back home' ... [and] the immigrants' dual frame of reference puts America's low-wage sector in a remarkably favourable perspective.

Such findings are echoed on this side of the Atlantic as employers favourably report on their foreign-born workers as being particularly willing to work (Dench et al 2006). Indeed, much of this research suggests that employers are more inclined to employ migrants than any 'native' labour supply. The 'natives' who might be expected to work in low wage, low status work are often seen as too entitled, too disgruntled and generally uncommitted to work. In their research in Los Angeles, for example, Waldinger and Lichter (2003) found that some employers also preferred to employ foreigners as a way to 'distance' themselves from the moral economy of the labour being done. Whereas they might have balked at employing 'their own kind' to do dirty, dangerous and difficult work for very low rates of pay, it was easier to employ those who were coded as 'other.' While employers might find it personally difficult to "recruit someone whose personal status – for reasons of nativity, ethnicity, gender, age, or the like – does not fit with the job's, and who may therefore feel entitled to something better" (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003, 40), migrants were more easily placed in these jobs. In her research into the employment of au pairs in private households, Anderson (2007) also identified a particular moral economy which valued workers from poorer parts of the world. Even though parents were offering low rates of pay for important work, they found this more palatable by recoding the work as charity as well as employment.

Such findings suggest that employers employ migrants *because* they are migrants, with different qualities to the 'native' labour supply. Thus in London, despite high levels of unemployment over the past 20 years, a clear MDL has developed. London has the lowest rate of economic activity amongst the working age population of any region in the UK and it is clear that many potential workers are not attracted into work and/or are unsuited for the jobs that exist (HM Treasury, 2007). Moreover, official estimates suggest that there are as many as three low skilled workers for low skilled job in London (HM

Treasury, 2007, 52/3) and given such conditions of potential oversupply, employers can exercise considerable choice over who they employ.

In what has been called the 'hiring queue', employers at this end of the labour market tend to rely on a stereotyped and racialised hierarchy of desirability that they deploy when appointing new staff. Informed by wider gendered and racialised understandings of workers' suitability as well as their own experiences with current and previous staff, employers develop national and racialised stereotypes to determine the reliability of potential recruits. Stereotypes act as shorthand for deciding who to employ and as Model (2002, 85; see also Waldinger and Lichter, 2003) explains:

Queuing theorists believe that, as long as the supply lasts, employers will hire into the best jobs workers of the heritage that employers rank most desirable. As the supply of such workers declines and/or the job opportunities become less attractive, employers will consider applicants with less desirable ancestries. And they will hire members of the least desirable heritage only when the supply of more favourably ranked groups is exhausted.

In her multivariate data analysis of trends in London, New York and Toronto, Model (2002, 132) found a "relatively stable cross-national hierarchy of discrimination" which reflected established prejudices and stereotypes as well as the impact of employers' ethnicity and different streams of labour supply. Given the chance to employ them, employers' preferences in all three cities were for foreign-born whites, followed by African Indians and the Chinese. These workers were found to fare at least as well as native-born whites (especially men) in each geographic location. In contrast, however, employers would choose to employ Africans, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis only in the absence of the more highly ranked groups. And in the US, African-American men were found to be the least favoured group, selected only when there were no migrants left in the queue.

As employers compete for the most desirable workers, those with the least desirable jobs are likely to have less choice over who to employ. Hence in London, we would expect that the employers with the poorest paying and least desirable jobs would be dependent

upon the least desirable workers who have the fewest alternative sources of income and work. However, the volumes of potential workers looking for work will also play a big part in the changing MDL. In London, as elsewhere, changes in Government policy and the wider immigration regime have reconfigured the balance between different streams of labour supply. In our case, changes in the regulation of irregular migration and the decision to open the national borders to the wider EU have been particularly significant. And just as Peck (1989) argued in relation to the limits of the segmentation approach almost two decades ago, understanding changes in the MDL also takes us back to the critical role of the state.

At the present time, Governments are under considerable pressure to try and control their borders. In an effort to 'manage migration' in the interests of the economy while also securing the support of their electorate, Governments across Europe, North America and Australasia are pursuing an aggressive strategy of stratification in relation to their immigration regimes (Collins, 2006; Legrain, 2007). Emboldened by new biometric technologies, Governments are engaging in an international 'war for talent' at the same time as implementing an increasingly draconian 'war on the poor.' States are seeking to develop semi-permeable borders that will draw in the talented and wealthy and exclude most of the poor. As Hyndman (2005) and Sparke (2006) argue in relation to North America, and Balibar (2002; see also Bojad\_ijevev and Saint-Saëns, 2006; van Houtum and van Nearssen, 2002; Mezzadra, 2005) demonstrates in relation to Europe, borders are becoming an important site of class struggle and conflict.

Through successive pieces of new legislation, Britain is becoming more illiberal in regard to humanitarian assistance and immigration control covering those from the poorest parts of the world. It is becoming harder to cross borders and those illegal or irregular populations that are already present are being subject to destitution, detention and deportation at the hands of the state (for the situation in France see Iskander, 2007). In the UK, new legislation has reduced access to the asylum system (see Bloch and Schuster, 2005; Phillimore and Goodson, 2006) and stopped all 'unskilled' immigration from outside the EU. The Home Office is implementing biometric identity cards to better

control foreign nationals and is simultaneously stepping up workplace enforcement. In this context, individuals who don't have secure legal status will be forced to obtain false papers or be increasingly confined to the informal economy to survive (see also Black et al., 2005; Herbert et al., 2008).

As elsewhere, the British Government has sought to 'manage migration' in the interests of the economy with: "borders that are open to those who bring skills, talent, business and creativity that boost our economy, yet closed to those who might cause us harm or seek to enter illegally" (Home Office and Commonwealth Office, 2007, 2). In a new points-based system that is similar to that already operating in Australia (see Table 1), only workers at the top of this hierarchy who arrive as highly skilled migrants (in Tier 1) have full rights to the labour market and the benefit system. Those who are granted access to work for a particular employer in an identified shortage sector (that is only possible in relation to relatively skilled occupations) with a requisite level of English language skills (in Tier 2) have no rights to the benefit system although they do have the right to apply for citizenship after five years in the UK. At the same time, the Government along with Ireland and Sweden has opened the national economy to labour migrants from *within* the EU. From May 2004 potential workers from the ten EU member states of Cyprus, Malta, Estonia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia (the latter eight eastern European countries being known as the Accession 8 or A8) have been able to live and work in the UK. After twelve months registration on the Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) these workers are also able to access state benefits and have provided an important supply of low waged, low status workers to the UK (see Anderson et al., 2006; Blanchflower et al, 2007; Gilpin et al., 2006; Portes and French, 2005; Ruhs, 2006; Stenning et al., 2006). Data from the WRS indicate that more than half a million workers have registered since 2004 and although there is no requirement to de-register when leaving the country, some commentators estimate that there are now more than 1 million eastern Europeans living and working in the UK (Anderson et al., 2006).

**Table 1: The UK's points-based system**

	Description	Terms of entry
Tier 1	Highly skilled individuals to contribute to growth and productivity	Based on qualifications, previous earnings, age and other criteria. Granted unrestricted access to the labour market and benefits for 2 years with dependants. Extension and settlement can follow reassessment.
Tier 2	Skilled workers with a job offer to fill gaps in the UK labour force	Job offer in shortage area or where not displacing a UK/EU worker. Job must be at NVQ3 or above and have been advertised. Employers act as sponsor. The recruit has to meet English language requirements and can only change employer if they reapply for a new permit. If they meet the points demanded by Tier 1, they can subsequently bring dependants and secure unrestricted access to the labour market and benefit system. It is possible to apply for settlement after 5 years in the UK.
Tier 3	Limited numbers of low skilled workers needed to fill specific temporary labour shortages	Quota-based, operator-led, time-limited schemes will run subject to review involving countries with which the UK has a robust returns arrangement. Expected to include only migrants from the A2 (Bulgaria and Romania).
Tier 4	Students	Dependent upon sponsorship and granted only for the period of the course. Tighter controls over the institutions able to sponsor students. Can work 20 hours a week and full time in holidays.
Tier 5	Youth mobility and temporary workers: people allowed to work in the UK for a limited period of time to satisfy primarily non-economic objectives	Includes Commonwealth Working Holiday Makers scheme and Au Pairs. For 18-30 year olds for up to 24 months. Can work for 12 of the 24 months. No rights for dependants, no right to switch to a different Tier. Sponsorship required from national Governments with agreed returns policy and reciprocal relationships with the UK. Limited additional options for temporary workers in the creative and sporting sectors, for voluntary work, religious activities, international exchange and agreements.

Source: Home Office (2006)

Although many scholars argue that immigration policy is a catalogue of failure, characterised only by incompetence and unintended consequences (see Castles, 2004; Cornelius, 2005), the nature of the immigration regime clearly has a profound impact on labour supply. Whereas a relatively weak immigration and asylum system allowed significant numbers of people to arrive in London from poorer parts of the world during the 1980s and early 1990s, often working illegally, the new immigration regime is limiting this labour supply and making it more difficult for those irregular migrants who have already arrived. Moreover, in the context of new labour supply from eastern Europe, employers can reconfigure their hiring queues. Whereas they may have had little choice and few fears about employing illegal or semi-compliant workers in the past, mechanisms of state control and alternative labour supplies will help to re-figure these choices. It is likely that employers will opt for the unambiguously legal arrivals from eastern Europe over those from Africa and Latin America who have less obvious entitlement to work in the UK. As we will see below, the non-white migrants who have kept London working for the past 20 years are likely to be displaced by those from much closer to home.

### **London's Migrant Division of Labour**

#### ***Immigrant labour in low paid work: the big picture***

The size and significance of London's foreign-born population has increased dramatically over the last twenty years. In 1986, 18% of Londoners were born overseas (approximately 1.17 million people), and three-quarters of them came from the former colonies. By 2006, as many as 31% of London's population (2.23 million people) were immigrants, with just over half of them having their origins in the Commonwealth (LSE, 2007). While the number of immigrants has thus sharply increased during the past twenty years, there has also been a marked diversification in the geographical origins of new migrants in London (see also Kyambi, 2005). The Greater London Authority use statistical records to identify people from 179 different countries with up to 300 different languages spoken (Mackintosh, 2005). This reflects a profound shift in patterns of migration towards what Vertovec (2007) calls 'superdiversity.' Such diversification has occurred in the geography of migration flows, the channels through which migrants flow, skill levels, the longevity of relocation and local impact. These trends are in marked

contrast to the flows of people that migrated to the UK in the post-war period, who tended to take up relatively unskilled employment and had their origins in the ex-colonial world.

As might be expected, these increasingly diverse streams of migrants have had divergent fortunes in London’s labour market. The foreign born are over-represented in relation to the ‘native’ population at both ends of the employment spectrum. As indicated in Table 1, migrants from rich countries are over-represented in the top echelons of employment and those from poor (non-asylum countries) are over-represented in the poorest quality jobs (LSE, 2007). Indeed, almost half of all the migrants from poorer parts of the world who arrive outside the asylum system end up in the bottom quintile of the labour market during their first three years within the UK. These longitudinal data generated by researchers at the LSE (2007), indicate quite rapid mobility for this group once they have been resident for some time although data for the mid 2000s shows that as many as 44% of migrants from poor countries who have been in London for more than three years are still located in the bottom 40% of the labour market.

**Table 1: The distribution of migrant employment across higher and low paid job types in London, 2005-6**

<b>Origin</b>	<b>Years in the UK</b>	<b>Bottom quintile (&lt;£9 hr)</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> quintile (£9-£11.50 hr)</b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> quintile (£11.50-£15.80 hr)</b>	<b>4<sup>th</sup> quintile (£15.80-£20.80 hr)</b>	<b>Top quintile (&gt;£20.80 hr)</b>
<b>Non-migrants</b>	n/a	21%	20%	21%	19%	20%
<b>High wage</b>	0-3	18%	14%	12%	21%	35%
	>3	19%	15%	16%	22%	28%
<b>Asylum</b>	0-3	31%	24%	14%	13%	18%
	>3	23%	20%	14%	21%	22%
<b>Other low</b>	0-3	46%	20%	10%	14%	11%

<b>wage</b>						
	>3	25%	19%	16%	17%	22%

Source: LSE, 2007, 51

Note: The LSE researchers divide migrant workers into those from ‘high wage’ countries by which they mean the EU15, the Old Commonwealth, the US, Japan and Korea; ‘asylum’ countries by which they mean Albania, Bosnia, Croatia, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Macedonia, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe and two ‘other Yugoslavia’ and ‘other Middle East’ groups; and ‘other low wage’ countries which includes the rest of the world.

Such data as well as anecdotal observation in the city indicate that migrants from poorer parts of the world are making a significant contribution to London’s low wage economy. Official data sources for 2001 indicate that as many as 46% of those doing elementary jobs such as domestic work, cleaning, caretaking, refuse collecting and labouring were born overseas and the vast majority of these were migrants from poorer parts of the world (Spence, 2005). Official data also show that the hospitality sector is most dependent on foreign born staff, with rates well over 50% (Church and Frost, 2004; Matthews and Ruhs, 2007).

Our own analysis of the Labour Force Survey similarly indicates high and growing numbers of foreign-born workers in low paid occupations in London. Whereas the foreign-born proportion of total employment in the UK increased from just 7% in 1993/4 to 10% in 2004/5, rates in London for the same period increased from 25% to 34%. Furthermore, particular occupations in London had much greater – and increasing – dependence on foreign-born labour over this period. As indicated in Table 2 (see also Appendix 1), the proportion of foreign-born labour amongst chefs and cooks increased from 51% to 75%; amongst catering assistants from 42% to 62%; amongst cleaners from 41% to 69%; and amongst care assistants from 48% in 1999/00 to 56% in 2004/5. These data are displayed graphically in Figure 1, and they show an upward trajectory across each occupational group.

**Table 2: Total employment and the proportion of foreign-born labour, by occupation, London, 1993-4, 1999-00, 2001/2, 2004/5**

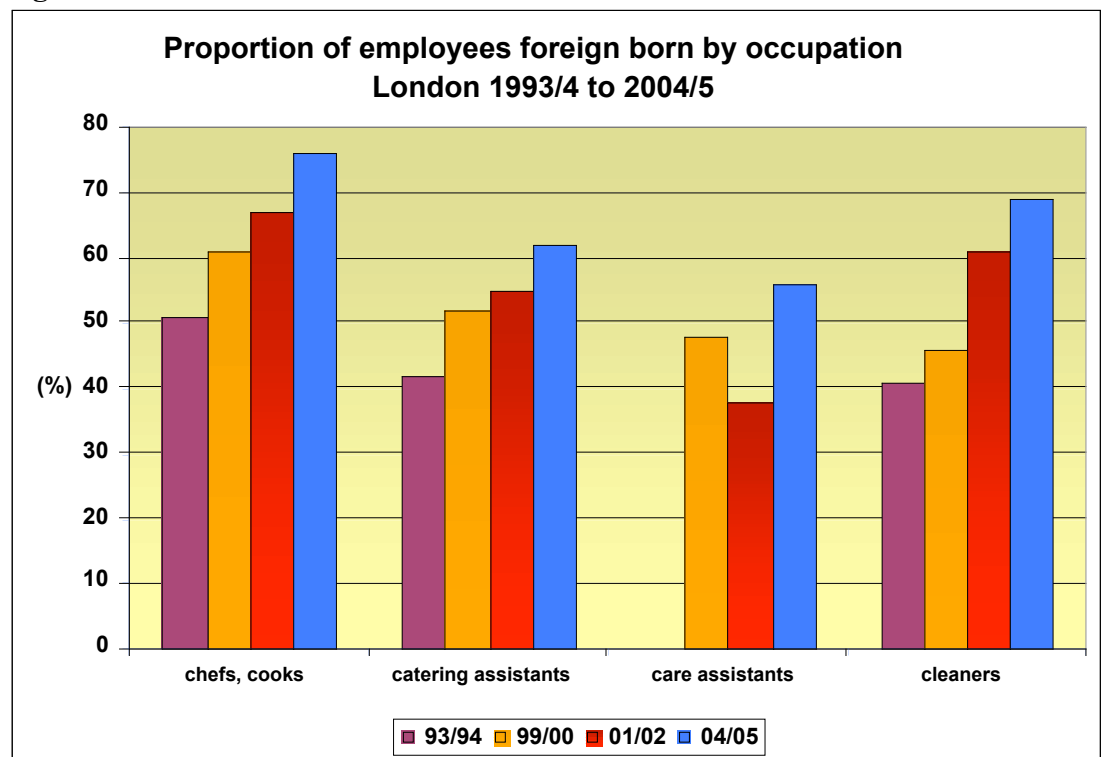
Occupation	1993/4 (000s)	% FB	1999/00 (000s)	%FB	2001/2 (000s)	% FB	2004/5 (000s)	%FB
<b>Chefs, Cooks</b>	29	51%	34	61%	31	67%	38	76%
<b>Catering assistants</b>	27	42%	25	52%	38	55%	39	62%
<b>Care assistants</b>	22	n/a	41	48%	36	38%	35	56%
<b>Cleaners</b>	64	41%	55	46%	52	61%	51	69%
<b>All London</b>	2894	25%	3262	27%	3349	30%	3375	34%
<b>UK</b>	24449	7%	26687	8%	27114	9%	27599	10%

Note: FB is foreign-born. The reclassification of occupational categories in 2000 means that the data for the two periods are not directly comparable.

See Appendix 1 for full details about the data and the analysis.

Source: Original analysis of the Labour Force Survey/Annual Population Survey,

**Figure 1**



Source: Labour Force Survey, London (1993/4 – 2004/5)

NB: The re-classification of occupational categories in 2000 means that the data for the two periods are not directly comparable

In addition, our own questionnaire survey conducted to explore the characteristics of employment and the workforce in the domiciliary care, cleaning, food processing and hospitality sectors in London in 2005 also found very high rates of dependency on foreign-born staff. Reflecting different entry requirements as well as the popularity of the work, this dependency was highest amongst those employed to clean the underground (95%) and lowest amongst those working in domiciliary care (56%). As might be expected, migrants were more concentrated in the least desirable jobs. The data also indicated that although the migrant labour force was very diverse, with employees coming from 60 different countries, black Africans were the lowest paid ethnic group, concentrated in cleaning jobs, forming the majority of workers on London's underground stations and trains (for further information and a full explanation, see Evans et al., 2005; May et al., 2007).

To further explore the evolving MDL in London's low paid economy, we also explored the changing nature of the workforce servicing one cleaning contract at Canary Wharf. As outlined in more detail in the following section, this research was designed to explore the reasons why migrants were employed in such numbers, their routes into employment, their experiences of work at 'home' and in the UK. The research also included the small number of British-born workers employed at the site and explored their employment histories as a further way to understand changes in this type of employment.

### ***The world in a workforce: contract cleaning at Canary Wharf***

The cleaning contract identified for this research project involved 105 cleaners together with a small number of managers and administrative staff. The research was conducted between September and December 2006 and involved three different kinds of enquiry. First, we conducted in-depth interviews lasting about an hour with four of the managers to get an overview of employment trends, their experiences of recruitment and management issues, and their prognosis for the long term. These interviews were recorded and transcribed and some of the comments made are reproduced in the next part of this paper below. Second, we were given mediated access to anonymised official

company records in order to establish the country of birth and immigration status of the 105 cleaners employed. Third, we also used a questionnaire as the basis for voluntary face-to-face interviews with workers during work time. These interviews lasted for anything between 30 and 70 minutes and were an opportunity to discuss workers' experiences, their previous work histories, their migration stories and their hopes and plans for the future. Having agreed not to record these encounters, detailed notes were taken in order to document the things that were said. While most of the interviews were conducted in English, despite the difficulties that this posed for a number of staff (particularly those from eastern Europe), most of the Spanish and Portuguese speaking staff were interviewed in their own language and notes were taken in English.

Participation was voluntary and although we stressed the independence of the research from the company, the client and the state, a considerable number of those working at night declined to take part. It is likely that previous experiences with immigration officials and/or fear about their own immigration status and right to remain in the country were the reasons why people declined. In total, fifty four interviews were conducted, covering 22 of the day staff (from 26) and almost half of the night staff (32 from 79). Contrary to expectations, almost half these workers were men. At the time of interviewing, almost all workers were paid £6.20 an hour with a 30p attendance bonus if they were present every day for two weeks. This was almost a pound above the National Minimum Wage (£5.35 an hour) but considerably less than the official London Living Wage (£7.05 an hour; see GLA, 2006). Supervisors were paid slightly more but there was no premium for working at night, no company sick pay, no company pension scheme and just minimal holiday entitlement of 20 paid days a year.

While this workplace and its workers were more closely regulated than many others in the contract cleaning sector, particularly as the client was very security conscious, insisting on double-checking the applications and paperwork of all the cleaners employed, we would argue that the research highlights trends that are pertinent across the low paid service sector in London. In relation to understanding London's migrant divisions of labour, the research findings here paralleled those collated from interviews

with employers and employer representatives across low paid sectors, some of which are further outlined below. In this case, as in many others, the cleaning contractor was completely reliant on migrant workers to get the job done.

As indicated in Table 3, our analysis of company records indicated that as many as 80% of the workforce were born overseas. Given that this contract is in the top tier of cleaning contracts in London, both in terms of pay and conditions, it is likely that this figure is replicated – and exceeded - elsewhere. Furthermore, while 20% of the workers were born in the UK, these individuals tended to be much older than the migrant workforce reflecting an upward trajectory in the numbers of foreign-born workers employed. Our interview data indicated that as many as a quarter of the foreign-born workers were aged between 18 and 34, and another third (35% or 14 people) were aged over 45. In contrast, only 2 of those born within the UK fell into the younger cohort and almost half of the British-born workers (6, or 46% of the British-born population) were aged over 45.

In addition, the research revealed a remarkable geographical diversity amongst this workforce. Despite expectations that employer preferences and the role of social networks might favour particular national groups, official company records indicated that workers came from as many as 28 countries outside the UK. While the map shown in Figure 2 illustrates the importance of clusters of workers from certain countries – and West Africa was particularly important with a considerable number of cleaners coming from Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone - as many as 14 cleaners were the sole representative of their national group. Individuals from countries as diverse as Algeria, Ecuador, Estonia and Uganda had found their way into this work.

**Table 3: Cleaners’ country of birth**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Numbers</b>		
		Jamaica	2
Algeria	1	Latvia	1
Angola	5	Lithuania	7
Bangladesh	5	Nigeria	10
Brazil	2	Philippines	1

Cameroon	2	Poland	1
Colombia	4	Portugal	3
Congo	3	Russia	1
Ecuador	1	Sierra Leone	4
Equatorial guinea	1	Spain	5
Estonia	1	Tanzania	1
France	1	Tunisia	1
Gambia	1	Uganda	1
Ghana	14	UK	20
Ivory coast	1	Zaire	2

Source: 105 anonymised records but please note that place of birth was not recorded for three members of staff

**Figure 2: Mapping cleaners' country of birth**



This geographical diversity was overlaid by great complexity in patterns of citizenship and immigration status. As shown in Table 4, the workforce were divided between those born in the UK and/or the European Union, thus having full rights to live and work in the UK; those born in the countries of an enlarged Europe who have the right to live and

work in the UK subject to complying with the Worker Registration Scheme; and those born outside Europe. Of this latter group, a considerable number had become British citizens or had secured citizenship in another European Union country before coming to live and work within the UK. However, the others were subject to a variety of different immigration controls. This group included those who had claimed asylum and been granted Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR), those married to students, those coming to join family members and one person on a working holiday visa. The research interviews further illuminated the complexity of the immigration system by reporting changes in people’s immigration status through marriage, the asylum system and/or having children in the UK.

**Table 4: Cleaners’ citizenship and immigration status**

<b>Place of birth</b>	<b>Visa/citizenship</b>	<b>No. of staff</b>
<b>Britain</b>	N/A	20
<b>Born in the EU</b>	Estonia (1), France (1), Latvia (1), Lithuania (7), Poland (1), Portugal (3), Spain (5)	19
<b>Outside the EU</b>	Obtained EU passport Angola – Portugal (3), Brazil – Portugal (1), Equatorial-Guinea-Spain (1), Nigeria-Netherlands (1), Sierra Leone – Netherlands (1), Gambia – Sweden (1), Tunisia-Sweden (1)	9
<b>Outside the EU</b>	British	23
	Family visa to join spouse	2
	Indefinite Leave to Remain	19
	Limited Leave to Remain	1
	Residence permit	4
	Right of residence	4
	Settlement visa	1
	Students’ Dependent visa	2
	Working holiday visa	1
<b>Total</b>		105

Source: analysis of 105 anonymised company records

Such data indicate that this company – like many others – is now reliant on foreign-born labour from a diversity of countries who take a variety of routes into the UK. Those at the ‘bottom end’ of the labour market are particularly likely to be confined by their immigration status and/or circumstances which when coupled with language difficulties and racial discrimination, helps to explain the relatively high numbers of migrants from outside the EU, many of them from Africa and Latin America. Moreover, the significant numbers of workers from Spain may also include some Latin Americans who are using Spanish passports to live and work illegally in the UK.

During our interviews we explored how and why workers had come to be employed in these jobs. A small group, many of whom were approaching retirement age, had been employed for a long time and/or felt they were too old to find other work, reporting that they were resigned to remain there for the future. This included most of the British-born interviewees and particularly the men who had ended up in cleaning in their last years of employment after being displaced from manufacturing and skilled trades in London (see also Buck and Gordon, 2000). However, this group also included a surprising number of longer-term migrants, many of whom had become British citizens with adult children living in the UK. Indeed, as many as 52% of the foreign-born respondents we interviewed had already been in the UK for between 5 and 15 years and we encountered a further eight workers who had been in the UK for more than 15 years. Although two of these had arrived as children having travelled with their parents from the Caribbean, the other six were in their fifties. These British citizens had been in the UK for most of their lives and while they had worked in other areas of the economy prior to getting their job at Canary Wharf, they felt they had few alternative sources of work and no appetite for the benefit system. The group included two women from Ghana who had arrived in the 1980s and were now in their fifties, one woman from Sierra Leone who had arrived to join her husband in 1969, a woman from Tanzania who arrived to visit her sister in 1987, a Somali refugee who was now in his fifties and a Colombian man who arrived on a work permit in 1979. In many ways, this group reflects wider patterns of ethnic segmentation that are experienced by many black and minority Britons and such workers

are already over-represented in low paid services and manufacturing work across the UK (Modood et al, 1997). However, the relatively high numbers of men is more unusual and highlights the extent to which immigration can alter employers' hiring queues. Without alternatives, men have applied for and been given cleaning, care and catering jobs (and for more on the reconfiguration of gender roles and relations with migration, see Datta et al., 2008).

As was more expected, our research also showed that cleaning provides a 'gateway' into work for new arrivals to the UK. In this regard, about half of the foreign-born staff interviewed in our research were relatively new to the UK. As many as a third of the those we interviewed had been in the UK for less than 5 years, and cleaning was argued to be a relatively easy sector in which to find work not least because personal contacts could often help people find work. The respondents for whom this was not their first job also tended to report that they preferred cleaning to the other work they had done. A number of migrant cleaners had previously worked in bread and sandwich making which they reported to be more difficult and very poorly paid. A number of others had also worked in hospitality and all of these respondents said that they preferred cleaning. Likewise, a woman who had worked as a school cleaner said: "school cleaning was more rushed and harder; this is a better job, I don't have to rush so much." In this respect, we found that workers were more motivated to work in cleaning owing to the relative improvement in their terms and conditions of work. Indeed, a considerable number reported that they particularly valued the quality of the local environment at Canary Wharf and the safety they felt in getting in-and-out of the workplace.

London's MDL crucially depends upon the rate of socio-economic mobility for migrants like those we encountered at Canary Wharf as well as the flow and characteristics of any new arrivals to London. Although cleaning is often seen as a 'gateway' job that provides a foothold for migrants to get started in the labour market in a new country, the managers we interviewed reported that very few workers left to take up higher status employment elsewhere. Moreover, as we have seen, many of the workers we interviewed had been in this kind of work for a very long time and few had any confidence that they would be

able to ‘move up’ in their employment. Even though some of the foreign-born workers were reasonably well qualified, this experience was not recognised within the UK. One woman had 22 years of primary school teaching experience in eastern Europe. Another had been a medical assistant in Latvia. One man had been a manager in a palm oil factory in Nigeria and one woman had accounting and data entry experience in the Philippines prior to coming to the UK. These workers had university level experience and/or vocational training in education, agricultural science and accounting. Three other workers had degrees, one in international relations (Angola), another in Computer Science (Nigeria) and another in political economy (Somalia). As many as 24% of the foreign-born respondents had some form of post-secondary education and despite being in the country for some time, they were still working in low paid employment in the UK (see Table 5). While a significant number did want to retrain, the need to pay for this education as well as the cost of living in London made this difficult to pursue.

**Table 5: Cleaners’ educational experience**

	<b>Number</b>	<b>% of foreign-born sample</b>
No official education	1	2
Primary	3	7
Lwr Secondary	13	32
Upp Secondary	14	34
Degree	5	12
Vocational	5	12
Total	41	100

Note: Respondents were asked about the highest level of education they had received

In addition, however, the research revealed growing numbers of workers from eastern Europe who had arrived in the past four or five years. This population was very different to those who had arrived from Africa or Latin America and who had travelled to Europe in search of employment, often claiming asylum or working illegally before regularising themselves. Given the arrival of new workers from eastern Europe and the increased penalties for employing those without the right papers to work, it is likely that the population from the global South will not be replaced on the same scale in future. While British-born workers are unlikely to increase their contribution to low paid work in the

capital, state policy is increasing the opportunity for new arrivals from eastern Europe as opposed to those from the global South.

In the final stage of our research, we sought to explore this changing MDL from the point of view of employers, community organisations, policy makers and political groups. Research interviews were conducted with four employers' associations – in the construction, cleaning, domiciliary care and hospitality industries - and seven employers in these sectors as well as food processing. In addition, we conducted interviews with representatives from seven migrant community groups including Brazilians, Congolese, Ghanaians, Nigerians, Poles and Latin Americans as well as 13 interviews with policy makers and political organisations. In what follows we draw on this material to further outline the general characteristics of London's changing MDL.

### **Making and re-making London's Migrant Division of Labour**

During interviews, employers and their representatives argued that migrant workers provided a critical source of labour supply. In every case, employers felt that they would be unable to provide an acceptable level of service without migrant workers. And as this comment from a respondent in the domiciliary care sector attests:

I think the domiciliary care sector would deliver a lot less service than it does if it were not for that proportion of migrant workers ... Particularly in London, I would say that migrant workers are essential to even maintain the same level of service. (interview 5.12.07)

A number of employers also had a clear sense of what was referred to earlier as a hiring queue. Employers in the cleaning sector in particular had a strong preference for European workers, and Portuguese and eastern Europeans were mentioned positively a number of times. As this respondent put it when asked which workers he liked to employ: "I'd die for a Portuguese. You hang on to them, you ask for their sisters, their mothers, their brothers, marvellous! Filipinos fantastic! Poles very good!" (interview, 3.5.06). A respondent from a Polish community organisation also reported that he regularly received

phone calls and emails from employers who wanted to employ more Poles in different areas of the UK (interview, 19.12.07).

In contrast, a number of respondents were less enthusiastic about employing black Africans, not least because there was some ambiguity about their legal status. In the context of the new supply of white workers arriving from eastern Europe, it was clear that employers were able to exercise increased discrimination against those perceived to be less legitimate and/or less suitable for employment. As this respondent in the cleaning sector explained:

The good thing about the east Europeans they're all very briefed on what they've got to bring with them, all the correct paperwork, they're on the ball. We still have problems with Africans, Nigerians, Jamaicans coming over and they haven't got their paperwork. (interview, 28.9.06)

Some managers were quite explicit in making negative comparisons between eastern Europeans and their black African colleagues and for some, black Africans looked less employable now that they had an alternative labour supply:

A lot of them [Africans] have other jobs, a lot of them are up during the day either collecting the children from school or they've got a young one that keeps them awake and they can't sleep, so they come tired to work, and that makes them look lazy ... [especially] compared to the east Europeans that come in buzzing. They come in buzzing (interview, 28.9.06).

More generally, however, employers argued that they preferred to employ migrants because they were better than the 'native' labour supply. As this respondent explained in relation to construction: "The major reason we use immigrant workers is because they are better than the people who are available locally" (interview, 11.7.07). Likewise, the Human Resources manager at a food processing factory said that the migrant workers they employed, who were largely from eastern Europe, were more disciplined than the 'native' labour supply:

I would say they [migrants] are very hard workers. They are not lazy at all ... whatever you ask them to do, they will be really happy to do it ... We hardly have any problems

where we have to discipline staff for constantly coming in late or reporting sick or things like that. (interview, 18.12.06)

In this view, a number of the interviews with community organisations also highlighted the significance of the ‘dual frame of reference’ for many migrant workers in the UK. Despite the low wages and the high cost of living in London, migrant workers found that they could earn more money than was possible when they were living back home. As this respondent from the Polish community explained: “they are prepared to put up with it [low wages] because they’re still better off than if they were in Poland, because they prefer to put up with bad housing, bad food, even quite often living in a squat and this sort of thing, just to save money. If they were in Poland they wouldn’t be earning any money so they couldn’t be saving any” (interview, 19.12.07). Likewise, another respondent from a Congolese organisation said that a tiny fraction of the wages earned in London could support whole communities in his home country. As he put it: “one Congolese in London is seven Congolese in Congo” (interview, 9.5.07). Low waged jobs in London seemed more palatable to these workers because of the lower wages and poorer prospects back home.

Some employers further expanded on this by contrasting the commitment of migrant workers to the ‘work shy’ ‘natives’ who they found to be unwilling to work. As one manager in the cleaning industry put it, the role of the benefit system meant that those who were entitled – and especially those with young children at home – would be better off staying at home:

Let’s look at it this way. The English are used to a social security system ... they’re used to having that whereas the immigrants don’t have that in their country. We’ve always had something to fall back on so those English that are not educated, that, you know, didn’t go out and get themselves great jobs could come out and do cleaning but they won’t do it for a lower wage because they might as well sit indoors and get paid to look after the kids ... to motivate them you’d need ten pounds an hour, definitely.” (interview, 4.12.06)

Given that many of the migrant workers we encountered were not entitled to claim benefits due to their immigration status as new migrants, being full time international students or irregular workers they were more willing to work than the ‘native’ supply.

In this regard, a number of refugee community respondents made related arguments highlighting the fact that irregular migrants were more likely to work than regular ones. When migrants had failed in their claims for asylum and/or were trying to regularize themselves in the country, they had no recourse to benefits and had little choice but to work and tended to find themselves in low paying, low status jobs at the ‘bottom end’ of the labour market. As this representative from the Nigerian community put it:

As more and more people overstay their visas, then the kind of jobs that they can do become lower and lower down the order because, basically, they have got to effectively do illegal jobs ... where the employer turns a blind eye. (interview, 15.5.07).

While some workers would be able to secure low paid work in the formal economy by using false papers, possibly appearing in the workplaces covered by our research as outlined above, others would be confined to the informal economy in illegal and undeclared work.

In this regard, a number of interviewees from community organizations highlighted the paradox that once individuals secured leave to remain and/or become British citizens, they were less likely to take up employment. Once they were able to claim benefits, and particularly housing benefit, there was less financial incentive to work in low paid jobs and in many respects, migrants started to behave more like those who were born or already naturalised within the UK (and for more on this widely recognized phenomena, see Piore, 1979; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Migrants lose their purchase when “They start to become more like Us (Legrain, 2007, 88, capitals in original). And as this respondent from the Congolese community explained:

Once you are authorized to remain in the country, you have the same right as British people, but the issue is low paid employment which cannot allow [people] to pay into their own house and ... [if ] they decide they want to remain legal ... the only way is not to be employed. (interview, 9.5.07)

Calling housing a ‘huge barrier for employment,’ this respondent went on to suggest that there was little incentive for regularised migrants to work unless they could find well paid and secure employment in London. Without proven experience of professional work in

the UK, and in the context of real and perceived racial discrimination, such migrants were likely to get trapped in low paid employment before regularization and in unemployment after it. A number of respondents argued that the inability of refugees and other migrants from low income countries to access jobs that allowed them to meet their costs in London was the biggest barrier to their inclusion in the wider society. This group of workers were condemned to low paid work or benefits, neither of which allowed them full access to the wider society in London and the UK.

From the point of view of low paying employers, this research suggests that the most willing employees would be those without the legal status to work or those who are unable to claim benefits such as international students or those from eastern Europe during their first 12 months in the UK. As the Government has increased surveillance and control over illegal labour supplies, those without papers are likely to be forced into more marginal and exploitative employment and eastern European workers are increasingly likely to be filling the gaps. Representatives of migrants originating in the global South argued that their communities would lose out when compared to the eastern European arrivals. As this Latin American respondent put it: “Polish competition. Yes. They’re whiter and better educated and all of them, even if they speak little English, they always speak more English than a Latin American” (interview, 3.4.07). Likewise, this Nigerian respondent argued that his community was bound to lose out “once an employer has an alternative” that “doesn’t expose them to risk” (interview, 15.5.07). Given the unprecedented arrival of eastern Europeans, employers of low paid labour have greater choice about who to employ and hiring queues are reflecting this increase in choice.

As a result, the kind of workers who quietly arrived during the 1980s and 1990s and filled the gaps in London’s low paid economy are being squeezed out by new arrivals and by the added weight of the law. As this respondent from the Brazilian community put it during interview, this reflects the “false morality” of the British: “their excess of tolerance only works ... when it is convenient to them” (interview 8.5.07). Acknowledging that the majority of his community in London were irregular migrants, this respondent argued that they provided good service to the community, working hard

in jobs no-one wanted to do. However, now that the employers have alternative sources of workers and the Government is keen to crack down on illegal immigration, these communities are being marginalised. While they were needed, the labour of those from the global South was taken but not fully acknowledged. Now it is no longer needed, such labour is being very publicly rejected. As this respondent from a Ghanaian community organization explained: “They’ve taken your train ticket, they’ve looked after your sick family member but you haven’t really seen them or noticed that they’re there” (interview, 18.6.07). In time, such workers may well no longer so significant in London’s MDL.

### **Concluding remarks**

This paper has documented a striking migrant division of labour in London’s low paid occupations. Well over half of all workers in occupations like catering, cleaning and care are foreign-born. It is clear that migrants are filling gaps in the labour market and taking jobs that the British born and British naturalised populations are increasingly unwilling to do. As Massey and his co-authors put it in relation to the situation in the US, the “imbalance between the structural demand for entry-level workers and the limited domestic supply of such workers has generated an underlying long-run demand for immigrants in developed countries” (1998, 33). Our research endorses this case for the UK and particularly, for a large global city like London. While our research in one workplace has revealed the super-diversity of this workforce in London, our follow up interviews have also highlighted the speed at which such patterns of employment can change. In the context of the legislative ‘heat’ around immigration and the arrival of new groups of migrants from within the EU, employers’ hiring queues are subject to change. Shaped by the semi-autonomous actions of employers, workers and potential workers, their communities and the state, the MDL has a ‘rotating membership’ (Castles and Kosack (1973, 463) that is in constant change.

Such dynamism has costs for those who find themselves being pushed down the hiring queue and in relation to London, it is clear that low skilled migrants from the global South, particularly those without the papers to work, are increasingly vulnerable in this regard. In this context, there have been growing calls to turn ‘strangers into citizens’ and

legislate for an earned amnesty for those workers from outside the EU who have served the city without recognition for the past twenty years (London Citizens, 2008; see also Flynn and Williams, 2007). London's MDL raises issues of (in)justice for the migrants who find themselves in low paid jobs, for those in London and the rest of the world who depend on these individuals, and for those Londoners (many of them settled migrants or people from the second generation) who are priced out of employment. Recognising the scale and impact of London's MDL might be a first step on the road to righting these wrongs.

### **Acknowledgements**

This research was funded by the ESRC (grant number RES-000-23-0694) and we are also grateful to the Greater London Authority, Oxfam, Queen Mary University of London, UNISON and London Citizens for supporting the first part of our questionnaire survey. It has also been a pleasure to work with Ioannis Kaplanis on analysis of the LFS and the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings. The research would also not have been possible without the willing cooperation of hundreds of low paid workers in London, our case study partner at Canary Wharf and all the representatives from the public, private and third sector organisations who were willing to share their experiences with us. Many thanks to you all.

### **Appendix 1: Analysis of the Labour Force Survey (LFS)**

The LFS is a quarterly sample survey of 60,000 households living at private addresses in Great Britain, which provides a wide range of data on labour market statistics, including employees and the self-employed. The survey seeks information on respondents' personal circumstances and their labour market status during a specific reference period, normally a period of one week or four weeks (depending on the topic) immediately prior to the interview. The self-employed account for some 13% of the sample.

The LFS is based on a systematic random sample design that targets all persons aged 16 and over to make it representative of the whole of Great Britain. Each quarter's LFS sample of 60,000 private households is made up of 5 'waves', each of approximately 12,000 households. Each wave is interviewed in 5 successive quarters. Households are interviewed face-to-face when first included in the survey, and by telephone thereafter. The sample data are weighted to population estimates produced by the National Office of Statistics. On pay levels, the data refers to employees only (i.e. no pay information on the self-employed).

The ONS has set publication thresholds for LFS data. In relation to employment, a threshold of 4000 employees applies when average quarterly values over two years are used. However, when exploring the data on the basis of place of birth (i.e. UK-born and Foreign-born) the thresholds increase to 10,000 employees. In this case, the code 'n/a' (not available) has been used in the tables to indicate non-disclosable data.

## **Standard Occupation Classification and Occupational Categories**

The type of job done by a worker can be classified into a particular occupational group. Occupations are coded according to the current Standard Occupational Classification (SOC), which is maintained by the Occupational Information Unit (OIU) of the Office for National Statistics. SOC90 was employed throughout the 1990s and consisted of the following main categories:

1. Managers and administrators
2. Professional occupations
3. Associate professional and technical occupations
4. Clerical and secretarial occupations
5. Craft and related occupations
6. Personal and protective service occupations
7. Sales occupations
8. Plant and machine operatives
9. Other occupations

The SOC90 was replaced in 2001 by a new classification, SOC 2000, which was created by classifying jobs in terms of their skill level and content, where skill is defined by the nature and duration of the qualifications, training and work experience required to perform a particular job.

The SOC 2000 categories are:

1. Managers and Senior Officials
2. Professional Occupations
3. Associate Professional and Technical
4. Administrative and Secretarial Occupations
5. Skilled Trades Occupations
6. Personal Service Occupations
7. Sales and Customer Service Occupations
8. Process, Plant and Machine Operatives
9. Elementary Occupations

The occupation codes selected for this research reflect those that appeared most commonly in our own survey of low-paid migrants in London and for which data were available. The aim was to provide a picture of the trends in employment over the period and changes in the proportion of foreign-born workers, to allow us to contextualise the findings for our own sample of migrant workers. The three digit codes that provided usable data for 1993/4 and 1999/00 were as follows:

620 Chefs, Cooks

953 Catering assistants

644 Care assistants

958 Cleaners

We then matched these as closely as possible to the new classifications for the period 2000/1 and 2004/5, using the following four-digit codes:

5434 Chefs, Cooks

9223 Counterhands  
6115 Care assistants  
9233 Cleaners

Notable omissions are occupations which either lack data for the period covered, such as hotel housekeepers, or occupations where the available data are inconsistent, such as 'waiters and waitresses.' Due to the reclassification of occupational groups the data for the two periods are not directly comparable.

For both periods, we have extracted foreign born workers from the data. To increase the sample size and confidence, we have calculated average figures from two years worth of data.

Unfortunately, wage data from the LFS cannot be disclosed due to the small sample size. Thresholds have been set at a minimum of 60,000 employees in relation to wages. For wage data, we have used the National Earnings Survey (NES) and Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE), but have yet to obtain clearance from the Office of National Statistics to publish this work.

Source: Office of National Statistics (ONS; [www.statistics.gov.uk](http://www.statistics.gov.uk)).

## References

**Anderson, B.** (2007) A very private business: Exploring the demand for migrant domestic workers. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 14, 3, 247-64.

**Anderson, B. Ruhs, M. Rogaly, B. and Spencer, S.** (2006) *Fair enough? Central and East European migrants in low-wage employment in the UK*. Oxford: Compas working paper.

**Balibar, E.** (2002) *Politics and the other science*. London: Verso.

**Batnitzky, A. McDowell, L. and Dyer, S.** (2008) A middle-class global mobility? The working lives of Indian men in a west London hotel. *Global Networks*, 8, 1, 51-70.

**Beaverstock, J. V.** (2004) 'Managing across borders': knowledge management and expatriation in professional service legal firms. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 4, 2, 157-179.

**Bell, B.** (1997) The performance of immigrants in the United Kingdom: Evidence from the General Household Survey. *Economic Journal*, 107, 333-45.

**Black, R. Collyer, M. Skelton, R. and Waddington, C.** (2005) *A survey of the illegally resident population in detention in the UK*. Home Office Online Report, 20/05.

**Blanchflower, D. Saleheen, J. and Shadforth, C.** (2007) The impact of the recent migration from Eastern Europe on the UK economy. Bank of England research paper available from: [www.bankofengland.co.uk/publications/speeches/2007/speech297.pdf](http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/publications/speeches/2007/speech297.pdf)

**Bloch, A. and Schuster, L.** (2005) At the extremes of exclusion: Deportation, detention and dispersal. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28, 3, 491-512.

**Bojad\_ijeve, M. and Saint-Saëns, I.** (2006) Borders, citizenship, war, class: A discussion with Étienne Balibar and Sandro Mezzadra, *New Formations*, 58, 10-30.

**Brown, C.** (1984) *Black and white Britain*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

**Buck, N. and Gordon, I.** (2000) Turbulence and sedimentation in the labour markets of late twentieth century metropolises, in G. Bridge and S. Watson (eds) *A Companion to the City*. Oxford: Blackwell, 181-91.

**Castles, S.** (2004) Why migration policies fail. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27, 2, 205-27.

**Castles, S. and Kosack, G.** (1973) *Immigrant workers and class structure in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Church, A. and Frost, M.** (2004) Tourism, the Global City and the labour market in London. *Tourism Geographies*, 6, 2, 208-228.

**Citizens Advice Bureau** (2004) Nowhere to turn: CAB evidence on the exploitation of migrant workers. London: CAB.

**Collins, J.** (2006) The changing political-economy of Australian immigration. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 97, 7-16.

**Cornelius, W.** (2005) Controlling 'unwanted' immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993-2004. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31, 3, 775-794.

**Cox, R. and Watt, P.** (2002) Globalization, polarization and the informal sector: the case of paid domestic workers in London. *Area*, 34, 1, 39-47.

**Datta, K, McIlwaine, C, Wills, J, Evans, Y, Herbert, J, and May, J.** (2007a) *British Journal of Industrial Relations*,

**Datta, K, McIlwaine, C, Wills, J, Evans, Y, Herbert, J, and May, J.** (2007b) The new Development Finance or Exploiting Migrant Labour? Remittance sending among low-paid migrant workers in London. *International Development Planning Review*, 29, 1, 43-67.

**Dale, A. Fieldhouse, E. Shaheen, N. and Kalra, V.** (2002) The labour market prospects for Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. *Work, Employment and Society*, 16, 1, 5-25.

- Daniel, W. W.** (1968) *Racial discrimination in Britain*. London: Penguin.
- Dench, S. Hurstfield, J. Hill, D. and Akroyd, K.** (2006) *Employers' use of migrant labour*. Home Office Online Report 04/06. London: Home Office.
- Dustmann, C. and Fabbri, F.** (2005) Immigrants in the British labour market. *Fiscal Studies*, 26, 4, 423-470.
- Edwards, R. C. Reich, M. and Gordon, D. M.** (1975)(eds) *Labor market segmentation*. Lexington Mass.: DC Heath.
- Evans, Y Herbert, J Datta, K May, J, McIlwaine, C and Wills, J.** (2005) *Making the city work: low-paid employment in London*. London: Queen Mary, University of London.
- Evans, Y. Wills, J. Datta, K. Herbert, J May, J. and McIlwaine, C.** (2007) Subcontracting by stealth in London's hotels: impacts and implications for labour organising. *Just Labor: A Canadian journal of work and society*, 2007, 10, 85-97. Published online: <http://www.justlabour.yorku.ca/>.
- Flynn, D. and Williams, Z.** (2007) (eds) *Towards a progressive immigration policy*. London: Compass.
- Freeman, G.** (1995) Modes of immigration politics in liberal democratic states. *International Migration Review*, 29, 4, 881-902.
- Gilpin, N. Henty, M. Lemos, S. Portes, J. and Bullen, C.** (2006) *The impact of free movement of workers from Central and Eastern Europe on the UK labour market*. Working Paper 29. London: Department for Work and Pensions.
- Gilroy, P.** (1987) *There ain't no black in the Union Jack*. London: Hutchinson.
- Greater London Authority** (2006) *A fairer London: The living wage in London*. London: GLA.
- Guarnizo, L.** (2003) The Economics of Transnational Living. *International Migration Review*, 37, 3, 666-699, 2003.
- Hall, S.** (1991) Old and new identities, old and new ethnicities, in A. King (ed) *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Hanson, S. and Pratt, G.** (1995) *Gender, work and space*. London: Routledge.
- Hjarnø, J.** (2003) *Illegal immigrants and developments in employment in the labour markets of the European Union*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

**Herbert, J. May, J. Wills, J. Datta, K. Evans, Y. and McIlwaine, C.** (2008) Multicultural living? Experiences of everyday racism among Ghanaian migrants in London. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 15, 2, 103-117.

**Hiebert, D. and Ley, D.** (2006) Introduction: The political economy of immigration. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 97, 1, 3-6.

**Hollifield, J. F.** (1992) *Immigrants, markets and states: The political economy of post-War Europe*. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press.

**Hollifield, J. F.** (2004) The emerging migration state. *International Migration Review*, 38, 3, 885-912.

**HM Treasury** (2007) *Employment opportunity for all: Tackling worklessness in London*. London: HMSO.

**Home Office** (2006) *A points-based system: Making migration work for Britain*. Cmd Paper 6741. London: Home Office.

**Home Office and Commonwealth Office** (2007) *Managing global migration: A strategy to build stronger international alliances to manage migration*. London: Home Office.

**Hyndman, J.** (2005) Migration wars: refuge or refusal? *Geoforum*, 36, 3-6.

**IPSOS MORI** (2008) Political Monitor: Recent Trends: The Most Important Issues Facing Britain Today. <http://www.ipsos-mori.com/polls/trends/issues12.shtml> (last accessed 18.3.08)

**Iskander, N.** (2007) Informal work and protest: undocumented immigrant activism in France 1996-2000. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 45, 309-34.

**Jackson, P.** (1992) The racialisation of labour in post-war Bradford. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 18, 190-209.

**Jones,** (1993) *Britain's ethnic minorities*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

**Kaplanis, I.** (2007) *The Geography of Employment Polarisation in Britain: The Geography of Employment Polarisation in Britain*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR).

**Keith, M.** (2005) *After the cosmopolitan? Multicultural cities and the future of racism*. London: Routledge.

**Kyambi, S.** (2005) *Beyond black and white: Mapping new immigrant communities*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR).

- Legrain, P.** (2007) *Immigrants: your country needs them*. Little, Brown.
- Leontaridi, M.** (1998) Segmented labour markets. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 12, 1, 103-109.
- Lloyd-Evans, S. and Bowlby, S.** (2000) Crossing boundaries: Racialised gendering and the labour market experiences of Pakistani migrant women in Britain. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23, 4, 461-74.
- London Citizens** (2008) *May Day mass and rally*, website last accessed 7.4.08. <http://www.londoncitizens.org.uk/campaigns.html>
- London School of Economics (LSE)**(2007) *The impact of recent immigration on the London economy*. London: City of London Corporation.
- Mackintosh, M.** (2005) *London: The world in a city: An analysis of the 2001 Census results*. London: Greater London Authority.
- Martin, R. Sunley, P. and Wills, J.** (1996) *Union retreat and the regions: The shrinking landscape of organized labour*. London: Jessica Kingsley.
- Massey, D. Arango, J. Hugo, G. Kuvaouci, A. Pellegrino, A. and Edward Taylor, J.** (1998) *Worlds in motion: Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Matthews and Ruhs, M.** (2007) *Are you being served? Employer demand for migrant labour in the UK's hospitality sector*. Working paper no. 51. University of Oxford: COMPAS.
- May, J, Wills, J, Datta, K, Evans, Y, Herbert, J and McIlwaine, C** (2007) Keeping London Working: global cities, the British state, and London's new migrant division of labour. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(2): 151-167.
- Mezzadra, S.** (2005) Citizen and subject: A postcolonial constitution for the European Union? Paper available at [www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/crisp/papers/mezzadra\\_citizen\\_subject.pdf](http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/crisp/papers/mezzadra_citizen_subject.pdf) (last accessed 7.4.08)
- McDowell, L. and Massey, D.** (1984) 'A woman's place?' in D. Massey and J. Allen (eds) *Geography Matters!* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McDowell, L. Batnitzsky, A. and Dyer, S.** (2007) Division, segmentation and interpellation: The embodied labors of migrant workers in a Greater London hotel. *Economic Geography*, 83, 1, 1-25.
- McGregor, J.** (2007) 'Joining the BBC (British Bottom Cleaners)'Zimbabwean migrants and the UK care industry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33, 5, 801-24.

**McKay, S. and Winkleman-Gleed, A.** (2005) *Migrant workers in the east of England*. Working Lives Research Centre. London: London Metropolitan University.

**Miles, R.** (1982) *Racism and migrant labour*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

**Miles, R.** (1988) Racism, Marxism and British politics. *Economy and Society*, 17, 3.

**Miles, R. and Brown, M.** (1989) *Racism*. London: Routledge.

**Model, S.** (2002) Immigrants' social class in three global cities, in M. Cross and R. Moore (eds) *Globalization and the new city: Migrants, minorities and urban transformations in comparative perspective*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 82-118.

**Modood, T. et al.** (1997) *Ethnic minorities in Britain*. London: Policy Studies Institute.

**Nevins, J.** (2002) *Operation gatekeeper: The rise of the 'illegal alien' and the remaking of the US-Mexico boundary*. London: Routledge.

**Peach, C.** (1996) 'Does Britain have ghettos ?' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22, 1, 216 – 235

**Peach, C.** (2006) Islam, ethnicity and South Asian Religions in the 2001 census, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, NS 31, 3, 353-370

**Peck, J.** (1989) Reconceptualising the local labour market. *Progress in Human Geography*, 13, 42-61.

**Peck, J.** (1996) *Work-place*. London: Guilford.

**Phillimore, J. and Goodson, L.** (2006) Problem or opportunity? Asylum seekers, refugees, employment and social exclusion in deprived urban areas. *Urban Studies*, 43, 10, 1715-36.

**Piore, M.** (1979) *Birds of passage: Migrant labor and industrial societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Portes, A and de Wind** (2004) A cross-Atlantic dialogue: The progress of research and theory in the study of international migration. *International Migration Review*, 38, 3, 828-51.

**Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R.** (2001) *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press and Russell Sage Foundation.

**Portes, A. and Rumbut, R.** (2006) [3<sup>rd</sup> Edition] *Immigrant America: A portrait*. Berkley: University of California Press.

**Portes, J. and French, S.** (2005) *The impact of free movement of workers from Central and Eastern Europe on the UK labour market: Early evidence*. Department for Work and Pensions, Working Paper 18.

**Raghuram, P.** (2004) Migration, gender and the IT sector: Intersecting debates. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27, 163-176.

**Raghuram, P. and Kofman, E.** (2004) Out of Asia: Skilling, re-skilling and deskilling of female migrants. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27, 95-100.

**Rogaly, B.** (2006) *Intensification of Work-Place Regimes in British Agriculture: The Role of Migrant Workers*. Sussex Migration Working Paper 36 Available at <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/migration/documents/mwp36.pdf>.

**Ruhs, M.** (2006) *Greasing the wheels of the flexible labour market: East European labour immigration in the UK*. Working Paper 38. University of Oxford: COMPAS.

**Ryan, B.** (2005)(Ed) *Labour migration and employment rights*. London: Institute for Employment Rights.

**Sassen, S.** (2001) [second edition] *Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**Schmitt, J. and Wadsworth, J.** (2007) Changes in the relative economic performance of immigrants to Great Britain and the United States 1980-2000. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 45, 2, 1-28.

**Somerville, W.** (2007) *Immigration under New Labour*. Bristol: Policy Press.

**Smith, D. J.** (1977) *Racial disadvantage in Britain*. London: Penguin.

**Smith, S. J.** (1989) *The politics of 'race' and residence*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

**Sparke, M.** (2006) A neo-liberal nexus: Economy, security and the biopolitics of citizenship on the border. *Political Geography*, 25, 151-80.

**Spence, L.** (2005) *Country of Birth and Labour Market Outcomes in London: An analysis of Labour Force Survey and Census data*. London: Greater London Authority.

**Stenning, A. Champion, T. Conway, C. Coombes, M. Dawley, S. Dixon, L. Raybould, S. and Richardson, R.** (2006) Assessing the local and regional impacts of international migration. Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, University

of Newcastle. Available on <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/curds/publications/pdf/A8Final.pdf> (last accessed 7.4.08).

**Theodore, N. Valenzuela, A and Melendez, E.** (2006) La Esquina (the corner): Day laborers on the margins of New York's formal economy. *Working USA*, 9, 407-23.

**Van Houtum, H. and van Naerssen, T.** (2006) Bordering, ordering and othering. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Social Geografie*, 93, 125-36.

**Vasta, E. and Kandilige, L.** (2007) 'London the leveller: ' Ghanaian work strategies and community solidarity. Working Paper 52. University of Oxford: COMPAS.

**Vertovec, S.** (2007) Superdiversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30, 6, 1024-54.

**Virdee, S.** (2006) 'Race' employment and social change: A critique of current orthodoxies. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29, 605-28.

**Waldinger, M. and Lichter, M. I.** (2003) *How the other half works: Immigration and the social organization of labor*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

**Warren, C.** (2005) Coming undone: The implications of garment industry subcontracting for UK workers, in A. Hale and J. Wills (eds) *Threads of Labour: Garment industry supply chains from the workers' perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell, 133-160.

**Wheatley-Price, S.** (2001) The employment adjustment of male immigrants in England. *Journal of Population Economics*, 14, 193-220.

**Wills, J.** (2004) Campaigning for low paid workers: The East London Communities Organisation (TELCO) Living Wage Campaign, in W. Brown, G. Healy, E. Heery and P. Taylor (eds) *The Future of Worker Representation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 264-282.

**Winder, R.** (2004) *Bloody foreigners: The story of immigration to Britain*. London: Little, Brown.

**Wright, T. and Pollert, A.** (2006) The experience of ethnic minority workers in the hotel and catering industry: routes to support and advice on workplace problems. Ref 03/06. London: ACAS.

**Zolberg, A.** (1999) Matters of state: Theorizing immigration policy, in C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz and J. de Wind (eds) *The Handbook of International Migration: the American experience*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 71-93.